

FREE THE 18!

# THE MILITANT

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## 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."

### 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 signifying 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!



## 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

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 Ital-American Democratic Club, Reading, Pa.

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

The principal speaker was

## 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."

"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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## '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 workers are always reserved for 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 shadow Badoglio regime and its Allied patrons made it evident that any attempt to compel the farmers to deliver up their hoarded grain might cause a revolutionary outbreak. The Stalinist Fausto Gullo was therefore brought into the Cabinet to do what the AMG and the Italian reaction did not dare to attempt.

According to no less an authority than the London Times, May 2, Gullo is already doing an ex-

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 inspectorates 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 fore-shadowed 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 an union-busting move aimed at destroying the seniority, eliminating active union men and downgrading, 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.

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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."

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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 URWDS-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

only renewed his subscription to *The Militant* but sent us a much appreciated contribution of \$2 to be used in getting the paper into the hands of more workers.

\*\* \*

The following excerpts from letters sent us by readers hold *The Militant* in high esteem:

SAN FRANCISCO: "The paper is wonderful and getting better all the time. You know, once I used to read *The Militant* out of duty, now I enjoy it, particularly Jackson's column, 'The Negro Struggle.' But the whole paper has improved."

\*\* \*

A subscriber in Reading is joyous at Kelly Postal's release and expresses a hope for the early release of the 18:

"It made me feel very good to hear about Kelly Postal's release. It would really be wonderful now if all the Civil Rights Defense Committee work and united strength of the unions would push the rotten administration so that they will have to release

\*\* \*

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.

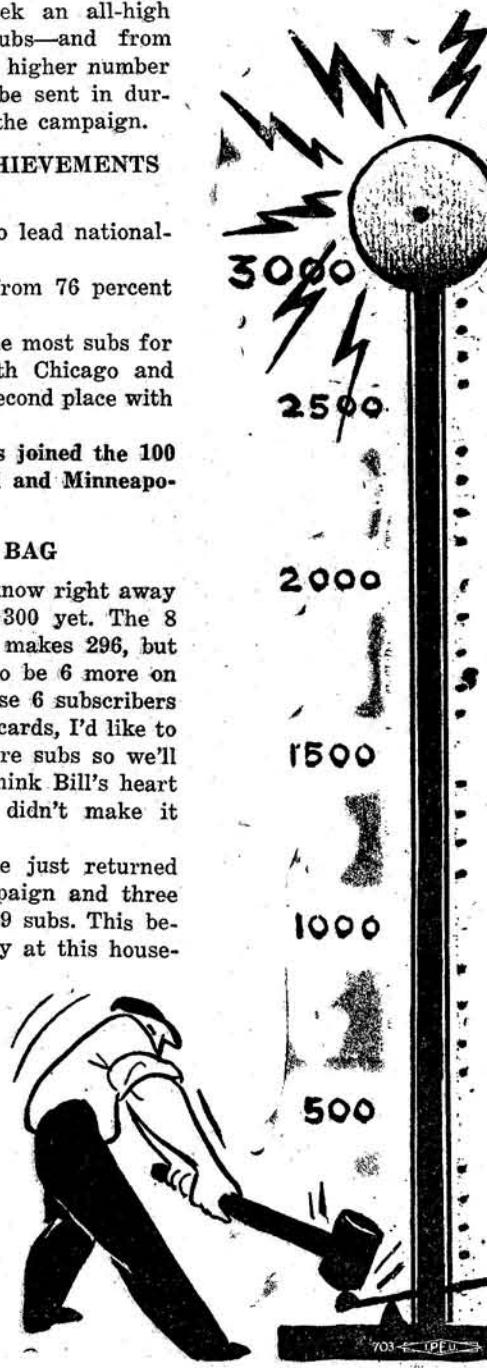
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A subscriber in Cleveland not

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

## SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Buffalo	50	301	602
Newark	80	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



### 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 they had to buy the beer! Next week we will rotate on this sub-children-a-n-d-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 150, 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 overestimated. 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 even 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 disassociated 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-wracking, 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."

Churchill himself, under the impact of the crisis in India and a supreme moment of unre-

strained arrogance, bluntly dis-

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 open shop 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 Ramspeck.

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.

Now 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.

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 toilng 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 undisclosed 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 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.

## PIONEER LIST

### BOOKS ON SOCIALISM AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

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Whither France? 160 pages

# 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 unfailingly 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.

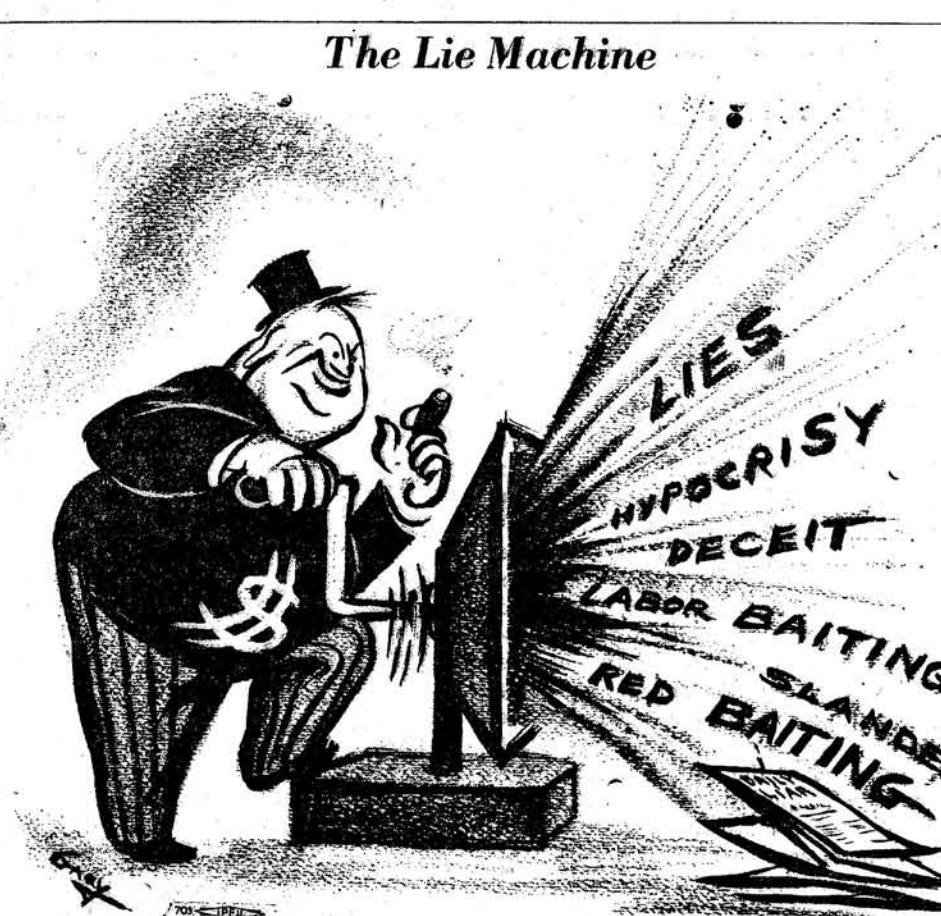
Just as the great banking house of J. P. Morgan owns or controls a large part of the country's heavy industries—including U. S. Steel and General Motors—and many secondary industries as well, so, too, it holds a leading place in ownership or control of the press.

## 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-Cheyne 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 warned

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-

**SWP APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY FUND GETS QUICK RESPONSE**

The campaign initiated by the Socialist Workers Party for a \$1000 Solidarity Fund to aid our persecuted Trotskyist co-thinkers in England has been spurred this week by the announcement that the British Tory government has convicted, after a summary trial, four leaders of the British Revolutionary Communist Party.

Great indignation has been aroused among the revolutionary and class-conscious workers in this country at the outrageous frameup perpetrated against our British comrades, whose sole "crime" is their loyal defense of the interests of the workers and their uncompromising stand on behalf of their socialist convictions.

### IMMEDIATE RESPONSE

Reflecting their deep sentiments of solidarity with the convicted British Trotskyists, the West Side Branch of the New York Local subscribed its full quota of \$65 for the Solidarity Fund in a few minutes at its Friday meeting. An additional total of \$30 has already been received from New Haven, Milwaukee, Quakertown, Reading, St. Louis and Dayton.

Just as the case of the 18 im-

prisoned Trotskyists in this coun-

try has become the focal point of the fight for labor's democratic rights, so the prosecution and conviction of the four British Trotskyists has become the central issue of workers' rights in the British Isles.

Bevin himself, the traitorous labor leader and member of Churchill's Tory government, appeared as a witness against the Trotskyists. When questioned as to the government's refusal to negotiate with the apprentices, thereby prolonging the strikes, 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 Cassells, 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 Trotskyists 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 so-

ciet 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 Cassells' 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



ERNEST BEVIN

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 nervy 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.

Haston says of himself: "I have had my head beaten 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.

### RABID CAMPAIGN

Early in April, with the Stalinists pointing the way, Morrison's police raided RCP offices in London, Glasgow, Newcastle, Nottingham, Wallsend 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



JOCK HASTON

JOCK HASTON, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was

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.

don) District Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

### ROY TEARSE</

## 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. Lavish 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

new pamphlet

## THE END OF THE COMINTERN

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# 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

tion. Shore workers in the naval establishment struck. News of the mutiny reached the crew of the cruiser *Zeven Provincien* 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.

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-incitement against the Trotskyists and all other labor militants.

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 Nipponese 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 coöperate 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 coöperate 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.

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.



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

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-incitement 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 stooges 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 spewed 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 had 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 reinforce their slanderous attack on the militant workers, the Stalinists introduce a typical amalgam, bracketing the Trotskyites—the fighters for workers' rights and democracy—with Klansmen and Coughlinites, the most vicious fascists enemies of labor.

The bosses and their agents have always used red-baiting as 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 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, plying 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.

### 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,"

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, harnesses of 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 course shaped by politicians, compromisers of all sorts, and outright charlatans. Only the snug 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



CARLO TRESCA

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

The

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 anti-fascist and ardent fighter for civil liberties, and editor of the anti-fascist Italian paper, *Il Martello*, had powerful enemies, neither city nor state authorities ever attempted to ferret them out.

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 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

### 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

## 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, spokesmen 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 demagogy 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 incident was precipitated by a group of Wright employees, 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 warplant 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 repudiation 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."

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**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 peace-time 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.

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## 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 12, IUMSWA-CIO, Kazimer 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 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.

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**READING, Pa., June 25** — More than 250 Reading workers and their families turned out to hear George Novack at the CRDC picnic 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.

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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 bitterest 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 18 although it involved a constitutional test of the Smith "Gag" Act. This is the same Supreme Court which recently upset the conviction of the pro-fascist Hartzel because the conviction deprived him of his constitutional guarantee of free-dom of speech.

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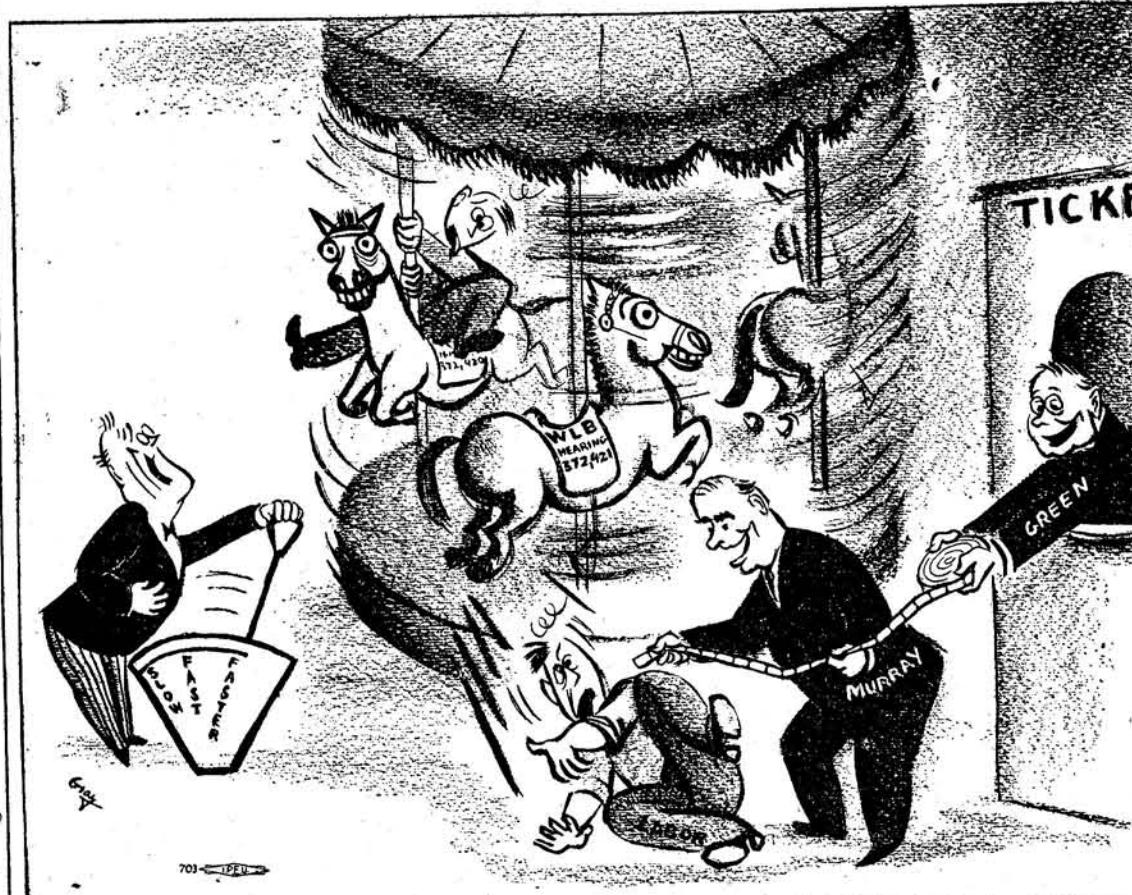
The subordination of "justice" to political expediency is one of the calculated policies in the "democratic" record of the Roosevelt administration. In a report released last week, Attorney General Biddle whitewashed what has been termed "one of the dirtiest frameups" in the history of Hudson County, 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 18 although it involved a constitutional test of the Smith "Gag" Act. This is the same Supreme Court which recently upset the conviction of the pro-fascist Hartzel because the conviction deprived him of his constitutional guarantee of free-dom of speech.

## WLB Merry-Go-Round



## 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

Editor:

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

Editor:

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 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 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?"

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.

## 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 1/180,000 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 2½ 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

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 practically 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. The war has brought ruin to all of Europe. The Greeks are ravished by famine and hunger, black

## Roosevelt's 'Solution' For the Refugee Problem

Approximately 1,000 refugees from Nazi persecution in Europe, are to be brought to the United States