

G. O. P. PUSHES WALL STREET PROGRAM

Stalinist Gangs Break Up Two Quaker Meetings

Over 100 Mobsters Stage Vigilante Attacks On Seattle Forums of the American Friends

Special to The Militant

SEATTLE, Wash. — Failing as yet to arouse any response to their lynch-incitation and slander campaign against the Trotskyists and other labor militants, the Stalinists here during the past few days have been giving open practical demonstrations of the type of hoodlum terrorism they have been seeking unsuccessfully to evoke in the labor movement against their working class political opponents.

West Coast labor and progressive circles were shocked last week when the Stalinists here, in a fashion reminiscent of Hitler's storm-troopers and the anti-labor American Legion gangs after the last war, invaded and broke up two lecture meetings of a series being sponsored by the Institute of International Relations under the auspices of the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee. The scene of this vigilante gangsterism was the Pilgrim Congregational Church.

Sharp denunciation of the Stalinist hooliganism has already been issued by important sections of the labor movement here. Two big lodges of the AFL Machinists, Locals 289 and 79, have adopted resolutions of condemnation. Local 79's statement specifically repudiated its own vice-president, the Stalinist Glenn Kinney, who helped lead the attack on the Quaker lecture series. The powerful AFL Boilermakers' Local 104 issued in its official organ a denunciation of the Stalinist mob action. A committee of prominent liberals and church leaders has issued a similar statement.

The climax of the Stalinist gang terror occurred on the evening of June 22, when a band of over 100 Stalinists, led by several of their most prominent local leaders, shouted and yelled to break up the meeting and prevent the scheduled speaker from talking, and then marched up to the platform during a five-minute prayer service, muscled aside the chairman and speakers and seized the platform and microphone. On two previous evenings, meetings were similarly disrupted by organized heckling, cat-calling and the shouting of invectives at the Quaker chairman and speakers.

These violent actions were preceded and accompanied by the typical Stalinist slander campaign in their local gutter-press,

The New World, which had demanded the banning of the lecture series, similar to those held by the Institute for the past 13 years in leading American universities, because several of the lecturers were religious pacifists, liberal pacifists or working class political opponents of Stalinism. These were all indiscriminately labeled "Trotskyites" and falsely smeared as "Hitler agents."

Prior to the opening of the lecture series, the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association sent abusive and threatening letters to Arthur Barnett, chairman of the local Quaker war relief committee, openly declaring it would do all it could to prevent the meetings. The Washington state Stalinist organization also sent a letter to Mayor Devlin and the City Council demanding that the city officials "investigate thoroughly the program and aims of this institute and the content of the speeches of the faculty members." Getting no response to this incitation to Gestapo suppression of free speech and democratic rights, the Stalinists then decided to undertake their own vigilante action.

On Monday evening, June 19, they made the opening wedge for their subsequent mob terror. They put forward a returned Stalinist veteran, who secured the floor for the purpose of making a five-minute bond-selling talk. At this first meeting, the Stalinists limited themselves to disruptive heckling.

GREATER FORCE

The Stalinists invaded the Tuesday night meeting in greater force. This time they made their presence known by organized heckling and shouting of slanderous imprecations against the labor speaker, K. Eby, CIO assistant director of research and education, a guest lecturer. Under the

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CRDC Petitions To Free Eighteen Signed by 9,000

Evidencing the widespread support in the campaign to secure the liberation of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, railroaded to jail under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, the Civil Rights Defense Committee reported this week that more than 9,000 individual signatures have been obtained on petitions to President Roosevelt calling for pardons for the 18.

A total of 10,000 signatures is the goal of the CRDC in the petition campaign, which has been extended to July 31. The national CRDC office asks all local committees to step up their activities in the remaining weeks in order to insure that the signature campaign goes over the top.

Local CRDC committees with the best records in obtaining signatures are: New York, 2,500; Chicago, 1,290; Buffalo, 960; Seattle, 800; Twin Cities, 700; Detroit, 700; Newark, 730; San Francisco, 500.

LOCAL UNIONS

Memberships of many local unions and other organizations throughout the country have also signed petitions. Among them are: United Steel Workers, CIO, Local 2601, Lackawanna, N. Y.; ILGWU-AFL Local 155, 9 and 10, N. Y.; ILGWU Shop Chairmen, N. Y.; Brewers Local 7, San Francisco, Cal.; Brewers Local 4, Buffalo, N. Y.; Brewster Local 365, UAW-CIO, N. Y.; American Car and Foundry, United Steel Workers, CIO, Local 2551, Buffalo, N. Y.; Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, Buffalo, N. Y.; Millinery Workers Union, AFL, Local 24, N. Y.; American Federation of Hosiery Workers, Local 49, Irvington, N. Y.; UAW-CIO Local 217, Cleveland, Ohio; Phoenix Brass Workers Union Local 462, Irvington, N. J.; Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, San Francisco, Cal.; Workmen's Circle, 355-E, Newark, N. J.; Boston Socialist Party, Boston, Mass.

300 ORGANIZATIONS

At the conclusion of the campaign, the national office of the CRDC will prepare the petitions for presentation to President Roosevelt. A delegation of prominent persons is scheduled to proceed to Washington to demand a Presidential pardon for the eighteen.

Close to 300 local and international labor unions representing over a million and a half organized workers have joined in the campaign to liberate the 18. They have contributed to CRDC funds, passed resolutions calling

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Roosevelt Puts Signature On Mangled "Price Control" Bill

By Joseph Keller

Despite his numerous promises to hold down prices, a demagogic trick employed to justify his wage freeze, President Roosevelt last week put his seal and signature upon the emasculated version of the Price Control Act. He did not fail to deplore for the record the more obvious mutilations. But he did not hesitate to convert into law a measure which guarantees to pave the way for an all-out orgy of profiteering and price gouging.

Liberal and labor organs, trying to cover up for Roosevelt, have attempted to represent his price-control deal with Big Business as a "compromise." That "compromise" entailed permitting Roosevelt to retain a husk still labeled "price control" but emptied of all content.

The big corporations, drooling at the mouth before the new prospects for boosting prices skyward, congratulated Congress on its statesmanship. Thus, the July 1 Business Week, a leading organ of the financiers and industrialists reported with obvious satisfaction: "Businessmen, care-

Trial of 4 British Trotskyists Nailed As Frame-Up Plot

By Cable to The Militant

LONDON, June 27.—"With redoubled energy we will continue the struggle for the victory of the workers under the banner of the Fourth International." These ringing words of challenge conclude a statement issued today by the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, in connection with the trial and imprisonment of Jock Haston, general secretary of the party, and three other leading party members.

All four were found guilty at the Assizes on June 19, after a six-day trial, of "furthering, aiding and abetting" the strike of Tyneside apprentices late in March of this year. They were acquitted on charges of "conspiring" to bring about the strike.

Haston was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, Roy Teasdale and Heaton Lee to one year each, and Ann Keen to 13 days. The sentences are being appealed.

"The trial vindicates our party and its role in the recent struggles of the workers," declares the RCP statement, "Comrade Haston, at the very outset, put the stamp on it by characterizing it in open court as a case of political victimization and a frame-up." The trial was staged by the capitalists to expose a supposed gigantic conspiracy.

The yellow press screamed ac-

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fully combing Congress' new price control law this week, came up with the conclusion that they had achieved much of what they wanted (and more than the most realistic of them expected) . . .

NAM VICTORY

Business Week further headlines "N. A. M. Claims Victory," describing how "the National Association of Manufacturers, and other business groups, hailed the price law as a major defeat for OPA and the Administration." It was a defeat in which the Administration had flashed the white flag of surrender almost before the echo of Wall Street's first barrage had died away. Roosevelt had offered only a "token resistance"—sufficient to save his "honor."

What will the pro-Roosevelt union bureaucrats, those who have insistently assured the workers for two years that Roosevelt would muzzle the price-gougers, say or do about this latest act of their "Friend of Labor" in giving the green light to the corporations for their unrestrained price robbery? The Murrays and Greens have been stalling the impatient workers and blocking their efforts to smash the wage-freezing Little Stell Formula by telling them to put their hopes in Roosevelt and price control.

Where is all the talk about Roosevelt's planned "roll-back" of prices which the union leaders were spouting about so much last year? The very phrase has long since disappeared from their organs and statements. But for the past few months the CIO and AFL have been slugging away at thin air in a ferocious "battle of statistics" which is supposed to slay the hard-shelled corporations and pro-corporation government labor agencies with incontrovertible proof that the cost of living has soared far beyond the limits placed on wage increases. Shadow-boxing with statistics is the union leaders' substitute for a real battle for wage increases.

BATTLE OF STATISTICS

Thus, the CIO News, July 1, proclaims: "Battle of Statistics Finds CIO a Winner." It jubilantly announces that "The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics was reeling from a body blow delivered this week by a couple of CIO statisticians, who said publicly that a BLS method of figuring (cost-of-living rises) was way

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Shameful Betrayal

— An Editorial —

On July 1 forced labor for America's workers was put into effect by administrative decree. Roosevelt and his War Manpower Commission head, McNutt, did not bother with any legislative flim-flam. They sneaked around Congress with an executive edict.

Both Philip Murray and William Green, who blusteringly vowed they would never support forced labor when Roosevelt proposed to establish it by law, have approved this blow at the workers delivered by a dictatorial decree.

Murray and Green betrayed labor when they surrendered the right to strike. They have betrayed labor by their attempts to stifle the struggle against the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula through diverting it into the safe channels of the "battle of statistics." Now they endorse a system of forced labor.

This treachery will receive its due award. A day of reckoning is fast approaching. Scourged by wage-freezing, price swindling, corporation provocations, burdensome taxes and now forced labor, the workers, we can be sure, will soon be demanding an accounting from these "labor statesmen" who connived to deceive labor and place it in shackles.

Same Policies As Roosevelt's Advanced On All Key Issues

Big Business Interests Back Dewey in Order To Bolster the Capitalist Two-Party System

By Art Preis

"Sad" was the adjective most frequently employed by Republican and Democratic commentators alike to describe last week's Republican Party national convention. Even ardent GOP scribes could not refrain from noting the bleak lifelessness and yawn-provoking stodginess of this biggest and best assemblage of political talent that a powerful section of Wall Street could buy.

Dewey, the almost assured choice even prior to the rubber stamp convention, played to the end his farcical game of "hard to get." But he graciously yielded under "insistent pressure" of a synthetic "draft" movement so loaded with stage props that the chief protagonist was stumbling all over them. No capitalist politician, it seems, desires the Presidency of the United States. For — such is the stench of capitalist politics in general — anyone who appears too anxious for an important government post is popularly assumed to be a scoundrel and crook seeking only the emoluments and special privileges of office. Thus Dewey played coy, but succumbed finally to "popular demand."

What spread the pall over the Republican convention was a lack of issues. For all their "viewing with alarm," the Republican wing of capitalist politics can offer no genuine opposition program to that of Roosevelt. On all the major issues, the Republicans cannot find in their political larder a single crumb of difference with Roosevelt's major policies which might nourish a vigorous and aggressive opposition.

Complaints about bureaucracy and inefficiency do not cut much ice where the issues of imperialist war and peace, international relations, the rise and fall of regimes and empires command the political stage. In these decisive matters the Republicans walk within Roosevelt's shadow.

THE RECORD

Strictly on the record, American capitalism can find nothing to gripe about in either Roosevelt's program or performance. He has given the money bags virtually all they have asked. Wall Street's basic program for extending its imperialist rule over the entire globe is being consistently and ruthlessly forwarded by Roosevelt. Key Republican agents of finance capital hold commanding posts in Roosevelt's war cabinet. Corporation agents and dollar-a-year men are running the war production agencies and shoveling the public treasury into big business vaults groaning under the weight of war profits.

Wall Street's own Baruch-Hancock "reconversion plan," sponsored by Roosevelt, gives assurance to the capitalists of a monumental profits steal on war contracts terminations and a free hand-out of billions in new gov-

ernment-built plants. Organized labor has been hog-tied and lashed to the war machine with anti-labor laws and decrees, compulsory arbitration, wage-freezing and the new forced labor edict of the administration. No wonder leading informed business publications and dope-sheets express little perturbation over the prospects of "suffering" another four years under Roosevelt.

Both the official platform adopted by the Republican convention and the speeches of its numerous key-noters convey the impression of a wind-broken dray horse trying to keep pace with a trotter. On the fundamental issues, the war, foreign policy, international trade, the Republican program is distinguished from Roosevelt's only in its more ambiguous terminology.

SAME PROGRAM

The Republicans propose to prosecute the war just as Roosevelt has done, promising they will "at all times protect the essential interests of the United States" throughout the world. Dewey, in his acceptance speech, emphasized his essential unity with Roosevelt's war program, proclaiming "everything we say or do today be devoted to the single purpose" of the victory of American capitalism over its imperialist rivals. He brushed aside any differences on the conduct of the war: "Let me make it crystal clear, a change of Administration next January cannot and will not involve any change in the military conduct of the war." Shades of Roosevelt's "post-war" foreign policy lent their hues to the "peace" plank which called for "participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression" and for a "peace force" — a diplomatic phrase meaning a gigantic world-wide military establishment to enforce American imperialism rule.

With respect to American domination over colonies and semi-colonial peoples, the Republican platform could only repeat the Rooseveltian formula and slogan verbatim: "Our policy should be a genuine Good Neighbor policy."

DEMAGOGIC PROMISES

For the rest, on domestic issues, the platform and lavish promises of the Republican big-wigs was a mish-mash of contradictory assertions, promising all things to

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Uruguayan Trotskyists Assailed By Reaction

Special to The Militant

MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, June 16. — The growing fear of revolutionary socialism haunting the capitalist class the world over, which has already expressed itself in the arrest and imprisonment of Trotskyists in the United States and England, has now openly manifested itself in this Latin American republic.

Following a strike which took place in the large Swift meat packing-plant, National Frigorifico, the government issued an executive decree declaring the plant a "public service", thus making strikes therein a criminal offense under Article 165 of the Penal Code. This article prescribes penalties of three to 18 months' imprisonment for strikers in any public service.

The decree was the subject of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies which began on June 9 and continued in the sessions of June 13, 14 and 15. The social-democratic deputy Cardozo rose to attack the decree as destructive of the elementary democratic rights of the workers to strike in defense of their living standards.

In reply, the Minister of Interior launched into a violent tirade against strikes and directed the main stream of his verbal fire against the Trotskyists. In Uruguay, as in England, a reactionary government is using the meth-

od of the "Red Scare" as a smoke-screen behind which to launch an attack upon the workers and prevent them from defending themselves by hamstringing their unions and depriving them of their legal right to strike.

ATTACKS MILITANT

In the course of his parliamentary tirade, the Minister venomously attacked the Trotskyist movement in the United States, and its organ, The Militant. The two Stalinist deputies, true to the treacherous anti-working-class role which Stalinism has assumed throughout the world, joined in the attempt to smear the Trotskyists and, alone among the so-called "left" deputies, backed the Minister's anti-strike decree.

Rewarding this traitorous serv-

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No-Strike Pledge Will Be Key Issue Before Michigan CIO

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich. — The seventh annual Michigan CIO Convention to be convoked at the Pantlind Hotel, Grand Rapids, on July 12-15 promises to be the largest State Convention yet held. 2,000 delegates representing 800,000 CIO workers are expected to attend. The convention proceedings will be watched with eager interest by workers throughout the country because the convention decisions will be of national importance to the whole labor movement. The convention actions will also be carefully scrutinized for a clue to the alignment of the contesting forces at the coming UAW Con-

vention which is scheduled to meet in September at the same hall. Despite the attempt on the part of the top union officials to smother the voice of the rank and file — ten guest speakers have already been invited ranging from P. Murray, CIO President, to Bishop Haas, erstwhile labor mediator — the delegates will undoubtedly insist on discussing the revocation of the no-strike pledge, the endorsement of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation etc. Demands to revoke the no-strike pledge have been pouring into the

national offices of the UAW and CIO. The Greater Flint Industrial CIO Council, Ford Bomber Local 50, and General Motors Diesel Local 163 have already adopted resolutions urging the convention to rescind the no-strike pledge. Even the conservative Detroit-Wayne County Tool and Die Council urged "that the international executive board take immediate action in rescinding the no-strike pledge." The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees are also on record for the revocation of the no-strike pledge. The workers have become fully aware that it is precisely the no-

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Under cover of the invasion, which they are using as a patriotic smoke-screen to conceal their anti-labor maneuvers, the big corporations are becoming increasingly aggressive in their assault on organized labor. Following the lead of Montgomery Ward's Sewell L. Avery, one corporation after another is now arrogantly floating War Labor Board directives. The WLB, in turn, instead of enforcing company compliance, is directing an ever heavier barrage at the workers.

A striking example is afforded by the case of the Hughes Tool Company, Houston, Texas, which was directed last February 10 to sign a maintenance-of-membership contract with the CIO Steel Workers. Taking a tip from Avery, the company refused, questioning the union's right to recognition as the representative of the majority in the plant.

On March 27, the National Labor Relations board was compelled to find that the union "has been and is now" the true collective bargaining agency. But that cut no ice with the company. Three months later, on June 16, the WLB issued a second directive, reaffirming its first. The company brushed it aside.

Thoroughly disgusted when the company still refused to comply and the WLB did nothing to enforce its order, the workers last week went on strike.

This brought life immediately into the WLB. It sent a telegram to the company once more requesting it to comply. It sent another, and more vehement wire, to the union.

The latter wire ordered the strikers to return to work forthwith and that only "after resumption of full production" the Board "will proceed within its authority to obtain full compliance with the order."

In short, the WLB, whose laxity forced the workers to go on strike, made the enforcement of its own orders against the company dependent on the union's action — as though a court were to refrain from jailing a criminal because his victim had resisted the crime.

Naturally, the WLB which could not, or would not, enforce its order before the strike, certainly is in no better position to secure compliance after the strike is broken. But the WLB has its own two-fold purpose in this issue: 1. to break the strike; 2. to evade responsibility for failure to compel a recalcitrant employer to comply with its order by foisting the responsibility onto the victimized workers.

The WLB's shoddy maneuvering in the Hughes Company case brings up the question of what it has done to force Avery to comply with its directives in the Montgomery Ward case.

Every week, it seems, Avery is revealed to be tearing underfoot some new WLB or NLRB directive. But nothing is done about it. Roosevelt broke the Montgomery Ward strike with his plant seizure. Avery is systematically cutting the union to pieces. Meanwhile, weeks and months roll by, and the WLB remains as impotent as ever in dealing with Avery.

Naturally, all the big business firms take this key case as their cue. They know the WLB won't get "tough" with them. Its iron fist is reserved exclusively for labor.

Approximately 10,000 union men went on strike last week shutting down four divisions of the Timken Roller Bearing Company at Canton, Ohio.

Union officials ran crying to the WLB asking for it to name a permanent arbitrator to handle the union's grievances. The union leaders declared that "after recurring protest stoppages in the Timken plants and continuous appeals to the appropriate Government agencies to intercede, the inevitable has taken place — a complete breakdown in labor relations."

But where the "appropriate government agencies" had failed previously to intercede to halt the company's provocations, the WLB has interceded with dispatch since the strike — against the workers. It issued a summary order for the strikers to return to work "at once," threatening as

per usual not to consider the workers' case until they complied.

This is the customary WLB strategy now. Do nothing on the workers' grievances until they are forced to strike. Then refuse to do anything because they are striking. It's an effective trap so long as the union leaders back up the WLB and its policies while stabbing resisting workers in the back.

It will be recalled that Timken Roller Bearing Company is the anti-labor outfit which last winter and spring spent piles of government contract money on full page advertisements intended to incite the soldiers against the workers and pushing such proposals as "no overtime—no double time" pay.

An increasing number of CIO United Automobile Workers locals are passing resolutions demanding that the union's forthcoming convention at Grand Rapids, Mich., in September, rescind the no-strike pledge.

Mack Truck Local 677, at Allentown, Pa., which a few weeks ago went on strike against WLB stalling, on June 13 unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the UAW international executive board "to place on the agenda of the next convention of the International Union, the rescinding of the no-strike pledge."

The resolution declares the right to strike is "the foremost, and in the last analysis, the only great weapon labor has to pit against the power of the bosses." It charges that "the governmental agencies such as the War Labor Board which have been set up to compensate labor for its relinquished right to strike have proven themselves wholly inadequate from labor's standpoint" and that "the bosses have spared neither time nor expense in an all-out offensive against organized labor."

The CIO leaders have been getting increasingly hopped up, in resolutions, against the NLRB. This government agency has put forward the proposal that employers be permitted the right to petition it for union representation elections, the device used by Sewell L. Avery as a pretext for refusing to sign a union contract in conformity with a WLB directive.

Most of the CIO heat has been directed at Gerard Reilly, the NLRB member whom the CIO leaders claim is taking the lead in pushing Avery's scheme. Last week the Executive Board of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees adopted a resolution demanding Reilly's resignation.

The CIO officialdom is thereby attacking one of the very "friends of labor" they insisted be placed on the NLRB in 1941 to replace a former objectionable member. Thus, we might expect that if Reilly is removed, another "friend of labor" will supplant him, and then the beef will be raised at some subsequent date about the new "friend" who will inevitably also "betray" labor.

The betrayal, of course, is all on the side of the union officials who insist on the workers placing dependence upon the pro-corporation government agencies. The lament against Reilly — who is undoubtedly everything the CIO leaders say he is — is just a thin cover for the CIO bureaucrats to continue their support of the government agencies while appeasing their members with an appearance of fighting anti-labor individuals.

7,400 Readers Gained In Drive For New 'Militant' Subscribers

The Militant Subscription Campaign for 3,000 NEW READERS officially terminated June 30. Due to the holiday, however, a number of the branch returns have not yet been received by the Business Manager as we go to press. The final totals of the campaign will therefore be printed in next week's issue of The Militant.

Although the original quota of 3,000 NEW READERS was fulfilled in the eighth week of the campaign, the branches have not let up for a moment. This final week brought in more subs than any other week of the campaign—1,657. This all-time high in subscriptions raised the national total to 7,453 — more than double the original quota. And all the returns are not yet in. The fact that The Militant is now being read in the homes of 7,453 new workers is an achievement of which every Trotskyist can be proud.

OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

Rochester moved into first place on the scoreboard.

Los Angeles for the second week in succession sold the most subs — 458. New York sold 441 and Newark sold 221.

Three more branches joined the 100 percenters: Akron, New Haven, and San Diego.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Rochester: "Enclosed are 19 subs. This winds up our sub campaign. We found the campaign very interesting. You will see by the subs that we covered quite a bit of the country and in some of these places I do not think The Militant was ever heard of before."

Newark: "The past two weeks we really turned the heat on with some comrades going out four and five nights a week. An indication of the branch spirit is the fact that two of our girl comrades, on a week's vacation, just mailed in 21 subs from the working-class section of Asbury Park. It is this consistent steady plugging which accounts for our final figure. Six comrades sold over 50 subs apiece, with Dorothy Lessing tops at 89. Later on we shall write you how the new 6-pager with its improved contents sells itself so readily."

Buffalo: "We have all read your communication on the continuance of the campaign in September with great interest and are confident it will mean great things for the party."

Cleveland: "You wish to know the methods we used in obtaining our subs? The secret is — persistent work."

Los Angeles: "Our last Sunday Sub Mobilization sold 228 subs. The evening work done this week will add to an amount already more than 250 percent over our quota of 400. We now have far more subscribers to our press than at any time in the history of our movement."

Seattle: "We've had good results here so we're all hepped up about the campaign."

Detroit: "These past few months have been exciting and very valuable to us. Each time I pick up the paper and read the scoreboard I thrill at seeing more new subscriptions."

Texas: "I'm happy to say that for the first time in four years of hard work we are beginning to see a little result and reward. To actually have twenty subs to the paper in this area is a great accomplishment. To us this is a forward step."

Philadelphia: "We are already carrying out the directives about following up our new subscribers. Some of them are excellent contacts."

St. Paul: "I am enclosing 12 subs. When we get one more we'll have reached 100 points, double our quota! We feel pretty good about this and hope to get a few more between now and the 1st of July."

San Diego: "Here are 5 more subs. We are not sure whether this makes us in the '100 percent' class, but we have certainly tried to reach that goal. Isn't it thrilling to think of doubling the original goal of 3,000? The leadership of this organization certainly 'knows its stuff' when it comes to inspiration. We think the campaign of follow-up is a swell one and are preparing to become 100 percenters in it."

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Subs	Percent
Rochester	15	101	678
Newark	80	525	656
Buffalo	50	807	614
New York	500	2023	404
Toledo	30	115	383
Milwaukee	15	55	366
Cleveland	50	140	280
Bayonne	50	127	254
Los Angeles	400	1111	252
Seattle	150	378	252
Chicago	200	498	249
Detroit	300	723	241
Texas	10	22	220
Reading	30	64	213
Philadelphia	30	63	210
St. Paul	50	104	208
San Francisco	150	294	196
Allentown	15	29	193
Youngstown	50	86	172
Boston	100	163	163
Minneapolis	200	249	124
San Diego	50	61	122
Akron	40	48	120
New Haven	25	28	112
St. Louis	20	9	45
Quakertown	10	4	40
Flint	15	5	33
Members-at-Large, Friends	355	119	33
Pittsburgh	10	2	20
TOTAL	3000	7453	248

ROOSEVELT SIGNS ACT PAVING WAY FOR STEEP PRICE RISES

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and backed up their statement with support from noted authorities." And not a nickel more in the workers' pockets!

But what about the body blow dealt to labor by Roosevelt's statement, when he signed the dismembered Price Control Act, that "for a whole year the cost of living has been held without change?" That real blow to labor's vitals came four days after CIO President Philip Murray and CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas swung a haymaker at nothing at all in their "battle of statistics" by issuing a new cost-of-living study proving that living costs have gone up 45.3 percent since January 1941—1.8 percent since March, 1944.

LULL WORKERS

To every thinking worker it is becoming abundantly clear that Murray and Thomas have not been merely ignorant and misinformed in their efforts to sell

the CIO members on the virtues of protecting their interests by reliance on Roosevelt's "price control" and expending their energies in the futile "battle of statistics." Murray, Thomas and the whole coterie of top union bureaucrats have been actuated by a desire to lull the workers, forestall them from effective militant union action, keep them politically bound to the Roosevelt machine which these leaders serve so loyally and abjectly.

Labor militants are getting wise to the fact that the battle of statistics is being used by the Murrays and Greens as a substitute for a real fight for wage increases. They are growing wise to the fact that a fight for wage increases, that a fight to smash the Little Steel formula, cannot be waged until labor has broken the shackles of the no-strike pledge. That is why leading Michigan unionists gathering for the Michigan state CIO convention are making the rescinding of the no-strike pledge the No. 1 demand on their agenda.

Republicans Push Same Wall Street Program As Roosevelt

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all men and anything for a vote, in which demagogues vied with ambiguity for top honors.

While condemning Roosevelt for allegedly "coddling unions," the Republican platform piously and hypocritically denounces "the freeing of wage rates at arbitrary levels and the binding of men to their jobs." This is a drop of honey to sweeten the platform's all-out panegyric to "free enterprise" and "private initiative." Actually, as everyone knows, the Republicans in Congress have fought viciously against any wage or other concession to labor; they howled at the head of the anti-labor pack when Roosevelt was forced to make wage concessions to the miners and railroad workers. Concretely, the platform, as even pussy footing AFL President William Green admitted, "denies labor's request for repeal of the notorious Smith-Connelly Act."

But Governor Warren of California, convention keynoteer, querulously raised the real complaint of the Republicans—an echo of the cry of the open shop bosses—because the protective collective bargaining laws won by labor "tell the worker what union he shall join, what dues he shall pay, and to whom he shall pay them."

JOKER PLANKS

Among the joker planks is one calling for the "enforcement of laws against monopoly and unfair competition" to help the "small business man." The value of this obeisance before the lower middle-class vote can be fully gauged by the fact that the Republican Party is financed and owned by some of the most powerful monopoly capitalist interests. Only three short weeks ago the Republicans in the House helped howl through a measure exempting one of the greatest monopolies in America, the insurance trust, from prosecution under the anti-trust laws.

Naturally, the Republicans and Dewey made the expected nod toward the soldiers — although more with an eye to the future than the present, since few soldiers will vote this year after what the Republicans, joining the Southern Democrats did to emasculate the Soldier Vote bill. Dewey opined it would be a tragedy "if Americans returned from our armed forces... failed to find the freedom and opportunity for which they fought." Dewey promises them a "fair chance to work."

But the microscope hasn't yet been invented which will find in the Republican platform or Dewey's vague generalities any precise proposals for ensuring jobs. Dewey properly berated — an easy task — the failure of Roosevelt to solve the "fundamental problem of jobs and opportunity." The Republicans, he claimed, are for "full employment." How? "We shall promote the fullest stable employment through private enterprise." "High-Collar" Herbert Hoover, during whose regime "private enterprise" dragged the nation to the blackest pit of depression and who sent the U. S. Army to scourge the hungry bonus marchers out of Washington with fire and bayonet, sat nodding his approval to this plank.

CHEAP PROMISES

On the theory of anything for a vote, the Republicans promise to do a lot for the Negroes, who have been kicked around unmercifully in industry and the armed forces. On paper the platform supports an anti-lynching bill, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll-tax. The Republicans never did anything on behalf of the anti-lynching bills which have been before Congress. They voted to emasculate the FEPC powers only a few weeks ago. And they joined with the Southern Democrats to block cloture and prevent passage of the anti-Poll Tax bill. But promises are cheap...

David Lawrence, columnist for the ultra-Republican N. Y. Sun, has confessed that the Republican platform "has many contradictions" and Dewey "will soon have to interpret and state which of the positions taken will be his pledged policies." Dewey is just the man for political straddling. Aside from nabbing small-fry gunmen and racketeers, Dewey has never said or done anything on any important political question that anyone can recall. His whole career as a professional politician under the tutelage of skilled Wall Street sponsors has been an energetic effort to keep from putting his foot in his own mouth. When it comes to foreign policy, Dewey relies for his guid-

ance on John Foster Dulles, senior partner of Sullivan and Cromwell, biggest corporation law firm in America and consultant for the biggest monopolies on their international cartel deals.

Dewey's team-mate Bricker, running for vice-president, is one of those "home-spun, small town" agents of the public utilities, the Hanna interests of Cleveland and Ernest T. Weir of National Steel, who helped finance his candidacy. He boasts of the treasury surplus built up in Ohio—part of it coming from the funds he refused to allocate for the relief of tens of thousands of starving unemployed during the total relief breakdown in Cleveland in 1939. He, like the Republicans in general, is hot for "states rights", meaning opposition to federal relief, works projects, social security and other practical immediate measures to alleviate the miseries of unemployment. He opposes "business persecution and trade union meddling" and during the campaign expressed extreme hostility to the CIO.

But one does not need to study the formal program to determine whom Dewey and Bricker in office would represent and protect. Generous contributors to the Republican campaign include Alfred P. Sloan, head of General Motors, John Foster Dulles, legal counsel for the international corporations, George Whitney of J. P. Morgan & Co., Robert Stanley, head of International Nickel, Walter Gifford, President of American Telephone and Telegraph, and a host of what reads, as Drew Pearson stated, "like the Social Register of New York." Rockefeller, Morgans, Mellons and Wideners are prominent in the contributors columns for the 1940 Republican Campaign. (The Democrats lined up the brewery, rubber and airline interests, among numerous other corporate groups, in their slush fund columns.)

However, granted the traditional and continuing affinity of the Republican Party with Big Business, this still does not explain why a certain powerful section of capitalist supports Dewey in preference to Roosevelt. By every measure of performance, Roosevelt has fulfilled with uncommon adroitness the major policies of American capitalism as a whole. He has curbed labor, poured wealth into the pockets of the war profiteers and advanced American imperialism to its peak influence and power.

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

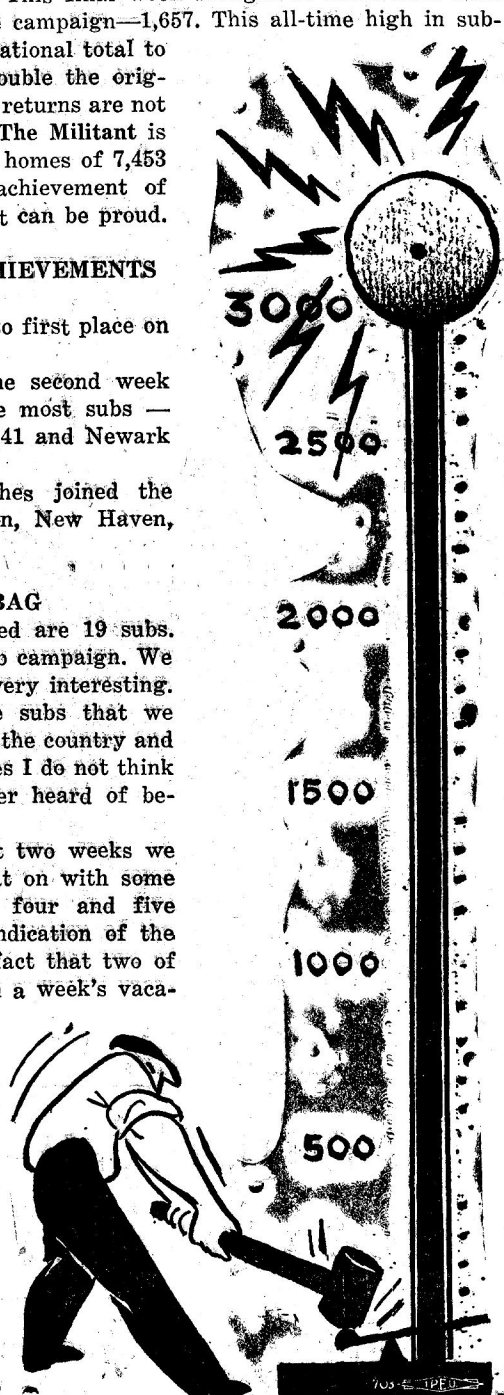
Nevertheless, America's ruling class is deeply concerned over the preservation of the two capitalist party system of political domination. This system has performed an indispensable service for capitalism by affording an ever-present "safe" catch-basin for social discontent. The capitalist party on the "out" provides a convenient counter-foil for the capitalist party on the "in." It fills the political vacuum in which new class parties—a labor party, for instance—might arise out of the revolt and protest against any single reactionary boss party. When the workers turn in disgust from Democratic Tweedledee they must be lured into Republican Tweedledum.

This is a general consideration for bolstering and preserving the Republican Party as an "opposition" political machine. In addition, many leading Wall Street elements, would feel more at ease with a man like Dewey in the White House—a completely pliant tool with no ideas and methods of his own.

Some workers, who have become disgusted with the anti-labor, pro-Big Business role of the Roosevelt administration, may be inclined to fall once more for the lure of the "opposition" label on the Republicans. As this analysis of the Republican program and candidates has shown, the Republican label conceals the same capitalist content as the Democratic. They are both political poison for the workers.

LABOR PARTY

Where then shall the workers turn? In but one direction—toward their own independent form of class political action. They must break out of the snare of the two-party system of capitalist political enslavement. They must build a political party that will be completely their own — an independent labor party. America faces a coming social crisis of catastrophic proportions. Labor dare no longer subordinate its political interests to the sucker's game of "two party" politics in which both parties are devoted solely to preserving the piratical profit system of "free enterprise" at the expense of the working class.



Chicago mimeographed a "Special-Subscription-Offer" leaflet which was attached to The Militant and given to workers at regular distribution points. The leaflet stated in part: "You have read the paper and found that it discusses problems from a workman's point of view. It explains the war, the acts of Congress, the rise in the cost of living and the fight for higher wages; and it presents a program for labor to deal with these problems. It reports the latest events in the automobile and steel unions and in other sections of American labor. It is a paper that all workers should read regularly." The bottom of the leaflet bore a coupon for name and address. The results to date are two new worker-readers through this method of covering regular distributions

workers. The sale is made by showing them Jackson's column and saying a few words about the type of paper The Militant is.

That The Militant is gaining influence in an ever-widening sphere is indicated by the increasing number of requests from unions and other organizations that we grant them an "exchange." This week the Mechanics Education Society of America, Detroit, sent us a copy of their national publication and asked us to send them The Militant regularly. Also this week the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Local No. 42, Philadelphia, asked that we send them our paper regularly.

A report from our San Diego agent indicates that an ever-increasing number of Negro workers in that area are turning to The Militant for a solution to the problems that confront them: "We've sold an average of 6 subs an hour among the colored



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Insurrection Flares In Denmark As Workers Give Battle To Nazi Oppressors; Copenhagen Paralyzed By Strikes

Workers Demand Removal of Military Police Lifting of Curfew, "No Reprisal" Pledge

By James Cowan

The pent-up storm of the socialist revolution in Europe burst last week in violent thunder-claps of insurrection over tiny Denmark, where more than 15,000 workers, spearheading the growing movement of the restless masses, defied the Nazi terror machine and, despite savage repression, continued a general strike which paralyzed Copenhagen and compelled the Nazis to lay the city under siege.

As this issue of *The Militant* went to press, the workers of Denmark's capital city were still on strike and the insurrectionary movement was spreading rapidly to other parts of the country.

According to dispatches from Stockholm there was violent street fighting in Copenhagen and casualties among the strikers numbered more than 700 killed and 1,000 wounded following repeated assaults by the Nazis with machine-guns, rifles and bayonets and armored cars.

Panic-stricken by this display of mass resistance, the Nazis surrounded Copenhagen with troops, cut off the city's water, electricity and gas services, and threatened to bomb the insurrectionary workers from the air unless they returned to work.

Danish puppet officials, acting on Nazi orders, appealed to the workers to end the strike. Employers' associations joined in the appeal, together with tame trade union "leaders." But neither cajolery nor threats nor the unbending terror of their oppressors could deflect the workers from their course.

FIRE STORE

A German DNB dispatch said that all important factories and installations in Copenhagen had been occupied by Nazi troops in order to prevent their destruction by demonstrators, who had already set fire to a large department store.

Gestapo operatives stormed into the famous Regensen College after firing into it and smashing the gates. They arrested many

students "suspected of underground activity."

Other centers of insurrection are Aarhus, Denmark's second largest city, Helsingoer and Kalundborg. All three places were paralyzed by strikes in factories and public utilities. Rural workers on surrounding dairy farms quit their jobs and streamed into town to join the strikers.

Unable to damp down the white-hot anger of the insurrectionary workers, the Nazis are reported to have agreed to a demand for expulsion from the country of the Danish-Nazi Schalburg Corps, most hated of the police-military forces used by Hitler to keep the Danes in subjection.

OTHER DEMANDS

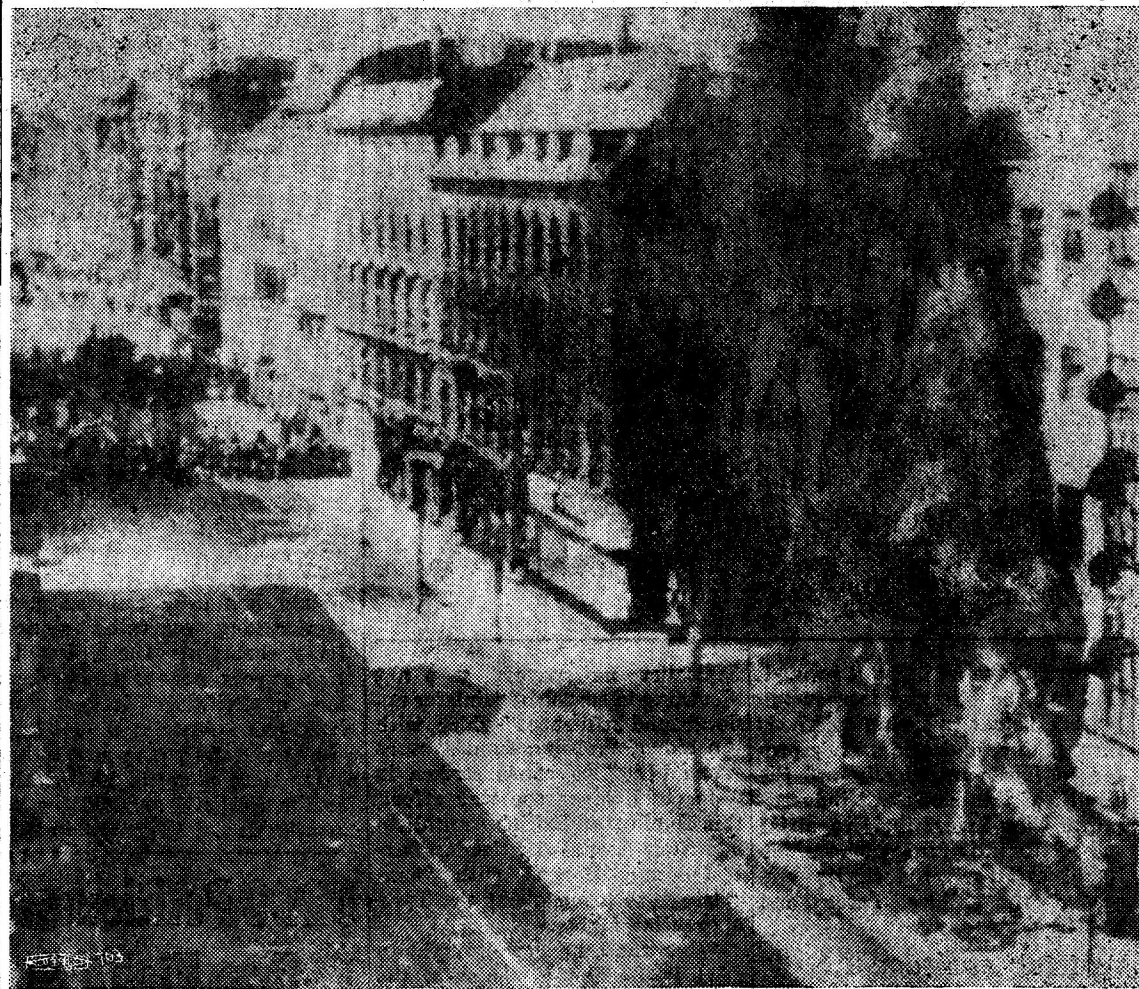
Other demands of the insurrectionists are for immediate lifting of the state of emergency, including curfew restrictions which have kept the people indoors from 9 p. m. to 6 a. m., and a guarantee that no reprisals will be taken against the strikers.

Some 5,000 additional German troops have been sent to Copenhagen to cope with the insurrection, states a Stockholm report. German armored cars, outfitted for military purposes, beat effective against civilians, are patrolling streets ahead of steel-helmeted German troops who "forced residents at bayonet and pistol point to remove street barricades."

The insurrection commenced June 26 when, to the accompaniment of a strike in the great Copenhagen shipyard of Burmeister and Wain, strikers and sympathizers gathered in the streets to demonstrate in defiance of the Nazi-imposed curfew. The demonstrators burned Hitler in effigy. Police patrols fired into their unarmed ranks and caused numerous casualties.

Consumed with indignation at Nazi brutality, more and more workers quit work until the city was at a virtual standstill. The workers erected barricades and armed themselves as best they could to resist the attacks of their oppressors. On Saturday, July 1, the insurrection was in full swing.

Insurrection Scene in Copenhagen



Anti-fascist civilians in Denmark set fire to the department store shown in the photograph above, then formed barricades in the street to prevent fire-fighting apparatus from reaching scene

New NMU Hall -- Facade To Hide Union Retreat

By Richard Kirk

The new hall of the National Maritime Union in New York City is now open and in full operation after a big National Maritime Day dedication ceremony. This is reputed to be the most elaborate union hall that American seamen have ever owned. It has an illuminated dispatchers' board, recreational facilities including a bar with free beer on occasions, upholstered benches and, as President Curran promised, sweet music while the seamen wait for their next ship out. A good union hall is a good thing to have. All militants, of which the NMU has its share, are in favor of good and better things for the seamen; that is why they built the union in the first place.

After the government smashed the seamen's unions after the last war (in 1921) and herded the "heroes in dungarees" into government fink halls, crimp joints, and shipowner controlled employment offices, the seamen conducted an unremitting struggle to establish their own hiring halls.

It was not until the great maritime strike of 1934, which culminated in the San Francisco general strike, that the seamen took the first step toward regaining union control of the hiring hall. In the strike of 1936-37, the 99 day strike on the Pacific Coast, the seamen were finally able to force the shipowners to sign written agreements embodying recognition of the union hiring hall.

For seamen, union control over the hiring hall meant an end to the vicious system of blacklisting by which the government and the shipowners victimized union militants; it meant an end to discrimination, favoritism, miserable working conditions, low wages, and a condition of sea-slavery. It meant, above all, the independence of the union, free from domination or control by the shipowners or their political agents in the government! The unions formulated their OWN shipping rules based on the principle of rotary shipping. Union members who violated the shipping rules, the union contract, union working conditions, were disciplined by the democratic action of the union membership. The union hiring hall for seamen became the

tolerable levels. We consider the miners' fight as a struggle to maintain their rights. We condemn all talk of the miners (as well as Tearse, Lee and Keen) stabbing the soldiers in the back. It is not they who are betraying us, but those who refuse to support the miners."

[Responding enthusiastically to the campaign initiated by the National Office for a \$1,000 Solidarity Fund to aid the British Trotskyist movement, branches of the Socialist Workers Party have already sent in contributions totalling \$200.

New York has sent in \$65, San Francisco \$100, New Haven \$5, Milwaukee \$5, Quakertown \$5, Reading \$5, Rochester \$5, St. Louis \$5, Dayton \$5.

Readers are invited to send contributions to Business Manager, THE MILITANT, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.]

symbol of free, independent unionism in the maritime industry.

It is against this background that seamen must assess the value of either old or new hiring halls. What are the conditions that go with the new NMU hall? During the last two years the shipping rules have been "modified" until there is little left of the rights of members. For example, the "War-time Shipping Rules" of the NMU for the port of New York contain the following provisions:

WARTIME REGULATIONS

1. "All men between the years of 18 and 38 who persist in turning over down ships without any good reason that they can substantiate, will have their names turned over to the Draft Board by the Agent and the Dispatcher as not being bonafide seamen."

2. "All men over 38 years of age who persist in turning down ships without any good reason that they can substantiate, will have their names turned over to the War Manpower Commission as not being bonafide seamen."

These provisions in the shipping rules mean that the union officials have become finger-men for government agencies upon whom they depend to enforce the union shipping rules! The union shipping card has been abolished and in its place there has been substituted the RMO (Recruitment and Manning Organization of the War Shipping Administration) time allotment card with the union's name on it. These measures, only a few of a number of other like measures that have been put into effect by the Curran-Stalinist leadership, serve to undermine union control over the hiring hall. And flowing from these, there arise certain vicious practices, especially a system of favoritism.

Shore-time allotments run from four to thirty days. This inequality in shipping cards makes rotary shipping impossible, forcing a man, say, with a ten-day card to compete with others with thirty-day cards. A seaman is doubly penalized for quitting even a ship on which the worst conditions prevail. First, he has to take a short shipping card. Second, he incurs disciplinary measures by the union for getting off without a replacement.

A most vicious practice has resulted from this. The ship's officers and company officials have fostered a system of favoritism whereby a seaman who permits himself to become so involved first time in history personal



JOSEPH CURRAN

can get little protection against the stringent RMO rulings. This divides the crew and always leaves the company with a few stooges on the ship. With a divided crew a seaman willing to fight for conditions finds himself fired. Because of the short shipping card he will then get, along with other possible penalties, and the unwillingness of the Patrolmen to back him up, even a good union man becomes reluctant to fight.

The end result is that bad conditions get worse and there is no way to stop it. A seaman is cajoled or threatened into taking a job where he must sleep in a crummy bunk on a lousy ship, while the shipowner gets praise for keeping it in operation.

When a seaman comes in from a trip, he is confronted in the Union Hall with all the red tape of a first rate government agency. On the conveyor belt of this red tape he gets pushed from pillar to post and from office to office, and finally lands in the Trial and Rules Committee which, to save time, will read him the rules and give him a trial at the same time.

Enforcing the RMO rulings is the job of the RMO and not of a union. However, the NMU officials even use the practice of reporting violations of RMO rulings to the RMO and Selective Service officials!

The Union Hall is no longer a place where a union man can expect to find protection and just representation against a shipowner or a government bureaucrat. On the contrary, this system by which the Union has undertaken the functions of the WSA, the RMO and the Selective Service System makes going to sea just like being in jail, only more efficient. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the shipowners eagerly accept when they are invited into the Hall and are received with open arms.

At the April 27 membership meeting Curran boasted: "For the first time in history personal

No-Strike Pledge Is Key Issue For Michigan CIO

(Continued from page 1)

on which the entire slate of twenty unionists from Flint Chevrolet Local 659 were elected as delegates to the State Convention. The 5-point program reads as follows: 1. Rescind the No-Strike Pledge. 2. Smash the Little Steel Formula. 3. Independent Political Action by the Workers. 4. Stabilized Unemployment Compensation. 5. Post-War Security Establishment Now.

The great majority of the delegates from the other Flint UAW locals, Buick Local 599, AC Local 651 and Fisher Body Local 581 are also on record against the no-strike pledge. The entire delegation of ten from Chrysler Local 490 is committed to the repeal of the no-strike pledge.

Last year the Michigan CIO convention by a two to one majority passed a resolution "recommending to all of the affiliated unions and to the CIO that unless assurances that were made to labor are immediately and effectively put into operation, we consider our 'no-strike pledge' no longer binding and labor will settle the problems in the future in the only manner left open to it; by the use of its economic strength." The UAW and CIO top leaders ignored this resolution. This year the movement to revoke the no-strike pledge is far stronger and better organized. The top CIO bureaucrats however are more determined than ever to keep labor in the strait-jacket of the no-strike pledge and will resort to every wile and stratagem to keep this issue from being thoroughly aired by the convention delegates.

MCF SUPPORT

Another important question facing the Convention will be the endorsement of independent political action and support of the newly formed Michigan Commonwealth Federation. Last year, after a sharp and bitter struggle, the Convention recorded itself in favor of launching a labor party and called for a referendum on this subject by all affiliated unions. The top CIO officials violated both the letter and spirit of the convention mandate by refusing to hold the referendum. The alibi of the bureaucrats was that the convention decision was a violation of national CIO policy. The leading union militants have succeeded, despite the opposition of the Murrays and Thomases, in setting up their independent party, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation. At this convention the delegates will have an opportunity to call their leadership to account. The newly formed MCF has already obtained the necessary signatures to run State and local candidates this fall. A number of local unions have already affiliated with the MCF. Twenty local union MCF clubs are in existence today and each week additional ones are being organized. The Ford Bomber Local 50 has adopted a resolution calling upon the Convention to

representatives of 60 shipowners were sitting in the Hall, talking cooperation. I told them that for seven years we've been fighting to keep them out of the Hall, and now we're fighting to get them in." Shipowner Taylor of the Merchant Marine Institute dedicated the new hall. An evil omen for the future!

Among the fruits of Curran's "fight" is this, that, as everyone knows, recently there has been an epidemic of seamen shipping off the dock through company offices and on unorganized lines (Standard Oil, Isthmian etc.) National Vice-President of NMU Meyers has complained to the War Shipping Administration that the seamen do this in order to escape and evade the shipping rules of the NMU. The Pilot, official weekly of the Union, reported on May 5: "The union has even gone so far as taking drastic action against men who violate our shipping rules . . . after the union takes this action however its hands are tied because the individual . . . is free to go to any one of the few unorganized lines."

The policies of NMU leaders in supporting the government and its bureaus become so oppressive that seamen are driven away from the Union Hall to the protection of — the shipowners and their crimps. This is virtually what the Pilot itself says.

This is the price that the seamen pay for the support their officials give to Roosevelt and the war machine. This is the price of the new Hall.

urge all CIO locals to affiliate with the MCF.

As a year ago, the UAW top leadership, which dominates the Michigan CIO movement, is sharply split into two power cliques, one dominated by Walter Reuther, the other under the leadership of Addes, and supported by the Stalinists. Today, increasingly large numbers of unionists are becoming convinced that the Reuther and Addes cliques are simply engaged in an unprincipled struggle for power. In 1943 the Reutherites were fighting the piece work speed-up program which was pushed by the Addes-Stalinist machine. Today not even the Stalinists dare revive the demand in the UAW for piece work. It has ceased to be an issue inside the UAW. The leaders of both caucuses are today equally opposed to the revocation of the no-strike pledge and are united in opposition to the MCF.

TWO CLIQUES

Since the leadership of both these caucuses is definitely committed to retaining the no-strike pledge it is becoming increasingly obvious to the ranks that they have no alternative but to form an independent movement which will fight for the demands and needs of the rank and file. Already a number of UAW locals

previously identified with the Reuther group are acting independently, as Chrysler Local 490, Diesel Local 163, Chevrolet Local 659, Briggs Local 212, Ford Local 50, Michigan Steel Tube Local 233 and Steel Products Local 351. The forces previously closely attached to the Addes-Stalinist machine but who now follow an independent course are the Flint Industrial Union Council, Buick Local 599, Motor Products Local 203 and Dodge Truck Local 140.

MILITANTS

Militants throughout the UAW are beginning to rally behind these local unions, and their major demand: rescind the no-strike pledge.

Independently of this movement, the MCF has set up a group of its own to press for favorable action on the MCF at the State Convention.

The formation of a genuine rank and file group composed of important UAW and CIO locals of Michigan will represent an enormous step forward in the trade union movement. It will mean that finally the voice of the rank and file, its demands to regain the independence of the union movement, will be given organized expression and its work coordinated on a state and eventually on a national scale.

Canadian News Letter

The CCF Victory

On June 15 the workers and farmers of the province of Saskatchewan elected the first farmer-labor government in Canadian history — and elected it with an overwhelming majority. Of fifty-two seats the CCF Co-operative Commonwealth Federation captured forty-four, the liberal party four. The other seats are still in doubt and there is a strong possibility that they too will go to the CCF. The majority of the thirty-eight Conservative candidates, as well as the two labor Progressive (Stalinist) candidates lost their election deposits, i. e., failed to secure the necessary minimum of votes. CCF representation in the Provincial House increased from ten to forty-four while the Liberal party representation dropped from thirty-eight to four.

This smashing victory over the well-oiled liberal machine and in the face of an unprecedented campaign of lies and slander on the part of the reactionaries (including the Stalinists) is all the more significant since Saskatchewan is a predominantly farm province with only light industry in one or two cities. It shows that the farmers are taking the same road as the workers, who elected thirty-four CCF candidates in the Ontario provincial election. Just as in Ontario, the military vote was overwhelmingly CCF.

Frightened by these gains, the capitalist class is intensifying its anti-labor campaign, directed not only at the CCF, but also the trade union movement. The bosses are worried by the leftward surge of the masses which is giving the CCF its victories at the polls. Under the leadership of incipient fascist elements such as Gladstone Murray (who helped organize the propaganda campaign which broke the British general strike of 1926) Big Business is using every resource at its command to break the labor movement. Latest move is "the organization of the 'Society for Individual Freedom against State Socialism.'" The membership forms of this outfit are sent not to individuals but to corporations. Big Business is haunted by memories of the great Winnipeg general strike of 1919.

STALINIST TREACHERY

The campaign of the bosses is aided and abetted by the Stalinists, who are now calling for a capitalist — Labor coalition government. Their main activity at present, is the launching of vicious attacks on the CCF, on the ground that the CCF is raising the "false issue of socialism vs. capitalism and thus destroying national unity." In the course of the Saskatchewan campaign, A. A. MacLeod, Stalinist Member of Provincial Parliament in Ontario declared, "The CCF is out of tune with Canada, organized labor, the government of New Zealand which it extolls, the British Labor Party and the whole of ad-

vancing humanity because its policy would virtually make the province and the nation an isolated island of depression in a sea of world prosperity . . . They would establish a medieval system of communism in which the people would share the poverty." Charles Sims, Stalinist member of the Toronto City Council, in opposing the granting of a permit to the CCF for the use of a Toronto park, stated that the CCF would take the opportunity to peddle "political moonshine and Trotskyist (!) tripe."

STRIKEBREAKERS

The vile anti-labor character of the Stalinist program, is clearly revealed in Canada where the Stalinists still form an organized party. One of its main aims is to sabotage the CCF and all other forms of working class political action. In the unions, too, their role as strike breakers and saboteurs of political action is becoming daily more obvious to the rank and file. In the Toronto Labor Council they combined with conservative members to block affiliation with the CCF. Similarly, the executive board of the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers, CIO, forwarded a resolution to its locals advising against participation in a coming CCF trade union conference.

The CCF top leadership continues to water down its already milk and water reformist program. Immediately after the Saskatchewan victory, Premier-elect T. C. Douglas hastened to assure the capitalists that there would be no "sensational" developments. M. J. Coldwell fawned on Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King after the latter's return from the imperial council in London, called to consolidate the British Empire.

On the trade union front, the situation has been outwardly quiet since the strike of 14,000 Ford workers in Windsor in April. Meanwhile, the living standard of the workers continues to decline and the shadow of mass lay-offs lengthens across the land. At the present moment at the Canada Motor Lamps plant in Windsor, the first one hundred of 565 workers scheduled to be laid off, are staging a small scale version of the Brewster sit-in strike.

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Trial Of British Trotskyists Branded As A Frame-Up Plot

(Continued from page 1)

casuation and innuendo. Bevin gave full support and instituted the prosecutions. In spite of this campaign, the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty" on the charges of conspiracy and incitement. That verdict was a victory for our party and the workers.

"Comrade Haston declared that the arrested comrades and our party were the scapegoats for Bevin's Defense Regulation 1-AA. (This Regulation makes it a crime, carrying heavy penalties, to advocate strikes in war-essential industries — Editor). Bevin painted a picture of nation-wide conspiracy. The verdict of the jury knocks the bottom out of his case. It seems now that there was no conspiracy; no incitement. Therefore we demand an immediate withdrawal of Defense Regulation 1-AA. We call upon the workers in the factories, mines and railways to demand its withdrawal."

Drawing attention to the political significance of the trial and imprisonment of the four Trotskyists, the statement continues: "It is now clear that while we were specially selected for attack, the trial was directed against the whole working-class. It was a preliminary warning challenge of the capitalist class. The reply of the workers must be sharp and clear. Immediate, nation-wide demand for the release of the comrades must be organized."

"Finally, we declare that the trial has demonstrated the terror our political program has struck in the hearts of the capitalists. They realize that only our program offers an alternative to the working-class."

"We declare that imprisonment and persecution will not still our voice. Hardships will not swerve us from our course. With redoubled energy we will continue the struggle for the victory of the workers under the banner of the Fourth International."

Clear indications of the growing militancy of the British workers, which was the direct cause of the Churchill-Bevin attack on the Trotskyist revolutionary vanguard, are contained in the latest issue of the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Trotskyist movement in England, to reach this country. The Tory government sought to

drive a wedge between the workers in industry and those in the army, and to incite the soldiers against the workers. This attempt, the *Socialist Appeal* reports, has failed.

In Britain's Eighth Army, a Sergeant Lawson was induced to put forward a resolution condemning strikes in war-time. The resolution not only failed to get any support, but the *Eighth Army News*, official army newspaper, published a statement prominently headlined: "Eighth Army Men Say to Workers: RIGHT TO STRIKE IS PART OF THE FREEDOM WE FIGHT FOR!"

A facsimile of the headline and part of the article is reproduced in the British Trotskyist organ. The Eighth Army men, as the body of the article shows, are opposed to Bevin's reactionary Defense Regulation 1-AA. They reject outright the assertions of Churchill-Bevin and the Tory and Stalinist press that strikes are a "stab in the back" to the boys in uniform. And they vigorously oppose any attempt to make strikes illegal. This clear, unequivocal declaration of solidarity with the striking workers back home resulted from a poll of the soldiers by the Eighth Army News.

An equally striking indication of the spirit of working-class solidarity which animates Britain's workers in uniform is the action of 82 soldiers in the Royal Engineers in signing a petition to the government protesting against the arrest of the Trotskyists and demanding their release.

The Trotskyists, states the petition, "are accused of fomenting the strikes among the apprentices and coal miners. We do not believe that this is true. That they gave guidance and advice to the miners and apprentices is to their credit, for that is the job of all faithful workers' leaders. . . . The real culprit in the strikes is the Government, who prefer to leave this basic industry (coal) in the hands of a few exploiters. The Government's solution lay in intensifying exploitation on the one hand, and drafting unwilling apprentices down the pits on the other."

Concluding, the petition states: "We soldiers are also workers. We do not want to come back to a life where living conditions have been driven down to in-

British Youths Made Pit Serfs In Bevin Scheme

By Ralph Graham

On March 28 of this year several thousand young British workers, apprenticed in the shipyards, machine shops and engineering works of the Tyne-side, struck in protest against what is known as the Pit Ballot Scheme, under which the capitalist government of England sought to force the workingclass youth to labor in the coal mines.

The strike was a revolt by the youth against a new type of government coercion which deprived them of freedom to choose their employment. Conceived in the Hitler style of the forced labor battalion, the Pit Ballot Scheme is on a par with the current edict of Roosevelt's War Manpower Commission, which was put into effect on July 1, whereby workers in this country are "frozen" to their jobs. Both measures reflect the reactionary anti-labor policies of the "democratic" capitalists who are seeking, in the very midst of a war for "freedom and democracy," to regiment and conscript the workers and deprive them of their hard-won rights and liberties.

In times of depression — or even in so-called "normal times" when Britain has an unemployed army of two to three millions — there is no problem in securing sufficient labor for heaving coal. But today, in the midst of war, with millions in the armed services, and because the expanded war industries offer more attractive employment, workers shy away from the mines, preferring work above ground in more healthful circumstances and at better pay.

Britain's coal production has been falling off. But the root of the decline is not any temporary labor shortage. Responsible is the chronic decay of the coal industry under the gross mismanagement of the coal owners. The Tory government of Winston Churchill sought, however, to solve the production problem by drafting labor for the mines, by conscripting apprentices from various other industries under the Pit Ballot Scheme and compelling them to labor underground.

It was, of course, the trade union Bureaucrat Ernest Bevin, and now His Majesty's most loyal Minister of Labor, who was given the job of sponsoring the Pit Ballot Scheme and of enforcing its provisions. These provisions include stiff penalties — fine and imprisonment both — for any young worker who, having been selected by "ballot," refuses to go down to work in the coal pits.

APPRENTICES ARRESTED

After the first ballots were drawn, young apprentices by the score were arrested for refusal to take the mine employment thus thrust upon them. The Tyne-side apprentices had previously banded themselves together in the Tyne Apprentices Guild in order to protect themselves and, in particular, to resist forcible conscription for mine labor. Similar movements of protest and opposition sprang up in other parts of the country.

The apprentices had been compelled to form this organization because the bureaucratic leaders of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, to which they belonged,

were backing, or at least acquiescing in, Bevin's scheme to drag them into the mines. Like the labor skates in this country, the Greens, the Murrys and the Hillmans, the British labor bureaucrats have tied themselves to the capitalist war machine and refuse even to countenance, much less lead, any righteous struggle of the workers.

The AEU officials proscribed the Tyne Apprentices' Guild, outlawed it from the union movement, and threatened expulsion from the union of any apprentices who retained guild membership.

Although betrayed and left to their fate by the union leaders whose duty it was to champion their just cause, the apprentices kept up their fight against the enslaving Pit Ballot Scheme. They sent a deputation to London to see Labor Minister Bevin and demand exemption of apprentices from the ballot scheme. This servile flunkey of Churchill and the British capitalists refused even to receive the deputation. It was then that the apprentices decided to strike.

The opposition of the apprentices to the slave-labor plan of Bevin-Churchill can readily be understood. Many of them are the sons of families whose menfolk have labored underground in the coal mines for generations. They know the drab life of poverty and squalor which the miners and their families lead. They know the perils to life and health which come from working in the pits. They know of the chronic depression of Britain's coal industry, only temporarily eased by the urgent war demand for coal. They know that mass unemployment will return again if capitalism is permitted to live.

TO THE RESCUE

When the war came, the miners saw an opportunity for their sons to escape the grinding, unhealthy underground toil which had always been their own lot, and the lot of their fathers before them. They sent their sons into other industries. England's coal barons saw not only their present but their future labor supply disappearing. Churchill and Bevin came to the rescue with the Pit Ballot Scheme.

Some of the apprentices had already spent two or more years at their newly-chosen trades when the scheme was put into effect. Suddenly, without regard to their present or future interests, they were to be forced down the coal mines, condemned to all the miseries and hazards of work



underground from which they thought they had escaped. Their rebellion against being conscripted for work in the mines was accentuated by their knowledge of the fact that private capitalist ownership of the pits — not any temporary labor shortage — is at the root of the decline of coal production. The apprentices know this and the miners know it, too. For a quarter of a century and more the Miners' Federation of Great Britain has placed in the forefront of its program a demand for the nationalization of the coal industry. The demand is being pressed more strongly today.

Britain's coal industry is weighted down with a vast load of parasitism which makes the cost of producing coal far higher than in some competing countries, while at the same time it prevents reorganization of the industry on rational, scientific lines. In addition to the ordinary parasitism represented by capitalist profits, there is the parasitism of hereditary interests.

HEAVY TOLL

England's aristocracy, with its great landed rights, exacts a heavy toll from nearly all the coal that is mined. The established Church is another beneficiary, because it, like the aristocracy, also has great vested land interests. Wherever a mine cutting is given beneath some private or Church estate, the lord of the estate or the Church collects a tonnage "royalty" which is counted in costs of production. The Duke of Northumberland, from beneath whose manorial lands vast quantities of coal are dug out each year, collects a royalty on every ton brought to the surface. The Duke is one of the richest parasites in England. And he is but one of a numerous collection of aristocratic leeches who produce nothing themselves, but amass fortunes and live in the lap of luxury by appropriating part of the value created by the arduous and dangerous toil of the miners.

The burden of parasitism is responsible alike for the poverty of the miners and the backwardness and inefficiency of the mining industry. England's lords of the manor and their capitalist

partners have no interest in modernizing the pits and introducing more efficient working methods through mechanization. They prefer to live parasitically off the wealth of this backward industry rather than invest their royalties and profits in improvements which would enhance productivity and render the mines safer and healthier.

VAMPIRE ARISTOCRACY

It has been plain for years that greater and more efficient coal production can be secured only if the vampire aristocracy and the coal owners are expropriated, the mines nationalized and operated for public benefit instead of for the profit of a few parasites. Only in this way, can the miners be assured of adequate reward for their labor, and decent working and living conditions. The Tyne-side apprentices recognized this when, in answer to Bevin's Pit Ballot Scheme, they countered with the demand for nationalization of the mines. And the miners themselves renewed the cry for nationalization when, at the time of the Tyne apprentice strike, they too downed their tools in the great pit walk-outs which occurred in March.

But interfering with vested interests, trespassing on the sacred rights of private property, is the last thing the Tory government of Churchill would think of doing. And so, in order to force up production in the outmoded pits, the draconian Pit Ballot Scheme was introduced. Of what account are the lives and interests of thousands of young workers when weighed in the balance against aristocratic privilege and capitalist profits?

The apprentices struck. The miners walked out of the pits. Affrighted by this spectacle of working-class militancy, Churchill-Bevin struck back with the infamous Defense Regulation 1-AA, which has made it a criminal offense to advocate or give support to any strike in a war-essential industry. But passage of this reactionary, oppressive, liberty-destroying edict has only added fuel to the fires of steadily accumulating working-class wrath.

Bevin went further. While the

capitalist newspapers went sleuthing in search of "sinister underground influences" which, with the aid of "foreign funds," were "conspiring" to cause strikes in order to hamper the war effort, this flunkey of British capitalism had four Trotskyist leaders arrested and charged with "conspiring" to bring about the Tyne apprentice strike.

When the four were brought to trial in London last month, the conspiracy charge collapsed, but the Trotskyists were nevertheless railroaded to prison on charges of "furthering, aiding and abetting" the strike. The real conspirators were Churchill-Bevin, who sought to make the Trotskyists scapegoats for their own crimes, for their own indefensible defense of continued private ownership of the coal mines which by all the evidence is responsible for the rotten condition of this British industry.

The "conspiracy" charge collapsed under the weight of the government's own testimony at the trial, given through the mouths of Tyne-side apprentices who took part in the strike and were summoned to testify for the prosecution. Nine of these apprentices were called. Eight of them declared that they had organized the Tyne Apprentices Guild in order to oppose the Pit Ballot Scheme which threatened all their hopes for the future. They said they had struck on their own initiative, without being "instigated" by anyone. And they boldly expressed in court their conviction that forcing them down the pits was no solution to the coal problem — that there was only ONE solution, NATIONALIZATION!

Typical of the testimony was that of James W. Davy, a 19-year-old apprentice fitter and secretary of the Tyne Apprentices' Guild, who was the government's chief witness. Davy declared: "Nationalization of the mines was our way of approaching the problem. Apprentices were being forced to enter the mining industry, and we pointed out that if the mines were nationalized the coal crisis would have been avoided and there would be no need for apprentices to sacrifice everything by going down the mines."

DAVY'S TESTIMONY

Davy went on to tell the court: "I arrived at that view myself and the accused never assisted me towards the view. . . The majority of the members (of the Guild) were inclined towards taking strike action. . . There would have been a strike if I had never met any of the accused."

None of Davy's testimony was to the liking of the Tory court, and at the conclusion of the trial the judge (Justice Cassels) gave the witness a verbal castigation and said he ought to have been

under a "labor" cover. The leading participants of the Stalinist gangs are members and officials of unions, who attempt to give the impression that they are acting as spokesmen and representatives of labor. Thus, for instance, on June 24 Hilda Hansen, Stalinist Executive Secretary of the Seattle CIO Council, issued a slanderous attack on the Institute of International Relations on the official stationery of the Council, intended to convey the impression that the CIO workers, staunch defenders of democratic rights, are supporting the scandalous terrorist assaults on free speech by the Stalinists.

Organized labor is duty-bound to call a halt to the insidious actions of the Stalinists. They must be publicly and sternly warned to cease their slanderous and terrorist conduct. They must be openly and clearly branded by the entire labor movement for what they are, scabs and strikebreakers, an anti-democratic ultra-reactionary cancer within the working class movement.

Let no one think the Stalinist vigilante actions here in Seattle are isolated. This must be viewed

in the prisoners' dock together with the four Trotskyists.

What the trial revealed and proved was not any Trotskyist "conspiracy" to foment strikes, but intense and widespread opposition by Britain's working-class youth to Bevin's slave-labor scheme. The "Bevin Boys" — as the victims of this scheme are referred to in England — turned an indictment of the Trotskyists into an indictment of the British capitalists and their Tory government, including the labor fakers, such as Bevin, who serve them.

In part because of the militant opposition of the apprentices themselves, but also for other important reasons whose essence has already been revealed in this article, the Bevin Ballot Scheme has turned out a dismal failure. This was admitted in the London News Chronicle of May 2. According to this capitalist organ, the principal cause of the failure is "that the coal industry, presented with these boys, could not train them. There are about 20,000 boys in Great Britain who have been picked in the ballot, but so far nobody wants them."

No opponent of capitalism could have written a more deadly commentary on the state to which Britain has been reduced under the decaying capitalist system. Bevin conscripts them, but the mine-owners cannot train them! One of Britain's largest and wealthiest industries cannot train a few thousand young men to heave coal! Here alone is justification for the workers' demand for nationalization of the coal mines.

CRDC Petitions To Free Eighteen Signed by 9,000

(Continued from page 1)

for the freeing of the 18, and their members have signed pardon petitions.

Among the participating unions was Local 50, UAW-CIO (Ford Willow Run Bomber Plant) whose general council adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"Whereas 18 members of the Minneapolis Motor Transport and Industrial Workers Union, Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party are now serving 12 and 16-month sentences in the Federal penitentiaries, and

"Whereas these trade unionists and Socialist leaders have been convicted solely because of their beliefs and their activities on behalf of labor, and

"Whereas these 18 are the first to be convicted under the Smith 'Gag' Act, the first peace-time statute since 1798 to make the mere expression of opinion a Federal crime, and

"Whereas this vicious statute has been condemned by leading civil liberties and labor organizations as contrary to every principle of democracy, and

"Whereas the U. S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action has three times refused to review the convictions of the Minneapolis defendants, even though the Smith 'Gag' Act sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against the democratic rights of other trade unionists and working class political parties.

"Therefore be it resolved that we appeal to the President of the United States to grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, and

"Be it further resolved that we contribute the sum of \$100 to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the authorized representative of the prisoners, and

"Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C., to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and to the press."

A similar resolution was passed by Detroit Local 212 UAW-CIO. Hudson Local 154 UAW-CIO wrote a letter to President Roosevelt condemning the action of the Supreme Court in refusing to review the case of the 18, and demanding pardon for the prisoners.

RECENT ADHERENTS

Among more recent adherents to the campaign to free the 18 is the Brotherhood of Railway Car-men of America, Local 652, Reading, Pa. This union sent in \$15 to the CRDC with a letter which said, in part: "These brothers are some of our leading militant labor leaders of today and when the powers that be feel that honest mass leaders are infringing on their so-called capitalistic rights, they do not hesitate a second to jail, or even murder, in order that they may retain the present economic system whereby the few royalties have billions and the millions of workers. . . have crumbs, starvation and misery."

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

SHOP-TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

"Say, my corner grocer is a Socialist, too. He says everything ought to be divided up so we could all start from scratch."

Yes, that's a grocer's idea of Socialism. The big chains are squeezing him out of business, so he wants to see them broken up and start from scratch again, so he'll have a chance to build his store up into a chain. And he's not only thinking of getting richer, he's worried about getting poorer. Thousands of workers lose their lifetime savings every year when they put them into corner stores. More than half of all the small businesses that start today are doomed to quick bankruptcy, and no wonder! They just can't compete with big business. The chain stores and other monopolies can buy cheaper because they buy in tremendous lots; they produce cheaper because they have thousands of workers producing for them. And so of course they can sell cheaper and still make a greater profit than the "independent" man.

The factory worker who turns grocer, figuring that at least his family will get enough groceries in the next depression, is usually doomed to bitter disappointment. So naturally a few grocers start thinking of Socialism especially when times are tough. But their idea of Socialism is to break up all the big production outfits. They dream of the nineteenth century in America when things were wide open and business opportunities much greater than today. "Divide things up." That's their program all right.

But what kind of a screwy program would that be for a workingman? If you divided up the factory among all the workers, one would take home a drill press, another a bandsaw, still another half a punch press, somebody else a bunch of bricks, and so on. That's what "dividing things up" would mean.

The wealth of the country is mostly in production and production machinery. Whoever owns the factories, mines and mills, owns the wealth. And when you divide the wealth, those are the main things you're interested in. We working people are able to live, eat, ride streetcars, or drive automobiles, and once in a while go hunting or fishing because the boss pays us a wage that represents a part of what we produce in the factory.

We're not in business for ourselves on a streetcorner. To produce anything of value, and produce very much of it, we have to work together, lots of us, under the same roof and with the

Trotskyists Under Attack by Uruguay Reactionaries

(Continued from page 1)

against the British Trotskyists by Churchill-Bevin and the Tory and Stalinist press, collapsed at the trial of the four leaders in a London court, as reported in last week's issue of *The Militant*. The defendants were acquitted by the jury on a "conspiracy" charge ("instigating" strikes) but railroaded to prison on charges of "furthering, aiding and abetting" strikes. — Editor.]

HIGH PITCH

Working himself up to a high pitch of oratorical passion, the Minister flourished in the Chamber two copies of *Contra la Corriente*, ("Against the Stream") Uruguay Trotskyist paper, and shouted: "These people are now amongst us. They say that this is actually an imperialist war; that the working-class must not believe in the vote; they malign parliamentarism; they say that the victories of justice must be supplanted by the social tragedy of direct revolutionary action."

In the eyes of this minister in a capitalist government it is a crime to call the imperialist war by its true name. His accusation that the Trotskyists "malign" parliamentarism came with ill grace from a minister who, by decree, had just wiped out the right to strike guaranteed by the parliamentary constitution. The rabid attack on the Trotskyists is part of a spreading world offensive against the revolutionary movement of socialism by the capitalist exploiters and their governments.

The Trotskyists are singled out for the first reactionary blows because they are the true, unflinching defenders of the workers' rights and interests, the only real fighters for socialism. Here in Uruguay, as in the United States, England and elsewhere, the workers must spring to the defense of the revolutionary vanguard of their class.

aid of many tons of machinery. Suppose that machinery were all split up. Suppose Slim and Johnny took the big press home and set it up in Johnny's garage. Suppose Ed took the shear home, Bruno and Mike took the paint assembly and Fred the crane. We'd certainly have a hell of a time making anything in a hurry, or even anything at all. We'd have to have a whole fleet of trucks going back and forth to each guy's shop — just to make an automobile fender. And the crane would be over at Fred's house doing nothing at all. It would be an awful waste, and we could never make the product as cheaply as we do now.

We don't want to start from scratch. We want to start right here, as is, with the equipment we have now. We want to rescue it from the rust and corrosion of hard times, by taking over the factory as a whole. We want to improve it to produce more than we produce today. And if, under the bosses' management, we can produce millions of tons of machinery for war, then under our own management we can produce at least an equal amount of good things for peace.

At the same time we'll make things easier. The money the boss spends now on time study men, we'll spend on mechanical engineers and devices to make the work easier and lighter. Instead of some peasant speaking louse trying to find the limits of our endurance, we'll have fellows rained in a different way with our interests at heart.

Instead of breaking up anything — or dividing it — we should build it up better. Take the roll inc, for instance. It takes seven people to operate it. It must have cost fifty or sixty thousand dollars to install. But it's down nearly half the time lately, and the seven people are either sweeping the floor, or getting in somebody's way on a job they're not used to. Now maybe some other shop has the same problem. Say they have an order for a slightly different product, so they use a different shaped roll. We could switch to these other rolls two or three days a week and do their order in our shop.

The seven people at the other shop? Let them handle those big forms for concrete building supports. We don't really have enough room for them anyway. Everybody curses the air blue when we work on them. By this better system both shops will produce easier and more.

We want to go forward from here and make the world a better place to live in. Not backward to the outdoor privy and the scrubbing board; but forward to well made cars, air conditioned homes, a 6 hour day, and vacations for everybody.

And the only way we can go forward is the Socialist way. The capitalists can't do it. The only "solution" they can dream of is a war. It's only in war time they can get machinery going. That proves they're done for. It's up to us to take over. The working people as a whole organized as the ruling power must create their own government. Such a government, unlike the capitalist crazy house, can plan production, and save us, the producer-owners all kinds of money, as well as increase the sum-total of production. Many businesses are carried on today in the most disorganized and inefficient manner. Factories in one city often make parts for factories in another. And the bosses don't worry about the extra expense. The government usually pays the bill. And the boss probably owns stock in the railway anyway.

The workers' government won't stand for this sort of waste. It will centralize production and streamline it as much as possible. Such a government, the instrument of the workers, not the money-hungry lunatic capitalists, wouldn't let tremendous surpluses of perishable things accumulate while human beings were ragged or hungry.

As for the corner grocer — who wants to "divide up" things as small as that? The grocer may continue in his own store — or he may become a manager in one of the beautiful super-markets owned by the workers — or if he's old he may retire. He won't have the prospect of owning a chain and making youngsters work for 12 bucks a week. But he will be far better paid than at present, and he'll have what nobody can guarantee him today — security.

In Detroit, Mich. You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

Stalinist Mobsters In Seattle Break Up Forum Meetings Sponsored By Quakers

(Continued from page 1)

pretext of helping to "establish order," the Stalinist State Senator, Thomas Rabbit, who appeared as one of the ring-leaders of the mob, rushed to the platform and secured the mike. He then proceeded to denounce the Institute and its speakers.

Then the Stalinists pushed forward once more their stooge veteran. He forgot all about selling bonds. Instead, he unloaded on the terrorized audience a 20-minute harangue, full of ignorant slander and invective. Disgustedly, one man finally arose and shouted, "I'll buy a \$100 bond if you've got it to sell." In the face of this challenge, the "bond salesman" finally retired in confusion.

On Thursday, June 22, *The New World* unleashed an inflammatory blast in an editorial with the provocative title: "Wipe Out This Peace Now Blot." This lying, super-jingo tirade called on the "responsible authorities" to "lose no time in halting the so-called 'First Annual Institute of International Relations'." It termed the speakers — mild traditionally religious and liberal pacifists — "a motley crew of pro-Axis propagandists."

certainly shattered Monday night when Staff Sgt. Frank Batterson was denied the floor to speak on behalf of the War Bond Drive." But this was to bolster its vigilante summons that this "blot on the patriotism of the Northwest . . . should be eliminated and quickly."

Promptly that night over 100 Stalinists were rounded up in response to the New World's lynch cry. The scheduled speaker was Bertram Wolfe, a former leader of the defunct Lovestone group and renegade from Marxism, whose subject was to be "Russia at the Peace Table."

Organized disruption prevailed from the first. The Quaker sponsors of the meeting, traditionally opposed to violence in any form, refused to call on the attending police to intervene. One Stalinist after the other rose to hurl insulting phrases and questions at the Chairman, who was attempting to make some introductory remarks.

SHOUTED DOWN Wolfe then attempted for 10 minutes to deliver his lecture, but was finally shouted down. The Quaker Chairman then pleaded with the "Four Freedoms" mobsters to practice the democracy for which they so loudly claim they are fighting. Unable to restore order, the Chairman finally requested the audience to rise and give silent meditation,

GLARING LIE The editorial was even forced to the obviously glaring lie that "any illusions as to the real motive behind this institute were

Quaker form of prayer, for five minutes. Finally, one Stalinist bellowed: "How long do you folks pray?" From the peaceful Quakers came their most violent expression of resistance — the cry, "This is blasphemy!"

While the prayer session was in progress, a squad of Stalinists pushed their way forward to the platform, roughly shoved aside the Institute officials and speakers, and commanded the microphone. The Chairman was compelled to adjourn the completely disrupted meeting.

Adding insult to injury, the gang of Stalinist hoodlums, who included a number of leading Stalinist officials of local unions, issued a statement the next day attempting to justify their own fascist-like assaults by hurling the slander that "speakers of the institute . . . are echoing the Fascist program" and are "Fifth Column traitors." Terry Petus, Stalinist mobster who edits *The New World*, blandly stated they are only "protesting" against speakers who are "spreading Berlin-Tokyo propaganda" but that another scheduled speaker, Carey McWilliams, whose Stalinist sympathies are well-known, "is a fine person" and "we urge people to hear him." It seems the Stalinists are now attempting to dictate who may speak.

Let no one think the Stalinist vigilante actions here in Seattle are isolated. This must be viewed

as merely the first open act of terrorism for which the entire Stalinist press has been clamoring throughout the country in its rabid campaign of slander and lynch incitation against the Trotskyists and all workers who militantly fight for labor.

FIRST ACT

Stalinism has become the avowed defender of reactionary capitalism and the most virulent opponent of socialism. In their traitorous desire to become recognized minions and hirelings of Wall Street, the Stalinists have become the most deadly spearhead within the labor movement for the anti-labor forces of Big Business. They have become notorious as volunteer scabs and strikebreakers for the corporations and government.

In their rapid degeneration, the Stalinists are attempting to emulate the actions of the vigilante terror gangs of the American Legion in the days of Attorney General Palmer's "red raids" and the savage attacks launched on organized labor following the last war. The events here last week are concrete evidence of the anti-labor terrorist aims and methods being pursued by the Stalinists.

SINISTER ASPECT

The most sinister aspect of these storm-trooper actions is that they are being carried out

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Negro Voters Speak

The declaration by Negro voters drawn up June 17 in New York City by the officers of 25 leading labor, civic, educational, church and fraternal organizations representing a total membership of more than 6,500,000 is another indication of the growing unrest in the ranks of the Negro masses who are gradually forcing their leaders to a showdown with the government and its representatives. The statement, copies of which were put in the hands of the two capitalist parties, was "designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates."

The statement frankly exposes a fact well known to all who have their finger on the pulse of the Negro masses. It states: "No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The national policy of segregating Negroes in the armed forces violates every principle of democracy." The declaration demands as a price for the Negro vote the "integration of all Americans into unsegregated military forces . . ."

Next, the "right to work without racial or religious discrimination must be . . . expanded during and after the war. No party or candidate for the Presidency or Congress can expect the vote of Negroes without supporting legislation for a permanent federal committee on fair employment practices . . ."

The declaration unquestionably expresses the feeling of the majority of Negroes throughout the country on the question of the ballot: "We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes . . . and other devices designed to disfranchise Negroes and other voters." An anti-poll tax bill is demanded.

Not failing to emphasize the bewhiskered demand for a federal anti-lynching law, the two parties are warned: "The ever-serious evil of lynching and mob violence has become more critical as a result of unrestrained violence against Negroes in the armed services. No national administration can merit the support of Negroes unless it is committed to a legislative and administrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace."

The housing issue, which is particularly acute in the northern, industrial cities, is approached on a progressive, non-Jim Crow basis in the statement which, again, reflects the newer trend of thought among Negro workers. The organizations call for " . . . an enlarged and unsegregated program of government-financed housing."

The many lessons that the Negro workers have learned as to the value of class solidarity are also translated into the political field in this document when it states that any force which " . . . seeks to destroy organized labor

is as much the enemy of Negroes as is he who would prevent Negroes from voting."

The otherwise frank and truthful declaration leads off with the usual "we're for the war" apology. It's like a kid telling his mama how much he loves her before he shows her how he ripped the seat of his new pants. Nevertheless, the leaders of these organizations admit that they realize that their members have their boots on as far as the world class struggle is concerned. This fact is proved by a demand in the statement for "an end to imperialism and colonial exploitation." The authors believe that " . . . political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India and all other colonial areas."

With the November elections coming up it will be interesting to see to how great or rather to how little an extent this declaration of Negro voters influences the candidates of the two capitalist parties. A close race has been predicted between these two rival gangs of political henchmen for the big business interests. Theoretically, then, each should attempt to outdo the other in playing up to the Negro vote, which may actually be the deciding factor.

In our opinion, neither of these parties, regardless of how much they need our vote, will grant—or even promise to grant—the democratic solutions to the grievances outlined in the declaration of Negro voters. They will pay lip service to the anti-poll tax and anti-lynch bills but we all have seen how they get together in their slick way to kill these measures. They will promise a continuation of the FEPC which was only granted to forestall the March on Washington and which, now, is as toothless as a sewer carp. They will not come out flat-footed and promise democratic, non-segregated housing nor will either of them promise democratic integration of all Americans into the armed forces. You can bet on that.

These things they will not do because they cannot do them. The interests which these two parties fight for, and who care not which one wins, reap their harvests from the seeds of less democracy—not more democracy. The job of these politicians is to fool the people while actually granting nothing. That is what Roosevelt is trying to do now and what the Republican platform tried to do in promising to "investigate" to what extent segregation in the Army is "lowering Negro morale."

Not only will it be interesting to see these politicians squirm under pressure of the Negro voters when they cannot offer the democracy we demand but it will also be interesting to see how long the Negro masses will wait before the militant spirit which instigated this declaration lifts them to the level where they will force their leaders to adopt the only strategy that can pay off—organized mass action, in alliance with the labor movement.

China's 7-Year Fight For Liberty

By Li Fu-jen

China's struggle against Japanese imperialism has just completed its seventh year. Few wars have lasted that length of time, and none, with the exception of the World War of 1914-18, has taken such a fearful toll of human life and treasure. China under Chiang Kai-shek's regime has fallen into utter ruin. And still the end is not in sight.

With the recent Japanese occupation of Loyang, capital of Hunan province, situated on the Peiping-Hankow Railway; of Changsha, capital of Hunan province, on the Canton-Hankow Railway; and now of Hengyang, vital rail link south of Changsha, Japan has all but realized her strategic plan of cutting the country in two along a north-south line and isolating the whole eastern part of the country from the great rural hinterland ruled over by Chiang Kai-shek's regime. The only remaining gap in that line of division is a 170-mile stretch of railway between Canton and Hengyang which Japanese troops are now fighting to occupy.

The seventh anniversary of the all-out Japanese attack on China is a fitting occasion to draw a balance of the struggle. Japan struck the first blow of the campaign at Lukouchiao, just south of Peiping, on July 7, 1937. Five years previously, the Japanese imperialists had "absorbed" Manchuria. Now, convinced that they would easily be able to overcome whatever resistances they might encounter, they set out to conquer China proper and convert it into a colony, as the British had previously done with India.

GREAT CITIES

The great cities of Peiping and Tientsin, Shanghai and Nanking (then Chiang Kai-shek's capital) fell to the invaders in rapid succession in the first few months of the war. Chiang retreated up the Yangtze and set up his capital in the big metropolitan center of Hankow. But toward the end of 1938 Hankow, and with it Canton in the far south, were captured by Japanese troops. It was a story of continuous retreat after great battles in which the Chinese armies, inadequately armed, poorly fed and clothed, often unpaid, were compelled to fall back before the superior might of the invading armies. Chiang's capital since 1938 has been located at Chungking, Yangtze river port in Szechwan province, 1,400 miles from the sea.

During these five years and more the struggle has been virtually stalemated. There were occasional battles when the Japanese sought to round out the conquered areas, and a sporadic guerrilla warfare has been taking place behind their lines. But the invaders attempted no general advance westward. Having captured the rich eastern section of

the country, which includes the principal cities, almost all the railroads, most of the industry, and the entire coastline, they rested on the defensive and settled down to exploit their rich conquests. In an effort to disguise the imperialist character of these conquests, and win the cooperation of the Chinese capitalists, they established the traitor Wang Ching-wei as their puppet ruler at Nanking.

THE EXPLANATION

What IS the explanation for China's inability, thus far, to carry on a successful struggle for her independence? The superior might of Japanese arms has already been mentioned. This superiority, in the first place, was assured by the superiority of Japan's industry, compared to which China's industrial economy is a veritable pigmy. However, China's military deficiency could in part have been made good by the purchase of arms and military equipment abroad. From 1927, when he slew the Chinese revolution, until 1937 when Japan attacked, Chiang Kai-shek could have created a formidable military establishment. But the funds that could have been used for this purpose—the money wrung from the masses in city and village by a ruthless taxation system—went into the private pockets of Chiang and his numerous retinue of ministers and officials. There is probably no other country in the world where the public treasury is so regularly and completely plundered by the ruling coterie.

Looting of the treasury, however, is but one part of the explanation for China's unpreparedness. More important, indifference to adequate defensive measures reflected the willingness of Chiang and his clique, and the Chinese capitalists and landlords who are Chiang's support, to come to terms with the imperialists rather than fight for the independence of their country. Chiang surrendered Manchuria without firing a shot, in fact ordered his Manchurian commander, Chang Hsueh-liang, to withdraw his armies inside the Great Wall in order to prevent "enlargement of the conflict."

It was only five years later, when mass indignation made it clear that this policy of non-resistance had reached its limits, and when the full scope of the Japanese imperialist appetite had become apparent, that Chiang belatedly reminded himself of his duty to lead the defense of the

Organizing the Guerrillas



The woodcut above depicts the arming of Chinese guerrillas to fight the Japanese imperialist invaders.

country. It was late, but not too late.

At this stage, however, China's military deficiencies in a struggle against a powerful, well-prepared adversary could have been made good only by summoning the million-headed masses to the battle against the invaders. The masses were ready and eager for the struggle. Only a signal was needed. Millions would have armed themselves, in some fashion, with that genius for finding and manufacturing weapons which always characterizes great popular mass movements.

READY AND EAGER

But the unfolding of such a grandiose movement was just what Chiang and the ruling class did not want. They fear the masses more than they do the imperialists. They know from experience—recollections of the 1925-27 revolution are still strong!—that the masses, organized and with arms in their hands, would set their own goals for the struggle, and, having swept the foreign violator from the country, would turn their weapons against their "own" oppressors and exploiters. Where arms were not available to turn the tide of invasion, the Chinese workers and peasants would have directed the potent weapon of revolutionary propaganda against the Japanese troops. Soldiers on both sides of the lines would have fraternized and made common cause against both the Japanese imperialists and the Chinese capitalists and landlords.

MILITARY LIMITS

Chiang Kai-shek therefore chose to keep the struggle against Japan strictly within military limits. As his armies fell back before the powerful Japanese divisions, his generals stamped upon every manifestation of independent activity by the Chinese masses in the rear. Workers and peasants and students who banded themselves together to render aid to the regular soldiers in the lines were jailed or killed by Chiang's reactionary regime.

Here in essence is the explanation for China's dismal record in the war. The soldiers have fought with an epic courage in the face of fearful odds. Their comrades in the rear who would and could have aided them, were discouraged and suppressed outright by the regime in power.

And, in the time-honored fashion of capitalist rulers in all countries, the masses have had saddled upon them all the immense burdens of this struggle. While the fortunes of the rich have been left intact, tremendous new taxation has been shouldered on to the backs of the poor. Not enough that their lands have been devastated, their cities and their homes levelled, that widows and orphans have been created by the millions, that 50,000,000 homeless and hopeless refugees wander despairingly across the face of a despoiled land! No, not enough! They must pay, they must keep on paying as hitherto, the monetary cost of this struggle which can never fructify in victory as long as Chiang Kai-shek and his regime of landlord-capitalist reaction rules over China.

To all the other woes and miseries of this unhappy nation is now added an unbridled inflation which is completing the economic ruin of the country. The Chinese yuan, or dollar, is today worth less than 1/200th of its pre-1937 value. Prices are nearly 300 times the level of 1937 and continue to rise at the rate of about 10 percent a month.

In this appalling situation, Chiang's regime becomes shakier from day to day. Mass rebellion grows. Peasant lads are forcibly resisting conscription into Chiang's armies. Their parents band together in the villages to

Remove Bridges

Another important local CIO body, the Akron Industrial Union Council, has adopted a unanimous resolution demanding the removal of Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union, from his post as CIO California Regional Director, because of his strikebreaking actions against the Chicago Montgomery Ward strikers and his advocacy of a permanent no-strike pledge.

The Akron CIO represents scores of thousands of militant rubber workers employed in the world's leading rubber fabricating center. Among other CIO organizations which have also demanded the ouster of Bridges are the Toledo Industrial Union Council and the St. Louis Joint Board of the United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

Concerned only to maintain his regime in power, and to save China for the landlords and capitalists, Chiang falls more and more into dependence on the imperialists in Washington and London, especially Washington. His only "solution" for the economic ruin which the war and his reactionary regime have wrought, is to seek a loan in Wall Street. This is the main reason for the current visit to this country of H. H. Kung, Chiang's corrupt finance minister. But the American imperialists will finance Chiang only to the extent necessary to keep his regime in power and prevent capitulation to Japan. They have no interest in China's starving millions. They do not want a "strong China," but a weak debilitated China which, in their own good time, they will attempt to "rescue" from Japan so that they may exploit it themselves. This explains the niggardly lend-lease aid to China.

China's struggle against Japanese imperialism, China's struggle for national freedom, is a just struggle and is worthy of complete support. But the struggle is being undermined and betrayed by the butcher regime of Chiang and the Komingtan. For the Chinese masses, liberation lies along the road of independent struggle, toward the formation of a workers and peasants government which will remove from power the native exploiters, and will organize China's millions for a genuine all-out struggle against Japanese and all other imperialist and which alone will bring freedom to China.

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Officials OK Child Labor-- So Long As It's All "Legal"

By Ruth Johnson

The nation-wide scandal of child labor has reached such proportions that government officials can no longer ignore it. Smarter under the growing criticism of child labor law violations, New York Industrial Commissioner Edward Corsi on June 22 "made the record" with a proposal which only serves to expose the subservience of all government bureaus to the business interests, and their callousness toward the enslavement of the nation's youngsters.

Corsi proposes to launch a "one week campaign" against violations of the child labor laws. He has asked the mayors of 62 New York cities to bring the situation to public attention, to enlist the cooperation of the press, radio, and civic organizations in informing parents and prospective employers and employees of the law's provisions and the procedure for complying with them. The problem is thus to be solved by a week's ballyhoo. "There is no honest reason why any single person within the confines of the Empire State should fail to cooperate," Corsi explained. Lest anyone still misunderstand the government's real intentions, Corsi's associates immediately demonstrated further that not child labor, but only "illegal" child labor, would be the subject of this 7-day crusade.

As The Militant reported on June 3, child labor laws have been "relaxed" from coast to coast, to permit children to work at more tender ages, for longer hours, in more industries, with fewer safeguards. The schools, supposedly entrusted with the task of educating youngsters, have now joined in the campaign to extend child labor. In some New York high schools, students have been excused from taking their final examinations, if they agree to work on a farm until August 1. The result, as the officials anticipated, was that numerous students in doubt of their scholastic standing, eagerly signed up for five weeks of farm labor to guarantee their advancement to the next grade!

For thirty years the labor movement fought to wipe out the exploitation of children, and by its work won substantial reforms. In three years, it has seen these gains virtually wiped out by the business interests draped in the cloak of patriotism. To prevent further inroads on the health and education of workers' children, and to safeguard their own wage standards against the competition of notoriously underpaid youngsters, the labor movement must again take vigorous action. Government bureaus, social workers, the capitalist press, all tied to the profit system which thrives on the exploitation of the entire working class, will never do more than to issue hypocritical programs like the current "anti-child-labor week."

The same kind of apologetic statements were made by Kate Papert, representing the Women, Child Labor and Minimum Wage Division of the State Department of Labor, who emphasized, "We do not object to children working... We do object to abusing and exploiting children, and that doesn't mean we're trying to mollycoddle them."

The N. Y. Herald-Tribune, or-

SHIP CREW STRIKE GETS FAST ACTION

CHICAGO, Ill., June 26 — The value of the strike weapon was once again graphically demonstrated by the successful job action of the crew of the S.S. North American, when it docked at the Michigan Avenue Bridge at Chicago on Saturday, June 24.

The strike was called by the AFL Seafarers' International Union, as a result of the refusal of the ship owners to recognize the right of the union to bargain for the stewards, waitresses, maids and other service workers, and because of repeated acts of intimidation against these workers for union activity. The rates of some of these workers were as low as \$65 per month for 16 hours per day, 7 days a week, with no overtime pay.

The strike was a fine display of labor solidarity. The remainder of the ship's crew, the oilers, firemen, deckhands, etc. were already represented by the union and were working under union wages and working conditions. They recognized the need however, for a 100 percent union crew, and refused to move the ship. The ship was scheduled to sail at 7:30 P.M., and by that time had a capacity load of passengers aboard. As soon as the news of the strike spread, a number of NMU members appeared on the scene and attacked the strike and the strike leaders. They urged the immediate ending of the strike on the ground that it impeded the war effort, was calculated to embarrass "our commander in chief," etc. The strikers made short shrift of these flimsy, chasing them off the ship. An official of the steamship company spoke to the strikers along the same line as the Stalinists. The strikers shouted back "immediate action—we want immediate action!"

Hundreds of cash customers were waiting for their trip. The company official was becoming frantic. He secured permission from the union to address the strikers. The company official, flanked by some gold braid from the coast guard, began giving the strikers the usual promises that the union would be recognized after a Labor Board election. He even promised an election by the following Monday. The strikers answered by reiterating their demands for "action now." Two of them, a Negro and a White, acted as the spokesmen. They related acts of terrorism against unionists on board ship, and told of rotten working and living conditions that existed on the ship, that some of the men had no place to sleep other than the hard deck.

Martin Polaner, secretary-treasurer of the Lake District, SIU, explained to the strikers that no Labor Board election was necessary for recognition, and that the official could sign a contract right then and there. He pointed out the delays in labor board procedure. Not one striker expressed a desire to return, and Polaner gave the company one half-hour to grant recognition. Otherwise, he would find lodgings for the strikers. The official proceeded to burn the wires to his home office in Detroit and at 11:30 P. M., Jack Delaney, International Representative of the union, announced that the company had agreed to recognize the union's right to bargain for the strikers, that the strike was won.

Pioneer Paragraphs PROLETARIAN MORALS SERVE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY NEED

Engels once wrote that Marx and himself remained all their lives in the minority and "felt fine" about it. Periods when the movement of the oppressed class rises to the level of the general tasks of the revolution represent the rarest exceptions in history. Far more frequent than victories are the defeats of the oppressed. Following each defeat comes a long period of reaction which throws the revolutionists back into a state of cruel isolation. Pseudo-revolutionists, "knights for an hour," as a Russian poet put it, either openly betray the cause of the oppressed in such periods or scurry about in the search of a formula of salvation that would enable them to avoid breaking with any of the camps. It is inconceivable in our time to find a conciliatory formula in the sphere of political economy or sociology; class contradictions have forever overthrown the "harmony" formula of the liberals and democratic reformers. There remains the domain of religion and transcendental morality. The Russian "Social Revolutionists" attempted to save democracy by an

alliance with the church. Marcou Pivert replaces the church with Freemasonry. Apparently, Victor Serge has not yet joined a lodge, but he has no difficulty in finding a common language with Pivert against Marxism.

Two classes decide the fate of modern society: the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The last resource of the bourgeoisie is fascism, which replaces social and historical criteria with biological and zoological standards so as thus to free itself from all restrictions in the struggle for capitalist property. Civilization can be saved only by the socialist revolution. To accomplish the overturn, the proletariat needs all its strength, all its resolution, all its audacity, passion and ruthlessness. Above all it must be completely free from the fictions of religion, "democracy," and transcendental morality—the spiritual chains forged by the enemy to tame and enslave it. Only that which prepares the complete and final overthrow of imperialist bestiality is moral, and nothing else. The welfare of the revolution—that is the supreme law!

(From "Their Morals and Ours," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 47-48. Pioneer Publishers, 1942; 48 pp. 20c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

READ "THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 7, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS — In preparation for a second general strike to enforce terms of the contract wrested from Minneapolis bosses in May, General Drivers Union 574 on July 2 issued a public statement which exposed the "delaying" tactics of the companies as a deliberate union-busting move. "We desire to negotiate in regard to wages and working conditions in every plant where our members ask such negotiations," said the statement; "This is what we are going to insist on." With the support of every organized trade union body in the city, Local 574 scheduled a mass parade to demonstrate its strength.

SAN FRANCISCO — A general strike loomed as public indignation mounted over police murder of striking waterfront workers. Even Joseph P. Ryan, reactionary head of the AFL longshoremen's union, was forced by the pressure of the workers to give support to the strike, which he had condemned a few days before. So widespread was the sympathy for the longshoremen's strike, that Colonel Mittleston of the National Guard frantically threatened court martial for any soldier on strike duty who shot into the air — "Shoot to Kill," he ordered.

GERMANY — In a monstrous blood-bath, Hitler purged from the Nazi Party a large section of the rebellious middle class elements who expected fulfillment of Nazi promises of trust-busting and land reform. "This most recent bloody carnage of German Fascism," said The Militant, "begins to open up a new chapter in its history. . . the strengthening of capitalist reaction."

In a thorough analysis, The Militant explained how the Fascist movement, financed by Big Business, had won to its ranks tremendous numbers of people from the middle class. "To the middle class this program (renunciation of the Versailles Treaty, nationalization of trusts, and land reforms) represented a glorified empire with the oppressive features of Big Business eliminated. The capitalists and the Junkers were never fooled by this part of the program. . . With the Hitler hordes in power and the working class movement crushed, the fascist revolution. . . was not entirely completed. The middle class elements had yet to be reckoned with — not in the fulfillment of their own aspirations of trust busting and land reform. . . but by dashing all of these hopes. . ."

LEON TROTSKY
On
THEIR MORALS AND OURS

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

48 pages 20 cents

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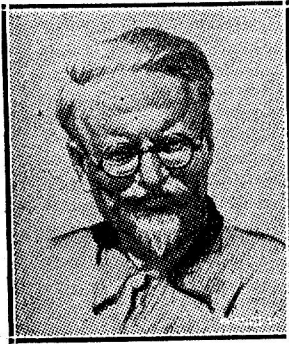
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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— 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.

The Lynn Case

The recent decision of the Supreme Court on the Winfred Lynn Case demonstrates again what a faithful and dependable watchdog is the Supreme Court of the interests of the plutocratic masters who own the wealth and rule the destinies of this country. Again, as in the case of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, the Supreme Court is confronted with a clear violation of the Constitution. In the Lynn Case, involving the question of discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces, the very provisions of the Selective Service Act of 1940, which state that "in the selection and training of men under this Act, and in the interpretation and execution of the provisions of this Act, there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color," are admittedly being violated every day. Yet the nine begowned attorneys supposed to be the guardians of the people's rights and liberties, hid like a bunch of shyster lawyers behind a legal technicality and declared that the case was "moot" — it could not be acted upon because Winfred Lynn is now no longer in the custody of Colonel Dawnes, who was his Commandant at Camp Upton, N. Y., when he originally brought his suit a year and a half ago. (Lynn is now serving in the Pacific theater of war.)

The capitalists and their retainers try to inculcate the idea into the minds of the American people that the courts—and specially the highest court of the land, the U. S. Supreme Court—stand above the conflict of society, above the struggle between capital and labor, and render their verdicts in unbiased fashion; purely on the basis of cold mathematical reasoning, impersonal justice and abstract law. Nothing could be further from the truth. The last few decisions of the Supreme Court should serve to force this truth upon the working masses—that the Supreme Court judges are nothing but begowned timeservers of the banking and industrial masters of America, that the Supreme Court is merely an instrument to keep the masses in line behind the present capitalist system of exploitation, discrimination, favoritism and luxury for the few at the expense of the many.

Only several weeks ago, the same Supreme Court judges ruled in the Hartzel and Baumgartner Cases that the defendants could not be convicted because Americans have the right to "speak foolishly and

without moderation." Baumgartner and Hartzel were convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917 for their pro-Nazi utterances. It is interesting to recall that the U. S. Supreme Court, hiding behind a shyster technicality similar to its action in the Lynn Case, refused during the last war to rule on the conviction of the Socialist agitator, Eugene V. Debs. Debs was convicted to ten years imprisonment under the same Espionage Act of 1917 for delivering his Canton speech where he declared his opposition to the first world war.

The U. S. Supreme Court shows itself tenderly solicitous for the "free speech" rights of Nazis, but it has refused to even act in the case of the Minneapolis Labor prisoners involving the constitutionality of the Smith "Gag" Act, and now in the Winfred Lynn case, involving the question of Jim Crowism in the armed forces.

The Supreme Court has thus joined in the campaign to jail Socialist fighters, to hound and bait labor militants, and to impose second class citizenship on 13 million American Negroes.

Yugoslavia

The recent agreement of the Tito regime in Yugoslavia with the Yugoslav government-in-exile highlights the sinister aims and reactionary role of the Stalinists. The Yugoslav Liberation movement originated as a revolutionary movement of the masses, who aspired not only to drive the Nazi conquerors out of their country, but to abolish forever the rule of the rapacious and reactionary landlord and capitalist clique represented by King Peter and his government-in-exile. The masses of Yugoslavia wanted land, peace, freedom and security. The Yugoslav peoples were attracted to the Soviet Union because they knew that the Russian Revolution had driven out the landlords and capitalists and had given the land to the peasantry.

The Stalinists, headed by Tito, took the leadership of this mass movement and soon began bending it to their own reactionary aims. First, assurances were issued that private property would not be disturbed in Yugoslavia and that the economic and social relations of the pre-war days would be retained. This was a clear declaration to the capitalists of Europe that they need not fear for their rule—Stalin would help them maintain the capitalist status-quo.

Next, in April, Dr. Josip Smoljaka, who previously served the gangster royal Yugoslav government as Minister to the Vatican and Spain, and is now Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Stalinist-dominated Partisan Government, announced in a special interview granted to the correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* that the "question of the monarchy (in Yugoslavia) will not be decided until after the war." The April 22 *Militant*, commenting on this interview, declared: "What is now obviously in progress is that Tito and his clique are working under the guidance of the Kremlin toward the establishment in the Balkans not of a genuine federation, but the creation in alliance with the old ruling groups, of a South Slav Entente, within the Kremlin's sphere of influence."

"Smoljaka's proposal is still another proof that Tito and the Stalinists seek to betray the revolutionary movement of the Yugoslav peasants and workers."

The betrayal of the Yugoslav masses has now progressed further. A delayed AP dispatch of June 23 reported that Tito had arrived at an agreement with King Peter on a unified Cabinet which will include representatives of the Partisan regime and the government-in-exile. What this means is that Stalin is lending his weight to impose again on the Yugoslav peoples the self-same reactionary and discredited landlord and capitalist cliques who for decades have exploited and enslaved the broad masses, and against whom the Yugoslav people have fought with so much valor and sacrifice.

Stalin is attempting to put through his hopelessly utopian and thoroughly reactionary program of reconstituting capitalist regimes in Eastern Europe "friendly" to the Soviet Union and under its sphere of influence. Such is the meaning of his maneuvers and policies in Yugoslavia, in Western Poland, in Rumania, etc.

The masses of Yugoslavia, however, have not fought for over three years with such unexampled heroism and courage, they have not sacrificed so many of their sons and daughters merely to bow their heads again beneath the tyrants' yoke, to surrender again to the enslavement and exploitation by the upper class scum who previously ruled over them. The Yugoslav peoples want no more lords and masters over them. They want peace, freedom and security. They can realize their aspirations only through the program of the Socialist revolution; by expropriating the propertied classes, by giving the land to the peasants, by placing industry under workers' control.

The advanced workers and peasants of Yugoslavia must draw the final lessons from the latest Stalinist betrayal. They must proceed to organize their own independent organization dedicated to winning the Yugoslav masses to the struggle for a workers' and peasants' republic, part of the Socialist Balkan Federation, an integral section of the Socialist United States of Europe. The Yugoslav masses can fight for these aims not in alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists who come to displace the Nazi tyranny, only to substitute it with their own, nor in alliance with the Stalinist traitors, who would deliver them again into the hands of their oppressors.

The Yugoslav peoples will find as their only true allies the insurgent masses of the rest of Europe, who like themselves aspire to drive out the old tyrants and exploiters and to rebuild Europe on new Socialist foundations.

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.

Cramp Contract

Editor: Negotiations for a new contract with the Cramp Shipbuilding Company, have come to a standstill as the company confronts Local 42, CIO Shipbuilders Union, with an ultimatum to agree to the elimination of the present piece-rate system, amounting to a wage cut of 40c. to 60c. an hour for 4,000 workers, eliminating seniority rights, and limiting time for union grievance activity to the discretion of management.

Then to top all of these union-busting proposals, the Company refuses to extend the present contract or agree to make the new one retroactive.

By implication, the Cramp Management has sought to indicate that the Navy had ordered the Company to take this stand. Cramp's is regarded as "the guinea pig" for the shipbuilding industry in the shipowners' union-busting drive which aims to eliminate even the past gains of the workers.

But the union isn't taking this lying down. At a membership meeting, the local membership voted not to consider any company proposals until the ultimatums are withdrawn and not to work without contractual guarantees.

The present contract runs out June 22 here, and in most other places along the Atlantic coast. Shipbuilding employers have been working in concert and now the Cramp workers think that it is time for the workers to do the same. So an effort will be made to secure joint action with other locals.

S. W.
Philadelphia

Michigan CIO Political Action

Editor: UAW President R. J. Thomas denounced the Michigan Commonwealth Federation at the Wayne County CIO Political Action Committee which met in Detroit on June 20 and 21. The meeting was attended by about 250 delegates. "I never gave any endorsement to the Michigan Commonwealth Federation and I don't give a damn about it," Thomas said.

Practically the whole time of the meeting was taken up with recommendations for endorsement of candidates in the coming primaries. Since the MCF is not running any primaries of its own there was nothing for them to do at this meeting. Hammond, MCF Chairman, arose once to interrupt a Stalinist from the State, County

and Municipal Workers who was attacking the MCF. Hammond stated if the Chairman would let the Stalinists take up the time of the body to attack the MCF he would ask for time to answer. The Chairman admonished the speaker and the Stalinist to shut up. No one else spoke against the MCF.

The big fight on the floor was around a motion made by Blain Marrin, formerly a member of the MCF, which stated that the PAC endorse only CIO people in the Democratic primaries. This motion was decisively defeated. The Executive Board of the PAC had already made a deal with the Democratic machine whereby the CIO would get about 8 or 9 places and in return the PAC would back about 8 candidates of the machine. The Executive Board recommendation carried.

The MCF is scheduled to meet following the primaries and decide whom it is to run. None of the MCF people proposed anyone for any post at the meeting of June 20.

It might interest you to know that both the PAC and the State CIO endorsed the petition campaign initiated by the MCF to repeal the Sales Tax. The petition has attached to it the name of the MCF and many of the PAC leaders did not like the idea but it was endorsed nevertheless.

Up in Flint, Bert Boone, President of Chevrolet Local 659, has put up a slate with a four-point program which is expected to carry. I have heard that it includes the following points:

1. Rescind the no-strike pledge.
2. For independent political action.
3. For full compensation for lay-offs during cutbacks.
4. Post-war full employment social security program to be adopted NOW.

J. S.
Detroit

Brewster Sit-In

Editor: As a former Brewster worker I hope you will publish this letter. We in Brewster suspected for some time what was coming. The indictment of DeLorenzo was proof enough that the Navy was out to destroy Brewster Local 365. Some progressives were considering what to do about it. Suggestions ranged from a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, a mass delegation of 1,000 union members and finally a sit-in.

The representative of your paper and a member of the SWP strongly opposed any such action

as adventurism and "company unionism." Yes, company unionism. He claimed it wasn't the union's job to get contracts for the company. He maintained that only a national labor party was any answer to our local problem.

In your reporting of the stay-in at Brewster you gave it your fullest support and hailed it as an example for the labor movement. You however forgot to mention that had labor followed your policy there would have been no example to follow.

The labor movement can and should draw the proper lessons from the events at Brewster. So should you. The trade union policy for militants is not to discourage and attempt to discredit any action by labor but to encourage it and help it.

Brewster Worker
Brooklyn, N. Y.

A Reply

Our Brewster correspondent is mistaken in his idea of the position of *The Militant*. We are firm believers in mass action and favored from the first, the idea of mass action to fight against the layoffs in the Brewster situation. As our correspondent states, we firmly supported the sit-in at Brewster. Our criticism was directed at Frankenstein's policy of attempting to whitewash the Roosevelt administration and its responsibility for the Navy union-busting campaign.

Of course, *The Militant* favors the building of a national labor party. But we do not counterpose the demand for a labor party to mass action. On the contrary, it is our belief that only through militant labor actions will the forces be organized to launch the independent party of labor—editor.



WINFRED LYNN

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

ITALY

Through the Rome correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, Italy's representative at the Versailles "peace" conference, V. Orlando, has been unexpectedly dragged back into the limelight after 20 years of obscurity. It is not too much to suggest that Orlando is being considered as a possible new premier by Churchill and Roosevelt in case the Bonomi cabinet should, like the Badoglio cabinet before it, collapse under mass pressure.

Badoglio is well up in the seventies, Bonomi is 71, Orlando is 85. Such are the "fresh" forces called up by the Allied imperialists. But don't be misled by the mere consideration of age. We have the *Times* correspondent's assurance that Orlando is "no ghost from the past." In fact "he is still very active and very much of a force in Italian politics. Nor is it by any means excluded that he will again be an important figure in the peace negotiations to follow the second World War."

Is Signor Orlando perhaps an anti-fascist? He told the *Times* correspondent that he was opposed to any "purification" of former fascists. And no wonder! In 1924 he was a candidate for Deputy on the Fascist ticket. And as late as 1935 he wrote a letter to Mussolini, which Mussolini published, in which he "proclaimed his devotion to the Fascist cause, asserting every Italian should offer himself for service."

But what does all this matter to Churchill and Roosevelt? Orlando told the *Times* correspondent: "I can't even think any longer about the subtleties of party politics. They have no reality in face of the overwhelming fact that Italy is going to be dominated and prostrate and in danger

of internal strife for two generations."

Now do you see why this hoary capitalist politician has been dragged forth by the Allied imperialists? He is prepared to acquiesce in the subjection of Italy to Anglo-American imperialism—FOR TWO GENERATIONS. And, naturally, he is against "internal strife," meaning revolutionary activity of the masses which would bring real freedom to Italy through socialism.

In Nazi-occupied northern Italy, which still awaits Allied "liberation," the workers are continuing their heroic fight against the Nazi enslavers. Dispatches out of Rome last week reported a general strike in Genoa and spreading strikes in Liguria, where a shipyard and six large plants producing war materials were shut down by walkouts of the workers. Among the struck plants was the great Ansaldo factory. Violent street fighting against the Nazis by the workers in Florence was also reported. Swiss dispatches told of an insurrection against the Nazis throughout Tuscany province. The insurrection broke out when the Germans shot 200 Italian youths for refusing to report for military service.

ENGLAND

Reluctant to face the delegates of the rank-and-file which is angry and rebellious over the continuous betrayals of the workers by their supposed leaders, the top bureaucrats of the British Labor Party decided recently to cancel the party conference which was due this summer.

Pretext for the cancellation was a warning by the railroads that many trains would be withdrawn from ordinary service to meet

military needs, thus making it difficult for delegates to travel. The bureaucrats eagerly seized upon this, despite the fact that other organizations proceeded with their conference arrangements.

Amid a rising tide of working-class militancy, occasioned by the intolerable burdens of the imperialist war and the growing attack on labor by the Tory-Labor coalition government of Churchill, it is not difficult to envision the embarrassment which the Labor Party "leaders" would feel when called to account by the movement they are so brazenly betraying.

Bent on continuing the coalition with Churchill and the Tories, how could they face rank-and-file equally determined to end it? And how would "Labor" Minister Ernest Bevin be able to justify his vicious Defense Regulation 1-AA which makes it a criminal offense to advocate strikes in war-essential industries?

Together with Home Minister Herbert Morrison, another of the labor skates, Bevin would also have to explain the arrest and imprisonment of four Trotskyists under the notorious Trade Disputes Act — the first time this vicious anti-labor law has ever been invoked. This vicious act of persecution has aroused great indignation among the British workers.

No wonder the conference was called off.

The Militant

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

U. S. Senators Applaud Fascist-Like Rantings

While the Roosevelt administration puts on a holy show of going after the fascist "crack-pot" groups, Congress itself has become the chief forum for the vilest, fascist-type incitations against minority groups and labor.

Cloaked with parliamentary immunity and tolerated by the so-called "progressives" in Roosevelt's camp, Southern "white supremacy" Democrats are spewing forth a constant stream of poison against the Negroes, Jews and labor.

A recent orgy of Negro-baiting and anti-Semitism was indulged in by Southern Senators on the floor of the Senate over the bill to extend the life of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, that feeble government agency supposed to protect Negroes and other minorities from discriminatory practices in industry.

Senators Bilbo and Eastland of Mississippi outdid themselves in obscene ranting against Negroes and Jews, not without considerable approving applause from the other solons. Bilbo raved that the FEPC would be able to make the Senators hire "mulatto" secretaries whose "odoriferous" smell could never be removed from their air-conditioned sanctums—free of every stench but that of reactionary politics.

Bilbo even branched off into the fascist line that the "Jews" are running the country. "This nationality has received more consideration under the New Deal than any other nationality." He covered innumerable fields, including urging the white people in Washington, D. C., to "take the law into their own hands" against Negroes. Thus, lynch-violence was openly proclaimed by this leading law-maker.

Eastland raged at the prospects of white stenographers having to take dictation from "burr headed niggers." No protest at this rabid racial insult was voiced by the assembled Republicans and Democrats.

These latter joined the poll-taxers in adding enough amendments to the bill to emasculate the FEPC even of its former feeble powers. In this disemboweled version, the bill was finally passed. The Roosevelt administration, which can pound hell out of Congress for some bill it really wants, demonstrated utter ineptness and indifference toward the actions of its Southern bloc against the FEPC bill.

Congress Aids Cannery in \$100,000,000 Price-Gouge

In the general massacre of the Price Control Act, little notice was given to an "incidental" piece of legislative robbery whereby the food-cannery hope to pick an additional cool \$100,000,000 from the pockets of the consumers.

This price-boosting scheme is incorporated in a rider to the Deficiency Appropriations bill, which provides funds for the operation of the OPA and other government agencies. This rider, cooked up by the National Cannery Association, closed shop of the canning monopoly, was slipped through in the closing hours of Congress.

An "innocent" joker was included in the rider which, in effect, would permit the cannery to fix their own standards and specifications on canned goods enabling them to charge housewives "extra fancy" grade prices for "Grade C" products.

Roosevelt's advisers were reported as "worried" over this additional rabbit-punch at price control. But they also "reuefully" predicted Roosevelt would sign the measure.

Shipyard Steal Exposed Before House Hearings

How a former Maritime Commission official secured control, without a nickel of capital investment, of a \$2,000,000 shipyard with millions in government contracts by shipping the commission seize it from its former owners, was described last week before a hearing of a sub-committee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

This capitalist "dog eat dog" incident, with a government agency acting as a tool for serving one of the private interests, was termed by one of the principal witnesses, former purchasing agent of the shipyard, as a "direct and carefully planned steal."

The same day as an indictment for fraud was brought against the officials of the original company, Marine Maintenance Corporation, the Maritime Commission ordered the plant seized. It was subsequently turned over to a newly-formed private company, without sufficient capital even to meet the payroll, headed by John Otterson, who had intimate connections with the Maritime Commission on which he had previously held the post of coordinator of repairs. The officials of the former company were acquitted of the fraud charges, but the shipyard was not returned.

A former comptroller of East Coast Shipbuilding Company, the name of the new outfit, told how he decided to resign because he felt there was "something very smelly" about the whole transfer of ownership "which he couldn't put his finger on, but he felt it was legalized highway robbery."

The officials of the new company treated themselves very handsomely at government expense and under the benevolent protection of the Maritime Commission. Six months after taking over the 10 top executives paid themselves a handsome cash bonus. The number of executives mushroomed from 48 to over 400, who installed themselves—at taxpayers' expense—in very swank offices, known as "Mahogany Executive Row," fully equipped with thick rugs, drapes and private secretaries.

The Maritime Commission is well-known for its generosity toward the shipyard companies and ship lines. It now appears to be extremely magnanimous toward individuals closely associated with it. Heading the commission is the notoriously anti-labor Admiral Land, who authored the famous dictum, "Union organizers should be shot at sunrise." He also declared that the shipbuilding moguls could not be expected to produce ships without the "incentive" of high profits.