

National Pardon Campaign For 18 Gets Under Way

Unions Support Drive to Free SWP Leaders; Labor and Liberal Press Condemn Jailings

NEW YORK CITY—Signatures are beginning to roll into the office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee as its national petition campaign to obtain unconditional presidential pardon for the 18 imprisoned leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO gets under way. The New York Local CRDC committee reports that well over one hundred signatures were secured at a meeting of American Labor Party officials and members last week. Among the well-known trade-union leaders asking freedom for the 18 were Charles Zimmerman, Manager of Local 22, I. L. G. W. U., Thomas DeLo-

renzo and Gabe DeAngelis, President and Financial Secretary respectively, of Brewster Local 365 UAW-CIO. The petitions, calling upon President Roosevelt to uphold the Bill of Rights by pardoning the class-war prisoners framed under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act, are being circulated in local trade unions, clubs, factories and meetings throughout the country.

NEEDS FUNDS

The CRDC urgently needs funds to provide relief for the prisoners, their wives and families and to mobilize all progressive forces behind its fight to free the 18 and repeal the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act.

This week's union contributors to the Minneapolis Prisoners Relief Fund include Locals 87 and 104, Textile Workers Union-CIO of Paterson, New Jersey and UAW-CIO Local 647 of Reading, Ohio. Enclosing a check for one hundred dollars, Kay Gentile, Local 647's Financial Secretary, writes: "This Local is in deep sympathy to these men and hopes this amount will help a good cause."

All labor organizations and fighters for civil liberties are urged to send donations to James T. Farrell, Chairman Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 5th Avenue, New York City.

In its Jan. 12 issue "Aero-Notes," the lively paper of Brewster Local 365 UAW-CIO, sharply condemns the attack upon free speech involved in the jailing of the 18. "How many have paid any heed to the fight against reaction at home? As this is being written, eighteen men and women are enroute to federal penitentiaries, three to Danbury, Connecticut, the others to Sandstone, Minnesota. With their departure, one more step has been taken to suppress free labor, one more blow against the four freedoms here at home has been delivered. For freedom of thought and speech were sent to prison today."

LOCAL PLEDGES SUPPORT

After describing the facts in the case, the article concludes: "Thinking people concerned with the preservation of our own Constitution and its guarantee of civil liberties, all over the country are saying with Voltaire: 'We

do not agree with what they say, but we shall defend to the death their right to say it.' Let our Local march with them and support the demand for the freeing of these eighteen."

The editors of the liberal weekly, *The Nation*, write in the Jan. 15 issue: "This rejection of a hearing, by a liberal court, seems to us a shocking thing. For in denying these defendants a hearing, the court permits precedents to stand which seriously endanger civil liberties in the United States . . . The record of this prosecution is one to shame every decent American . . ."

"We hold no brief for the Trotskyites and have differed deeply with them on most concrete issues. But we think them unjustly and unfairly condemned, the victims of a cheap bit of labor politics. It is a crime to send them to jail because they believe in the principles of the Communist Manifesto. But a greater crime is the injury done to the Bill of Rights by the prosecution and by the dangerous precedents established, from which the court has averted its face."

LUCE PUBLICATIONS

While *Time* Magazine (Jan. 17) specifically and correctly states that the 18 Trotskyist leaders "were convicted of sedition, not because of any overt act, but because they believe in the proletarian revolution," its fellow Luce publication, *Life* magazine, in its Jan. 17 issue attempts its own dirty little frameup by bracketing the Trotskyists with the recently indicted American fascists. The Socialist Workers Party immediately sent to the *Life* editors a telegram of protest against this amalgam.

The newspapers of the Twin Cities published extensive news reports and numerous photographs of the circumstances attending the jailing of the 15 prisoners who were taken into custody at Minneapolis. They refrained however from editorial comment on the consummation of Roosevelt and Tobin's frameup of the Trotskyist and teamster leaders. A conspicuous and honorable exception was the independent Negro newspaper, *St. Paul Recorder*, which reprinted PM's editorial protest against the refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to hear the case of the 18.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TORN BY BITTER CLIQUE CONFLICT

NEW YORK CITY—A bitter unprincipled clique fight for control of the American Labor Party in New York has reached the stage where rival gangs of labor fakers now threaten to tear the party asunder, divide the political strength of the New York workers and discredit the very conception of independent labor political action.

The Rose-Dubinsky-Social-Democratic wing, which controls the ALP State Executive Committee, announced last Saturday that it intends to enter its own slate in the forthcoming April Party primary elections to contest the slate of the Hillman-Stalinist faction which is trying to seize the party's apparatus.

No difference of program divides the two contending groups. Both factions have been equally servile supplicants for Roosevelt's favor, vying to prove which is the most reactionary and most efficient in shackling the workers to the Roosevelt war machine.

Aside from their rabidly red-baiting opposition to the Stalinist, the only claim the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction can make in its own favor is that it has served the Roosevelt machine longer and more consistently

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Roosevelt Calls On Congress To Adopt Forced Labor Legislation

Framed Trotskyist Leaders Enter Jail



15 of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders pause for a moment on Dec. 31 as they approached the entrance of the Hennepin County Jail, Minneapolis, where they spent three days before final incarceration in federal prisons. The 14 men are now imprisoned in the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn. Grace Carlson is confined in the federal prison for women at Alderson, W. Va. The other three prisoners are in the federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn.

CIO Political Action Heads Hold Do-Nothing Conference

By Art Preis

NEW YORK CITY—A bevy of CIO big-wigs and Rooseveltian politicians, including Philip Murray, R. J. Thomas, Sidney Hillman, Walter Reuther and Vice-President Henry Wallace, at a conference of the CIO Political Action Committee last Friday and Saturday in New York's swank Park Central Hotel, churned the air with oratory deploring the depressing post-war prospects for American labor.

For two solid days they beat their gums vigorously and at length, expounding their sundry blue-prints for ensuring full employment and security at the termination of military conflict. They all agreed that cessation of hostilities threatens the American working-class with catastrophic economic breakdown and unemployment. They all agreed that "something ought to be done about it," and that the problem could not be left to the Big Business masters of the country.

But in spite of all their windy palaver, none of these "labor

statesmen" offered a solitary proposal for effective political action by the workers to achieve their laudable aims.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

"Full employment is the paramount issue facing the nation," keynoted Sidney Hillman, chairman of the committee.

R. J. Thomas, United Automobile Workers president, ponderously opined that the American people faced two alternatives, a higher standard of living than before or the "worst depression and the longest breadlines ever seen in this country." He was ready to vote against the second alternative.

Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president, who is long on blue-prints but short on methods of realizing them, presented his latest streamlined scheme for getting labor, the corporations and their government agents, into a cozy family circle. He called for "Peace Production Boards" of labor, management and government to work out plans for reconverting industry from war to peace production without loss of employment. The previous "Reuther Plan," modeled on similar lines for speedy conversion of peace-time industry into war production, gathered dust three years ago in the waste baskets of the government Big Business agents.

MURRAY'S SPEECH

Touching on more current issues, CIO President Murray managed to pontificate at length against Roosevelt's proposal for a national forced labor draft without so much as mentioning the President's name.

Murray's touching regard for Roosevelt's sensibilities and prestige was evoked in part by the presence of Vice-President Wallace, Roosevelt's chore-boy, an honored guest of the conference.

Just after Roosevelt had announced his national forced labor plan, in the midst of his open and ruthless drive to incite the armed forces against the labor movement, the CIO leaders could find no more appropriate figure from whom, in the words of Hillman, they could "take counsel," than this apologist for the Roosevelt regime.

Wallace unburdened himself of a lengthy white-wash of Roosevelt, who has had to do "many things which some of us have not been able to understand." Thus Roosevelt condescended to permit his "farm agent" and office boy to spread some reassur-

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Browder And J. P. Morgan

From the Text of Earl Browder's Report to the National Committee of the Communist Party at its meeting in New York City on Jan. 7-9.

"We shall have to be prepared to break with anyone that refuses to support and fight for the realization of the Tehran Agreement and the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation and fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of this coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand and join with him to realize it. Class divisions or political groupings have no significance now except as they reflect one side or the other side of the issue."

ON GUARD!

Under the heading, "AMG Encourages Pro-Nazi Trotskyites," the *Daily Worker*, Jan. 10, publishes a violent diatribe against alleged "Trotskyites" in Italy, claiming they are aiding the Nazis with "Anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations propaganda."

A careful perusal of the names of the alleged "Trotskyites" reveals some to be well-known Social-Democratic supporters of the Allies, while others are unknown to labor circles in this country. They are all, however, undoubtedly political opponents of the Stalinists.

The article ends up with the following sinister note:

"If the democratic elements in Italy are allowed full freedom of expression and action through their united Committee of National Liberation, they will find a way to expose and wipe out all treasonous elements whether they parade under the banner of Benito Mussolini or of Leon Trotsky."

This is a none-too-delicate intimation that the Kremlin wants to unleash a GPU terror and assassination drive against anti-Stalinists in Italy, similar to the murders and frameups of revolutionists committed during the Spanish Civil War. The Italian workers and anti-fascist labor organizations must be on guard and prepared to repel with utmost vigor GPU terror and assassinations threatened against Italian working-class political opponents of Stalinism.

Largest U. S. Bank Indicted In Nazi Trade Conspiracy

NEW YORK CITY—Chase National Bank, world's largest commercial bank and financial heart of the gigantic Rockefeller and Standard Oil interests, was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in New York last Wednesday for violation of the Trading with the Enemy Act and conspiracy.

The charges, brought by the Department of Justice, are based on evidence that this multi-billion dollar financial octopus, whose direct and indirect control extends into hundreds of America's biggest war industries and corporations, knowingly facilitated the transfer of blocked Axis funds to finance the sale and smuggling of industrial diamonds to Nazi Germany and Japan.

Although Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the bank's board of

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Unloads Upon Labor His Own Failure To Curb Inflation

President's 5-Point Program Like Former 7-Point Program Reveals Anti-Labor Bias

By C. Thomas

Roosevelt's message to congress requesting the adoption of "a national selective service act" to outlaw strikes was the culmination of weeks of a carefully planned campaign directed against the trade unions. The campaign was initiated immediately upon the President's return from the Cairo and Teheran conferences. Part of the build-up was Roosevelt's spectacular action ordering the army to seize the railroads. This contrasts with his previous actions in the coal strikes where he instructed a civilian agency, the fuels administrator, to take over control.

Following the seizure of the railroads by the army came General Marshall's infamous attack upon organized labor which the *Army and Navy Journal* revealed was directly inspired by Roosevelt. Then from one end

of the country to the other, day in and day out, the kept press spewed forth a steady stream of poisonous propaganda calculated to whip up a lynch hysteria against the unions. With the ground thus prepared, with "public opinion" thus regimented behind the "demand" for punitive action against labor, Roosevelt delivered his message to Congress.

5-POINT PROGRAM

In his message, Roosevelt presented a five-point program which included: (1) "A realistic tax law — which will tax all unreasonable profits," (2) "A continuation of the law for renegotiation of war contracts," (3) "A cost of food law," (4) "Early reenactment of the stabilization statute of October 1942," and (5) "A national service law." "These five measures," Roosevelt added, "together form a just and equitable whole. I would not recommend a service law unless the other laws were passed to keep down the cost of living, to share equitably the burdens of taxation, to hold the stabilization line, and to prevent undue profits."

After he had delivered his message, Roosevelt summoned Philip Murray and William Green to the White House for a "conference."

He confronted the leaders of the AFL and CIO with the ultimatum: either to endorse a National Service Act or face drastic anti-strike legislation by Congress. "The labor chiefs," says the N.Y. Post "asked for assurance that the rest of the President's program—calling for higher taxes, control of profits, food price subsidies, and continuance of the stabilization program—would be approved. Mr. Roosevelt replied that he was unable to give that assurance." Roosevelt, who can hardly be considered a political infant, was only too well aware of the reception his "five-point program" would receive in congress.

AUSTIN'S AMENDMENT

On the same day that Roosevelt submitted his message to Congress, Senator Austin introduced an amended version of his national service act. The heart of the measure lies in the following provisions: "Every person assigned to service under this act shall receive the compensation and work the hours applicable to the kind of work which he or she is required to perform in the place of employment to which he or she is assigned, and the bill then provides that every person so assigned 'shall have the right to join any union or organization of employees, but no such person shall be obliged to join such union or organization.'"

If such legislation is enacted, it is clear that every closed shop or even modified closed shop union contract will be nullified. Under the act, workers can be moved from one industry to another, from one section of the country to another, and will be compelled

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Browder's Speech And The Struggle For Socialism

By The Editors

Many sincere Stalinist workers have reconciled themselves to the previous twists and turns of the Communist Party: the pact with Hitler, the kowtowing to Roosevelt, the policy of strike-breaking, etc., as maneuvers necessary to defend the Soviet Union. They may even have accepted the dissolution of the Comintern, the discarding of "The Internationale" as regrettable concessions to appease Roosevelt and Churchill with whom Stalin is allied. But they could swallow these criminal betrayals only because they assumed and were assured in private if not in public that they were temporary expedients and that the Communist party still aimed and fought for world socialism.

The projected dissolution of the Communist Party has undoubtedly given these workers a violent shock and raised serious questions in their minds about the nature and direction of the Stalinist movement. The cynical and brutal bureaucratic method by which the Communist Party has been liquidated, the total rejection of all socialist ideas and aims and the abject surrender to capitalism and its political parties serve to reveal the real reactionary features of Stalinism and to clear up false impressions. The dissolution demonstrated that the Communist Party is in no respect a genuine worker's party with any rank and file democracy determining its policies and controlling its leaders but solely an agency used by Stalin's bureaucratic clique

to promote the reactionary aims of its national-ist foreign policy.

Browder and Foster upon Stalin's orders simply announced at a public mass meeting the prospective burial of the party without bothering to previously inform or consult their members. The capitalist press received the news before the members of the Communist Party.

The Stalinist bureaucrats have become so crude and callous in their betrayals that they assume that their ranks will tolerate anything and everything they dish out. But they may find it more difficult to ram this new "turn" down the throats of thinking Stalinist workers. The American Communist Party is being dissolved at a time when the Soviet Union is scoring colossal victories and has gained enormous prestige among the masses everywhere; at a time when the employers and their agents have launched a terrific attack against the American workers. Thinking Stalinists must naturally be asking this question: Why must the Communist Party be given up now under these conditions?

The only explanation that can make sense, despite Browder's alibis, is that the Stalinist Party is nothing but a pawn in Stalin's deal with the Anglo-American capitalists. This is confirmed by an analysis of Browder's crude arguments or alibis for this new turn in Stalinist policy.

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The Stalinists And The Fight For Socialism

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Browder bases all his arguments in defense of the dissolution upon the agreements of Teheran, Cairo and Moscow. "The answer to all other questions will depend, in the final analysis, upon the judgment made of Teheran," he says in his Madison Square Garden speech. According to Browder, Teheran ushered in an unexpected new period in world history which will bring lasting peace, economic well-being and social reforms. "The Teheran Declaration which was signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and the great Marxist Stalin represents the only program in the interest of the toiling masses of the whole world for the next period. . . There is no other way for the world. . ." (Daily Worker, Jan. 13.)

This evaluation of the Teheran conference is false to the core. The parleys of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin have been shrouded in such secrecy and silence that neither Browder nor the rest of humanity knows precisely what agreements were concluded. Whereas the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky not only condemned secret diplomacy but published the secret treaties of the imperialists, Stalin practices the most brazen kind of secret diplomacy and keeps hidden his deals with the Anglo-American capitalists.

Secret Diplomacy

Why have Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin

refused to publish their diplomatic decisions? Because they cannot stand the scrutiny of the peoples of the world. The rulers of the capitalist powers plotted with Stalin, not freedom and prosperity for the peoples of the world, but their further impoverishment and enslavement. They conspired to preserve, strengthen and stabilize capitalism and to strangle and suppress any revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia. As a guarantee of his pledge Stalin has already junked the Communist International and now he has ordered the dissolution of the American Communist Party. This is the real meaning of Teheran. This is the real motive behind the dissolution of the Communist Party.

Lenin On Capitalism

Browder however insists that as a result of Teheran "Capitalism and socialism have begun to find the way to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the same world." This is the absolute opposite of Lenin's view that the two social systems are fundamentally antagonistic and are engaged in life-and-death struggle with each other. In November 1918 Lenin wrote: "Anglo-French and American imperialism will inevitably strangle the independence and freedom of Russia unless world-wide socialist revolution, unless world-wide Bolshevism, conquers." Lenin repeated for the hundredth time in 1920: "We have now passed

from war to peace. But we have not forgotten that war will come again. So long as both capitalism and socialism remain, we cannot live in peace. Either the one or the other in the long run will conquer. There will be a funeral chant for the Soviet Republic or for world capitalism." This is written as if to answer Browder twenty three years in advance.

The underlying and irrepressible antagonism between the Soviet Republic and the imperialist world has already begun to manifest itself anew over the Polish border question.

National Unity

The reactionary policy of the Communist Party has been sold to the Stalinist workers on the assumption that it was dictated by the needs of defending the Soviet Union and would only last for the duration of the war. Now Browder declares that support of the capitalist system and submission to Big Business is no temporary emergency measure but a long term program and perspective. He calls for "the continuation of national unity into the post-war period for long terms of years."

As every advanced worker knows, Big Business, under cover of "National Unity," has launched through its governmental agents, a ferocious offensive against the labor movement. It has already imposed intolerable taxes, skyrocketing prices, re-

pressive legislation and wage-freezing upon the workers while the corporations pile up unprecedented profits. Big Business is even beginning to subsidize fascist groups as did the monopolists in Germany and Italy. Marxists know that fascism is a product of decaying capitalism. This truth has been verified by the experiences in Germany and Italy. In the face of these terrible threats to labor, Browder proposes "national unity" with Big Business. He thus helps monopoly capitalism in its campaign against labor—and the labor movement, let it be remembered, is the main bulwark of democracy in the United States and the best safeguard of the Soviet Union.

Free Enterprise

Browder calls upon the workers to support "free enterprise," that is the new fancy name for monopoly capitalism. Although pre-war experience has taught the workers that Big Business cannot prevent mass unemployment, Browder looks to the capitalists to "find the solution in order to keep their plants operating." Any worker familiar with the ABC's knows that Marxism teaches and scientific socialism bases itself upon the truths that capitalism cannot give prosperity, peace and progress to the working masses but inevitably produces exploitation, unemployment, wars, reactionary dictatorships, impoverishment of the many for the profit of the few. The Third International

was organized by Lenin and Trotsky and the American Communist Party was founded in order to disseminate these ideas and to struggle for socialism as the only way out of the crisis of the capitalist system.

Every intelligent Communist Party member must ask himself: If capitalism can give full employment, insure progress, prevent wars, then the fight for socialism is a utopia, then Marx was wrong, then Lenin's whole life-work was a mistake. But advanced workers know that Marx was right, that Lenin was right, that capitalism is in a blind alley and cannot solve the problems of humanity.

Servants of Capitalism

All that has happened is that the Stalinist bureaucrats have crowned their betrayals and infamy against the working class, by now openly proclaiming themselves as servants and supporters of capitalism, by openly avowing their aims to attempt to rescue a bloody and bankrupt capitalist system.

Browder's proposals, exclaims the Daily Worker (Jan. 12), are the result of "a creative Marxism, unhampered by ritual and mechanical orthodoxy—the free Marxist mind at work." They are certainly not hampered by any loyalty to the working class or the struggle for socialism. In reality, they are nothing but eyewash to hoodwink the workers and to smokescreen

the shameful Stalinist surrender to Big Business. They are a repudiation of Marxism, of Leninism.

The revolutionary doctrines of Marx, "the legacy of Lenin" which Browder hypocritically refers to, as well as the revolutionary traditions of the pioneer years of American Communism are today the ideas, the legacy and the tradition only of our movement. We Trotskyists not only preach these ideas, we practice them.

The same week in which Browder announced formal dissolution to the CP and pledged allegiance to American capitalism, 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were put behind bars by Roosevelt because, as their indictment states, they propagated the ideas of "The Communist Manifesto," because they believe in the doctrines of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and fought to establish a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. That is the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

We do not believe that the sincere Stalinist workers want to go back to capitalism, to become speed-up artists and strike breakers. We believe they want to realize the ideas of Marx and Lenin. To these workers, we say: only the Trotskyists stand for these ideas and fight for them. Join with us in the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The three operating railway unions which had refused to submit their wage dispute to Roosevelt for arbitration, have reached an agreement by direct negotiations with the railway carriers. The agreement embodies the same wage, overtime and vacation provisions contained in the contract signed by the two operating brotherhoods who had broken ranks and submitted to Roosevelt's ultimatum. The agreement is also retroactive to December 27 and in addition contains a clause which provides that with the exception of overtime, expense away from home and vacation pay, the contracting "parties are not restricted from taking action at any time to change basic rates of pay or to amend existing rules or to propose new rules." This last provision is a protection against the wage freezing clause contained in Roosevelt's arbitration award to the other two operating unions, and represents a vindication of their refusal to abide by the original award.

The 15 non-operating unions reached an agreement Jan. 18 with the railway carriers which provides for a sliding scales pay increase of 9 to 11 cents an hour. Fred Vinson, Roosevelt's economic stabilization director, announced that he will approve the agreement. Roosevelt thereupon announced that he was notifying Secretary of War Stimson to withdraw governmental operation of the railroads.

The present wage agreement represents a marked improvement over the original governmental award of 4 to 10 cents an hour.

Last November when the United Steel Workers Union announced that it was opening all contracts with the steel industry to demand a 17 cents per hour increase for 700,000 members, the steel industry sent up a howl of poverty which might well have wrung the heart of a stone. Benjamin Fairless, president of U. S. Steel acted as spokesman for the industry. He said that the industry, and particularly his own company, was operating on a shoestring of profit, in order to "maintain wage levels with the cost of living and to further the war effort." Roosevelt immediately assured Fairless that should the workers be granted any increases, the OPA would grant commensurate price increases for steel.

Last week the United Steel

Workers Union released a few figures on profits in the steel industry. Figures which give lie to Mr. Fairless and prove that the industry can "afford" a 17 cent increase for the workers—without an additional bonanza from Roosevelt's OPA.

During the four-year period from 1940 to 1943 the profits in steel were \$1,206,000,000 of which \$650,000,000 were excess profits, i.e. over and above the average yearly profits for the period between 1936 and 1939.

U. S. Steel made \$186,000,000 from 1936-39. During the next four years they almost tripled those profits to \$431,584,000.

Bethlehem Steel's profits rose from \$75,480,000 between 1936-39 to \$159,409,000 between 1940-43.

Republic Steel also almost tripled its profits over the 1936-39 period. During these pre-war years they made "only" \$31,180,000. From 1940 to 1943 they scooped in \$83,104,000.

General Casting Corporation, one of the smaller concerns, netted \$496,000 during the four pre-war years. In the next four they "earned" \$10,659,000. Or more than ten million dollars in excess profits.

General Sherman once said "War is hell." Apparently, he wasn't thinking about the steel kings.

A wave of strikes in the Pittsburgh area is symptomatic of the general unrest in the labor movement.

350 office workers and meter readers of the Duquesne Light Co. in Pittsburgh have been on a sit-down strike in the company's offices for the past ten days. They are striking to force the removal of a supervisor they find it impossible to work under. On Jan. 14 the independent union to which these workers belong threatened a general utility strike in the city unless their demands were met.

On January 14 the garbage truck drivers in Pittsburgh, members of the AFL Refuse Drivers Union, walked out for the seventh time in three years. They are demanding a three cents per hour increase for themselves and their helpers.

A five day strike in the scarfers department of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp. plant at Pittsburgh, over wage demands, has caused the shut-down of the hot mill.

Sixty three workers in the continuous annealing department of the Leeborough mill of the Allegheny-Ludlum Steel Co. at Pittsburgh walked out last week to protest the company's juggling with the work schedules.

At the McKee's Rock plant of the Pressed Steel Car Co. the workers struck last week against a speedup scheme introduced by the company.

On January 14 the striking employees of the city of Philadelphia water and highway departments voted to stay on strike until their demands are met. They are demanding a ten cents per hour increase.

The Militant

may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

15th Anniversary - \$15,000 Fund

By Rose Karsner, Director

Writing from prison, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP says: "I am anxious to hear how the 15th Anniversary Fund is coming along." Then he adds: "You should be careful not to crowd the branches too hard on this matter."

I wish prison regulations permitted me to write at length, telling him of the wonderful work each branch is doing in this campaign and explaining that the "crowding" is being done by the membership itself—not by us; that the individual pledges are being fulfilled eagerly in the spirit of a demonstration to the world that the SWP is a combat party; a serious party; a party in which each member considers himself a soldier in the proletarian army for socialism. As evidence, I will quote from the following letters:

FROM THE BRANCHES

Reading: "We are sending \$20 on our pledge. The blows dealt us by the ruling class cannot halt the tidal wave of the proletarian army. We pledge our solidarity with the 18 heroic fighters."

Toledo, A. West: "Enclosed find \$65 to fill our quota. We are glad to be able to do this ahead of time, and if possible we shall send some more. The response to the Fund Campaign by the other branches is gratifying and we look forward to a continued rise of the thermometer."

Akron, A. Swenson: "Enclosed find payment on our quota. I expect that we will reach 50% or more by next week. The comrades here feel that we will fulfill our quota by or before the expiration of the Campaign. Please send us the outline for the series of lectures on the History of Trotskyism."

Detroit, Kay: "Although the enclosed check does not bring us up to 100% we will keep pushing along and I am sure we will soon get there. We read the inspiring farewell speeches in the Militant, and they made us feel proud of our party."

Minneapolis, Chester K.: "We are in the process of getting ourselves reorganized. As you know some big gaps have been left here since our comrades had to go to prison. However, all the comrades are in good spirits and I am confident we will be able to hold the home front and make a few gains. We already have two new applications and expect more. The enclosed check is for items listed—stamps, subscriptions, January Sustaining Fund and balance on our quota."

Chicago, Belle: "It just seems to take a while to get started, but I think that the payments will come in much faster from now on."

Telegram from Bill Gray, Buffalo, N. Y. WE ARE OVER THE TOP. MORE SOON.



Our agent in New York reports that the New York Local took full advantage of the two special 6-page issues of The Militant which contained material on the imprisonment of the 18 comrades: "The two 6-page issues on the case are historic ones, and we decided to distribute them to as many New York workers as our forces would allow. The first week we doubled our bundle order. These distributions were so successful that the second week we more than tripled our regular order."

"We distributed most of the papers at plant gates, but we also distributed at New York University, at Negro organizations, in the garment area, and at the Madison Square Garden meeting that the Stalinists called to announce the dissolution of the Communist Party."

"The response reported by the comrades on these distributions was excellent. At the Madison Square Garden and other Stalinist concentrations, the stunned CPers not only took the pa-

pers but we were able to sell pamphlets as well.

"The dissolution of the Communist Party has had a deep-going effect on the ranks of the C.P. and to make the most of this opportunity, we are increasing our regular bundle order again."

San Francisco continues its phenomenal subscription drive. The agent writes: "With great pleasure I enclose a money order covering thirteen subscriptions. We certainly couldn't expect any better results than we have gotten."

The strength of our ideas is expressed by the following letter from England: "Thank you so much for the copy of 'Socialism on Trial' and the very interesting 'Militants' which contained matter on the Minneapolis Labour Trial."

"Incidentally, since becoming interested in this famous trial, I have severed my relationship with the Young Communist League and I am now a student of Trotskyism."

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Paid	Percent
NEW HAVEN	50.00	75.00	150
SAN FRANCISCO	1,000.00	1,250.00	125
MILWAUKEE	25.00	27.50	110
SAN DIEGO	100.00	100.00	100
ALLENTOWN	25.00	25.00	100
TWIN CITIES	1,000.00	1,000.00	100
TOLEDO	100.00	100.00	100
New York	2,500.00	2,354.00	94
Boston	300.00	282.00	94
Detroit	2,000.00	1,830.00	92
Buffalo	300.00	257.50	86
Newark	300.00	240.00	80
Members-at-large and friends	800.00	617.75	77
Los Angeles	2,000.00	1,437.00	72
Reading	75.00	50.00	67
Chicago	2,000.00	1,119.38	56
Youngstown	200.00	100.00	50
Cleveland	200.00	100.00	50
Seattle	1,000.00	460.00	46
Bayonne	300.00	122.00	41
Akron	200.00	75.00	38
St. Louis	100.00	25.00	25
Philadelphia	150.00	9.00	6
Rochester	50.00	0	0
Quakertown	25.00	0	0
Flint	100.00	0	0
East Chicago	100.00	0	0
TOTALS		\$11,656.29	78%

Roosevelt Wants Forced Labor Law

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to labor under working conditions, hours and wages, established by the government bureaucrats and the bosses. The open shop will again come into its own, the boss will be master of his slaves, profits will soar to new astronomical heights, the unions will be immeasurably weakened.

The rent hog, price gouger, sweatshop operator, banker and speculator will have entered Roosevelt's capitalist heaven rested upon a hell of the "blood, sweat and tears" of worker-soldiers, worker-slaves, worker-wives and mothers. That is the program of the National Association of Manufacturers, now brazenly championed by Roosevelt himself.

Even such bred-in-the-bone bureaucrats as Murray and Green gagged on Roosevelt's proposal and found it impossible to swallow. All sections of the labor movement are unanimous in their rejection of slave labor with the exception of the Stalinist flunks. Harry Bridges on the west coast and Curran on the east coast, both notorious Stalinist stooges, hastened to proclaim their support of the President's "five-point program" of forced labor just as they had previously supported the "seven point program" of wage freezing.

Roosevelt's act in inviting leaders of the CIO and AFL to a conference AFTER his message was delivered to Congress reveals his utter contempt for the spineless lackeys who stand at the head of the unions. In spite of being buffeted, insulted, kicked around and humiliated, the Murphys, Hillmans and Greens cannot break with the war machine. They remain the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. Despite the flagrant union-wrecking policy of the Administration they offer no better program to the workers than continued support of Roosevelt.

Hillman, head of the CIO Political Action Committee, tours the country stumping for Roosevelt

and scuttling every move of the workers toward the organization of labor's own political party. The hide-bound bureaucrats who rule the roost in the AFL have nothing better to offer than a new edition of Gompers' "company union" politics.

In his swing to reaction Roosevelt knows he has little to fear from the cowardly union officialdom. He takes their support for granted. In an obvious attempt to broaden the base of his dwindling support, Roosevelt included in his message a demagogic appeal to the "fixed income" groups.

"Increased wages or prices will," he says, "have a particularly disastrous result on all fixed income groups," groups which include "teachers, clergy, policemen, firemen, widows and minors on fixed incomes, wives and dependents of our soldiers and sailors, and old age pensioners. They and their families add up to one-quarter of our 130,000,000." Wages have been frozen and Roosevelt has had, under the Stabilization Act, the power to control prices. It is precisely his failure to control prices which has resulted in the continued rise in the cost of living and made of his "stabilization program" a monstrous hoax. He now demagogically tries to shift the blame onto the unions.

As the Roosevelt administration swings further to reaction, the gap that now separates the top union officialdom from the rank and file will widen into a yawning chasm. The lower sections of the leadership, under the direct pressure of the ranks will come more and more into conflict with the bureaucrats on top. This process will impel the die-hard fakers to lean more heavily upon the government in order to maintain their positions of power and privilege against the increasing hostility of the ranks. Roosevelt sprang to Tobin's aid in Minneapolis by his prosecution of the militant leadership of Local 544.

But the American working class, which has shown such boundless initiative, courage and imagination in countless strike struggles will bring forth a new leadership and a program that will inevitably sweep the bureaucratic leeches into the limbo of history.

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The Real Teachings Of Lenin On The Role And Bankruptcy Of Capitalist 'Democracy'

By John G. Wright

Since Lenin died, twenty years have passed, years marked by the triumph of blackest reaction, unprecedented in the history of mankind, culminating in the most destructive slaughter yet known.

One of the chief reasons for these two decades of agony through which mankind has had to pass is this, that Lenin's teachings, the things he worked and fought for all his life, have been either trampled under foot or forgotten. For this work of distortion, falsification and destruction, Stalinism bears the main responsibility. The betrayers of Leninism in the Kremlin have proceeded over the years to destroy his teachings step by step, deliberately and ruthlessly.

Although the Stalinists prepared to 'celebrate' the twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death by formally burying the long-rotted corpse of the Third International, and then by discarding as the national anthem of the USSR, the battle-song of the world proletariat, the Internationale, and now, by dissolving the Communist Party in this country; although they have divested themselves of all of Lenin's heritage, they still try to use his name in order to peddle their vilest lies, in order to camouflage their surrender to the capitalists. In the endless catalogue of these lies, there is one to which they have devoted a great deal of their energy in recent times, and that is the lie that bourgeois democracy holds out a ray of promise to war-ravaged mankind. In the last war the Social Democrats peddled the same lie in the name of Marx.

AGAINST BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The mature years of Lenin's life were devoted to a life-and-death struggle against bourgeois democracy. In the first place, the victory of Bolshevism in Russia necessitated this. The Bolshevik Revolution would have been impossible without it. Moreover, the Russian counter-revolution in 1917 and later throughout the civil war rallied its main cohorts under the slogan of the "Constituent Assembly," that is, in the name of bourgeois democracy. The imperialist interventionists tried to crush the young Soviet Republic precisely under this same banner.

As a matter of fact, the hypnotic spell of bourgeois democracy and its traditions upon the mind of the European and world working class was one of the main obstacles confronted by the Bolsheviks in rallying the workers. The imperialists during and after the last war mobilized their entire resources to sustain this hypnotic spell. Not the least important cog in their colossal machinery of deception was the treacherous German Social Democracy, led by Scheidemann and Kautsky. As proponents of "democracy" and even "pure democracy" they championed the cause of the capitalists and the counter-revolution. That is why Lenin so mercilessly attacked Kautsky, Scheidemann and other renegades of Marxism.

What was a stumbling block

in the way of organizing the revolutionary workers of Europe, above all of Germany, into a party capable of taking power after the last war? In large measure, it was the hypnosis of bourgeois democracy. The Communist International at its very birth was confronted with the necessity of educating the advanced workers to the counter-revolutionary role and bankrupt character of this form of capitalist rule. Lenin's main work for the First World Congress of the Comintern was to draft the theses, directed to an exposure of bourgeois democracy.

For example, in his third thesis of 1919 Lenin flatly declared that defense of bourgeois democracy, under whatever guise, was "a direct betrayal of socialism, an actual desertion to the side of the bourgeoisie, the denial of the proletariat's right to its own, proletarian revolution, the defense of bourgeois reformism precisely at the historical moment when bourgeois reformism has crashed into dust throughout the world, and when the war has created a revolutionary situation."

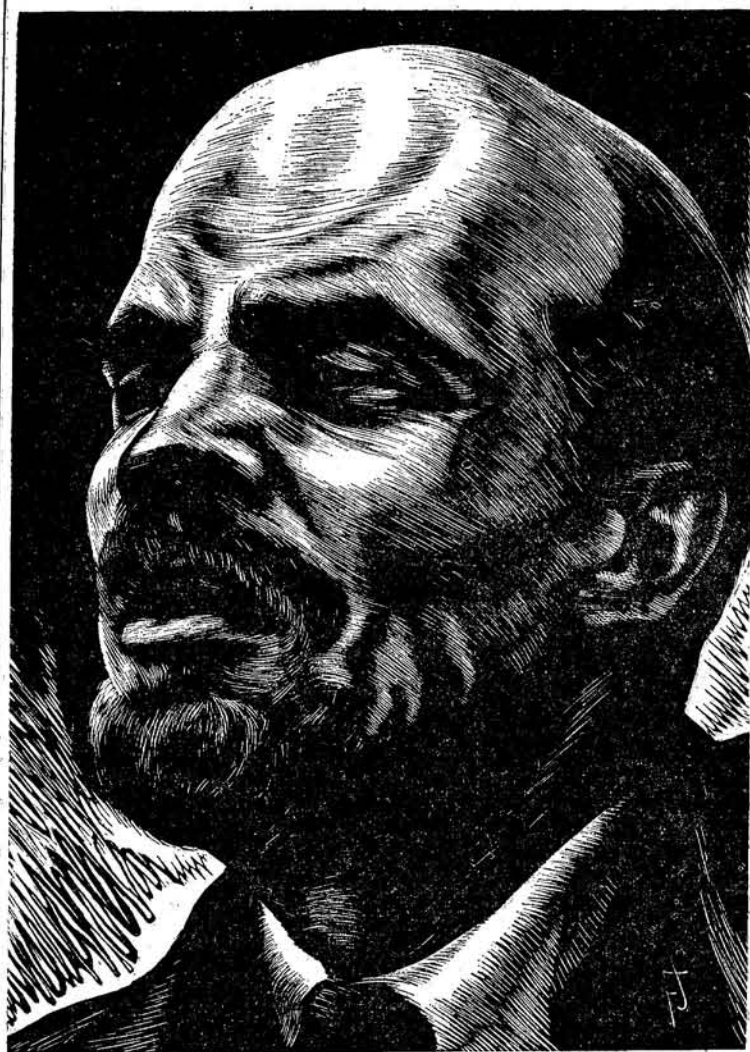
FACADE FOR DICTATORSHIP

Throughout its existence in Lenin's lifetime, the Communist International never suspended for a moment this task of educating the workers to the fact that bourgeois democracy was merely a facade for the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; that with the decay of capitalism this form of rule became less and less tenable; that if the proletariat limited its struggle to upholding this "democracy" not only would they renounce their socialist future of progress, peace and prosperity, but would lose every one of their elementary democratic rights and find themselves under the most brutal dictatorship and barbarism.

But aided by the Social Democrats, the capitalists succeeded after the last war in keeping the masses shackled to capitalist democracy. In 1918-19 the German workers gave the power to their Social Democratic leaders who immediately handed it back to the capitalists. What did the German masses get under the "democratic" Weimar Republic? Unemployment, hunger, degradation, and the loss one by one of their previous economic and political gains; next came fascism and then the horrors of another world war. This same pattern to one degree or another was repeated in the rest of Europe.

LIVING REALITY

If any prognosis of the Communist International of Lenin and



V. I. Lenin

Trotsky has been proven correct, it is the prognosis of the class character and complete bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy. Furthermore, yesterday's theoretical prognosis is today's living reality. The trend to totalitarianism is taking giant leaps literally from hour to hour. What have the "democrats" and their AMG, allied with King Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio, brought Italy? The British Tories, taking a leaf out of the pages of fascism, have drafted labor at home and openly envisage the continuation and extension of regimentation after the war. Roosevelt tears up the Bill of Rights, outlaws the right to strike and now calls for forced labor, etc.

Bourgeois democracy is gangrenous. If its perpetuation after the last war has brought mankind such evils and disasters, what can attempts to perpetuate it bring today?

Lenin warned that no illusion could be more fatal than that of ending imperialist wars, economic catastrophes and political reaction as long as capitalism remains. It was under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky that

the Russian masses opened up the real road of social, economic and cultural progress, the road to workers' power, workers' democracy—the road to socialism. To capitalist democracy Lenin counterposed the workers' state. This state, though degenerated under the rule of Stalin, still lives. Its power represents the power of the living Lenin, the Lenin no force on earth can destroy.

LENIN LIVES ON

Lenin lives on in the struggle of the European masses, whose first detachments in Italy have already raised the banner of revolution. On the morrow, other millions in Europe and throughout the world will rally to Lenin's banner.

Lenin lives on in another power, the power represented by the ideas, program and cadres of the Fourth International, the only genuine heirs and continuators of his work and struggle. On this twentieth anniversary of Lenin's death, we Trotskyists gather renewed courage and strength, for our faith is Lenin's faith. His banner is our banner. And under this banner we march forward.

Big Bank Indicted In Nazi Trade Plot

(Continued from page 1)

directors, issued an immediate denial of the charges claiming that the "acts complained of happened before Pearl Harbor," Bruno Schachner, assistant U. S. Attorney who helped present the government evidence on which the indictments are based, stressed that the conspiracy continued up to the very time that the true bills against Chase and its officials were filed, only a few weeks ago.

The indictment charges that Chase National, through three of its officials named as co-conspirators but not indicted, illicitly provided funds to finance a refugee Dutch diamond merchant, Leonard J. Smit, in the sale and smuggling of war-vital industrial cutting diamonds to Axis countries in violation of the Trading With the Enemy Act, the Export Control Law and President Roosevelt's order of May 1940 freezing funds of nationals of various countries who were directly connected with or dealing with Axis nations. Smit was indicted along with Chase National.

That Biddle's Department of Justice dared to bring such a damning indictment against so powerful a capitalist institution as Chase National is indication in itself of the flagrant character of the acts and of the damaging evidence in the hands of the government.

Aldrich's pious disclaimer that the Rockefeller interests wouldn't think of dealing with the Nazis was disproven in the spring of 1942, when the Standard interests were indicted and convicted by a Federal court for maintaining a cartel with the giant I. G. Farben.

ALP In New York Is Torn By Bitter Clique Conflict

(Continued from page 1)

of combating the idea of labor parties and in preparation for his campaign to line up labor votes for Roosevelt in 1944, with the further aim of dumping the party after the election. The Stalinists are equally averse to junk the ALP, whose existence violates their policy of opposition to all forms of independent labor political action.

Several weeks ago, Hillman reinforced his ultimatum to the

benindustries, German chemical trust, in order to divide and control the markets, raw materials and industrial machinery of the world oil and petroleum, synthetic gasoline and synthetic rubber industries.

A significant development since the Chase National indictments is a move to hold up the trial because of the absence in Spain of Chase's alleged chief witness. He is Alfred W. Barth, second vice president in charge of Chase's Middle European affairs, who is working for the American government in Spain as a buying agent for the U. S. Commercial Company, Government owned corporation set up to keep strategic materials out of Axis hands. Spain is a neutral center for trading with the Axis during the war, and where the agents of the big American corporations meet with the Nazi and Japanese corporation agents to arrange mutually-profitable deals directly over the battle-lines.

This case is but the latest example of how the very biggest American capitalists, those who are coining billions upon billions from war contracts and are boasting in full-page advertisements about their patriotism, have been doing business with Nazi and Japanese industrialists both before and during the war. It is but one of hundreds of examples which have leaked out in the past two years of how the American capitalists who are running the war and the war production agencies do not hesitate to deal with the fascist capitalists when there is personal profit to be gained. They are coining gold from the blood of the workers on both sides of the war fronts.

Rose-Dubinsky faction. His representative, the head of the state CIO, openly espoused a state CIO-sponsored slate for the coming April primaries.

The opposing clique, threatened with the loss of its control, was in a panic. It stalled and maneuvered about, screaming rabid denunciations of its rivals and preening itself before the public as the "democratic" guardian of the ALP against the invasion of totalitarianism. The Rose-Dubinsky group has itself used the most unscrupulous and bureaucratic methods to exclude the Stalinists from the ALP and particularly from participating in its leading bodies.

For several weeks after Hillman's agent initiated the move for a state CIO slate in the primaries, the Rose-Dubinsky machine threatened to bolt the fight altogether and split the ALP wide open in its flight. But pressure from the capitalist liberal papers and politicians, including the N. Y. Post and Mayor LaGuardia, stiffened their spines sufficiently to venture on a fight.

The current unprincipled brawl, in an ALP already reduced to a shambles by dirty clique warfare, threatens to discredit the party altogether.

SUPPORT LABOR PARTY

The New York workers have shown by their past support of the ALP, despite its reactionary program and bureaucratic leadership, that they are eager for a real party of their own which will defend their political interests against capitalist reaction.

Thousands of progressive unionists throughout the state have evinced their desire for the organization of a genuine independent labor party. The progressive Brewster UAW Local 365 is on record for an independent labor party which has broken with both old line capitalist parties, not merely on a state-wide, but on a national scale.

They want an end to company-unionism in politics in every sense of the word. They want a party that is truly labor's own, based on the genuine organizations of the workers, the trade unions, and controlled by the workers in a democratic fashion.

These union militants must lead the way to unity of the ranks of labor against the disruptive cliques who have turned the ALP into a battle-ground. They must repudiate these elements in the sharpest and most decisive manner. They must turn the ALP back to the control of the workers, as a genuinely independent fighting political instrument of all labor.

FRAMEUP BACKFIRES AS JUDGE ACQUITS MAZEY

DETROIT, Mich.—The attempt on the part of the Briggs Manufacturing Company to frame Emil Maze, President of UAW Briggs Local 212, on an assault and battery charge in connection with a recent dues and membership drive at the Briggs plants has been defeated. Recorder's Court Judge Joseph Gillis found Maze not guilty and dismissed the case on December 31.

The frame-up nature of the case was so clearly demonstrated by Nicholas Rothe, attorney for Maze and Local 212, that it was difficult to render any other verdict.

In the process of cross-examination of the complaining witnesses, Rothe clearly established the fact that the entire prosecution was initiated, aided and abetted throughout by the Briggs Manufacturing Company. Some of the facts which were admitted in the courtroom under Rothe's cross-examination were the following:

The four women who had signed the complaint against Maze did so only after they were taken by the Assistant Plant Superintendent to the office of Fay Taylor, Personnel Director.

COMPANY'S ROLE

Following the meeting with Taylor the girls were escorted by a company car and driver to the office of the company attorney, Percy Donovan. Only after this second conference did the four women go (again by company car and driver) to the Prosecutor's office to urge a warrant for Maze on the assault and battery charge.

The girls further admitted that they had received full pay for all the time they had lost on this day

and on their second visit to the Prosecutor's office. They also admitted that on the day of the trial they had not gone to the plant at all but had been picked up by a company car two hours after their scheduled starting time and taken directly to the courtroom and that they would likewise be paid for this lost time.

The fact that the names and addresses of the 4 complaining witnesses had been solicited by the police prior to the incident resulting in Maze's detention, demonstrated conclusively the premeditated character of the prosecution.

ROTHE'S SUMMARY

Maze's attorney, Rothe, in his summary of the facts of the case, delivered a blistering attack upon the police department for its part in the case. He pointed out that Maze and two other officers of the local had been detained without charges for hours by the police who issued a statement that they were being held in "protective custody." He traced the origin of the term "protective custody" to Hitler's Nazis.

The argument was developed by Rothe that this case could only be considered as part of the struggle between the workers and the profit-hungry bosses. "The time, the circumstances, the persons may differ, but it is the same old pattern," he said.

The success of the Briggs local in defending itself against this company attack, together with the increased spirit of militancy which had developed among the Briggs workers has served to strengthen the position of the union in its current negotiations for a new contract.

Billings Demands Pardon for Eighteen

Warren K. Billings, famous class-war prisoner who with Tom Mooney was framed up and imprisoned during the first world war because of his militant labor activities, has written the following letter to President Roosevelt on behalf of the 18 Trotskyist and Minneapolis Teamster leaders now serving prison terms on a similar frameup under the Smith "Gag" Act:

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This letter is written to ask a pardon for the eighteen members of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Union who have been convicted under the Smith "Gag Law" passed in 1940. (Dunne et al vs. U. S.) I have sponsored the defense of these cases almost from the beginning, feeling that the defendants were being prosecuted for expression of opinion. I am now asking their pardon, as one who was himself released by executive clemency from an unjust imprisonment and is therefore interested in such cases.

These persons were convicted of expression of their opinions, and nothing more. (They were acquitted of another count charging them with overt acts.)

The indictment was filed in peacetime, and everything charged against them is said to have occurred during peacetime. I am informed that the Circuit Court of Appeals did not find there was any "clear and present danger" that violence or other crime might result from anything that was said.

This is the first conviction under the Sedition Act of 1940—a replica of the Sedition Act of 1798. Every school history book tells us that the 1798 Act was out of line with all American traditions, for which reason it was soon repealed.

I see by the press that the United States Supreme Court has refused to have anything to do with these cases. The New Republic of December 20, 1943, characterizes this refusal as "inexplicable" and as coming "at a moment when a demonstration of democracy in high places was never more badly needed."

Citizens of the United States have long been accustomed to believe that laws like the sedition laws of 1798 were bad and against the spirit of our democracy. We have been accustomed to think that every person has a right to say whatever he pleases so long as there is no clear and present danger that violence will ensue. In that, that is what I and all people whom I know, understand by "freedom of speech" which, as one of the Four Freedoms, has been made a war aim. Sending men to prison for expression of opinion involving no clear and present danger of violence is against every principle of American democracy. Since the Supreme Court has "inexplicably" washed its hands of these cases, there is now no way of doing justice except by a pardon from the president. "A demonstration of Democracy in high places was never more badly needed." I speak not only for myself but for many others when I say that in a war waged, among other things, for freedom of speech, a pardon should be granted without delay.

Respectfully yours,

Warren K. Billings

Wire Firm Found Guilty In Sale Of Defective Goods To The Army

A subsidiary of the giant Anaconda Copper trust, the

Anaconda Wire and Cable Company of Pawtucket, R. I. and four of its officials were convicted last Wednesday by a Federal Jury on all counts of an indictment charging conspiracy to defraud the government through manufacture and sale to the Army of defective field wire and cable.

More than \$1,000,000 of fraudulently inspected materials intended for combat use, some of which found its way to the South Pacific, was deliberately palmed off on the government. The convicted officials admitted to devising all sorts of schemes for getting spoiled, broken, water-logged, or

improperly insulated wire past the government inspection.

Evidence showed the company knew before accepting the contract that it was not equipped to make products up to government standards, but could not resist the lure of juicy profits.

Sentence is expected to be passed this week, maximum penalties for the company being a \$10,000 fine, and for each official a \$10,000 fine or 10 years in jail, or both. However, the company's Marion, Ind., subsidiary and officials, previously convicted on similar charges, were let off with a total of \$31,000 fines, a fraction of the profits reaped by a similar fraud which endangered thousands of soldiers' lives.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

WAR IN THE FAR EAST AND REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES

The conflict in the Far East between China and Japan lays bare some of the principal symptoms of the crisis of world capitalism in its final, most highly developed, imperialist stage, and opens up perspectives of great revolutionary development in a decisive part of the globe. On the one hand, Japan, weakest link in the chain of world imperialism, is seeking to overcome the maladies of its decline by a war of colonial conquest. On the other hand, by their invasion of China, the Japanese imperialists have provoked a defensive campaign which, despite its weakness and inadequacy under the leadership of the Komingtang, assumes the character of a war of national liberation.

At the same time, by the pursuit of their predatory aims in China, the Japanese imperialists have accentuated the inter-imperialist antagonisms which are forcing mankind to the brink of a new world war.

The feudal-military caste of generals and officers, superficially united by the monarchy, is not a homogeneous body. While the lower ranks of officers are drawn largely from rural areas, from upper layers of the peasantry, the tops fuse with the industrial and financial bourgeoisie. As a whole, the military caste strives to maintain for itself the traditional privileges and semi-independent position which it occupied in the feudal era. For this purpose it is organized in such typically feudal institutions as the secret Black Dragon society.

The strivings of the military caste to keep intact its privileges and powers tend to complicate the main problem of the Japanese ruling class as a whole, which is to maintain over both the proletariat and the peasantry the present crushing system of exploitation with all the oppression which accompanies it. Periodically, this caste comes into conflict with industry and finance capital which seek to stem the drain on economy caused by the parasitic needs of the military caste. Army revolts and the assassination of leading political representatives of the industrial and financial bourgeoisie are the sharpest expressions of this conflict. These revolts express, insofar as they are led by the younger officers of lower rank, the rebellion of the peasantry against finance capital. But since all sections of the ruling class realize the perils of class disunity, conflicts are finally settled on the basis of mutual concessions, by loading additional burdens onto the backs of the Japanese masses and by common agreement to embark on predatory military campaigns to enslave neighboring peoples, thereby cementing the cracks in the structure of the ruling class domination as a whole.

(From "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International," pages 65, 67-68, published by Socialist Workers Party of U. S., Jan. 1939, 128 pages, 25c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., 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.

Escalator Clause

An important section of the union movement, the powerful United Automobile Workers Union, has proposed a realistic and effective wage policy as labor's answer to inflation: the escalator clause, a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.

This slogan has been carried on the masthead of the *Militant* for many years. In fact, as far back as 1938, before the outbreak of the second world war, the Founding Conference of the Fourth International included in its program a section dealing with the problem of inflation: "Against the bounding rise in prices, which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can only fight under the slogan of a rising scale of wages."

The UAW leaders, under heavy pressure from their membership, forced by bitter experience to the conclusion that Roosevelt cannot and will not deliver on his promises to stabilize the cost of living, have finally offered this solution to the problem of inflation. At its last meeting, the International Executive Board voted to demand the escalator clause in their union contracts. Addes proposed in the Dec. 15 *United Auto Worker* that all local unions include the following points in their new wage agreements:

"1. That all wage agreements entered into should contain escalator clauses calling for higher hourly rates if living costs go up.

"2. That escalator clauses contain the provision that wage rates should be reviewed every three months so that when living costs reflect an increase a corresponding increase in hourly rates shall become immediately and automatically effective."

Addes further states "that greater pressure could be brought to bear on Washington if all of organized labor and certainly every local union within the UAW-CIO made similar and simultaneous demands." This is an excellent proposal. Implicit in the proposal is recognition of the fact that this program cannot be achieved by pitting one union at a time against the organized might of the bosses and their government.

As is well known, the miners had to call four general strikes in order to breach the Little Steel formula and win a modest wage increase. Certainly the escalator clause will not be won without

militant struggle on the part of a considerable section of organized labor.

The UAW has taken the lead. But Thomas, Addes and Reuther should not be allowed by the rank and file to merely rest content with the publication of this program. The best program in the world means little if no concrete steps are taken to fight for it. It is up to the UAW now to take the lead in calling a conference of all CIO unions, especially those now engaged in wage negotiations. Such a conference could become the first step in the organization of a united front of broad sections of organized labor for the purpose of smashing the Little Steel formula and fighting for the escalator clause, the rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. That is the real answer to the threat of inflation.

The Army Press

The Jan. 10 *CIO News* publishes a small news item under the head: "Anti-Labor 'Trib' Prints Army Edition." The item reveals that the rabidly reactionary *Chicago Tribune* is now publishing a "special edition for servicemen and is shipping it overseas with the cooperation of the U. S. Navy." This special edition for the armed forces is "being published in Honolulu, with Naval priorities permitting printing plates to be flown to the islands."

Arrangements are also being made by the *Tribune* to "publish the overseas edition once a week in England, North Africa, Sicily and Italy. The *CIO News*, speaking on behalf of over 5,000,000 members publishes the item without comment!

It is common knowledge that the *Chicago Tribune* is a vicious labor-baiting sheet. Colonel McCormick, publisher of the *Tribune*, is notorious for the aid, comfort and protection he is giving to the native fascist groups. The brass hats could have hardly selected a better instrument for spreading the hate-labor-campaign among the armed forces.

Colonel McCormick's venture is obviously part and parcel of the whole vicious campaign, now openly stimulated by Roosevelt and General Marshall, to drive a wedge between the conscripted servicemen and the labor movement.

Obviously more is required of the CIO than the mere printing of a news item in its paper. Why isn't the CIO planning to publish a servicemen's edition? And while they're at it, why doesn't the CIO adopt a program for independent labor action that will fight for the rights of the servicemen now as well as after the war? That would certainly be a more effective challenge to the labor baiters and reactionaries than just printing news items about McCormick or whining about General Marshall.

The New Slavery

Roosevelt's War Manpower Commission and other federal agencies are helping to enforce decrees against millions of white and Negro agricultural workers which have their closest parallel in the measures employed against the Negro slaves before the Civil War.

Regulations are now in force which deny these terribly exploited workers the right to leave the areas where they have been employed, even when they are jobless, without release certificates from the local county agents, who are the spokesmen for the big landowners and growers.

The intent is to freeze these workers in fixed areas for the benefit of the rich planters and landowners who want a large reserve supply of starved and desperate labor that can be forced to work for starvation wages.

In New Jersey, for instance, the local War Manpower Commission aided the rich farmers in preventing southern Negro and white migrants from leaving the area after they found there were no jobs and were forced to live in the employers' hovels and tents without water and sanitary facilities. They had been lured to New Jersey by false employer promises of good housing and steady work.

The pre-Civil War slave holders of the South turned the federal administration at Washington into their agent to protect their exploitation of the chattel slaves. Federal and state bodies were converted under the Fugitive Slave Laws into bloodhounds to prevent the slaves from running away. The Roosevelt administration, in the midst of its war for "the four freedoms" has similarly converted itself into an agent of the Southern Bourbons as well as the Northern millionaire landowners and growers, in their drive to enslave and starve the agricultural workers.

The treatment of the agricultural workers is a warning to the labor movement as a whole. It provides a preview of what the capitalist masters have in store for all of American labor. It further casts a revealing light on Roosevelt's proposal for a National Service Act.

The united labor action of farm and urban workers is necessary to put a halt to the reactionary campaign of Big Business. The labor movement can achieve farm-labor unity, not by relying on Wallace, or any other capitalist politician who pretends to speak for the rural districts, but by organizing the agricultural workers into the trade union movement and by organizing labor's own political party, which can command the support of all the exploited, both in urban and rural America.

It Is Time to Build An Independent Labor Party

CIO Political Action Heads Hold Conference

(Continued from page 1)

ing pap about the future of post-war "prosperity" before these palpitating labor flunkies, while, at that very moment, his chief blood-hound Attorney General Francis Biddle began sniffing at the trail of the CIO Political Action Committee to uncover alleged violations of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law in the use of political funds.

But the conference, undaunted by these new blows from the administration and its Southern poll-tax Democratic colleagues, continued to rake around in the muck of company union politics.

To the fundamental question of how to realize all their schemes for the future — including the very sound demand for an annual security wage — these labor lead-

ers could only point like a weather-vane caught in the breeze of capitalist politics. They proposed in effect, to mail their program for adoption, to the Republican and Democratic parties, where it will no doubt get the traditional reception which these Big Business political machines have always accorded proposals in the interest of labor.

AGAINST LABOR PARTY

As the conference bore out, the very purpose behind the CIO Political Action Committee is to frustrate the desires of American labor for independent working-class political action, to stifle all movements for the establishment of a labor party, and to channelize these tendencies back into the slimy sewers of capitalist party politics.

For all their "viewing with alarm" about the post-war fate of labor, the actions of the CIO leaders have all been directed against those tendencies in the labor movement which give real promise of carrying through an effective program of action. They shadow-box with the capitalists and their political agents. But they use a club against such progressive tendencies as the movement initiated by leading Michigan unionists for the building of an independent labor party. The American workers will have to hew out their own independent political road to a decent future in spite of and against the type of leadership that held sway at this CIO Political Action Committee conference.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By George Schraum

A STEEL MAN IN INDIA

By John L. Keenan; Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York; 224 pages, \$2.50.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company is the dominant industrial enterprise of India. It hires approximately 70,000 workers, is the largest and most modern steel mill in the British empire, and the twelfth largest in the world.

Over fifty years ago, one of the members of the wealthy Indian Tata family saw the industrial importance of steel and started planning for the development of this industry in India. In 1911 the Company began operating with foreigners for skilled labor and technical aid. Today the enterprise is Indian in capital, management, and labor.

The author of this book is one of the foreign experts who came in the early period. Starting in 1913 as general foreman of the blast furnaces, he stayed 25 years to become general manager of the whole works during the last eight years of his stay. He tells the story of the growth of the enterprise in a rambling style interspersed with many entertaining anecdotes.

The author's experiences have made him an enthusiast for the development of Indian industry by the native capitalist class. He freely affirms the fact that the Indians as a people are quite capable of learning all aspects of modern industry and are not at all inferior in abilities to Europeans. He found that the caste and religious differences — of which so much is made by reactionary apologists for imperialism — caused no difficulties in the operation of this giant plant, although the workers were drawn from many sections of Indian life.

He also points out the industrial potentialities of India based upon its wealth of natural resources, and paints the benefits that In-

dians would reap in living standards through industrial development. Nevertheless, the author's own account of the difficulties and circumstances attending the building of this concern shows that it was an exceptional case, and belies the author's optimism as to the ability of a native capitalism to develop widely under British control.

When Tata conceived his plan, British steel men were not interested in India. Above all, they considered that "Indians were all right in their place, but steel making was a cut above them." They certainly wanted no native competition. Indians had been practically prohibited from any mining in their own land. Tata was unable to obtain any British capital to invest in his enterprise, but did secure enough native capital to get started.

The first world war brought the company large profits and expansion. But after the war, the life of the company hung by a thread for a long time. A group of British coal mine operators bought up the Indian coal supplies and charged Tata monopoly rates for coal. But British imperialism, realizing the strategic importance of this company for its imperial plans suffered it to live by granting a protective tariff. Tata had supplied steel when the U-boats had cut off shipments to the east, and in 1919, Lord Chelmsford, then Viceroy, had admitted, "I can hardly imagine what we would have done if the Tata company had not given us steel for Mesopotamia, Egypt, Palestine, and East Africa."

The Tatas began their company with paternalistic measures for their employees. But despite the huge profits and price inflation of the war years, workers received only a 10% raise in 1917. The workers struck in 1920 when faced with a wage cut. They were forced back to work after troops had killed 13 of them.

In 1922, twenty thousand workers walked out after an American engineer cursed and kicked a Moslem worker who had stopped to pray. Three weeks later this same engineer was accidentally killed, an event many workers attributed to divine retribution.

In 1925, partly as a result of mediation by Gandhi, a company-union set-up was recognized by the management. Later Manek Hani, an Indian who had graduated from Carnegie Tech, turned to building a union. For three months in 1928, various groups of key workers were pulled off the job, tying up production while allowing the rest to draw their pay which was shared with the strikers. The management retaliated by locking out the workers, with the intention of getting rid of the strike leaders. But six weeks later when rehiring was scheduled to begin, not a worker showed up.

The company was then forced to grant concessions and recognize the union. The union, however, had to register under the Trades Union Act which made it possible for the government to "scrutinize the procedure, finances, and expenditures" of the union. With this weapon the government found that the affairs of the union had been conducted "loosely" during the organization period, and threw the leaders in jail. The strike leaders reorganized the union after their release.

The author describes how the Indian workers won collective bargaining rights in fifteen years. It had taken the British workers from 1825 to 1871 to win such rights.

No worker reading this book, even though it is written by a management official, can fail to gain confidence that the Indian workers will play the outstanding role in the coming fight for India's freedom.

International Notes

By PAUL G. STEVENS

We can gauge the measure of lying and suppression of the truth that this war has brought with great difficulty. Censorship and the restriction of the normal means of communication make it extremely difficult for the revolutionary press to penetrate the official darkness and to get even the faintest gleams of that truth which lights the way of the workers' international struggle.

Thus, for instance, the American press has carried nothing whatever about a newsworthy action of the British Independent Labor Party and the Commonwealth Party. The British New Leader of December 18, 1943, which has just reached us, reports:

"Nine Labor M.P.'s voted with the L.L.P. parliamentary group (3 members) and Sir Richard Aveland (Commonwealth Party) last week in favor of an amendment to the address on the King's speech calling for the end of private ownership and the institution of common ownership."

Aveland, who moved the amendment, declared: "This amendment is a vote of censure. It will be pressed to a division in order to show the House that we want a new Government and in order to show the country that we want a new House of Commons."

This action is part of a movement to break the treacherous truce between the Labor Party and the arch-capitalist Tories of Winston Churchill — a "truce" which has resulted there, as the

no-strike pledge here — in unprecedented profits for big business and unprecedented misery for the workers. It reflects on a parliamentary plane a far deeper sentiment among the British masses.

The growing radicalization of the British workers was further demonstrated last week by the sensational victory of the candidate of the newly formed Commonwealth Party against the Tory-Labor coalition candidate. The British workers obviously want to break the truce between Labor and the Tories. They voted for the Commonwealth candidate because that was the only method open to them in the by-elections to express their wishes. The district last time elected a Tory candidate by 5,000 majority.

The Commonwealth Party, founded by Sir Richard Aveland, espouses a "Christian Socialist" program and makes its appeal to the middle class. It was the vote of the coal miners however that elected the Commonwealth candidate, Lieut. Hugh Lawson.

The Commonwealth candidate campaigned on a program which called for the nationalization of mines and other key industries, self-government for the colonies and independence for India.

The authoritative Army and Navy Journal states that all of the Big Four Powers have already agreed that the U. S. is to acquire

the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific. Why didn't the Cairo conference announce this agreement? Doesn't this mean that Roosevelt told an untruth when he said in his last message that no secret commitments were made at Teheran or Cairo?

The Allies invaded Sicily last July. Plenty of time has elapsed for the fruits of this "democratic" blessing to at least show vague blossoms. But in December the British *Tribune* quotes the following from *Sicilia Libera*, the only (yes, only) newspaper permitted to appear in the Sicilian capital:

"The situation demands the restoration of democratic rights, freedom of speech, press and assembly and above all, the removal of all Fascists from positions of responsibility in government agencies. . . This is the appeal we make to the Allied authorities. This is no time to take a middle course. To entrust positions of authority to those who tomorrow would become our executioners would be a grave and unforgivable error. The time has come to assume the responsibilities for our own future."

If that's the way the only paper permitted by Amgot to appear, speaks—what must be the feeling of the millions of Italian workers whose voice the Allied "liberators" do not want to hear or be heard?

Profiteers Try To Incite Soldiers Against Labor

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," bitingly wrote the English author Samuel Johnson in the 18th century. This observation fits like a sausage skin the Timken Roller Bearing Co. of Canton, Ohio.

This super-profiteering corporation has been one of the most vigorous participants in the Big Business high-pressure lobby to kill the war contracts renegotiations laws. To perfume its self-seeking activities, it has been burning incense on the altars of patriotism through a series of full-page advertisements in leading newspapers and magazines. One of these advertisements several weeks ago featured a huge portrait of Gen. MacArthur; the other, last week, featured a similar picture of Gen. Marshall.

This corporation published an advertisement on Jan. 6 of a truly sinister type—a full page hypocritical appeal to the soldier ranks, obviously intended to help drive a wedge between the members of the armed forces and the workers.

With a screaming headline, "They Offer Their All! Can We Offer Too Much?", the advertisement states "The Timken Roller Bearing Company proposes seniority rights to every employee for double the time spent in military service."

This corporation, which was recently cited by name in a Senate committee report as one of the worst war profiteers, in the name of "rewarding the sacrifices" of the ex-service men, proposes to destroy the established seniority provisions of the unions, which protect the seniority of all servicemen. It is a proposal to play the soldiers against the workers by offering to fire workers with high seniority and give their jobs to those with less seniority.

That this proposal is motivated by vicious anti-labor considerations, and not solicitude for the soldiers, is made clear by one section of the advertisement which states:

"Most of these men and women now get from Uncle Sam—with their lives as possible forfeit—the sum of \$50 a month. On call, and subject to service 24 hours a day—this figures out to 7c. an hour. No overtime—no double time—just plain 7c. an hour." (Original emphasis.)

That's the real grievance of Timken, having to pay overtime, having to pay the workers more than 7c an hour.

This is the outfit whose board chairman, Willard F. Rockwell, is also chairman of the board of Timken-Detroit Axle Company which recently refused to accept War Department contracts for much needed truck parts until it was given guarantees of staggering profits. This is the outfit included in the Senate committee minority report listing 200 super-profiteering corporations—and one of only four actually cited by name. Its profits after taxes in 1942 were 400 per cent higher than in its best pre-war year. And it was Willard F. Rockwell who filled two whole columns of the Jan. 13 N. Y. Times, loudly complaining against the "injustice" of the renegotiations law as applied to his firms.

This corporation, whose profits are soaked in the blood of American soldiers, is part of the plunderbund that hopes to use the soldiers as an anti-labor brigade to smash the trade unions.

Truman Committee Attacks Army's Canol Oil Project

A blistering denunciation of the War Department's Canol oil-piping and refining project in Northern Canada, in which over \$100,000,000 has been sunk, is contained in the report of the Truman Senate Investigating Committee issued on Jan. 8.

Although undertaken two years ago on the pretext that the project was essential to supply oil and petroleum supplies to the armed forces in Alaska as speedily as possible, the Truman report reveals that it will not be completed until the spring and summer of 1944.

Chief beneficiary of the project, according to the Senate committee findings, will be Standard Oil, whose Canadian subsidiary, Imperial Oil, Ltd., holds the "imprudently drawn" contracts to supply the oil. The report charges that the project was ordered by Gen. Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces, "without adequate consideration or study."

It further charges that after he and the War Department had been repeatedly warned about continuing the project, he "continued insistence on the project," an action which the committee declares was "inexcusable."

Several alternative proposals had been made to get the oil to Alaska more cheaply and quickly. The report states:

"Standard of California estimates that the cost of a tanker to transport oil products to Alaska and the distribution and storage system, including 931,000 barrels of 100-octane gasoline would have been \$44,456,500. When the White Horse refinery (part of the Canol project) starts operations in the Spring or Summer of 1944, it will take 65 months, or more than five years of full year-around operation to produce an equivalent amount of 100-octane gasoline." The full cost of the project, if completed, will be over \$134,000,000.

Part of the project calls for an expenditure of \$17,224,860 for oil prospecting and well development in Canada. "All of the wells will belong to Imperial Oil or Capad, and the U.S.A. will have no right to any of the oil after the war."

"All of the expenses of prospecting and developing the oil wells are to be borne by the U.S.A. However, the U.S.A. has contracted to pay Imperial Oil \$1.25 per barrel of oil."

At the end of the war, according to the contracts, Imperial Oil will be the only agency in position to buy up the refineries and pipe-lines, which can be dismantled or sold only by consent of Canada and at "a valuation based upon the then commercial value of the pipeline and refinery." That is, Standard Oil will get them for a song.

FREE THE 18!