

SUPREME COURT THROWS OUT PETITION FOR REVIEW OF SMITH 'GAG' ACT CASE

SMEAR ATTACK AGAINST UAW UNIONS IS OPENED BY CHICAGO 'TRIBUNE'

CHICAGO, Nov. 22. — On the eve of vital NLRB elections at the huge new Douglas Aircraft and Chrysler-Dodge plants here, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, powerful mouthpiece for the most reactionary corporate and financial interests in the mid-west, this week issued a virtual declaration of war against the United Automobile Workers, CIO, and the entire Chicago labor movement.

In a series of front-page, banner-headlined smear pieces, Col. McCormick's *Tribune* — friend and protector of all the black, brown and silver-shirt fascist groups — has launched a scurrilous series of charges against the UAW in the Studebaker aircraft motor plant which has already given the police and FBI the pretext for invading the plant, intimidating the workers, and framing up "evidence" against loyal union men.

Among the fantastic allegations made by the *Tribune* are that "the Reds have seized control of the plant" and "are running it," that the "Communists" have instituted a "reign of terror" against the "loyal workers" forcing them into "slow-downs and strikes," that union men are "sabotaging" machines and materials, that the company has been rendered powerless to stop these depredations and in order to maintain production has had to hire thousands of extra workers.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN

This smear campaign against the UAW is but the latest episode in the long-term national assault upon organized labor in the United States, a recent example of which was the Vinson Naval Committee's attack upon Brewster Local 365 through its president, Thomas deLorenzo.

Instinctively recognizing the *Tribune* attack as a symptom of a general reaction against the organized labor movement of America, the members of the two largest UAW locals in Chicago—Studebaker Local 998 and Buick Local 6—held record-breaking membership meetings last Sunday at which the implications of the attack were discussed and action proposed. The Buick local, meeting first, unanimously adopted a resolution of solidarity with its sister local at Studebaker and sent a committee to deliver this message to the Studebaker meeting. Copies of the resolution were to be sent to all CIO locals in Chicago as a move toward the organization of resistance to the assault upon organized labor.

The resolution, recognizing the broader implications of the *Tribune* attack states:

Further News About Italian Trotskyists

Fenner Brockway, leader of the British Independent Labor Party writes in the Sept. 25 British New Leader that "six [political parties] emerged with programs and leaders from the underground" in Italy right after the fall of Mussolini. "Five of the political parties, including Social Democrats, Communists, Liberals and democratic Catholics formed a Popular Front. . . . The sixth party, known as the Party for the Establishment of a Socialist Republic, did not sign this joint manifesto, but it called for the full socialist revolution. . . ."

A footnote to Brockway's article adds: "Details of the party are lacking; it was described by Pietro Treves in the Labor Press Service as 'Trotskyist' after he had heard an Italian broadcast reference to it. . . ."

"It is not accidental that this libelous smear campaign, which is directed first of all at the Studebaker Local and which undoubtedly will be extended to the entire CIO movement in Chicago, comes on the eve of three vital NLRB elections in which the UAW-CIO is seeking collective bargaining rights and union representation in the important new Douglas Aircraft, Bendix, and Chrysler-Dodge Plants.

UAW RESOLUTION

"This union-busting campaign is the reflection of the fear of the most reactionary sections of the corporation and banking interests at the growing strength of industrial unionism in this once notorious open-shop town. The Chicago *Tribune*, and the forces it represents, are interested neither in efficient production or protecting the interests of the workers. As its whole anti-labor record of the past proves, it is interested in keeping Chicago the citadel of the open shop and in

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"My Friends . . ."



Landlords In Brooklyn Incite Vicious Anti-Negro Campaign

Demanding that police be allowed to use force on Negroes in order to curb a so-called "crime wave" in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area, commonly known as "Little Harlem," a King's County Grand Jury last week launched a virulent slander campaign against the 70,000 Negroes who live within the twelve square miles of this miserable slum.

The anti-Negro charges of the Grand Jury were immediately picked up by the metropolitan papers and blown into a fantastic picture of uncontrolled crime, vice, and juvenile delinquency in "Little Harlem." Typical was the distortion by the *N. Y. Post* of a remark made by a social worker into a screaming headline, "Almost Every School Child in Bedford Area Carries Knife."

Not to be outdone in spreading prejudice against Negroes, the *N. Y. Times* reported that additional policemen detailed to Little Harlem seemed "openly sullen when they learned they had been brought here to conduct a pencil and paper beat, rather than to augment the existing police detail

to cut down hoodlumism with force."

SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS

It should be always borne in mind that the ability of particular reactionary groups to exploit anti-Negro prejudice flows from the fact that the Negro is condemned by the capitalist ruling class and the government to the status of a second-class citizen.

So long as the Negroes are subjected to discrimination they remain an easy prey for the reactionaries who stir up anti-Negro prejudice for their own private gains. In the case of the "Little

British Rearrest Ceylon Trotskyists

The mid-October 1943 supplement to the British Socialist Appeal states that the leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, the Trotskyist party of Ceylon, have been arrested in India after having escaped from the British jails in Ceylon. They were arrested because of revolutionary activity. The British report states that they are being tried for high treason.

Harlem" anti-Negro slander campaign, the local reality interests would gain greatly by restricting the Negroes in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area within a narrower ghetto. The removal of the Fulton "el" has increased the value of this neighborhood as a residential area.

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18 Socialist Workers Party And 544-CIO Members Must Go To Federal Penitentiary

Highest Court Joins Roosevelt-Biddle in Campaign to Abrogate Freedom of Speech and Deprive Workers of All Civil Liberties

The U. S. Supreme Court joined the Roosevelt-Biddle campaign to deal crushing blows to labor and to destroy civil liberties by its Nov. 22 decision denying the petition to review the case of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO, convicted under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

The lengths to which the despots in Washington are prepared to go in their campaign to outlaw the workers' right of free speech and in suppressing the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism is clearly indicated by this unheard-of procedure of the highest legal body in the land.

These dispensers of capitalist "justice" refused to test the first case under

the Smith "Gag" law, the constitutionality of which has been universally disputed since the day of its passage; and the constitutionality of which had been directly challenged by the defense through all the different stages of the Minneapolis Trial.

By this decision not to interfere with the FBI-Gestapo frame-up artists, the Supreme Court becomes a party to the railroading of the 18 working class militants to prison.

The Trotskyist proletarian leaders and incorruptible fighters for socialism must now serve the penitentiary sentences imposed on them by their vindictive class enemies.

MUST SERVE SENTENCE

A telegram received on Nov. 23 by the attorneys for the defense states that:

"DEFENDANTS MUST SUBMIT TO UNITED STATES MARSHAL MINNESOTA WITHIN THIRTY DAYS FROM DATE OF FILING MANDATE IN [Minnesota] DISTRICT COURT."

The defense attorneys expect this mandate to be filed within the next few days. This means it will be little more than a month before the 18 defendants are incarcerated in the federal penitentiary.

[See "Statement of Albert Goldman, Attorney for the Defendants" on page 2.]

Twelve of these defendants must serve 16 months prison terms, the others—a year and a day.

The arbitrary action of the Supreme Court comes two months after the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in its Sept. 20 decision upheld the conviction under the Smith "Gag" Act.

The Honor Roll

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

Albert Goldman, attorney for the SWP and The Militant.

Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the SWP.

Felix Morrow, Editor of Fourth International.

Farrell Dobbs, Editor of The Militant.

Grace Carlson, New York SWP Organizer.

Oscar Coover, Minneapolis SWP Organizer.

Harry DeBoer, Local 544-CIO Organizer.

Max Goldman, Recording Secretary, Local 544 Federal Workers Section.

Carlos Hudson, Editor of The Industrial Organizer, Local 544 weekly paper.

Clarence Hamel, Local 544-CIO Organizer.

Carl Skoglund, Local 544-CIO Organizer.

Oscar Schoenfeld, former Organizer Local 544 Federal Workers Section, Youth Division.

Emil Hansen, Local 544-CIO Organizer.

Jake Cooper, Minneapolis truck driver.

Edward Palmquist, Local 544-CIO Organizer.

Karl Kuehn, Local 544-CIO Federal Workers Section Organizer.

Alfred Russell, former officer Omaha Teamsters Local 554.

The defendants had been deprived of their democratic rights and sentenced to prison by the Federal Court at Minneapolis. What did the Circuit Court of Appeals say about this Kangaroo proceeding? It declared that it was done in a correct legal manner. What did the U. S. Supreme Court do? It refused even to consider the case.

CLASS ROOTS OF TRIAL

The roots of the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act Trial reach down into the war policy of the Roosevelt government. That government is bent on beating down all labor opposition to its course. Naturally, they singled out the most conscious representatives of the advance guard for the first attack. It was for this reason that the Trotskyists were indicted and brought to trial.

The Socialist Workers Party is pledged to an irreconcilable struggle for socialism. The indictment charged the SWP leaders with holding and propagating the view "that the Government of the United States is imperialistic, capitalistic and organized and constituted for the purpose of subjecting work-

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Economic Aspects And Political Implications Of The UNRRA

By S. Marcy

At Atlantic City, N. J. are now assembled representatives of 44 nations. The avowed purpose of the Conference—called the "United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration," and referred to as UNRRA—is to draw up plans for granting relief to countries ruined and devastated by the Second World War.

This Conference has finally convened "pursuant to an agreement," signed at the White House on Nov. 9 by all the 44 delegations. It comes after many months of secret negotiations against the background of prior failure of the Hot Springs Food Conference, the deliberations of which were shrouded in secrecy, with the results remaining unknown save for a few intimations of antagonism between Great Britain (as an importer of food) and the United States (as an exporter of food).

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Aside from the flood of crocodile tears over the tragic

wide dissolution into anarchy and the collapse of civilization. The whole United Nations idea, world peace, democracy are all at stake in the decision to be made [at this Conference]. By "anarchy" these gentlemen mean the workers' revolution; by "collapse of civilization"—the replacement of capitalism by socialism.

CARDINAL ISSUES

The UNRRA Conference therefore merits a close analysis of its intricate economic aspects, as well as its political implications. Before proceeding to discuss the European problems of the UNRRA Conference, it is well to pause briefly on the Far Eastern problems at the Conference which have received scant treatment in the dispatches emanating from the sessions, but which are cardinal issues. We refer, of course, to India and China.

The program of relief and rehabilitation envisaged by the Conference covers "500,000,000 inhabitants." (*N. Y. Times*, Nov. 14.) By implication, this program virtually excludes India, but includes China as a recipient of relief. But why should India where, as the press reports, "100,000 persons are dying of starvation each week" be virtually excluded?

RELIEF TO CHINA

Let us first examine the reasons for the inclusion of China. It is not due to the scurrying of the Chinese Finance Minister, H. S. Kung, with his unctuous solicitations of American banking circles. Even less so can it be attributed to the much publicized visit to the United States of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the butcher of the Chinese proletariat. The suffering of the millions of Chinese

people is certainly no consideration for capitalist politicians.

Far more pertinent is the fact that one week after the official announcement that UNRRA would convene, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, adopted two significant resolutions, which open wide the doors to Allied capital investment, and discard the last legal safeguards against imperialist plunder. The first resolution rescinds the requirement that 51 per cent of the stock of any corporation in the country must be owned by Chinese, and also discards the rule that a majority of its board of directors must be Chinese. The second resolution further provides that no fixed restriction shall be placed on the ratio of foreign capital invested in joint enterprises and requires only that the chairman be a

Chinese. The second resolution further provides that individuals may negotiate foreign loans and gives the right to "aliens" (Americans and the British) to finance their own enterprises.

Herein lies one of the real reasons why China is included as one of the larger recipients of the so-called relief, and why T. F. Tsiang is a member of the Council of UNRRA. News of the concession granted by the Kuomintang, was reported in brief, obscure dispatches (such as the one in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Sept. 2.) This news was received with jubilation in the higher circles of American finance capitalism.

THE PARADOX OF INDIA

India occupies a place at the Conference which appears paradoxical. She is listed as a contributor of relief to the amount of \$35,000,000. But we are asked

by the capitalist press not to draw erroneous inferences from this fact since, according to the plan adopted at the Conference the contribution of \$35,000,000 from a source like India—either in cash or in kind, such as cotton—would be pooled together with the other contributions from the uninvaded countries into a fund from which India or any other country participating in UNRRA could draw, to the same extent as it contributed.

Assuming this to be true, it is nevertheless plain — from the amount fixed for her relief materials and supplies — that India is not to be considered as one of the larger recipients of relief. The reasons for this become plain enough if we examine UNRRA's plan as it applies to the European countries.

This plan is to operate on the

principle that each participating country contributes one per cent of its national income in kind or in currency to a pool administered by UNRRA. Under this formula the United States will contribute four times as much as Britain and if the distribution of the relief is administered by American officials — as Lehman is so strenuously attempting to put across — this will certainly operate to give the United States a great political weapon in Europe and in China as against Great Britain. The participating countries who need the relief are to draw from this pool to the extent permitted by the UNRRA administrators. (Lehman and perhaps British officials.)

The newspaper PM has called the UNRRA Conference the "Greatest

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The maneuvering of the Roosevelt Administration with the wage demands of the railroad workers has come to that point where the union heads are now pleading for justice from the hard reactionaries in Congress. Last week a Senate Interstate Commerce sub-committee approved a resolution, originally introduced by Senator Truman, recommending that the Aug. 7 agreement between the carriers and the fifteen non-operating unions be put into effect as a "just and valid settlement."

The Aug. 7 agreement granted the railroad workers an eight cent per hour increase. This was arbitrarily set aside by Fred M. Vinson as "not consistent with the stabilization program."

Vinson made an attempt to avert passage of the Truman resolution last week when he wrote the Senate committee that approval of the eight cent increase would mean that "Congress itself has broken the Little Steel formula."

The Mine Workers Journal describes the situation in Washington where coal negotiations are again in progress, as "compound confusion." After reading endless "interpretations" and "clarifications" by the WLB and other government agencies, it seems as if "chaotic chaos" might suit the situation even better.

Only one thing is clear. The mine operators intend to get a more than "adequate" increase in the price of their product, before they even consider signing contracts with the United Mine Workers.

The mine owners are sabotaging the negotiations. Only half of the Southern Appalachian operators are present at the negotiations meetings. The other half of the southern operators have refused to come to the meetings at all until the OPA grants an "adequate" increase in the price of coal. None of the captive mine owners are present. The operators issued a joint statement the other day declaring that unless an "adequate" increase is granted "forty percent of the producers will go under."

Last Saturday the WLB handed down its "interpretation" of the Ickes-UMW contract which ended the fourth coal strike. Under this WLB edict, 31 cents has been lopped off the miners' take-home pay by a new method of computing pay for both hourly and piece-rate employees. The new method sets 97.14 cents per hour as a composite base for computing overtime instead of the basic \$1.00. The controversial car-pushing issue was referred "back to local committees." Travel time averages are still in the hands of a special board appointed by Roosevelt on Nov. 12 to study the question.

This "clarification" of the Ickes-UMW contract was heralded by the press as a stepping stone to negotiations between the operators and the union for a contract which will pave the way for returning the mines to private ownership. However, it is not likely that any serious negotiations will get under way until the operators get their price increase approved by the OPA. They have already turned

Brooklyn Landlords Incite Vile Anti-Negro Campaign

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dential area. Furthermore, the smaller the ghetto the Negroes occupy, the higher the rent they must pay.

One of the most vocal supporters of the Grand Jury presentment is a certain Summer Sirtl, a leading Brooklyn realtor and head of the Mid Town Civic League, Inc., which has been for the past few years trying to restrict the Negroes to a single section of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

Most brazen of all is the attempt of the Grand Jury presentment to blame Negroes for the deterioration of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area into a slum. In passing, the report gives a vivid account of how Negroes are compelled to live inside their ghettos. The report says, "Hundreds of formerly very fine one-family homes are now occupied by from three to eight families with only one bathroom in each such house for the use of all tenants."

HIGH RENTS

"In many cases, a whole family consisting of two parents and several children live in one room together. Oftentimes a bed will be shared by two or more persons over a twenty-four hour period. That is to say, one person will be entitled to use the bed from

6 in the morning to 6 at night, and the other from 6 at night until 6 in the morning."

Nowhere does the Grand Jury point out that because of low incomes and high rents Negroes are forced to crowd together under such unhealthy and inhuman conditions. The report is only interested in "proving" that housing occupied by Negroes deteriorates in value.

If the Grand Jury had really wanted to get at the roots of the problems faced by the Negroes of "Little Harlem" it would have criticized the LaGuardia administration for failing to provide adequate housing, playgrounds, and child-care facilities. The presentment, if it had been genuinely interested, could have pointed out that there is only one public nursery in the whole area and practically no playgrounds.

La Guardia who knows just how bad the conditions are in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area is only trying to save his face by making an investigation there. The investigation and report of the Mayor's committee on conditions in Harlem made after the 1935 riots remain unpublished. Just as he has done nothing to improve conditions in Harlem, so La Guardia will do nothing to solve the problems of Brooklyn's "Little Harlem."

La Guardia's responsibility in

Supreme Court Rejects Petition

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ers and laborers to various and sundry deprivations and for the purpose of denying to them an alleged right to own, control and manage all property and industry in the United States," and that it was desirable and necessary that the workers and farmers bring about a revolutionary change in this system. This is the one point in the indictment that the defendants acknowledged as true.

A POLITICAL TRIAL

The Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act trial was an unprecedented development in the class struggle in the United States. Never before has the federal government ordered a trial which was so nakedly a political trial, a persecution of the workers' political movement. The government directly characterized as criminal the doctrines of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, in the indictment and the prosecution arguments.

As the capitalist prosecution marked a new stage in the class struggle, so too did the conduct of the proletarian defense. Never before in a labor trial in this country have defendants so deliberately, so systematically, defended their revolutionary doctrines, using the courtroom as a forum from which to proclaim their ideas.

The firm stand of the defendants at the trial met with acclaim from the advanced workers everywhere. The publications emanating from the trial—the speech of Goldman and the trial testimony of Cannon—have been the most popular pamphlets ever issued by the Trotskyist party. Since the trial, new members have been recruited into the party faster than ever before in the fifteen years' history of American Trotskyism. All this shows that the defendants turned the trial into a political offensive against the class enemy. In this they were true to the best traditions of international Marxism.

FIRST 'GAG' ACT CASE

Congress declared war on December 8, 1941. On the same day the court sentenced the defendants to prison. How could the political significance of the trial be better symbolized?

The Minneapolis case was the first instance in which the Smith "Gag" Law, passed in 1940, was invoked. For the first time since the infamous Alien & Sedition Acts of 1798 this statute made the mere advocacy of ideas a federal crime.

The sponsor of this ultra-reactionary law was the same poll-tax Representative Howard W. Smith, who is the leader of

the anti-labor bloc in Congress and co-author of the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law. Smith and the Big Business gang he represents regarded this law as an indispensable weapon in the campaign they were preparing to unleash against the labor movement.

ATTACK ON LABOR

After the Democratic-Republican coalition passed the bill, the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations pleaded with President Roosevelt to veto it on the ground that it "would become an instrument of oppression against unpopular minorities and organized labor." Roosevelt nevertheless signed it over these protests.

It is clear that the prosecution of the Trotskyists was but the first in a series of similar judicial attacks upon the labor movement by the Roosevelt regime. The militant miners who were indicted on a charge of violating the Smith-Connally Act by a Federal Court in Pennsylvania are victims of the same administration and employer-inspired campaign as the Minneapolis defendants.

CONTINUED PERSECUTION

Nor have the Minneapolis indictments been the last of the administration's attacks upon the Trotskyists. Roosevelt's Postmaster General has taken away the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant*. Just as the Trotskyist movement was the first to be hit by the Smith Act, so its organ has been the first working class paper to suffer a reactionary attack upon the freedom of the press.

Events have demonstrated that the Trotskyists are first in the line of fire because they are the spearhead of militant resistance to the developing reaction. The strategy of the agents of Big Business, entrenched in Washing-

Smear Attack On UAW Unions Opened By Chicago 'Tribune'

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driving wages down to the sweatshop levels of 40 cents an hour that prevailed until the CIO fought for and won a measure of decent conditions for the industrial workers."

The resolution concludes: "Every worker and unionist in Chicago must understand the real meaning of the Chicago Tribune's campaign. It is out to smash our unions—to slander and discredit

them. It is out to drive wages and working conditions down to the slave-level of the sweatshop era."

"The UAW-CIO has the traditional record of being the cleanest run and most democratic union in the history of American labor. Not with the aid of the enemies of labor, but by its own action, the UAW-CIO has never failed to expose and eliminate those company elements which from time to time infiltrate every union for the purpose of discrediting and undermining them."

"To the Chicago Tribune and the reactionary forces it represents, we say: 'Hands Off Our Union! Clean your own house!'"

UNION SOLIDARITY

A committee of twelve representatives from each of the two locals met with Joseph Mattson, Regional UAW Director of the Chicago District. In the name of the International Office he promised a campaign of defense consisting of full-page advertisements to be run in the daily newspapers and a series of 13 weekly radio talks, in which the record and position of the UAW would be presented. He failed, however, to make any proposals which would express the mass resentment of the members of the UAW locals in the region against this attack and which would unmistakably demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of the union's members support their organization and are ready to rally to its defense.

The response of the members of these locals is proof of their understanding of the true character of this attack and of their own solidarity in defense of their unions.

Statement of Albert Goldman, Attorney for the Defendants

The astounding refusal of the Supreme Court to review the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals, which affirmed the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists, can be explained only on the premise that the Court (I do not know whether there was a minority) was determined not to interfere with the railroading of the defendants to jail and at the same time was anxious to evade a discussion of the important legal questions involved in the case.

Questions such as the constitutionality of the Smith Act, the applicability of the "clear and present danger doctrine" to that act and other novel questions raised in the petition to the Supreme Court, would ordinarily assure the granting of a review by the Supreme Court. But a review would have meant discussing these questions and the Court did not deem it advisable to do that.

What role did the present official deference to Stalin play in the Court's denial to grant a review? In the recent decision involving the Stalinist Schneiderman, the liberals on the Supreme Court held that the distribution of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels could not be interpreted to mean that the party distributing it advocates the violent overthrow of the Government. Since the same Communist Manifesto was one of the important documents introduced in evidence by the Government in the case against the Trotskyists, it must be presumed that it becomes dangerous only when Trotskyists distribute it. It is certain that Stalin will applaud the action of the Supreme Court.

By its curt order: "Petition denied," the Supreme Court has dealt the revolutionary and democratic movement of this country a severe blow. It is now clear that to depend upon that court to guard really important democratic rights, is to lean on a broken reed. The agitation for the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act must be redoubled.

ton, is to pick off those who stand at the extreme left-wing of the labor movement. If these initial attempts prove successful, they can then proceed to move forward in frontal assault against the rest of the labor movement. Step by step they intend to rob the workers of all their democratic rights.

HOW TRIAL BEGAN

In the spring of 1941, AFL Teamsters President Daniel J. Tobin came into conflict with the

leaders of Minneapolis Local 544, who refused to accept Tobin's order that they abandon their vigorous struggles to improve working conditions and resisted his attempts to set up a dictatorship over the local union. When the local voted to transfer its affiliation to the CIO, Tobin appealed to the White House for aid and Roosevelt seized this opportunity to deliver a demonstration blow against labor militancy. A federal indictment was issued against 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Trotskyist-led Local 544 on July 15, 1941.

The indictment made two main charges: 1. That the defendants were guilty of seditious conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence, and 2. That they had violated the Smith "Gag" Act by advocating the overthrow of the government.

Although the defendants were charged with conspiracy, the real conspirators were all on the other side of the case. Tobin conspired against the 544-CIO leaders not only with the Minneapolis bosses, the Republican Governor Stassen and the Democratic Pres. Roosevelt, but also with the FBI. Government testimony during the trial revealed that FBI men had been working for months with Tobin's agents in the local to incriminate and oust its elected

leaders. Carl Skoglund, former 544 President and one of the 18 convicted, was approached and offered immunity from deportation if he would turn informer against the other 544 officials.

The charge that the Trotskyist movement is in any way a conspiracy is a brazen lie. Trotskyism founded upon Marxism employs democratic and popular means to reach and teach the masses. It advocates its views in the open and seeks the widest circulation for the party's revolutionary principles and program.

At the trial the government produced 37 witnesses, the overwhelming majority of whom were Tobin's agents and employees. As evidence it introduced proof that the leaders of Local 544 had organized a Union Defense Guard to protect the union and its property against the threatened attacks of the Silver Shirts and other vigilante groups.

In addition it produced 150 exhibits, consisting of openly-sold documents of the Socialist Workers Party and its press, together with well-known works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Among them was the socialist classic, the "Communist Manifesto," which is carried on the shelves of thousands of libraries and universities.

JURY'S VERDICT

The trial judge dismissed the charges against five of the defendants, and the jury acquitted five others.

Grant Dunne, Local 544 organizer and one of the original 29 defendants, committed suicide three weeks before the trial began. He had been in ill health for a long time as a result of shell shock suffered during the First World War.

The jury found no evidence whatever of overt acts committed by any of the defendants and all were declared not guilty on the first count of the indictment. Thus the 18 were convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act alone—not for any acts they had committed but solely because of beliefs they held and expressed.

This aspect of the trial is all the more ominous because, although the defendants are victims of an attack on the free speech provisions of the Bill of Rights, the reports in the capitalist press of the trial and the Circuit Court decision and the Supreme Court's refusal to review the case deliberately seek to cover up this vital aspect of the Minneapolis Smith "Gag" Act case.

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Boston Celebrates 26th Anniversary Of Soviet October

BOSTON — The 26th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was celebrated here at a Nov. 13 meeting of members and friends of the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Oscar Williams of New York, National Committee member, was the speaker of the evening.

Comrade Williams analyzed the meaning of the October Revolution, its role today and in the great days of the coming European and world revolution. He clearly defined the difference between the false policies and treacherous role of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the one hand, and the progressive character of the Soviet economy on the other. Despite the lies of the Liberals and professors, the press and the movies, it is the economy built by the October Revolution which keeps the Red Army on the march with a morale unparalleled in any other nation today.

There was a heartening number of new faces in the audience. Among the newcomers were trade unionists and a group of young Negro women.

The response of the audience was enthusiastic, and a wide range of questions engaged the speaker after he had concluded his main address. The meeting closed with the singing of the Internationale.

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The "Four Freedoms" Abroad

Those who try to convince Negroes that the United States is leading a "crusade for Democracy" have a very hard job on their hands. After all, it isn't Hitler who Jim Crows Negroes in the armed forces and in civilian life in this country. It is the government, the capitalists, and their native hirelings, like the Ku Klux Klan, who strive to "keep the Negro in his place."

Just as reactionary as the treatment of Negroes at home is the attitude of the Roosevelt administration towards the colonial peoples of Africa, India, and the Near East. The American capitalists collaborate with Great Britain, the French Committee of National Liberation, and the Italian regime of Marshal Badoglio in keeping down their colonial subjects.

The Stalinists and other misleaders of the Negro people may talk a lot about the "four freedoms," the Atlantic Charter and other paper promises of democracy. One fact, however, sticks out like a sore thumb. The United States sides with its "democratic" allies against the oppressed peoples who strive for freedom. Though they all may quarrel over the exact division of the colonies, they all agree on one point—these colonial peoples are to remain enslaved.

Take the fate of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya. Mussolini boasted these African colonies were to be the foundation of Italy's fascist empire. Though Mussolini has been replaced by Marshal Badoglio, and the Italian ruling class has switched from the Axis to the side of the "United Nations" there has been no change in the imperialist plans of the Italian ruling class.

They are still fighting a war for profits and colonies. And as a reward for deserting Hitler they hope to regain their African colonies now under Allied military control.

About a month ago, George Padmore, London correspondent for two leading Negro papers, reported that Badoglio was pressing Italy's colonial claims on American and British government representatives. This week, Count Sforza, so-called anti-fascist and liberal, who had previously endorsed Badoglio's colonial demands, again urged that Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya be returned to Italy in order to "avoid a rebirth of fascism." Another leading Italian figure, Dr. Adolfo Omedeo, rector of Naples university, said that Italy should be given a mandate over Ethiopia.

Through the mouths of their spokesmen, Badoglio and Count Sforza, the Italian ruling class voices its demand for these colonies. It remains to be seen whether or not the American and British will return these colonies to the Italians. But one thing is sure. Not one of the statesmen of the United Nations will see to it that these colonial people be given the right to rule themselves.

Another of America's allies, the French Committee of National Liberation made its war aims clear to the people of Lebanon this week. The so-called Free French answered the demand of the Lebanese people for independence with the usual reply of colonial despots—armed force.

Tired of broken promises, the Lebanese voted several weeks ago to establish complete sovereignty now. Their newly elected government asked the French in effect to leave the country. The Delegate-General of the Free French proceeded "democrati-

cally" to proclaim martial law, dissolve the Lebanese government and arrest as many members of the government as he could lay his hands on.

When the Lebanese people protested the arrest of their leaders, and called for the restoration of their civil liberties, the French called out the troops to machine gun the demonstrators. Although the French have imposed a strict censorship, the casualties are known to run into hundreds.

Writing in the *Daily Worker* of November 22, James S. Allen says, "Our main concern in the matter is to prevent the crisis from spreading and delaying

Letter of Thanks To Albert Parker

My dear Mr. Parker:

For sometime now I have been wanting to write this word of appreciation to you for your very fine articles on The Negro Struggle in The Militant. Your analysis of the Negro struggle and its relation to democracy is always pertinent and correct, in my way of thinking. You seem to get to the heart of the matter better than any writer I know, white or black. I regret that we will be deprived of reading your articles until after the duration. Many thanks to you for what you have written on the behalf of our people.

CLARENCE T. R. NELSON
President, St. Paul Branch,
NAACP.

further the final actions which are necessary to bring the war in Europe to a speedy end." Allen here admits that the independence of Lebanon is of little concern to him, and all his colleagues.

One reason for the crisis, Allen further admits, is the attempt by the United States and Great Britain to grab French colonial possessions. "Both Britain and our country," declares Allen, "are making things more difficult by seeking to undermine French colonial position, to bring about even before the war is over a redistribution of influence in the French colonial sphere, if not of the colonies themselves."

After telling us what Great Britain and the United States are fighting for, Allen then reveals the noble motives of the French imperialists: "The French Committee," declares Allen "is deeply concerned with safeguarding the position of France as a leading European power."

And Allen adds that "the colonial powers will under all circumstances continue to jockey for position and try to oust their rivals..." But this conflict must stop, he concludes, because it interferes with winning the war.

What are these if not Stalinist admissions that the United Nations are fighting for the right to exploit the colonial peoples of the world? Allen's solution for the quarrel among the victorious Allies is a coalition solution of the immediate problem. What is this other than a proposal to let the English as well as the French have a right to exploit the Lebanese?

Allen's recognition of the right of the imperialist powers to colonial possessions exposes his lipservice to the struggle of the Lebanese people for independence. You can't have a colonial empire without slaves. And the Stalinists, as Allen makes quite clear, are for the continued existence of the British and French empires.

TROTSKY SAID:

ADVANCED AMERICAN WORKERS WILL TURN TOWARD MARXISM

The United States had Marxists in the past, it is true, but they were a strange type of Marxist, or rather, three strange types. In the first place, there were the emigrants cast out of Europe, who did what they could but could not find any response; in the second place, isolated American groups, like the De Leonists, who in the course of events, and because of their own mistakes, turned themselves into sects; in the third place, dilettantes attracted by the October Revolution and sympathetic to Marxism as an exotic teaching that had little to do with the United States. Their day is over. Now dawns the new epoch of an independent class movement of the proletariat and at the same time of — genuine Marxism. In

"To the Memory of the Old Man"
by JAMES P. CANNON
16 pages - Five Cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., New York 3,

The Allied 'Democrats' And The 'Free French' Committee

By A. Roland

It would be over-easy to dismiss the rivalry of de Gaulle and Giraud as merely a clash of personalities, each of whom has the ambition to become the Bonaparte of France. This is only one of the elements present in the complex situation confronting the French bourgeoisie. They face the task of attempting to re-establish capitalist rule in a France completely shattered after ignominious defeat in the war. An important part of this task, still from the capitalist point of view, is to preserve intact the French empire. Allied imperialism seeks to help French capitalism in its first task, and to defeat French imperialism in the second one.

The actions of the Allies in the invasion of North Africa showed an utter indifference and contempt for both the colonial and the French masses. It was clear that what the "democratic" leaders, Roosevelt and Churchill, sought, was an authoritarian military figure who would co-operate—or collaborate—with them in the administration of the French colonies, and who could be groomed for the post of military dictator in France after the invasion of Europe. Giraud was chosen first for this post. He was in close touch with Vichy circles; that is, with the finance capitalists of France. He was willing to take directions from the Allies in both a military and a political sense. He hoped in this manner to salvage as much of the French empire as the Allies could be induced to hand back by the "good conduct" of the French bourgeoisie.

REACTIONARY REGIMES

Roosevelt and Churchill favored Giraud also as an excellent go-between with the top-circles of the French ruling class, particularly with Petain. The Allied leaders have shown in all their policies that they feel it absolutely necessary to establish a conspiracy with the former ruling class of the invaded countries of Europe at the earliest moment, in order to frustrate the inevitable movement of the great masses

toward their own revolutionary rule. Everywhere the "democratic" imperialists seek to set up reactionary totalitarian regimes in order to save capitalism.

De Gaulle had disqualified himself for the post of dictator, so far as Roosevelt and Churchill were concerned, not because of any love for democracy on his part (France is worth a few democratic phrases!) but because he tried to rely on the support of all the classes in France instead of leaning solely on the capitalists under the tutelage of the Allies. De Gaulle hopes to be the mediator between the classes, and thus the true Bonaparte holding the balance by military-police force between equal forces. But this would tend to precipitate the class struggle, something the Allies dread above all else. The bourgeoisie has been weakened, its rule undermined by defeat and collaboration with Nazism. The masses are filled with hate and bitterness against the ruling class that betrayed them into slavery. Not of the own free will of the masses can capitalism be restored after the war. The old capitalist rule would have to be imposed on them by overwhelming force.

De Gaulle made himself unacceptable to the Anglo-American leaders on another ground when he accepted the collaboration of the French Communist Party. This opens the possibility of a Stalin-de Gaulle alliance at a later stage. Such an alliance might prove useful to Soviet Russia in thwarting any moves by the Allies against what Stalin conceives to be Russian interests. De Gaulle might hope on his part, to secure Stalin's aid against the inevitable attempts of the "United Nations" to award to themselves choice parts of the French colonial empire. Moves in this direction are already quite apparent.

POLICIES OPPOSED

The Allies had hoped to bring about unity in the ranks of the French bourgeoisie. They felt that such unity was demanded by the "delicate" situation. Under pressure, de Gaulle and Giraud finally got together. But their policies proved to be opposed to each other. De Gaulle awaited a

favorable moment to ditch Giraud. This moment came when the Moscow Conference ignored the French National Committee of Liberation almost entirely. De Gaulle thought to "pay back" the Allies for this neglect by removing Giraud as Co-Chairman of the French Committee. De Gaulle did not dare go so far as to unseat his rival from military command since that would have meant stopping all aid from Anglo-American imperialism. The sudden resignation of Petain at this same time shows that he is in touch with the Allies who wish to restore his former prestige before the invasion of France. Petain's move tends to aid Giraud and to weaken de Gaulle.

HYPOCRITICAL DEMANDS

Roosevelt and Churchill are taking full advantage of the situation in Lebanon to undermine de Gaulle. He stands in the way of their plans. It would only be an historic repetition if the British ruling class was the engineer of the Lebanon revolt. This war is the continuation of the last imperialist war on a higher plane. This Second World War like the first, involves the struggle for the oil resources of the Near East. The period following 1918 saw a fierce competition between France and England for control of the Mosul and Iraq oil fields, and for the transit countries like Lebanon through which the pipelines ran to Mediterranean harbors. Agreements among the imperialists, such as the San Remo agreement of 1920, were reached only to be immediately violated. Finally the two powers, England and France, fought a war over the oil fields by proxy, England supporting Greece, and France supporting Turkey. England lost the proxy war, but got its way by stirring up the Lebanon tribes in revolt against the French, by making Feisal King of Iraq, and then forcing Turkey to cede the Mosul field to Feisal.

The utterly hypocritical demands of Churchill and Roosevelt for the granting of independence to Lebanon and to other Near East countries is obviously a move to detach parts of the French Empire. The sort of fictitious independence that will be granted, will merely place the "liberated" lands under Anglo-American dominance. The United States will most likely become the successor of the French in the oil lands. American concern over the oil situation on a world scale is connected with the needs for oil stations and air bases scattered all over the world. The seizure of such bases will mark the real end of isolationism and the worldwide expansion of American imperialism. The visit of the sons of Ibn Saud to the United States recently was but another indication of United States oil aims in the Near East. The speed with which the United States backed up the English stand against the French in Lebanon shows that the whole matter was planned and calculated in advance.

Giraud has aims no different from those of de Gaulle both at home and abroad. No more than de Gaulle would Giraud desire to free Lebanon from French domination. His silence on the matter at this time, is a way of taking advantage of the situation which exposes de Gaulle and his Committee for what it is — the custodian of French imperialism. The Committee is powerless to resist, not the Lebanese, but Anglo-American pressure.

The aims of imperialism, English, French and American, are clear. All seek to strengthen their hold on the masses at home by assuring themselves of control over raw materials and markets abroad. But each power today can expand in the colonial sphere only at the expense of some other power. France will be as surely one of the victims of the war as any of the Axis powers. She will be weakened by the loss of a greater or lesser part of her colonial empire. Neither Giraud nor de Gaulle will be able to prevent this. French capitalism will be undermined both at home and abroad. It can offer the French workers and peasants nothing but further misery and degradation. The liberation of France in any real sense is possible not by the restoration of capitalism by the Allied forces of invasion, but only if the masses take their fate into their own hands. The liberation of France can take place only on the road to socialism through the proletarian revolution.

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Lippmann must have felt that simply to state that the purpose of a foreign policy is to guard the interests of the United States, is hardly sufficient. The people of this country, like the masses of all other countries, are not much concerned with guarding interests that do not affect them. What they want and are deeply concerned with is to prevent devastating wars. To make the proposal for an alliance between this country, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China acceptable, Lippmann makes the contention that such an alliance will, in all probability, bring peace to the world for a reasonably long period of time. He points to the period of peace which the United States enjoyed between 1823 and the Spanish-American war as evidence that an alliance between two powerful nations is likely to result in a long period of peace.

According to this outstanding intellectual guide of the American ruling class, the United States had no war with any foreign aggressor in the period between 1823 and 1898 because it had a foreign policy, that is, because it made definite commitments and had the power to balance these commitments. The Monroe Doctrine committed the United States to prevent the seizure, by any nation, of territory in the Western Hemisphere. It was promulgated with the consent of Great Britain and with the understanding that the British navy would implement the principle enunciated in that doctrine. In effect, then, there was something in the nature of an alliance, if not an actual one, between the United States and Great Britain, an alliance which was powerful enough to scare away any would-be aggressor.

The fact that the United States came close to war with Great Britain on three occasions during the period between 1823 and 1898 throws considerable doubt on the theory that there was such an alliance. It certainly proves that friction between allies is quite possible. True the friction did not result in war but that is to be explained not by the alleged alliance but by the fact that the

(In succeeding articles, some of the more significant aspects of this Conference will be analyzed.—Ed.)

The Proposed Alliance For Prevention Of Future Wars

By M. Morrison

In the shift which the American ruling class is making in its foreign policy, Walter Lippmann is playing an influential role. He fulfills the task of furnishing the political leaders of the ruling class with a theoretical justification of the switch from "isolationism" to an active participation in world affairs.

Lippmann's thesis, as expounded in various articles and especially in his book "U. S. Foreign Policy," is as follows: The United States has extensive commitments. It has undertaken to prevent any country from embarking upon acts of aggression in almost one half of the surface of the globe — from Alaska to Luzon, from Greenland to Brazil, from Canada to the Argentine. Alone it is unable to protect this huge slice of the earth's surface. Hence it must enter into an alliance with the two other powerful countries of the world, the British Empire and the Soviet Union. The alliance should also include China because of its potential strength.

We owe some debt of gratitude to Lippmann for his frankness in recognizing that this alliance is for the purpose of defending American interests. He eliminates idealistic and moralistic motives in formulating a foreign policy. The United States, confesses Lippmann, did not enter the First World War to defend democracy nor is it participating in this war to defend democracy. It has fought and is fighting now to defend its own interests.

A very serious question is left unanswered by Lippmann in his book expounding his conception of a correct foreign policy for this country, a question that is undoubtedly of the utmost interest to the masses. What and whose are the interests that a foreign policy should aim to defend? Why were the extensive commitments undertaken in the first instance? Why should the United States have acquired the Philippines? For Lippmann such mundane things as imperialism, classes and economic interests hardly exist. If he mentions "imperialism" it is only to refer to British imperialism and not to American.

Lippmann must have felt that simply to state that the purpose of a foreign policy is to guard the interests of the United States, is hardly sufficient. The people of this country, like the masses of all other countries, are not much concerned with guarding interests that do not affect them. What they want and are deeply concerned with is to prevent devastating wars. To make the proposal for an alliance between this country, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China acceptable, Lippmann makes the contention that such an alliance will, in all probability, bring peace to the world for a reasonably long period of time. He points to the period of peace which the United States enjoyed between 1823 and the Spanish-American war as evidence that an alliance between two powerful nations is likely to result in a long period of peace.

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rivalries between the two countries were not as yet sufficiently intense. It is undoubtedly true that the British navy discouraged any nation from attempting to seize territory in the Western Hemisphere because British interests favored a policy of excluding any other nation from that part of the earth. It so happened that British and American interests coincided in this particular and thus, in all probability, both countries would have united against any attempt by any nation to seize territory in the Western Hemisphere.

But how and why will an alliance between the three great world powers and a fourth potential great power prevent war? Lippmann's answer to this question shows what poverty of thought prevails in the ranks of the intellectual defenders of capitalism.

Germany and Japan will, according to Lippmann, be definitively crushed, that is, they will no longer, after this war, be permitted to rank among the great powers. It follows, therefore, that no war is to be feared, at least for a long time as a result of any aggression by these countries. Since all nations other than those who would constitute the alliance are small and incapable of making war on a large scale it would appear that the proposed alliance is for the purpose of preventing war between the members of the alliance.

Naturally the four great powers will agree to settle all their disputes by peaceful arbitration. But has not that been the case before the outbreak of both the First World War and the present conflict? Lippmann feels a little uneasy about this question. Hence it is necessary for him to come to the profound and reassuring conclusion that the powerful nations in the alliance that he proposes will not make war because it is not to their interests to make war. In other words, they will be good nations because it is in their interests to be good.

And to the objection that such an alliance may dominate all the small nations and colonies, Lippmann has the same answer. They will not do so because it is to their interests not to do so. We must therefore conclude that the cause of wars in the past lies in the failure of nations to make proper alliances and to recognize their true interests. This is the contribution of an outstanding intellectual defender of American capitalism as a solution to the problem of war. It is certainly necessary to help spread the book among the masses to destroy whatever faith they still have left in the capacity of the ruling class to bring peace to the present and future generations.

And the whole theory of Lippmann is built up around the fact that the Western Hemisphere was not threatened by any power in the period between 1823 and 1898 because the Monroe Doctrine was implemented by an understanding between Great Britain and the United States. The workers must be reminded that this alleged understanding did not prevent war by the United States against Mexico and Spain during this period. Evidently Lippmann's theory permits the United States to go to war against countries that are not in alliance with it.

But we really do not expect Lippmann as a defender of American capitalism to furnish us with any coherent theory explaining why the United States did not participate in great wars during the nineteenth century and why the United States found it necessary to make commitments in the Philippines and in China. Only a revolutionary Marxist can explain capitalism in the nineteenth century had not yet developed into full-blown imperialism with its fierce rivalries for markets, raw materials and spheres of influence. And with the beginning of this century imperialist rivalries reached a stage where armed conflict is the only method for their solution.

That is why two devastating wars have occurred in this century. And that is why, unless the working masses will wipe imperialism off the face of the earth, wars between imperialist nations are inevitable, alliances or no alliances.

Economic And Political Implications Of UNRRA

(Continued from page 1)

Swap Shop in History," and concludes that all will go well — if each of the countries represented at the Conference contributes those products which it has, or is capable of cultivating or manufacturing in the future; and exchanges them, or as PM puts it, "swaps" them for the needed products, or supplies from other UNRRA contributors. The UNRRA administration would therefore operate as a sort of clearing house for an international exchange of commodities, and this would be the restoration of international trade on a stable basis.

GREAT ILLUSIONS

Now if all this were possible, capitalism would not be what it is today. Let us take, for example, the problems presented by Greece, one of the first states considered at the UNRRA Conference. Greece, in many respects typifies the problems of many other countries represented at the Conference. According to the report of the UNRRA Council Chairman, Greece needs at least 1,707,000 tons of imports (consisting of food, medical supplies, agricultural implements, textiles, and clothing.)

Now, Greece is a small country, which normally produces small quantities of iron, lead, nickel and magnesite; among her food products are: wheat, oats, maize, barley, olives, tobacco, grapes, lemons and oranges. If the administrators of UNRRA were to allocate the million and three quarter tons of products which Greece now needs in exchange for products which Greece could later supply, everything would be well. On the surface this appears plausible. In reality, it is completely illusory.

THE RIGHT OF GREECE

1. The total value of the million and three quarter tons of products now needed by Greece is so far in excess of the market value of the products which she could deliver in exchange that it would take her years to repay.

2. Greece's products, such as wheat, oats, barley, olives, grapes, oranges and lemons are likewise produced by a host of other contributing countries to UNRRA. Many of these countries can sell

the self-same products at a far lower price than Greece because they are at a higher stage of industrial development, and therefore have agricultural equipment which reduces the cost of production; and moreover they possess transportation facilities to the market far superior to those of Greece. For instance, China and India may need Greece's oranges, lemons and tobacco, but the United States, which turns out these same items in mass production quantities, and which has at its disposal the greatest shipping facilities in the world, could make them available to India and China at a far lower cost per unit. India and China would certainly be compelled to purchase from the United States rather than from Greece. The United States, however, is not the only competitor of Greece in this respect. In fact, the competitors are too numerous to list here.

It may be argued that, as a last resort, the products which Greece immediately needs could be advanced to her as a gift from the UNRRA Conference. Or if that should meet with opposition from other indigent nations denied similar consideration, they could be advanced by a well-to-do capitalist country like America.

"ALLIED" CONTRADICTIONS

Should the United States even contemplate such a "gift" to Greece, or for that matter to any other country in a similar situation, it would meet with the opposition of Britain, France, Belgium and other. Why? Because any gifts on the part of the United States to Greece, even if prompted by purely humanitarian motives, would in actual practice operate to enhance the political and economic domination of American Big Business in the Mediterranean area, to the detriment of the other capitalist countries.

Economically, such a gift would deprive these countries of available outlets. Moreover, especially if it were administered by American government officials it would appropriate from the other capitalists what is termed as "good will" (trade connections, distribution outlets, etc.) It is precisely the fear of such an independent move on the part of the United States that made

Britain so amenable to America's proposal that the distribution of the so-called relief and rehabilitation materials be made through the medium of a United Nations Relief Administration. The "paradox" of India can now be seen in its true light.

SOLUTION OF RIDDLE

If the United States were to decide — individually or through the UNRRA — to grant such gifts to India, it would almost certainly be the signal for an open breach between Britain and America. Besides, the gift to be effective would have to be of such huge proportions as would of necessity require a *quid pro quo* similar to that granted by China. As matters now stand, both Britain and America agree, at least for the present, to retain India in the UNRRA Council in the position of a country "contributing" \$35,000,000 in return for food to the same amount which will be given in one form or another by both Britain and America. This assures to Britain, for the time being, her domination of India.

World capitalist relationships

Sunday Open Forum

Subject:

"THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE 'LITTLE STEEL' FORMULA"

Discussion Leader:

VINCENT R. DUNNE

National Labor Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Sunday, November 28, 1943, 8 P. M.

Auspices: New York School of Social Science

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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.

Stalin And Allied Program For Europe

According to Secretary of State Hull there was not even a taint of anything secret in the Moscow agreement. In his speech before the joint session of Congress, Hull reiterated cynically that "no secret agreements [had been concluded] and none was suggested."

Yet in a press interview prior to his Congress speech, Hull had boasted that the Kremlin-sponsored "Free Germany Committee" had lost all influence the moment Molotov "signed the Four-Nation declaration." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 16.) Nothing in the documents made public after the Hull-Molotov-Eden agreement bears even remotely on this point. Obviously, the fate of the "Free Germany Committee" with which is bound up the Allied program for Germany, was one of the issues decided — orally or in writing — at Moscow. If this is not secret diplomacy, what is it?

But the scope of secrecy goes far beyond this or that detail. Implicit in the entire Moscow agreement is a conspiracy between Stalin and his Allies to collaborate in the attempt to crush the coming socialist revolution. What made this Conference possible in the first place is precisely the fact that Roosevelt and Churchill understand that Stalin does not want a socialist revolution any more than they do.

This ought to be borne in mind especially by those dupes of Stalinism who accept and support the Moscow agreement, but who mistakenly believe that they are still fighting for socialism. Just the contrary is true: *To follow Stalinism is to pursue not the road of the socialist revolution but of the capitalist counter-revolution.*

While Stalin and his Allies have apparently little difficulty in arriving at a general agreement, friction inexorably arises over the price Stalin is willing or able to accept for the hangman's work. Roosevelt and Churchill, who would without much hesitation agree to similar and even greater demands of a capitalist ally, balk at the Kremlin's territorial demands precisely because Stalin's regime rests on foundations hostile to and irreconcilable with capitalism. Territorial concessions would render more difficult London's and Wash-

ington's task of isolating the USSR — the precondition for the preservation of capitalism in Europe.

As the Red Army stands poised at the "gateways of Europe," within striking distance of Rumanian and the old Polish borders, the Allied chancelleries are in a frenzy of feverish activity — they are haggling with Stalin over the price for the joint attempt against the workers' revolution. This is the essence of the projected Roosevelt-Stalin-Churchill meeting.

The Judas-Cain in the Kremlin is contemplating to add the greatest crime of all to his already monstrous list of abominations. But this time, he and his co-conspirators will inevitably fail. It was one thing to conspire against the revolution in the period of historic ebb and reaction; it is something else again to try to repeat these crimes during the second tidal wave of the world revolution which is destined to consummate the work of the Great October Revolution in Russia.

Subsidies

Roosevelt is desperately maneuvering to reestablish the stability in his labor relations that has been upset by the miners' breach of the Little Steel formula. That is the real explanation why Roosevelt and his spokesmen are so insistent on the continuation of subsidy payments to the food industry. The Roosevelt subsidy policy has been in practice for the past year. With what results? Everybody knows, the cost of food continues to skyrocket, the black market is flourishing and even the swollen OPA price ceilings are openly ignored and violated.

Roosevelt however needs this spurious anti-inflation program to keep the labor movement from taking the path of open struggle against his infamous hunger program for labor. That explains why, he continues mouthing, in parrot-fashion, his promises to roll back prices. That is why he now fights so desperately for price subsidies. For the Roosevelt administration, "price subsidies" have become the indispensable fig-leaf to hide the nakedness and shame of its wage freezing program.

In turn, the little, puffed-up "labor statesmen" of the Murray-Thomas type, have taken to the air waves to add their two cents to this demagogic campaign. These bureaucrats are thereby only continuing their treacherous course of whitewashing Roosevelt and of seeking phony alternatives to a real fight for wage increases.

The billion-dollar corporations in the farming, canning and food processing industries are raking in super-profits so fast and on such a grandiose scale, they have become literally drunk with power. Their lust for profits is so insatiable, they are determined to smash even the most insignificant price restraints and controls. They forced Henderson out of the OPA. They then had their congressional lackeys staff the OPA with a lot of profit-hungry vultures who had "practical business experience." Now they are closing in for the kill, to wipe out the remaining controls.

Roosevelt, whose administration has been taken over lock, stock and barrel by the spokesmen of the huge monopolists, is daily losing his ability to trick the workers. By the same token, the prestige of the Murrys and Thomases is beginning to scrape bottom. The miners victory has started a trend in the labor movement. The Murrys and Thomases may want to sidetrack it into a fight for "price subsidies." They will not succeed. The workers want to fight for wage increases in the footsteps of the miners.

Ex-King Carol

There is a boom in the king business these days. Roosevelt and Churchill are in the market for reconditioned monarchs to use in their efforts to preserve the rotten capitalist system in Europe. Deals have already been made with swine like Victor Emmanuel of Italy, Peter of Yugoslavia, George of Greece, and not so long ago an abortive attempt was made to establish the Austrian pretender, Otto Habsburg, as a "democratic liberator."

Little wonder then that Carol Hohenzollern of Rumania is trying to peddle his royal wares on the Allied market. This once-crowned donkey has retained the Russell Birdwell advertising agency of New York to build him up as the leader of a "Free Rumanian" movement. Birdwell is now telling the American people they need Certain-teed roofing, Celotex insulation, Zorina for the ballet — and Carol for an ally.

A heart-rending picture is painted of Carol leaving the throne and fleeing Rumania with the Nazi hangmen hot on his heels. But a detail or two is missing from this canvas. Before abdicating in favor of his fascist son Michael, the great democrat Carol suspended the Rumanian constitution, dissolved the parliament and summoned to power the present bloody dictator over the Rumanian people, General Ion Antonescu. Carol contented himself with a very comfortable life in Mexico City, living off the swag he carried with him out of Rumania, while Antonescu plunged the Rumanian people into Hitler's war against the Soviet Union.

Carol's conversion to "democracy" and his burning desire to "liberate" Rumania came only after he saw a chance to get back in the king business. A month after Pearl Harbor he tried to ace himself in on the government-in-exile deals. Failing that he turned to his "Free Rumanian" racket. Since Victor Emmanuel got into the Roosevelt-Churchill camp, Carol estimates he has better than an even chance to make the grade. With so many royal snouts gathered around the Allied trough, Carol feels sure there is room enough for him, too. He figures that all he needs is a good sales campaign and the \$80,000,000 of Rumanian funds now frozen in the United States.

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.

Anti-Semitism in Boston

Editor:

With regard to the racial issue in Boston, the editorial in The Militant ["Fascist Attacks in Boston Area," Oct. 30 issue] was very good. It expressed the situation here and covered all the points. However, here are some later developments:

The New York newspaper, P.M., forced the local newspapers to come into the open and print the news. The Boston papers had not printed a single fact about the anti-Semitic attacks. Also the governor was forced to appoint a committee to investigate the matter.

The "breaking" of the news intensified the situation. Jewish cemeteries were mutilated, the windows of synagogues broken, etc. The same things are still going on, but the newspapers have

reverted to their former policy of silence.

The Jewish people have no confidence in the governor's committee. This committee has just issued a report which, on the whole, is a miserable one. However, the fact that the governor stated he is sending copies of the report to the armed forces shows that anti-Semitic literature is being distributed among the soldiers and sailors here.

The people know the police are against them. This was proven in the trial of two Jewish youths here. These are the only arrests I know of that have happened over these racial incidents. The boys admitted openly that they had heard a gang was going to make trouble and they had gone to fight them. They found the gang, but they knew some of the boys in it and knew these boys were not the group they were hunting for. There was no trouble, until the police came and started

it. The Jewish boys were arrested and later testified they were beaten up at the station by the police.

When asked in court why they had not arrested the other gang, the police answered they had run away and the Jewish boys hadn't. The boys were fined \$10 each, but the judge refused to issue warrants against the police who had beaten them. The workers are remembering another tragic story of a man beaten to death by the police a few years ago. So you can see that when these boys said they were beaten up by the police, the people knew they were telling the truth.

More and more printed anti-Semitic literature is being distributed in the factories here. On some of it rhymes that the war is being fought for the Jews are printed. More and more workers are saying that they have seen these cards.

J. K.
Boston, Mass.

Living Conditions In Sicily Under The Allied Occupation

By M. Brown

Twenty years of fascism have brought only new misery to the people of Sicily; a few public buildings for the Fascists and fine houses and grounds for the higher officials and merchants. The system that boasted about the trains running on schedule never made any attempt to improve living conditions. The houses of Palermo, the largest and most important city of Sicily, still do not have running water or sanitary facilities. Cooking is still done over charcoal stoves in the streets or balconies. Today, conditions are even worse than before. Before the war a family might live in one or two rooms. Today many families are trying to reconstruct a little shelter in the bomb wrecked streets and alleys that they once lived in.

HATRED OF FASCISM

Not only the old Italian police patrol the streets of Palermo, but also U.S. Army MPs. The people have two rulers — their own and the army.

I had stopped to look at the inscription on the Fascist Central Building in the heart of the city — a tall fifteen story building, ultra modern in style — contrasting sharply with the florid Italian architecture around it. The inscription read "Built in the XVth year of Fascism, in the reign of King Victor Emmanuel, under the leadership of Mussolini." A Sicilian walked up to me, pointed to the building and began to talk violently in Italian. On seeing that I could not understand him, he looked at me and asked "Americano?" When I said "si," he grinned and exploded, "Fascismo!" and drew his finger across his neck.

Another incident: I was walking along the street when I saw an Italian policeman chase a boy, catch him and begin beating him

about the head and shoulders. He had been given or had stolen a can of army rations. A bystander had seen him with the rations and had informed the policeman. The boy protested vociferously and after breaking away turned on the informer and began calling him "Fascist—Fascist!" The man turned and slunk away.

I met an Italian seaman who had traveled about a bit. Since last year he has not been able to ship. He is unable to do any stevedoring either now, because that is done by Italian soldiers who are still kept as prisoners by the Allied armies. He said "The Fascists are no good . . . They take everything. I did not stand at attention and salute when a Fascist parade passed me. They threw me into jail for four months." He worked in a laundry because that was the only work he could get. "Bread is 40 cents a pound. It takes at least \$2 a day to feed me and my family. I do not make that much money. Living is very hard."

HIGH PRICES

Both the old Italian money and Allied Military invasion currency are in use. The exchange is 100 lire to the dollar. I am told that before the war exchange was 40 lire to the dollar.

Sicily is chiefly an agricultural country. Before the war it was able to trade its produce to Europe in exchange for manufactured goods. Palermo is its main port. Since the shipping industry is entirely taken over by the military and its markets are cut off, Sicily faces a critical period. Manufactured goods are high. A shirt costs \$5, a handkerchief 50 cents and up. Leather shoes are almost unobtainable. Most of the people wear wooden or cork clogs. There is a large black market on wheat for bread and spaghetti. Meat when obtainable is about \$1 a pound.

Upon learning that I was a seaman, I was questioned, mainly by restaurant owners, whether food supplies were coming over for the civilians. They all complained about the difficulties facing them.

The army uses quantities of canned rations. The rations are fed to the soldiers in the field and to the prisoners. There is a constant trickle of these rations into civilian hands. They prize them highly because of their high protein content. Empty ration cans can be seen everywhere.

One sees no fat people. A fat American is stared at and pointed to. When they see a fat person they begin joking about him, going through the motions of gorging themselves with food or spreading their arms wide and calling out the name of one other well fed person that they know—"Mussolini!"

LITTLE EMPLOYMENT

There is apparently little employment in the cities. The army does most of its own necessary work or uses prisoners. There are large numbers of unemployed. Outside of the regular services, the only work that I saw in progress was temporary repair work on some of the bombed buildings. The Sicilians relate that the Germans would walk into their shops and take things without paying for them. They also have a strong dislike of British. News that the British were to take over occupation of Palermo was received with strong misgivings.

The souvenir industry has grown terrifically. American soldiers pay extremely high prices for cheap jewelry and other items.

AMG, the governing body of Sicily, remains discreetly in the background. Direct governmental and police functions are carried on by the local Italian authorities or the army.

International Notes

The New Republic of Nov. 8 reports large-scale mass actions in Bulgaria:

"In the early part of the year thousands of workers, students and pro-Russian sympathizers attacked police stations in Sofia and other cities. Other demonstrations followed in rapid succession. The undeclared civil war reached its climax on May Day when demonstrators, organized by the underground, assembled on Sofia's famous boulevard Tzar Osvozil. The government left the city. More than seven hundred arrests were made. A few days later, after the burial of a German henchman assassinated by the underground, the police and military units had to fire on demonstrating crowds with machine guns. On May 12 another pitched battle followed in the center of Sofia."

Michael Foot, editor of Lord Beaverbrook's London Evening Standard, has been fired by Beaverbrook for publishing a book indicting members of Churchill's government as accomplices of fascism. Foot's book, "The Trial of Mussolini," although describing an imaginary trial is in substance based on actual declarations made by outstanding British politicians praising fas-

cism and glorifying Mussolini.

Lord Halifax, Churchill's ambassador to the U. S., drank a toast in Rome in 1939 to Victor Emmanuel as Emperor of Ethiopia, and he asked the League of Nations to approve Britain's recognition of Ethiopia's conquest. Halifax wrote a commendatory preface to Lord Lloyd's 1940 book, which pays tribute to Italian "genius" in developing Fascist institutions.

Leopold Amery, Churchill's Secretary of State for India, declared that Ethiopia is better off under the control of "a civilized nation" — Fascist Italy — than under the "cruel, incompetent Ethiopians." With Churchill's full support, this same Amery is today attempting to drown in blood the struggle of the "cruel, incompetent Indians" for freedom from British oppression.

The British authorities in Sierra Leone (Africa) have resorted to military conscription in an open attempt to smash unionization among harbor workers. At the beginning of the year all seamen, stevedores and lightermen in Freetown were ordered to report for medical examination. All who passed as fit were there and then, without further notice, con-

scripted into the army and sent to barracks.

As soldiers they have had to continue doing the same work in the harbor as they did previously — but on army pay which is still less than the pittance they received as civilians.

Here is how the British apply the "four freedoms" to the native workers in the gold mines of South Africa:

Attempts by the native workers to form hospital benefit societies and other similar organizations for mutual aid are as ruthlessly suppressed as are trade unions. In one case the manager threatened to fire every man who subscribed to a fund for the "Helping Hand Society," formed exclusively for the purpose of assisting workers on leaving the mine.

There are roughly ten times more Africans working in the mines than there are Europeans, and the Africans are more frequently involved in accidents due to the dangerous jobs assigned them and the brutal disregard of safety precautions for their protection. Yet between 1911 and 1940 Europeans received in compensation for accidents a sum fifteen times greater than that received by the Africans.

A Story of Grim Tragedy in World's Richest Land

All of the heartbreak and sorrow which a brutal capitalist system inflicts upon the poor and helpless was crowded into the story of the young, widowed mother who abandoned her two children in a New York police station last week.

Even the stories in the capitalist press could not conceal the full tragedy of this poverty stricken citizen of the richest capitalist country in the world.

The story in the Herald-Tribune of November 21, related how "The massive and worn wooden door, nine feet high and two inches thick, of the 19th Precinct police station at 153 East 69th St., between Lexington and Third Avenues, opened slightly at 1:15 p. m. yesterday and a small, brown-eyed boy, about two-and-a-half years old, was pushed gently into the big room."

"Lieutenant William Sullivan, on the desk, heard a woman's voice, urgent and pleading, saying: 'Go ahead. Go on in. Go ahead.' He waited."

"A little girl, curly red hair twisting under the edge of the bonnet of her green snow suit, eyes of brilliant blue, followed the boy. She seemed about a year younger than he. His hand reached out and seized hers, and they stood side by side. . . . gravely staring at Lieutenant Sullivan. . . ."

"Pinned inside the boy's brown-and-green plaid snow suit he found the following note:

"I cannot feed them on less than \$1 a day for food. I think I have tried long enough. If I can't no one else can. If I have to dig their graves early through undernourishment it would be merciful to turn on the gas. The police can take good care of them."

"Early the next morning, at 6:45 a. m., after a night of torture, the mother of the children, Mrs. Rose Mooney, a 31 year old widow, appeared at the New York Foundling Hospital to claim them. To the police who were called to question her, she made the following statement:

"Things gradually became worse after the death of my husband, Joseph, a stevedore. He died 19 months ago. I was just unable to make out on the \$62.70 a month allowed us by the Dept. of Welfare."

"On Nov. 3 I received this month's check. I paid \$20 rent, bought some food and clothing for the children. By yesterday I had 20 cents left. It looked like I couldn't go on."

The sequel to this story? The children were restored to their mother, and another paltry \$1.50 a month was added to the welfare allowance.

Famine, Disease and Death Ravage European Children

Among the most tragic casualties of this war is the new generation growing up in Europe today, ravaged by malnutrition, disease and death.

A recent report by the International Labor Office, entitled "The Health of Children in Occupied Europe," reveals "depopulation [of Europe] on a scale that threatens the power to recover."

While the Nazi officials and the big capitalists are literally living off the fat of the land, the children of Germany and Occupied Europe are suffering from food shortages, steady cutting down on legal rations, deterioration in the quality of food, and the lack of vital living necessities such as fuel, clothing and soap.

The death rate, especially in the 5 to 24 year age group, has reached such monstrous proportions that in France the excess of deaths over births in 1940 and 1941 resulted in a total population loss of 366,648. The population in Greece has been reduced by five per cent. The death rate among the Jewish population of Warsaw is ten times what it was in pre-war years.

In Greece, "the whole population was threatened with extinction" by famine. In the Netherlands, the amount of food deterioration is estimated at 40 per cent. Industrial workers and their families in Lyons, France have been receiving 30, 40 and 45 per cent below the minimum number of calories necessary for subsistence.

A tremendous increase in tuberculosis, malaria, diphtheria, and typhus have been brought about by these conditions.

Workers Rise in Anger Against Mosley Release

The Churchill government, which is jailing young boys for refusing to take jobs in the coal mines has just released from jail Sir Oswald Mosley and his wife on grounds that Britain's No. 1 Fascist is in "poor health."

Every time the British Tories have a filthy job to put over, they pick one of the "labor statesmen" in the government to take the rap. That's the purpose of the Tory coalition with labor. They sent Sir Stafford Cripps to try to hornswoggle the Indians out of their fight for independence. They are now letting Herbert Morrison, one of the Labor Party leaders, front for them in the stinking Mosley affair.

Herbert Morrison has reached such a high point in his policy of selling out the British workers, on whose backs he rose to become Home Secretary of Churchill's government, that he refused even to see the labor delegates, representing 90,000 workers, who wanted to register their protest of the government action in the Mosley case.

But Churchill has obviously misjudged the temper of the British working class. A great surge of protest is sweeping over the whole British labor movement. Demonstrations of as high as 90,000 workers have already marched on the Whitehall Home Office. The Nov. 22 UP dispatch relates, that a policeman, who was on duty at the Whitehall demonstration, asked if the British people were always so inflammable, answered: "Blimey. No—I don't remember so many people so excited since the days of the general strike in '26."

The OPA—that's Roosevelt's outfit to hold down prices—has raised price ceilings THIRTY FOUR TIMES IN THE LAST HUNDRED DAYS.