

More Is Needed Than to Beat The Ruml Plan!

AN EDITORIAL

The Ruml Plan, which had been passed by the Senate, has now been defeated in the House. Good! That POSSIBLY puts an end to this particular steal from which large incomes would have benefited by tremendous windfalls. In the long run, wage earners would have borne the brunt of these windfalls in additional taxation.

Even had the House passed it, it is almost certain that Roosevelt would have vetoed it. The plan was so obviously designed as a piece of legislation to aid the wealthy that Roosevelt would have had no alternative—not with a fourth term coming up, anyway. The President prefers his legislative blows at labor couched more subtly.

And that is precisely what we want to talk about here. In the indignation that the Ruml Plan has aroused, the BASIC tax iniquities have been overlooked. So much so, that we wouldn't be a bit surprised if we heard that Roosevelt was mighty pleased with the entire campaign to put the Ruml Plan over. It diverted attention from the more fundamental issue—shall onerous taxes be levied on labor to make labor pay for the war? And, furthermore, Roosevelt can again appear as the champion of "the peepul."

The fact of the matter is this: the entire tax structure today is inequitable. It is a ghastly menace to the living standards of the American working class. It constitutes a sizable wage cut! It places the greatest burden of taxation on low incomes, while the profiteers accumulate riches. Its intent is to make labor pay for the war.

The cornerstone of any working class tax program is, therefore, to free workers' incomes from taxation. Let us not lose sight of that in the weighty discussions over the Ruml Plan, pay-as-you-go, etc. Yes, pay-as-you-go is a sensible taxation idea. We're all for it. But we are against low incomes paying—either as they "GO," or at any other time.

We believe in soaking the rich. We believe in steeply up-graded taxes to make the rich shell out on their yearly incomes; and, if that is insufficient to pay for the costs of the war, we believe in a severe government levy on the accumulated capital of the rich!

With taxes, prices and wage freezing all crowding labor's living standard, it is necessary that labor respond with a clear-cut CLASS program on all these issues, and respond in such a way as to make the capitalist politicians pay heed. That way is the way of ORGANIZED UNION PRESSURE!

The capitalist politicians have their class program—on taxes, as on everything else. And there is nothing wrong with that—from their point of view. They represent and defend THEIR class interests well. We must do as much for OUR class interests. And on taxes, that MEANS a program that militantly demands:

- NO TAX ON WAGES!
- NO SALES TAX ON CONSUMERS' GOODS!
- NO FORCED SAVINGS!

LABOR ACTION

MAY 24, 1943

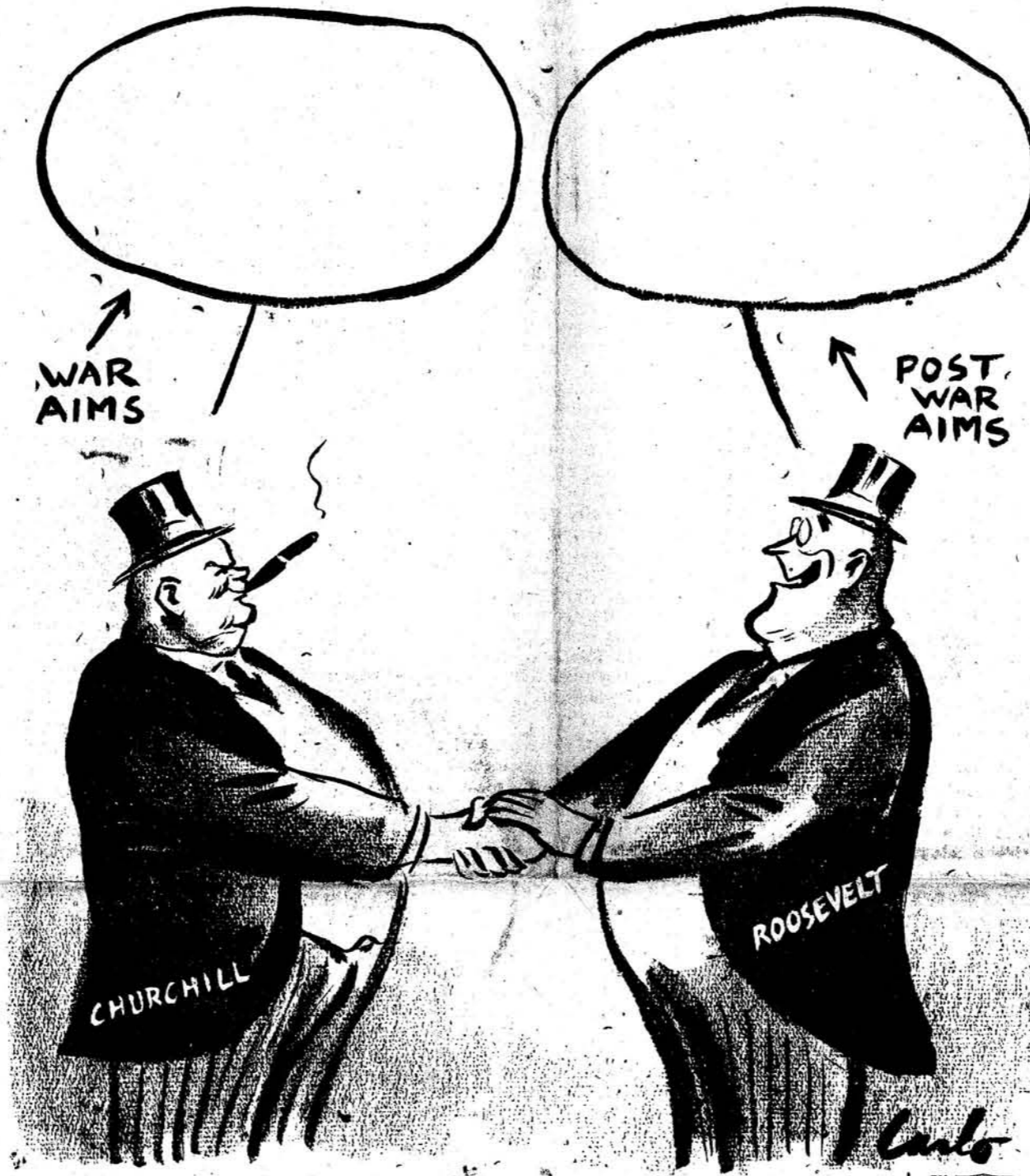
A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

WHAT DOES THE EXTENSION OF THE MINE TRUCE MEAN?

For the Fifth Time!

(See page 6)



WLB Out to Whip Miners, But It Faces Solid Union Ranks Ready for Action!

By DAVID COOLIDGE

The attempt by the coal operators, government officials and the daily capitalist press to defeat the mine workers and to wreck their union proceeds with increased vigor and determination. The whole boss class in the United States is engaged in this campaign and its chief weapon today is the War Labor Board.

The latest tantrum of the WLB was its "order" to the coal companies and to the UMWA to resume collective bargaining negotiations. The board, however, did not stop here. It issued a "directive order" as follows: "The board instructs the operators not to proceed with collective bargaining until both parties are ready to proceed under the auspices and instructions of the division of the board. No other agency of the government is now authorized to direct otherwise."

W. P. Letter Protests Winchell Item

In his column of May 17, Walter Winchell, with references to unidentified "authorities," linked Trotskyists with "obstructionists" in Congress, charged that "Trotskyites" in the Ford Instrument Co. interfered with contributions to United War Relief, and reached the ultimate in dishonest fantasy by "alleging" that Doriot, the French fascist, and Quisling's wife are leading Trotskyists. With Winchell's reputation for veracity, acquired in covering boudoir gossip, and with his large reading public, his paragraph becomes a serious matter. Below we therefore publish a letter by Albert Gates, assistant national secretary of the Workers Party, asking for a retraction. On page 5 we publish a letter from a Ford Instrument worker.

In the light of such an order, it is important to ask just what kind of collective bargaining this WLB has in mind? If the WLB has even the slightest interest in the resumption of collective bargaining it would not be putting on the present show. The brute fact is that if it is collective bargaining that the WLB is interested in, it should have directed the coal companies to resume negotiations with the UMWA. It was the companies that stalled negotiations by refusing to make any concessions whatsoever.

There is reason to believe that the coal operators knew in advance that they would be backed up by the WLB. Every proposal made by the miners was rejected by the operators. They stood pat on their decision to grant nothing. This was an "I don't know nothin'" attitude. They said on a large scale what every little jackleg foreman has been saying for over a year: "Take it to the WLB."

WLB Bombast

What does the WLB mean by resuming negotiations "under the auspices and instructions" of the board? What instructions will the board give the miners and operators even before they resume negotiations? If the board has authority to give instructions, then why hasn't this board the authority to decide the case now and make an award? We ask this because negotiations went on for several weeks, and broke down because the operators refused to make any concession whatsoever, no matter from what direction the proposal came. The coal companies stood pat and demanded unconditional surrender from the UMWA.

This little board knows all of this and if, as it says, the board alone has the authority to handle this case, then why doesn't the board handle the case in a responsible manner? (Continued on Page 5)

Negroes, Whites Stand Together in Sun Ship

Pew Tries Every Weapon in Union-Busting Arsenal to Halt CIO Organization Drive—Fires 300 Key Union Men

PHILADELPHIA, May 10—A threatened strike of 35,000 shipyard workers fizzled out here when union officials backed down and pushed through a resolution authorizing a "final appeal to the President himself."

The strike threat developed in the yards of the Sun Shipbuilding & Drydock Co., which the CIO has been trying to organize. The union has been opposed with all the weapons known to reactionary industrialists, including a company union, court orders and open terror and intimidation by company guards.

The immediate crisis was the result of a wave of discharges and layoffs involving over three hundred key CIO shop stewards and organizers. However, the open attacks upon the union date back to April 1, when the company secured a court order overruling the National Labor Relations Board and declaring the contract between the company and the company union to be legal and valid. The company used the court order as a pretext to refuse further recognition to the CIO grievance committee, and as a signal for a general offensive to break the spirit of the CIO men.

The CIO men responded by a work stoppage involving several key departments, and a demonstration of over 1,500 in front of the offices of the company president, John G. Pew, die-hard open-shopper and Republican political boss. This caused the company to retreat for a few weeks. However, the setting by the NLRB of a definite date, June 30, for elections to determine the bargaining agent, stirred the company into a new series of attacks. The CIO, Local 2, Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, claims to have 21,484 signed up out of some

35,000 employees.

The patience of the workers gave out under the continued attacks. Beginning on Monday, at least one work stoppage took place every day of last week in one department after another. These stoppages reached their high point on Friday, when practically every department and ways in the North Yard and the No. 4 Yard downed tools. On Saturday, the company struck back by a wholesale lockout of the key CIO men involved in the stoppages. Negroes-Whites Stand Together

Throughout the CIO organizing drive, the company has sought to

inject the race issue into the yards in an effort to set the Negro and white workers against each other. Over a year ago the company opened its fourth yard on the Delaware River banks with the announcement that it was to be an exclusively Negro yard to give members of that race an "opportunity for advancement." The CIO immediately called the move just what it was—an attempt to separate Negro workers in a Jim Crow yard and use them as a company bulwark against the CIO. This tactic of the company has misfired, as can be seen in the firm support the union is receiving in Yard No. 4.

Following a work stoppage on Monday and Tuesday among gas welders, who demanded the standard Maritime Commission rate of \$1.50 an hour for CERTIFIED welding, the action shifted to Yard No. 4 on Wednesday. Here the strategy of the company was an attempt to fire the Negro CIO men first, with the hope that the white workers would leave them holding the sack and thus introduce distrust and suspicion between the races.

On Tuesday morning the Negro copper shop employees in Yard No. 4 called a stoppage because of a refusal by the management to meet with their grievance committee. Negroes were being paid helpers' wages for doing skilled mechanics work. A group of white shop stewards from the neighboring yard (North Yard) immediately went to the aid of the copper shop stoppage, and asked the management to negotiate with the copper workers' committee. Three of the white shop stewards were asked to come to the superintendent's office. They went in, thinking they were being called upon to confer over the stoppage. Once inside, they were confronted by the

We Are 106 Subs Nearer Our Goal!

By HENRY COLEMAN, Campaign Director

Tenth Week: May 9-15	Per Cent of Returns	Total Quota Achieved
Detroit	9	220
Buffalo	15	124
Chicago	9	119
Cleveland	22	94
Streator	—	80
Sierraville	8	80
Los Angeles	10	75
New York	31	71
Akron	—	68
Reading	—	40
National Office	2	34
St. Louis and Missouri	—	30
Philadelphia	—	15
Weekly Total	106	
Grand Total	742	74.2

Nothing can stop us now! This week we missed by just ONE SUB our record of 107. We overcame our Easter slump in magnificent fashion. But there must be no relaxing in our efforts! Note that 74.2 per cent. It means that, at the end of two-thirds of the drive we are only barely ahead of our schedule. A brief slackening in our efforts will put us BEHIND, and can't be permitted. CLEVELAND proved what it can do by send-

ing in a batch of TWENTY-TWO subs this week. If we had a few more batches like that coming in, we wouldn't have to worry about temporary setbacks. Cleveland ALMOST reached its quota. NEXT week, Cleveland will go on the Honor Roll. BUFFALO came through in fine shape this week, too; and NEW YORK doubled its returns. From now on, New York will be expected to STAY in the thirties. Furthermore, we have been receiving subs from coal miners as a result of special mailings to coal mine districts in the last few weeks. Friends of LABOR ACTION in DETROIT and BUFFALO are sending out special mailings to prospective readers of LA and the NEW INTERNATIONAL. Local initiative of this kind is what makes the LA staff feel good. The printed LA leaflet is still being used throughout the country; LOS ANGELES in particular is making good use of it.

But there is evidence to indicate that not enough subs are being obtained direct from the shops. We think that our readers are neglecting, in many cases, their fellow-workers—the man or the girl at the next machine, the guy you sit next to at lunch, the bunch you ride to and from work with. Think it over. If the drive ends without every single one of these prospects having had a direct invitation to subscribe, then we will have missed our best bet.

LABOR ACTION

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(Continued on page 2)

You Can Get Extra Copies Of Pages Three and Four

In this issue you will find two pages (in addition to our regular four) devoted entirely to exposing the movie, "Mission to Moscow." The Stalinists are booming this movie because it serves their ends so well. Workers will find these union wreckers and Kremlin servants using the lies and distortions of which this movie is compounded to put over their line—in the unions as everywhere else. We have published extra copies of pages three and four of this issue so that you can have the ammunition to spike the lies. Give these two pages to your friends, neighbors and shopmates. Order them from LABOR ACTION, 114 West 14th Street, New York City, at the special rate of ten cents for five cents.

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Akron Labor Is Fed Up With "No Strike" Pledge

By MEL STRONG
AKRON, May 14—The workers in this town, which has been called a "bubbling cauldron of labor unrest," have begun to realize that when they were forced to give up the right to strike, they gave up their most effective weapon against the bosses. It is now clear that this pledge encouraged their exploiters to stall on grievances, contract negotiations and back-passing to the WLB, where bigger and better stalling continued.

The highest base rate that is paid to the workers is 88 1/2 cents per hour, and the starting rate is much lower. During the training period, after all deductions are made, the worker's hourly rate is sometimes as low as fifteen cents per hour. A driver working normal hours is paid approximately \$32 per week after deductions, and this weekly earning is based on the highest hourly rate!

But now those that remain are frozen on their jobs. In a significant statement, the Transport Workers Union declared that "the union has proved repeatedly the inability of the company to operate efficiently and has produced proof of this fact many times, but the company refuses to recognize the same."

On the second day of the strike, Michael J. Quill, international president of the TWU, stepped into the picture and attempted to break the strike after announcing "we are opposed to strikes in war time, no matter for what reason."

In spite of the actions of the union officers, the rank and file of the various unions in this city have found it necessary to take militant action to force a settlement of grievances and to ease the intolerable situation.

Bridges Attacks 'Labor Action' And Coal Strike

SAN PEDRO, May 12—LABOR ACTION and The Militant were attacked by Harry Bridges in a speech on May 6 before longshoremen in this city. Bridges devoted ten minutes of his speech to these papers. He referred to LABOR ACTION directly by name, and indirectly referred to The Militant. He said these papers were "seditious," "anti-war" and "helped the Axis."

During the question period, Bridges made quite a speech against the coal miners' strike. Of course, he said, the miners were entitled to everything they could get and more—but they shouldn't have struck. According to him, Lewis and the coal miners put the labor movement on the spot. Anti-labor legislation would be that much surer of passage, etc. But Bridges did not worry about the threat of anti-labor laws, or even the use of troops in 1934 when he led the longshoremen in a militant strike that resulted in a general strike in San Francisco.

In the past Bridges told the longshoremen: "As long as they keep panning me, you needn't worry. But as soon as they stop, we had better hold a special meeting for self-analysis to see what has happened." It's about time for that meeting! Now Bridges, along with the capitalist press, is panning Lewis.

In answer to a final question he admitted the longshoremen had no chance of getting a wage raise because of Roosevelt's wage freezing order. The possibility of a real fight for a wage increase, coal miner style, never entered his head.

His main speech was devoted to an attack on Professor Eliel of the Maritime Industry Board and Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission. He rightly pointed out that these two were stooges of the shipowners. His conclusion was: "Get rid of Eliel—anybody else on the board couldn't be worse." But, continued Bridges, "the board is okay." Then he pointed out how he (Bridges) was responsible for the organization of the board, and that all that was needed is some "better men" on the board.

How he is going to keep any government representative on the Maritime Industry Board from being a stooge of the shipowners as long as we have a capitalist government run by shipowners and big industrialists, he forgot to mention.

and voluntary organizers in the meetings of the union. The Stalinists utilized this situation to create a terrific stir at the meeting with their rather meager forces. After a busy week-end of visiting the home of union members to prime them with lies and misinformation, the Stalinists were only able to drag out some twenty-five votes for their position of "no strike under any conditions."

The prospect now is for a series of negotiations with various NLRB, WLB and other government mediators. Meanwhile, the three hundred CIO men are out of the yards. The company continues its highhanded policy toward the union. The company union continues its attempts to cajole and bribe workers to join. And, between the two, they are trying to demoralize workers into thinking: "If the CIO can't protect its own leaders in the yard, what can it do for me?"

But the CIO militants will redouble their efforts to keep up the spirit of the men. This will be done by forcing a more decisive policy upon the union leadership and building up CIO support by proving that the CIO can take care of itself and answer the company two blows for one.

and won. The shop steward system is the backbone of the CIO movement and must become firmly entrenched in the Hodgson yard if it is to become a real one hundred per cent union and CIO yard.

The overtime pay grievance continues to be unsettled. This was the grievance that was submitted to the company after it refused to pay overtime for Saturdays and Sundays when the men lost time during the week because they were sent home on account of rain. Also, the company sent men home on holidays which called for overtime pay and brought them in on Saturdays at straight time and Sundays at time and one-half. Both of these practices, which over the last six-month period meant the loss of five or more days to the average worker in the yard, are prohibited in existing agreements and occur in only one yard—the Hodgson yard.

Ninety-five per cent of the proposed contract is common practice throughout this area and through-out the Pacific Coast. Among the more important provisions of the contract is one providing for a regular system of improvement so that a helper advances through three stages of improvership to become a journeyman. There is a two-month limit in each stage, and steady increases in rates. There is no doubt that this is the most important thing that is needed in the Hodgson yard; it hits at the greatest source of dissatisfaction in the yard. With a contract that deals with this problem and with a shop steward system to enforce the contract, this could soon be eliminated.

Other provisions in the contract are a week's vacation with pay after one year's work, starting with the time the man started work; a one hundred per cent CIO shop steward and grievance procedure machinery, which is second in importance only to the wage scale; a check-off clause, and other standard CIO and shipyard conditions.

The importance of the shop steward system must not be overlooked as it is only in this way that the provisions of the contract are really enforced and grievances fought

Stalinists Share Platform With Company as Local 9 Union Militants Quit Forum

SAN PEDRO, May 14—The most interesting event of the past week in Local 9 of the Shipyard Workers Union was the blow-up in the Labor-Management Committee of the Los Angeles Yard. For some time now the noon-time forum in the yard has been run under the auspices of the Labor-Management Committee. But, as usual in such cases, where the company and the union were supposed to be acting "harmoniously," the company was mainly interested in giving labor a roasting. Matters came to a head last week when a management speaker, without the previous knowledge of the labor representatives on the forum committee, utilized the microphone to open up a blast against the staunch machine shop men who had refused to swallow the ten-hour day and had stuck by the union line.

The next day, at the forum itself, the labor representatives announced their resignation from the forum committee and set about organizing a one hundred per cent union forum in the copper shop. It was clear that the lines between the company and the local were drawn tighter. No sooner had they announced the break, however, than two well known union members, ignoring the demands for union solidarity, mounted the company platform as if nothing had happened. One—a worthy character named Stark—pleaded with the men not to "hold any resentment against the company" for its disloyal conduct of the forum! The other was none other than a leading Stalinist in the local, Lopez, who put the needle on the "all-out-for-production" record with the full approval of the company's forum chairman.

This disgraceful action rightly has put Disprez and Stark on the pan with the shop stewards council. The next time Stalinist Leader Lopez opens his tooter about being a union man, someone is going to tell him what a company stooge looks like. For that matter, it is pretty hard around here to tell a Stalinist and a company stooge apart, but Lopez at any rate is down on the NG list.

All indications, however, point to the fact that the Stalinists in Local 9 are at the moment going through one of their periodical flip-flops. From having been the staunchest (and almost only) supporters of W. S. Pollard, the local union's imported dictator, the Kremlin boys are now beginning to unloose their blasts against this gentleman. It is clear that their brain trust has decided to make a bid for power in the local. Not many men are going to take seriously their—as usual—sudden distaste for Pollard. But it is quite possible that, as a result of their ambition to rule or wreck the union, they may accidentally be found speaking on the men's side of a question.

The Pollard administration itself has not been doing so well. For months now Pollard has been talking about doing some organization work, but the other three big shipyards in the area are still AFL. A new yard, Standard Ship, in which both have been contending for the men's support, looks as if it is in the bag for the AFL, unless the trend reverses itself sharply. There have been two quickie walkouts at Standard Ship in as many weeks recently and both were initiated by the AFL.

If Standard goes AFL, another goose egg can be marked up for Pollard. Second onion for Pollard is the recently revealed contract "won" by the union for the Bethlehem Yard in the harbor. From the terms so far disclosed, this contract reaches an all-time low in Local 9's contracts. LABOR ACTION will come back to the subject of this contract again.

Longshoremen Hit Union-Baiter on Government Board

SAN FRANCISCO—At their last meeting, the San Francisco longshoremen's local union unanimously passed a resolution demanding the resignation of Prof. Paul Eliel as chairman of the Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board. Since then similar resolutions have been adopted by the Seattle and Portland locals.

Prof. Eliel was described as "biased—impossible—and irresponsible" by the longshoremen. On February 4, Eliel, in collaboration with the employers, attacked the union at a board meeting. This later leaked out to the press. On March 3, Bridges demanded his resignation and later appealed to Admiral Land of the Maritime Commission, who upheld Eliel.

The interesting thing about all this is that the Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board is the result of the "Bridges Plan." The longshoremen have only Bridges and his Stalinist clique to thank for Eliel.

Bridges must have known at the time of the formation of the board that Eliel had an anti-labor record. During the 1934 longshoremen's strike, Eliel was the director of the industrial relations section of the San Francisco Industrial Assn. It was this outfit which led the fight against the '34 strike.

Now Bridges discovers that the professor is biased and is a supporter of the waterfront employers. He must be bad if he is too much for Harry to stomach, because Bridges is certainly palsy-walsy with the employers these days. Perhaps Bridges and the Stalinists are changing their line just a little bit. Some day Bridges may be denouncing the board he helped create; that is, if the party line changes. Of course, this change will be dictated only by what Stalin deems best, and not by what is best for the longshoremen.

At the same time, however, the Frisco local adopted a resolution calling for the reorganization of the War Shipping Administration and for the strengthening of the Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board. This means that Bridges is going to continue tying the longshoremen to a government board, which, in the long run, will always come out for the ship owners. The only time any maritime government board is really going to be for the longshoremen is when the working class takes over the government.

Sailors Back Miners Union

The first union to show that it is not intimidated by the hue and cry against the Mine Workers Union and its leadership is the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

While other unions have supported in resolutions the miners' demands, the SUP is the first union to communicate that sentiment directly to John L. Lewis. Harry Lundeborg, secretary of the SUP, last week sent Lewis the following telegram of support:

"Membership of our organization, composed of bona fide merchant seamen carrying supplies to our armed forces went on record last night at a membership meeting held in San Francisco in unanimous action supporting the fight of the United Mine Workers for their just demands." Will Gorman.

At Sun Ship--

(Continued from page 1) vice-president of the company and other big shot officials and a group of company guards. They were told they were fired for being off their job and then escorted to the gates by the guards and literally thrown out.

Word of this reached their fellow workers in North Yard and provoked another stoppage in several of the departments. The company backed down and rehired the discharged men the following day, including the leader of the copper shop stoppage. The demonstration of solidarity between the Negro and white CIO men made a great impression among Negro employees and created a tremendous support for the CIO.

On Thursday, a white foreman provoked a Negro worker into a scuffle which led to the latter's discharge. This worker had used the telephone in this particular foreman's office for many months to make calls incidental to his work in different parts of the yard. On Thursday the foreman insultingly asked the worker to "quit making a nuisance" of himself, and then tried to rip the employee badge off the worker's clothes. A scuffle followed and the Negro worker was fired and thrown out of the yard by guards who beat him up.

Word of this caused a big commotion in the yard. A committee of CIO men went to protest, and demand the rehiring of this man. The management refused to deal with them and several departments downed tools. The superintendent then ordered the man reinstated, but he was again fired on the following morning. This provoked a series of stoppages that practically tied up every department and way in Yard No. 4 and in the North Yard.

When, on Saturday morning, over three hundred key CIO men were given discharge or layoff slips, the union had no other choice but to call out the yards in a strike to reinstate its men.

Stalinists Spread Poison The union executive committee called an emergency meeting of the local for Sunday night to take a strike vote of the members. Some seven hundred active union men turned out. The small percentage attending was in keeping with the practice of the national organizers to involve only a score of shop stewards

The Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

Comments on Mich. UAW Conference

Dear Editor: I am a member of the UAW here in Detroit. With many others from my local, I attended the regional UAW conference on wartime policy as a visitor. Although the conference had several points on the agenda, debate was too hot on the incentive pay issue to take them up, and the chips were really flying on this issue. Frankenstein presented the arguments for incentive pay first. His speech was something like this: I'm an old auto worker from Detroit. (Incidentally, he's very well hated here. The workers call him Flip-Flop Frankenstein and don't miss a chance to boo him.) I know the piecework system and how rotten it is, and I don't propose to return to it. BUT—let us face facts—wages are frozen and our workers have to get more money in order to live, and production for our boys must go on, etc., etc. (His workers especially need a pay raise, since he just signed a measly sixty-five cents an hour contract for West Coast aircraft workers.) I'm for industry-wide agreements just like Reuther is, but that's pie in the sky. Meanwhile we gotta get more production and, after all, boys, this is one way to get more money. Then Reuther spoke against the

incentive pay plan. He pointed out that the UAW had been built against the piecework system and showed how, no matter what your guarantees, the bosses always cheated the workers and found some way to fangle base rate pay to lower standards as soon as production went up. He also pointed out that the plan would destroy unity and morale in the shops by pitting the older against the newer workers, women against men. Most important of all, Reuther showed that Frankenstein's plan was defeatism, that it meant giving up any fight for higher wages and industry-wide agreements to equalize pay so that Jones doing an operation in one plant won't get thirty cents an hour less than Brown doing the same thing in the plant across the street. In the discussion from the floor, the delegates, one by one, got up and spoke against Frankenstein's monster, the pay incentive plan. These delegates, for the most part old-timers in the industry and the guys who built the UAW against the piecework system, were really on the muscle about the whole thing. Only the Stalinist stooges spoke for the proposals, and they were usually hissed. Twice during the discussion, when Frankenstein took the floor to answer a delegate, he was booed to the rafters. Once he was asked for the floor for a point of special privilege, they booed him for

five minutes straight until Addes, the chairman, insisted that he would continue the meeting till he got the floor, and again, almost as long, when he spoke against the miners' strike, which was enthusiastically supported by the conference. The only hope is that this tremendous, vigorous, militant opposition to labor's bearing the brunt of production and sacrifice, while the bosses rake in the profits, will crystallize into a movement within the union to take labor off the WLB and to break the bonds of the no-strike pledge, and that this movement will pass these demands at an early UAW convention. Auto Worker.

and seeing that their union leaders will not make a real fight for pay raises, will say "what the hell" and accept some incentive plan which in the long run will only cut their basic wage. The conference did not envisage any broad movement of refugees, but instead discussed the removal of refugees from one military zone to another. It wants the setting up of temporary havens in North Africa and in some British possessions. This could, at the very most, solve the problem of only 100,000 of the refugees of Spain, Cyprus, Iran and other countries of the Middle East.

In summing up the work of the conference, you can use the mild statement of a member of the American advisory group. He said: "The conference showed no imagination. Its scope was extremely too limited." Will Gorman.

Refugee Conference Hardly Inspiring

Dear Editor: The Anglo-American Conference on Refugees which met at Hamilton, Bermuda, ended on April 30. Its accomplishments were negligible because the most important problem, that of the Jews, was hardly mentioned. It was considered improper at this conference to even mention the word Jew, though half the European population of Jews has already been destroyed in the course of the war. The explanation of this was given as follows: "The refugee con-

ference should not be considered as confined to persons of any particular race or faith." This statement was an attempt to hide the fact that the British would not lower their immigration quota for Palestine. According to the British White Paper, only 75,000 entry permits will be issued until April, 1944.

The conference stated that no negotiations with the German government would occur because Hitler's word could not be trusted. One member, however, got nearer to the state of mind of the conferees by asking that if Hitler did let some of the Jews out of Europe, what would we do with them? To the conference, the sending of a large number of Jews to the United States or Latin America is impractical and not worth discussing. By their lack of action on the Jewish problem, they evidently share Hitler's plan to colonize Jews in disease-ridden Madagascar.

The work of the conference was further limited by the fact that only British and American delegates were present. Inasmuch as one of the purposes of the conference was to set up an international committee, you can see that from beginning to end it was a hoax. An intergovernmental committee implies the presence of delegates from many countries and not only from the United States and Great Britain.

LABOR ACTION Announces a Series of Lectures on the War By MAX SHACHTMAN FRIDAYS AT 8:15 P.M. June 11—Russia in the War. June 18—Socialism or the Third World War? Place—Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2nd Ave., New York Admission—25 cents per lecture.

There Are Political Motives Behind the Production of "Mission to Moscow"—What Are They?

"Mission to Moscow" Is a Monstrous Fraud!

By ALBERT GATES

Hollywood is the land of make-believe. With rare exceptions, its product is far removed from anything approaching truth or art. But it took Warner Brothers to film a lie so sickening in its distortions of truth and history that it defies parallel with anything in Hollywood's history except the films of an earlier day attacking the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky.

Just as the movies about the Russia of the Revolution were a lie from beginning to end, so is "Mission to Moscow," the movie version of ex-Ambassador Davies' book of the same name, a lie from beginning to end—with this difference: where Hollywood then lied to destroy the Russia of Lenin and Trotsky, it now lies to whitewash the totalitarian Russia of Stalin.

"Mission to Moscow" is not even a faithful reproduction of a bad book, itself guilty of more than one distortion; that is, it compounds distortion upon distortion. It is not documentary, though the movie-makers did their best to convey the impression that it is, with the use of newsreel shots, Roosevelt's omniscient voice, State Department paper, etc. The scenario has the touch of the GPU, as reflected in the mind and beliefs of Erskine Caldwell, the Stalinist literary fellow-traveler.

The movie is a political offering to Stalin and his regime and was made to meet the political needs growing out of the war alliance between the United States and Russia. It was made for the specific purpose of making more palatable and acceptable to the people in this country the murderous regime of the totalitarian Stalin as well as to please Stalin in the strained inter-Allied relations.

Has the film any official status? With the State Department? The Office of War Information? Nobody knows. It is said that of all the pictures Warner Brothers has submitted to the OWI, "Mission to Moscow" was not among them. Why? Was it because some people in Washington might have objected? Was it because there are currents of thought in this country which would have made public the scandal which this movie is before it was exhibited? Was it because Warner Brothers, and those interested in a wide performance of the picture, preferred to let it be shown before a storm of protest might compel drastic revision of its innumerable lies?

It is difficult to say. All we know is that it suits Roosevelt's policy at this moment, coincides beautifully with a second Davies mission to Moscow and that there is reason to suspect that movie reviewers evidently got the "word" to play it up.

Warner Brothers went all-out in producing this boring and tedious picture. "Mission to Moscow" was released after one of the biggest advertising campaigns in movie history. The usual previews by critics did not take place. Everything was prepared as a surprise. The ordinary movie reviewers went hook, line and sinker for the movie—perhaps "on advice." These unfortunate people, lacking economic, political or social training, historically uneducated, themselves divorced from the real world, examined the picture as they would any ordinary Hollywood production. It did not dawn upon them that here was a purely political production destined to cause political repercussions. Their reviews were of no importance. They concerned themselves with the question of whether Walter Huston was the proper person to enact Davies, whether the film characters looked or talked like the living models. Whether the movie told the truth, whether it adhered to the real history which happened during their recent lives—of this there is nothing to be found among the everyday movie "critics."

It took the political writers, columnists and commentators to open up a barrage against "Mission to Moscow," that threatens to become a gigantic offensive against the biggest lie turned out by Hollywood.

MR. DAVIES LIES SANCTIMONIOUSLY

"Mission to Moscow" opens with a five-minute statement by Davies testifying to the truth of the picture. Without shame the ex-Ambassador makes reference to his origins, his saintly mother and his adherence to the principles of Christian morality. Thereafter begins the series of lies! Let us outline some of the more important ones.

1. Davies in his book stated that the principled reason for his being sent to Russia was to take up and see if he could not collect Russia's war debt to the United States. The book makes the point that this ambassadorship to Russia was temporary until a better place could be found, since Davies and his wife would have preferred the London post. In the movie Davies is represented as being sent to Stalin's country to find

out and tell the truth about that country, and to see what Stalin would do in the event of war.

2. In the book, Davies reports that his first experience upon crossing the border into Russia was the extremely bad food, the general appearance of poverty and dreariness of the country under Stalin. In the movie, Davies is elaborately greeted with a sumptuous meal. This is followed with scenes of happiness, sunshine and a joyous people.

3. In the book, Davies comments on the ever-present and terrifying OGPU, which makes life a constant nightmare for the people. In the movie, aside from a reference that the OGPU is spying everywhere, it is depicted in kindly and benevolent scenes as protectors, rather than as persecutors.

4. In the book, Davies writes of his own perplexity at the Moscow Trials, how "unbelievable" they were. He is aghast at the execution of the officers and generals without trial. He is aghast at the execution of the Old Bolsheviks to whom he refers as old "government leaders." It is all brutal and without sense. The trials repel him. Stalin's justice is highly questionable and the conduct of the self-confessed saboteurs is suspicious. In the book, Davies recites the numerous trials of the different groups of Old Bolsheviks. But in the movie, all the trials are telescoped into one. Tukhachevsky, who was never tried, is shown confessing in a non-existing trial in words that were actually uttered by the Old Bolshevik, Muralov. The defendants are depicted in the character of Hollywood villains!

5. Whereas Radek, Bucharin and the others were in jail during the ex-Ambassador's stay in Russia, in the movie they are shown to have been out and about, plotting and planning sabotage and the destruction of Stalin's state and industries. They are shown attending a diplomatic ball where they hatched plots with the German, Italian and Japanese Ambassadors. That these Old Bolsheviks whom Stalin murdered (these men who, with Lenin and Trotsky, actually led the Revolution in 1917) were never present at any such diplomatic function can be easily verified—but to the "truthful" ex-Ambassador and corporation lawyer, upholding truth and Christian morality, any lie will do.

6. In the movie, Davies depicts himself as engaged in a mission of organizing the "democratic" and "peace-loving" powers in a

front against aggression and fascism. As a matter of fact, he engaged in no mission whatever other than that explained in the first point above. In the movie, he is shown visiting Churchill on his return from Russia, explaining to the present British Prime Minister the need for a bloc with Russia against Germany. As a matter of fact, he saw Churchill while he was Ambassador to Belgium and it had nothing whatever to do with what the movie describes.

7. While, in the movie, Russia is described as having been FORCED into a pact with Hitler because of the machinations of Britain and France, nothing is said of the fact that French and British military missions tried desperately for months to get an alliance with Russia. Nor is the fact related that the Hitler-Stalin pact was already initiated while the French and British and Russian military staffs were negotiating. Nor is the fact related that the Russian representatives continued their negotiations even after the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed—because they did not know about it!

8. The movie says nothing about the significance of the Hitler-Stalin pact, nor does it point out that this alliance gave Hitler the go-sign to fire the opening shots in this war. In fact, the movie virtually skips twenty-two months of cataclysmic history.

9. The movie is a complete distortion of the Finnish invasion by the Red Army. In the picture, Davies perpetuates the Stalinist lie, long after the event, that the invasion of Finland was for the express purpose of defending Russia against Germany. Yet at the time of the invasion, Stalin and his satellites claimed that the invasion was carried out in order to protect Russia against the threats of England, France and the United States! The picture creates the impression that the Roosevelt Administration agreed with the invasion. But as a matter of fact, it was Roosevelt who called for a "moral embargo" against Russia and for aid to Finland. Robert E. Sherwood, one of Roosevelt's closest advisers, wrote a play especially designed to win the sympathy of the American people for the Finns. The play denounced the invasion, as did the whole American press. But now, in the movie, and AFTER THE FACT, in the hope that people's memories will be short, Davies and his

collaborators on the film have distorted the whole history of the event.

10. The movie shows a scene from the League of Nations wherein Haile Selassie makes an appeal to all its members against the brutal invasion of Ethiopia by the Italian fascist armies. Litvinov is then depicted as calling upon all the nations to rally behind Ethiopia. But the movie says nothing about the fact that Russia sent oil and other supplies to Mussolini to aid him in his war against the defenseless people of the invaded country.

11. The movie shows that upon Davies' return to this country he engaged in a one-man campaign to win this country to its present policies, always championed by President Roosevelt. But the movie fails to show that precisely in the period when Davies was supposed to be making this Superman campaign, the American Stalinists, pursuing the policies of their Moscow mentors, campaigned against the Allies, fought conscription, opposed the war budgets and denounced England and the United States, not Hitlerite Germany, as war-mongers.

12. The movie does not show Stalin and von Ribbentrop smiling at each other during the signing of their pact. It fails to quote Premier Molotov's declaration after the pact that "fascism is a matter of taste."

A LEND-LEASE OFFERING TO STALIN

We have cited some of the more obvious lies of the picture, the most glaring distortions of historical truth. There are many more like them, some just as important and some of minor character—for the picture is fiction, poor and simple!

What is the purpose of all this? Who is being served by a GPU version of history? Naturally, the war and the fact of an alliance with Russia make possible the production of this fraudulent cinema. But even the exigencies of this imperialist war are not a complete explanation of this bare-faced misrepresentation, this falsification of history. For, in addition to the American-Russian alliance, which is the root of the distortion, there is the added element that it gives the Stalinists in this country an opportunity to push through their own vicious anti-democratic and anti-socialist propaganda. The willingly gullible Joseph Davies made an admirable foil for the Stalinist cinematic frame-up.

Thus, Congress, for which revolutionary socialists make not the slightest brief, is represented as composed of a bunch of boobs. The socialist movement and the working class in general would be committing a crime against itself if it believed that the parliamentary representatives of American capitalism were all morons. This is not true, and never was true. They are diabolically clever representatives and defenders of imperialist capitalism, and they serve their class exceptionally well.

But in comparing the so-called efficiency of the totalitarian Stalinist regime, where dissension is cured by execution, with the terrible inefficiency of the American parliamentary system, the picture conveys the idea that what is needed here is a little bit of blood-letting à la Stalin. Thus, too, Roosevelt is presented in oligarchical glory, a god-like figure who is all-wise and all-knowing. In this manner, the totalitarian idea and totalitarian practice is subtly inculcated into the minds of the American people.

Roosevelt, Stalin and Joe Davies, these were the men who were right from the very beginning; they foresaw everything; they planned everything right! Those who opposed them, those who oppose them now, whether they be other sections of the capitalist class, liberals, or revolutionary socialists, are fascists or dupes of fascism!

It has been said that "Mission to Moscow" has as its purpose glorifying Roosevelt and his policies, to prove that he was right about everything. That it does try to do so, and from our socialist point of view that's bad enough. But the picture does more than that. It serves Roosevelt's special diplomatic ends right now by glorifying Stalin, his regime, his policies. Most of the picture is devoted to that single purpose. But it could not be done without violating the truth, distorting history and lying about every event of importance that has taken place in the last ten years.

It is necessary that the widest protests be lodged against this vile picture, before its lies and distortions seep into the minds of people, before the type of thinking that is embodied in the picture and the practices of totalitarianism become a valuable propaganda in the hands of American Stalinists. For here the reverse side of the totalitarian coin is revealed, and its face is as ugly as the face of fascism.—(From The New Internationalist, May, 1943.)



STALIN SHAKING HANDS WITH VON RIBBENTROP, Nazi Foreign Minister—This actually happened, hence you won't see it in that colossal lie, "Mission to Moscow." The incident took place in Moscow in 1939. At that time, the time of the Stalin-Hitler war pact, Stalin's newspaper, Izvestia, called fascism "A Matter of Taste" and Molotov brought the greetings of the Communist Party of Russia to the Nazi Party of Germany (see p. 4).

The Dewey Commission Investigated and Reported "Not Guilty!"—but

Producers of "Mission to Moscow" Contribute to a Frame-Up

In Warner Brothers' lend-lease offering to Russia, "Mission to Moscow," Hollywood and ex-Ambassador Davies do a whitewash job on the Moscow Trials. These trials, which will be recorded in history as among the most sinister of Stalin's infamies, were investigated by a commission of inquiry headed by the famous philosopher and educator, John Dewey.

The commission held long hearings, delved into the facts and published two reports: one, "THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY—Report of Hearings on the Charges Made Against Him," published in 1937; and two, "NOT GUILTY—Report of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials," published in 1938.

In the course of its investigation the commission established incontrovertibly that virtually every aspect of the trials, and every charge made in them, was a fraud.

It is impossible for us to list the complete findings of the committee; these take over 1,000 pages. However, we refer our readers to these invaluable books, as well as to the book written by Max Shachtman, "Behind the Moscow Trials." Below we quote from "Not Guilty" (all emphasis is ours—Ed.).

THE COMMISSIONERS

John Dewey, educator and author, professor emeritus of philosophy, Columbia University.

John Chamberlain, author and journalist.

Alfred Rosmer, author and labor journalist, former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.

Edward Alsworth Ross, educator and author, professor emeritus of sociology, University of Wisconsin.

Otto Ruehle, author, biographer of Karl Marx; former Social-Democratic member of the German Reichstag, author and journalist.

Wendelin Thomas, labor journalist; former Communist member of the German Reichstag.

Carlo Tresca, Anarcho-Syndicalist leader; until his murder was editor of Il Martello.

Francisco Zamora, Latin American left publicist; former member of National Committee of Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico.

Suzanne La Follette, author and journalist.

John F. Finerty, counsel for the commission; former counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti and for Tom Mooney.

"This Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials was initiated in March, 1937, by the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, acting for its own nation-wide membership and under mandates from the French Comité pour l'Enquête sur le procès de Moscou, the English Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, and the Czechoslovak Internationales Komitee for Recht and Wahrheit.

"...The procedure of this commission has been similar to that of such bodies as Senate investigating committees, the National Labor Relations Board and the unofficial international commission which investigated the Reichstag Fire case. Its sole purpose having been to ascertain the truth concerning the charges made against Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov, it has been concerned with bringing to light all available facts in the case, whether favorable or unfavorable to Trotsky and Sedov. In accepting evidence, it has been guided by the so-called "best evidence rule," under which it has received only the best evidence which the circumstances made available....

"In view of the reiterated assertions made by partisan critics of the commission, to the effect that no original documents were available to it, we emphatically assert here that we are in possession of a very large number of ORIGINAL and important documents submitted in evidence....

"Our inquiry has been furthered by three sub-commissions. The first, generally known as the Preliminary Commission, held thirteen hearings in Coyoacan, D.F., Mexico, from April 10 to April 17, 1937, during which it took Trotsky's testimony and that of his secretary, Jan Frankel, cross-examined both witnesses, heard Trotsky's arguments in which he answered the charges made against him and made counter-charges against the Soviet government, and accepted, subject to verification, such documentary evidence as he had to introduce.

"A rogatory commission, created by the French Comité pour l'Enquête sur le Procès de Moscou, held eleven sessions from May 12 to June 22, 1937, in Paris, taking the testimony of Leon Sedov and four other witnesses, and accepting such documentary evidence as Leon Sedov had to submit. A sub-commission in New York held five hearings on July 26 and 27, 1937, three in public and two in closed session, during which it took the testimony of eleven witnesses.

"Both the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry and the rogatory commission invited the Soviet government, through its diplomatic representatives, to be represented at their hearing with the right to cross-examine witnesses and offer evidence in rebuttal of their testimony. The Preliminary Commission also requested that the Soviet government make available to its members the records of hearings preliminary to the two Moscow trials. The invitations and the request were ignored. The Preliminary Commission also invited the Communist Party of the United States, the Communist Party of Mexico, the well known Communist lawyer of New York, Mr. Joseph Brodsky, and Mr. Lombardo Toledano, general secretary of the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico, to participate in its inquiry. The invitations were ignored or declined. The rogatory commission extended the same invitations to the French

Communist Party, the Friends of the USSR, and the League for the Rights of Man, with the same results."

Summary of Findings

CONDUCT OF THE TRIALS

Independent of extrinsic evidence, the commission finds:

(1) That the conduct of the Moscow Trials was such as to convince any unprejudiced person that no effort was made to ascertain the truth.

(2) While confessions are necessarily entitled to the most serious consideration, the confessions themselves contain such inherent improbabilities as to convince the commission that they do not represent the truth, irrespective of any means used to obtain them.

THE CHARGES

(3) On the basis of all the evidence, we find that Trotsky never gave Smirnov any terrorist instructions through Sedov or anybody else.

(4) On the basis of all the evidence, we find that Holtzmann never acted as go-between for Smirnov on the one hand and Sedov on the other for the purposes of any terrorist conspiracy.

(5) We find that Holtzmann never met Sedov in Copenhagen; that he never went with Sedov to see Trotsky; that Sedov was not in Copenhagen during Trotsky's sojourn in that city; that Holtzmann never saw Trotsky in Copenhagen.

(6) We find that Oberg never went to Russia with terrorist instructions from Trotsky or Sedov.

(7) We find that Berman-Yurin never received terrorist instructions from Trotsky in Copenhagen, and that Berman-Yurin never saw Trotsky in Copenhagen.

(8) We find that David never received terrorist instructions from Trotsky in Copenhagen, and that David never saw Trotsky in Copenhagen.

(9) We find no basis whatever for the attempt to link Moissei Lurye and Nathan Lurye with an alleged Trotskyist conspiracy.

(10) We find that Trotsky never met Vladimir Romm in the Bois de Boulogne; that he transmitted no messages through Romm to Radek. We find that Trotsky and Sedov never had any connection with Vladimir Romm.

(11) We find that Pyatakoff did not fly to Oslo in December, 1935; he did not, as charged, see Trotsky; he did not receive from Trotsky any instructions of any kind. We find that the disproof of Pyatakoff's testimony on this crucial point renders his whole confession worthless.

(12) We find that the disproof of the testimony of the defendant Pyatakoff completely invalidates the testimony of the witness Bukharstev.

(13) We find that the disproof of Vladimir Romm's testimony and that of Pyatakoff completely invalidates the testimony of the defendant Radek.

(14) We find that the disproof of the confessions of Smirnov, Pyatakoff and Radek completely invalidates the confessions of Shestov and Muralov.

(15) We are convinced that the alleged letters in which Trotsky conveyed alleged conspiratorial instructions to the various defendants in the Moscow Trials, never existed; and that the testimony concerning them is sheer fabrication.

(16) We find that Trotsky throughout his whole career has always been a consistent opponent of individual terror. The commission further finds that Trotsky never instructed any of the defendants or witness in the Moscow Trials to assassinate any political opponent.

(17) We find that Trotsky never instructed the defendants or witnesses in the Moscow Trials to engage in sabotage, wrecking, and diversion. On the contrary, he has always been a consistent advocate of the building up of socialist industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union and has criticized the present regime on the basis that its activities were harmful to the building up of socialist economy in Russia. He is not in favor of sabotage as a method of opposition to any political regime.

(18) We find that Trotsky never instructed any of the accused or witnesses in the Moscow Trials to enter into agreements with foreign powers against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly advocated the defense of the USSR. He has also been a most forthright ideological opponent of the fascism represented by the foreign powers with which he is accused of having conspired.

(19) On the basis of all the evidence, we find that Trotsky never recommended, plotted, or attempted the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly opposed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its existence anywhere else.

(20) We find that the prosecutor fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during and after the October Revolution.

CONCLUSIONS

(21) WE THEREFORE FIND THE MOSCOW TRIALS TO BE FRAME-UPS.

(22) WE THEREFORE FIND TROTSKY AND SEDOV NOT GUILTY.

New York, September 21, 1937.

How the Film Falsifies The Record

By R. Craine

We publish below an itemized list of SOME of the historical falsifications of which the Davies-Warner Brothers movie, "Mission to Moscow," is compounded. They prove that as an apology for Stalinism the movie will help Roosevelt negotiate with Stalin, but as history it is the phonest phony that ever came out of Hollywood.

1-RIBBENTROP IN MOSCOW: Ribbentrop visited Moscow for the first time in August, 1939, when he signed the pact between Germany and Russia, about which Stalin later commented: "The friendship of the peoples of Germany and of the Soviet Union, cemented by blood, will long remain firm." In the movie, Ribbentrop is shown in Moscow long before 1939, at a state ball, conspiring with Bukharin. Davies is careful to omit Ribbentrop's second visit to Moscow, in September, 1939, where he was given a reception closely resembling a triumphal procession, at which the Soviet band played the Internationale and the Nazis' Horst-Wessel song, and where a Russian guard of honor gave the Hitler salute.

2-WHY HE WENT: From the book, it is clear that one of Mr. Davies' jobs in Moscow was to try to collect the Russian debt to the United States. In the picture, he is begged by President Roosevelt to find out "the truth about Russia."

3-TUKHACHEVSKY: In June, 1937, eight Russian generals, including Tukhachevsky, were tried in secret and shot. In the movie, Tukhachevsky suddenly appears as a witness at the Moscow Trial, which takes place a year after he was actually shot.

4-ETHIOPIA AND RUSSIAN OIL: The movie shows a scene in the hall of the League of Nations, with Haile Selassie pleading for help against Italian aggression. Litvinov then makes a speech in defense of Ethiopia, and the Italian and German delegations stalk out of the hall. The movie does not show Italian planes being fueled with Russian oil to go on their marauding "missions" over Ethiopia.

5-STARTING THE WAR: The Russo-German pact was signed on August 23, 1939, and became effective upon signature. The war started one week later and BOTH Germany and Russia invaded Poland. In the movie, Davies is explaining to a senatorial committee that war will come "in a month or two"—this, several weeks after the signing of the pact.

6-INVASION OF POLAND: Russia invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. Five days later, Russia and Germany jointly announced the demarcation of their new frontier in Poland. In the movie, only the German invasion of Poland is shown.

7-FINLAND: In November, 1939, after two months of unsuccessful negotiations, Russia attacked Finland on the pretext that several shots fired from Finnish territory had killed three Red Army men. At that time, England and the United States, and not Germany, were proclaimed by the Russians and the Communist International as the powers backing Finland. The invasion was condemned by Roosevelt, and a moral embargo, which covered the export of airplanes, aeronautical equipment, molybdenum, aluminum and aviation gasoline, was proclaimed against Russia by the United States. That suited Roosevelt's book then. "Mission to Moscow" suits his book now. An interesting example of imperialist "morality."

In the movie we are informed that Russia was really acting against Germany when she invaded Finland; that Finland resisted only because Mannerheim knew that he had Germany's backing. Warner Brothers-Davies neglect to tell us what happened to the "people's" government of Finland which was set up and then dismantled by the Moscow bureaucracy.

8-PADEREWSKY: In 1938, Paderewsky was retired from Polish politics and was devoting himself to his musical work. In the movie, Davies sees Paderewsky as the Polish figure who is to help preserve peace in Europe and the world.

9-THE TRIAL: In December, 1934, Kirov, head of the Leningrad Communist Party, was assassinated. Before any trial took place, one hundred and four persons were arrested and shot for complicity in the assassination. On December 28 and 29, the trial of Nikolayev and his alleged accomplices took place in secret. Fourteen were condemned to death.

On January 15 and 16, 1935, Zinoviev and Kamenev, together with seventeen others, were tried for moral responsibility in the Kirov assassination. All were condemned to prison for five to ten years.

In August, 1936, the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial took place. The sixteen defendants were shot. In January, 1937, there was the Pyatakov-Radek trial. Thirteen of the seventeen defendants were shot; the rest, Radek among them, were imprisoned. In June, 1937, eight generals, including Tukhachevsky, were tried in secret and executed. In March, 1938, the Bukharin-Rykov trial took place. All defendants were executed.

In the movie, Davies telescopes all the trials into one. Vishinsky is the true-blue prosecutor. No inkling is given that Yagoda, who appears in the movie trial, had at one time been in the prosecutor's box—for the simple reason that the previous trials would then fall apart. At the real trial, Yagoda confessed that he had participated in gross frame-ups.

Tukhachevsky, who had long been dead, appears in the movie trial to accuse Bukharin and Krestinsky. This is done to create the impression that Tukhachevsky had a public trial.

The defendants confess to sabotage and to plotting to overthrow the Russian government by assassination and terror. No evidence is introduced, save the confessions of the defendants. Where Krestinsky refuses to confess, others do it for him.

Trotsky is presented as the arch-plotter and leader in all the machinations of the defendants. Warner Brothers-Davies do not dare, however, to refer to the published testimony in the trials, but resort to fiction. The reason is simple enough. Every fact, every detail contained in the "confessions" at the real trials were examined by the Dewey Commission and found to be false.

Hollywood Does a Re-Take on the War

Let us review the European situation during the recent period.

Britain is determined not to allow any country to dominate all Europe; supports France against Germany; Germany is defeated in 1918. Britain at once begins to support Germany against France. Germany and Austria, starving, want to unite. Britain and France refuse.

Hitler comes into power in a desperate Germany. Poland says to France: "This man is dangerous. Let us crush him now." Some in France say: "Yes." Others say: "Yes, but if we crush him there will be a social revolution, and then what?" Lloyd George says: "Leave him. If he goes, there'll be communism."

Italy says: "We need Ethiopia." French capital says: "Let us divide it; you, Britain and ourselves." They quarrel over the division. Mussolini, getting angry, attacks.

As soon as Hitler sees this he enters the Rhineland. The French, very frightened, turn to Britain. Britain says: "Leave him alone."

Meanwhile, the Spanish workers, rise against Franco. All of them, Britain, France, USA, Italy, Germany, get together to crush the Spanish workers. Stalin intervened to be sure that no workers' state will take power.

Japan, seeing the European nations engaged, says: "This is our chance to get China." Roosevelt at once shouts: "Quarantine the aggressors." But Britain does all it can to come to terms with Japan at the expense of the USA, while Chamberlain arranges Munich with Hitler. At Munich the British industrialists come to an agreement with the German, aimed at a European battle for the world market against USA imperialism.

These are some, just a few of the highlights. The struggle for economic power, that satisfies a capitalist economy, to that cannot be satisfied, fear of the masses whom the economy is crushing.

And Russia? Russia offered Hitler an alliance as soon as he came to power in 1933! Hitler refused it then. Only after Hitler's refusal did Stalin become a "friend" of democracy, that is, of British and French imperialism; only to ally himself with Hitler as soon as it was expedient. Meanwhile, the British ruling class, almost to a man, supported Chamberlain; they changed only because they could not get a good working agreement with Hitler.

Such is imperialism, and imperialist war. Such is the reality of politics. Instead, what does "Mission to Moscow" show you? You see the stupidest diplomat who ever lived, wandering around Europe, a real "innocent" abroad, while Japanese and German diplomats whisper in corners, real movie villains. See Stalin talking like a Midwest parson, of sin and greed and wickedness and how honest Russia will have to compromise with sin if stupid Britain and honest America, with its "great President," do not hurry up and come to Russia's help.

The whole business is an offense to the intelligence of any honest worker. Yet what else could they do? For if they told only an inkling of the truth, the workers in every country would rise up in their wrath and settle accounts with all the warmakers. But the truth will out. And when a majority of the workers know, they will act. —A. A. B.

The Whitewash Is Beginning To Wear Thin Under Protest

The movie reviewers in the New York daily press for the most part went overboard for "Mission to Moscow." Their reactions varied from Stalinist eulogy in PM, to tepid kidding, in the Post. The reviewers, if they weren't prompted as to the kind of reviews that were expected, just took it for granted that here was a kind of semi-official government propaganda film, and, lacking any particular knowledge about anything, merely played safe (with Warner Brothers) and acclaimed it.

However, as people of intellect and some honesty got to see the film, a protest began to pile up that may yet swamp the propaganda value of the picture.

John Dewey and Suzanne La Follette, chairman and secretary of the commission that investigated the Moscow Trials, condemned the picture in a long letter to the New York Times, as "totalitarian propaganda for mass consumption—a propaganda which falsifies history through distortion, omission or pure invention of facts."

Manny Farber in the New Republic tore the picture to bits. The Nation editorially objected to the distortions in the movie. And, in the daily press, the somewhat better informed columnists have begun to rip the movie apart.

Dorothy Thompson, in her column in the New York Post, called it "phony history"—the mildest thing she had to say about the movie. Anne O'Hare McCormick, in the New York Times, wrote that "it is the false picture of America, the false picture of Russia and the false picture of history that are combined in the distorted composite to which the former Ambassador lends his authorization in an introductory speech."

The World-Telegram ran a series of four articles by Eugene Lyons calling the movie a whitewash. At least one movie reviewer, Bosley Crowther, in the New York Times, has reconsidered his original review. In a Sunday column, he virtually revised everything he had to say originally about the movie and its presentation of history.

It goes without saying that throughout all this the Stalinist press has really whooped it up for the film, calling it a second "Uncle Tom's Cabin," etc.

Much will yet be written in the press about the movie. Labor and liberal opinion is most definitely becoming aroused, and the full effects of this indignation are yet to be felt.

ever lived, wandering around Europe, a real "innocent" abroad, while Japanese and German diplomats whisper in corners, real movie villains. See Stalin talking like a Midwest parson, of sin and greed and wickedness and how honest Russia will have to compromise with sin if stupid Britain and honest America, with its "great President," do not hurry up and come to Russia's help.

The whole business is an offense to the intelligence of any honest worker. Yet what else could they do? For if they told only an inkling of the truth, the workers in every country would rise up in their wrath and settle accounts with all the warmakers. But the truth will out. And when a majority of the workers know, they will act. —A. A. B.

Out of Stalin's Own Mouth!

Stalin's line has zig-zagged from position to position according to what served the foreign and domestic interests of the bureaucracy best. At no point, however, do these zig-zags touch a socialist policy—from which they are as far removed as night is from day—even where they give a surface appearance of great "radicalism"—because they are conceived only in the interests of the Russian bureaucracy and not in the interests of the workers. It goes without saying that the Stalinist ("Communist") parties shift with each turn in the Stalinist wind. In the movie, "Mission to Moscow," Stalinist politics is depicted as consistent, dedicated at all times to fighting fascism. In refutation we cite below a few comments made by official Stalinist spokesmen at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact—that is, before Stalin joined the camp of the Allied imperialists. In "Mission to Moscow," Stalin is being partly paid off for that switch in alliance.

MOLOTOV DEFINES THE PACT:
"The good-neighborly, friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany are not based on fortuitous considerations of a transient nature, but on fundamental state interests of both the USSR and Germany."
Molotov speech to Supreme Soviet, August 1, 1940.

ON FASCISM:
"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war for the annihilation of Hitlerism means to commit criminal folly in politics."
Izvestia, official Russian government organ, October 9, 1939.

WAR GUILT:
"The guilt for this war lies upon the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, of all the capitalist countries, and most especially upon those of the belligerents. But at this moment the responsibility for continuing this war lies, before all, upon the British and French imperialists, who have rejected the very thought of a halt to hostilities, and who feverishly work to involve all other countries in the slaughter."
Earl Browder, speech, November 5, 1939, in Boston.

HITLER AND HIS IDEOLOGY:
"There could be no more conclusive testimony (of Russia's strength) and the world received it when von Ribbentrop flew to Moscow to sue for a non-aggression pact on behalf of Hitler, who abandoned his Axis allies and his whole ideology merely for the formal assurance that the Soviet Union, always pledged to a policy of non-aggression, would not commit or be a party to any warlike act against Germany."
Earl Browder in The Communist, November, 1939.

ON THE INVASION OF FINLAND:
"The British-French imperialists, with the support of the Roosevelt Administration, had planned to drag Scandinavia into the war and to establish there and in Finland a 'Northern Front'—directed against Germany and the Soviet Union."

THE WAY TO PEACE
"The Soviet-German agreement is thus the best current example of the way to peace."
Earl Browder in a radio interview, NBC, August 26, 1939

Mr. Davies-- Lawyer and Whitewasher

By Susan Green

Joseph E. Davies, of "Mission to Moscow" fame, is a capitalist and, in his own words, "proud of it."

Time magazine refers to him as an "American lawyer, capitalist and individualist." Life magazine calls him a "capitalist lawyer."

Walter Huston, playing the part of Davies in the film, tells the Russian, Kalinin, that, as a lawyer, he has represented the most powerful American capitalist interests.

Who's Who lists Davies as a lawyer and diplomat, and enumerates his activities as such and as a prominent member of the Democratic Party—one of the two political outfits that take turns in running America for the bosses.

Ex-Ambassador Davies is married to Marjorie Post Hutton—a name out of the social register.

Marjorie Post Hutton Davies has for many years been on the board of directors of the General Foods Corp., which, one may say, is to the food industry what the United States Steel Corp. is to steel.

Mr. and Mrs. Davies have their residence in aristocratic Palm Beach, Fla., with additional residences to taste.

Mr. Davies belongs to more than a dozen top-notch gentlemen's clubs throughout the Eastern states, including the extra snooty Chevy Chase in Washington and the just too-too Everglades in Palm Beach.

One of Mr. Davies' oldest and best friends is Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of directors of General Electric Co., which, one may also say, is to the electrical manufacturing industry what United States Steel Corp. is to the steel industry.

General Electric has done millions of dollars' worth of very profitable business with Stalin's government, and Mr. Young has told his friend Mr. Davies that "the Soviet government has an exceptionally high credit rating in banking and business circles in New York and this country." It is evident from Mr. Davies' book that this commendation of the Stalin government by banking and business made a deep impression on his capitalist soul.

HIS "PREJUDICES" MAKE SENSE

In the prologue to the film, where Mr. Davies appears in person and turns on the charm to convince the audience that he—the proud-of-it capitalist—is of course "the friend of the common people," he admits that he once had "prejudices" against the Soviet government.

He undoubtedly refers to the time when all his fellow capitalists throughout the world had similar class "prejudices" against the revolutionary Soviets of Lenin, Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, whose mock trials and executions by butcher Stalin Davies wholeheartedly applauds in the film—though not quite so unequivocally in his book. Those were the days when the Soviet leaders were more concerned about maintaining a real workers' government and building socialism than about the commendations of American proud-of-it capitalists.

Here, in the above, you have seen the ruling class background of Davies—a man of power and pelf, a man proud of his top-dog position, a man determined to maintain the capitalist system under which he is a favored son. It is not by high-sounding words that the suave Davies and the impressive Walter Huston of the film should be judged. Here is a man with an overwhelming class bias, ticking to the tune of his class interests.

His round of activities in Russia is little different from what it was in America. Caviar and champagne—teas, balls and receptions—theaters and the ballet—museums and art collecting. As the film so vividly shows, life in the upper brackets is good in Russia, as it also is in America. That at the same time the mass of Russian workers are poorly housed, poorly clothed, poorly fed does not condemn Stalinism in his eyes any more than the social differences between American workers and capitalists condemn capitalism in his eyes.

To his esthetic sense, however, it is a tragedy—no less—that the former city home of a Russian nobleman should be "run down," as he wrote in his diary on January 19, 1937. That many families of workers and soldiers have to be crowded into this run-down dwelling of one former nobleman is not too hard for him to bear.

The political and propaganda stranglehold of Stalin on the movements and minds of the masses evokes in this Ambassador for the American ruling class, a touch of envy and admiration. In a letter to the President, quoted in Davies' book, he stated: "Jim Farley might get some pointers if he were to come over here." Basically, ruling classes agree.

The film shows Davies visiting mines and factories. As Ambassador of the American ruling class, what is he looking for? Only for an answer to this question: How will Russia's war production affect the imperialist balance of power? To him, very obviously, the workers are only pawns in the imperialist game.

It is an old Stalinist trick to allow a movie audience pictorially to go through giant industrial plants to give the impression that everything is going fine. This writer has personally visited some of the very plants shown in "Mission to Moscow," but it was only by going into workers' houses that one could find out what it was like to live on one hundred inflated rubles a month. Thousands of tourists have gaped at the wonders of the Ford plants in this country, without knowing a damn thing about the labor spy system of that noted industrialist. Similarly gazing with Davies at Russian war production plants gives the audience no idea of the slave-labor system of Russia's noted dictator.

Such things are of class interest to the workers and it is on such things that workers base their approval or disapproval. Not so the proud-of-it capitalist.

MR. DAVIES FORGETS HIS DOUBTS

In his book Mr. Davies expresses some doubts of the infamous Moscow Trials. Among other things, for instance, he calls attention to the lack of documentary evidence. However, in the film he is convinced of the defendants' guilt, presumably by the ridiculous hocus-focus that is passed off by Warner Brothers as a trial.

As a lawyer and capitalist, it was not difficult for Mr. Davies to forget his doubts. For what was Stalin seeking to put an end to by these trials? The revolution, the Old Bolsheviks who made the revolution, the fair name of Trotsky, which will always stand for the workers' revolution—those "frightening" forces which caused Davies to have his earlier "prejudices" against the Soviets of Lenin and Trotsky.

These forces, which threaten the stability of Stalin and the new ruling class of Russia also threaten the capitalist Mr. Davies, his capitalist wife, his capitalist friends, his Palm Beach estate, his swanky clubs, his expensive hobby of collecting art.

Therefore, aside from the immediate purpose of war propaganda, white-washing Stalin's crimes against the Russian workers and their Bolshevik leaders, as Davies has done in his book and in the film, was an act of class interest per se.

Let no worker be fooled by this whitewash by one ruling class into forgetting the crimes of another.

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Europe in Revolt

A Review of Political Events

LARGE STRIKES IN BELGIUM HIT NAZI OPPRESSORS

We expect to have more to report on this matter in future columns, but this week we add a most important instance to those we have already cited about Belgian working class resistance:

"The first major stoppage of 1943 took place on February 15 at ACEC, a large Charleroi electrical engineering firm, where the Germans had ordered 1,200 workers to report for forced labor in Germany. In protest against this order, the entire personnel of 4,500 workers struck. The strikers then entered other factories, urging workers to show their solidarity and join them in the strike. The Germans were forced to suggest a compromise whereby only four hundred workers would be sent to Germany, but the strike continued. The next day the Providence Steel works went on strike, followed by the workers of all major factories in the district. The strike was broken when the German field police arrived with machine guns and threatened to fire on the unarmed men.

"A few days later, on February 24, the workers at the Cockerill Steel Works at Liege walked out.

"The strike began after the posting of an announcement that 160 men would be picked for work in Germany. A meeting was immediately held and 3,000 workers agreed to strike. The next day strikes occurred in the metal works at Liege, Seraing, Felmelle, Angleur and Griveconne, which were followed by stoppages in sixteen factories and ten coal mines in the Herve district and by the glass workers of Val St. Lambert. By February 27, 60,000 workers were on strike, the commander of the occupying troops ordered the closing of all restaurants and cafes in the strike district, and the population was forbidden to go out after 3:00 p.m. During the first day of the strike the Germans arrested forty workers, delegates from the Cockerill Works, but as the strikes gained power and momentum, the men had to be released. The strike continued until March 10.

"In the Charleroi coal mining district more strikes have broken out. At Pleton, armed, masked patriots stopped a train full of workers, ordered everyone off and set the locomotive full steam in reverse. It

crashed into another locomotive behind it on the same line, causing considerable damage. In retaliation, the Germans seized 150 hostages, and the workers went on strike. Another 150 hostages were seized, with the threat that 5,000 more would be arrested unless the strike was called off. The workers stayed out four days. Another strike was broken with machine guns at Cuesmes, nearby, where a stoppage was called in protest against the deportation of 120 Belgian workers to Germany, and the miners of the Quesnoy Coal Co. at Trivieres went on strike against a fine imposed on workers refusing to work on Sundays. The Germans have announced at Trivieres that if the strike continues all the workers in the mine will be deported.

"The miners and factory workers know that they are supported by the Belgian people themselves and the feeling of solidarity against the Germans is very widespread. At the end of last year, when a number of sit-down strikes were occurring, an underground leaflet, calling for a general strike, was widely distributed throughout the industrial areas of Belgium. It read:

"**APPEAL TO BELGIAN MINERS!**

"To protest against the dishonorable traffic in slaves; against the bestial deportation of our men and young women; for our liberation!

"Think of the thousands of tears of mothers, wives and children; Belgians! Flemish and Wallon, arise, all of you!

"Join: THE GENERAL STRIKE ON MONDAY, December 28, 1942.

"Show the aggressor that you are still true Belgians! Save Belgium! Long Live Belgium! Long Live the General Strike!"

"This is the latest underground leaflet to be received outside of Belgium. Edited by the workers themselves, it is an example of the printed word which today is drawing thousands and thousands of people into the struggle."

The Belgian workers in these self-sacrificing actions are showing the road to European labor. They exemplify that kind of independent working class action which will create a united movement spreading from town to town, and later from country to country, to defeat fascism. Belgian workers are in the forefront of our battle for freedom.

Europacrus.

The India of the Western Hemisphere

Puerto Rico: Which Way Towards Independence?

By V. SEGUNDO

In four short articles we have tried to survey the problems—principally economic but also social—of Puerto Rico, America's India. Again and again we have returned to the basic fact of the maldistribution of the land—the American corporations sprawled over square miles of the best land, the Puerto Rican jibaro pushed onto an acre on the edge of a swamp. Here is the necessary beginning of any reform.

The Foraker Act, passed on April 12, 1900, set up the first civil government for the island under American rule. It was a clause restricting the ownership of land by any one individual or corporation to 500 acres. This limitation was repeated seventeen years later in the Jones Act. In other words, the present efforts of the Tugwell government to reduce the size of the holdings come about forty years after the American corporations began breaking the law.

Previous efforts had been made. A case against Robert Hermanos, Inc., wandered through the courts for years and ended up in the United States Supreme Court. But the general maldistribution was not disturbed; in 1930 the three largest American companies alone owned 73,000 acres of land and leased 52,000 acres more. By the 1935 census, slightly more than one quarter of the improved land was in holdings of more than 500 acres. In 1941 the Land Authority Act was passed, by which \$2,000,000 was appropriated to begin BUYING BACK the land from the companies which had stolen it in the years immediately following American occupation. But according to the latest reports available, not a cent of this has yet been spent.

The reason for this is that the present set-up is too profitable to be changed. The four American companies that dominate the sugar industry in 1936 earned over eight and a half million dollars. Dividends range from an annual average of ten to thirty per cent to as high as 120 per cent or more. You may be quite certain that no matter what else happens, as long as Tugwell or any other representative of a capitalist government is in power, steps toward enforcing the 500-acre law will be no more than gestures.

Is the law, granting for the moment that it will ever be enforced, a good thing? There is much to be

said on both sides, and it is outside the scope of this article to do more than suggest the differences. That the American companies ought to be kicked off the island without ceremony, and without paying them for the land they stole, we can grant without argument. If the Atlantic Charter were meant to apply any more to the Atlantic than to the Pacific, if this war had anything to do with common, ordinary human justice, the Puerto Ricans would be given back their land. But beyond that, what?

Issue Is Ownership

In India the British have set up a system of buying up large estates and selling them piecemeal to small landholders. The results have been uniformly favorable to British imperial interests. For the small owners, paying for their mortgaged land over a period of decades, have become strongly reactionary on political issues. A new kulak class is set up. Once again it is "divide and rule." Today about one-fifth of the Puerto Rican agricultural workers are either land owners or tenants. If, a few years from now, after the sugar companies have been paid millions for their worst land, the figure is two-fifths, that still leaves three-fifths of the workers without land.

Is the 500-acre holding more efficient than a small one? It is possible to cite figures proving any answer to this question. Certainly the very small holding is not at all efficient. In Barbadoes, the concentration of land has progressed further than in Puerto Rico—three-quarters of the holdings are less than an acre, and most of the island is one vast plantation. In Haiti, on the other hand, the revolution broke the plantation system and most of the agricultural laborers own their land. But they produce, not sugar principally, but coffee, which in Puerto Rico too is the small man's crop. The method of cultivation is extremely primitive. Holdings range from three to six acres, and lots of one-fifth of an acre are not uncommon. The plow is unknown. A hoe and cutlass, valued at \$1.20, represent the sum total of the peasant's farming equipment. Certainly this is not a solution—even the sugar economy of Cuba and the Dominican Republic offers a better living, as is evidenced by the large emigration of Haitians there.

A socialist can say only this: In general, aside from the special requirements of certain crops, large holdings are better than small ones, and the larger they are the

better. But the land must be owned by the men who work it, owned cooperatively and worked cooperatively. Pico, a Puerto Rican who has studied the question, supports the limitation to 500 acres, "in view of the unequal distribution of income that results from concentration of large tracts of land in the hands of private individuals." But the choice is not EITHER five hundred acres owned by the Fajardo Sugar Co. OR five acres owned by Juan Jibaro.

But this discussion is in a vacuum unless we consider political factors. How the Puerto Ricans will divide up their land among themselves is

an academic question until they get the land, and how to get it is a political question.

Roosevelt's Fakery

The principal news on the political front is, of course, the statement by Roosevelt asking Congress to enact legislation providing for the election of a Puerto Rican Governor by the people of that island. This is pure fakery, on several grounds:

(1) Congress is not likely to pass such a bill, and Roosevelt knows it. If he were interested in having it passed, he would first have some storage on the floor of Congress introduce a specific bill, and then

speaking in favor of that bill. To speak in favor of no bill in particular, but of a self-elected Governor in general, hurts no one and impresses the liberals. That this is not a misconception is shown by what has happened in the more than two months since Roosevelt made the statement—nothing.

(2) Roosevelt said he called for the right of Puerto Ricans to elect their own Governor in response to Tugwell's recommendation. But it was more a response to a resolution passed unanimously by both Houses of the island legislature about a month before. The resolution declared:

"The colonial system of government ought to be totally and definitely abolished in Puerto Rico and the form of this definite political status ought to be democratically decided through the free vote of the people themselves."

When the island has reached the point of demanding a referendum to decide between statehood and independence, it is good politics to try to get the inhabitants thinking about the possibility of electing a Governor.

(3) What would be the meaning of—what Roosevelt and the congressional committee both oppose— independence? In 1917 Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship. In the words of the WPA Guidebook: "Within a few months the Insular and U.S. District Courts ruled in effect that the granting of American citizenship implied territorial status for the island, but the Supreme Court of the United States... reversed local decisions, resulting in much discussion as to the value of the citizenship attained." Independence would mean becoming another Cuba or Bolivia. Neither the sugar companies nor the soldiers to protect their properties and "maintain order" would leave the island. It would be a step forward, yes, and a step to be supported. But the world has grown since Haiti won her independence.

Which Way Forward?

The Caribbean islands are a unit, and only in their joint independence and a federal government will they be able to find the strength to build up from the low level to which British and American imperialism has brought them. Haiti is an example, not only of courage in revolt, but of poor administration after the revolt was successful (and of continued imperialist intervention).

Though we hear little of it in the United States, the Caribbeens are not all sugar profits and rumbas. We quote again from "The Negro in the Caribbean" concerning recent activity in the British islands:

"Consider the chronology of these fateful years, 1935-38. A sugar strike in St. Kitts, 1935; a revolt against increase of customs duties in St. Vincent, 1935; a coal strike in St. Lucia, 1935; labor disputes on the sugar plantations of British Guiana, 1935; an oil strike, which became a general strike, in Trinidad, 1937; a sympathetic strike in Barbadoes, 1937; a sugar strike in St. Lucia, 1937; sugar troubles in Jamaica, 1937; dockers' strike in Jamaica, 1938. Every Governor called for warships, marines and airplanes. The torch had been applied to the powder barrel. Total casualties amounted to twenty-nine dead, 115 wounded."

The Caribbeens are moving toward independence, slowly and sometimes blindly, but moving. They will not achieve it alone. Like other colonial lands, their fate is tied up with the fate of the world, and they must move when the world moves. The day is not far off.

held outside of the Garden was Max Shachtman, present national secretary of the Workers Party. No other organization participated in this anti-fascist action. On the contrary, the press, some Stalinist controlled unions, and especially the American Stalinist Party, tried to play down this demonstration and tried to prevent the workers of New York from appearing in the streets, voicing their opposition to the meeting and the permission given by the city authorities for it to be held.

It is naturally impossible to cite chapter and verse in the history of the workers' political movement of the past fifteen years, but these are sufficient indications, we believe, to indicate that it is IMPOSSIBLE for your allegation to be true.

Has Frame-Up Smell

We do not know anything about Quisling's wife. The fact that she is a Ukrainian, we learn for the first time. But this fact indicates that the source of your information could only be the GPU. There never was a Trotskyist Ukrainian organization; and Quisling's wife, if he has a wife, and if she is Ukrainian, could not possibly be a leader of a non-existent Ukrainian Trotskyist organization. This is reminiscent of the GPU lie that Trotsky, while in exile in Norway, was visited by Piatakov (murdered in the Moscow "Trials"), who landed there by plane. Swedish and Norwegian government authorities pointed out that this was impossible, since no planes could land in the dead of winter at that airport, and no plane did land.

While our organization has no connection with the newspaper, The Militant, we are thoroughly acquainted with its recent case, which resulted in its being barred from the mails by the fiat action of the postal authorities. We believe the action against The Militant was unconstitutional and in violation of its democratic rights. You can acquaint yourself with this case if you wish to inquire of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The whole story you tell smells like a Stalinist frame-up, the creation of amalgams for the purpose of preparing an action against a political opponent. We trust that you will not become party to any such scheme. But above all, we are asking, in view of the nature of your paragraph and in view of the repeated assertions that your columns contain truth and fact, that you print a correction of the ill-founded comments contained therein. We are ready, on our part, to supply you with any other information you may need to verify the facts indicated above. We do not believe that because Stalinist Russia is a military ally of the United States that the lie therefore can be raised to spiritual heights, or be justified thereby.

Very truly yours,
ALBERT GATES,
Ass't Nat'l Sec'y
Workers Party.

Letter From a Ford Worker Answers Winchell Accusation

To the Editor of LABOR ACTION:
I am one of the 6,000 "Trotskyites" in the Ford Instrument Co.

I, together with the other thousands of "Trotskyites" who are all members of the United Instrument Workers, Local 425, UERMWA-CIO, stopped the compulsory donation of a day's pay to the "United War Relief." At a special membership meeting of our local, we overwhelmingly voted down a proposal for the check-off of a day's pay on the grounds that we opposed any compulsory donations, and that each member had the right to decide for himself how much he wished to give to charity, to what organization he wished to donate, when and if he wished to donate.

I, together with the other workers of Local 425, resent Walter Winchell's

implying that any minority stopped us from doing what we desired to do. In our local the membership can make its own decisions, and the rejection of the proposal for the check-off of a day's pay was distinctly the decision of the majority.

If LABOR ACTION also opposes such compulsory donations and believes that charity is a matter for individual judgment, and if your readers in Local 425 follow your advice, then that is a credit to LABOR ACTION.

I, together with the other 6,000 "Trotskyites" in Local 425 will continue to read LABOR ACTION with interest, and seek its printed advice on matter of current importance, in spite of Winchell's lies about "Trotskyites."

A Member of Local 425.

WLB Is Determined to Beat the UMW-- But the Miners Are Ready for Action!

(Continued from page 1)

sible way? At present this WLB gives the impression that its chief interest is only to whip the UMWA into submission.

What did the WLB mean by its demagogic, inane and bombastic statement about Lewis "defying the lawfully established procedures of the government of the United States... this defiance challenges the sovereignty of the United States in time of war and gives aid and comfort to our enemies." This board calls itself, in some sense, a judicial body. But the above quoted screech sounds like it came from a cheap Hearst editor, a Pegler, or a Stalinist hatchetman.

The UMWA is a real union of a half million militant workers who know that they have just grievances. They know further that they are being given the run-around by the employers and the WLB. They know that posing this fight as a patriotic struggle against Lewis is primarily an attempt either to destroy their union as a militant organization of workers, or to force it into impotence as they have almost succeeded in doing with other unions such as those under the leadership of Green, Murray and the Stalinists. The employer members of the WLB and their controlled stooges, the "public members," are aided and abetted by their labor lieutenants on the board.

No matter what any individual miner thinks about Lewis, if he has any intelligence at all he knows that Lewis is not the issue—but hunger, misery, unbearable working conditions and a concerted attempt to wreck the union. The miners are resolved, and they are right, that this shall not be accomplished by the operators, by the WLB—nor by the two working together.

What Is the Issue?

In its "unanimous statement" (which means that the CIO-AFL members voted for it) the WLB says: "the issue now confronting the nation in this dispute is whether Mr. Lewis is above and beyond the laws which apply to all other citizens of the United States." This is not the issue, and this board knows it. There are several issues. The

main issue is whether or not the wages of the miners, which average around \$35 a week, shall be brought up to the \$46 average for aircraft, \$51 for automobile workers and \$61 for ship workers. This is what the miners are primarily interested in, and the miners are right.

Another issue is to discover what the WLB means when it says that that the "defiance" of Lewis is "the only thing that stands in the way of the working out of a new contract for the mine workers by orderly, peaceful procedure in accordance with the order of the NWLB... and the national stabilization policy under the Act of Congress of October 2, 1942."

This is sheer nonsense or worse. How about the operators? What do they do at the time when "orderly, peaceful procedure" was in progress? What did they think of the "sovereignty of the United States in time of war"? Have the operators given any "aid and comfort to our enemies"? The board is strangely silent on all of this.

Despite all of this, the UMWA has agreed to extend the "truce" to May 31. This extension was granted at the request of Mr. Ickes, who wrote to the UMWA expressing the "hope that by this action the way will be open for immediate collective bargaining conferences."

The union assumed that this statement meant that Ickes had some intention and authority, as "custodian of the mines," to initiate collective bargaining procedures. The WLB contested this and the very next day the papers carried a letter from Mr. Ickes to the union saying that, "as I told you on Sunday, May 2, the President's executive order does not give me the power to negotiate a contract with the United Mine Workers nor do I have the power to institute collective bargaining conferences between the mine workers and the owners of the mines. In addition, I have said from the very beginning, any contract must have the approval of the WLB."

What Are Ickes' Powers?

This is plain and clear enough, but where does it leave the miners? What is the meaning of the extension of the "truce"? What is the status of this "truce" today? The miners

did not resume the temporarily suspended strike because Ickes requested that they continue production, hoping that "by this action the way will be open for immediate collective bargaining." Were the miners double-crossed by Ickes? If so, why should they continue at work until May 31?

The mines all over the country are plastered with signs saying that they are "United States Property." But in the quotation Ickes talks about the "owners of the mines," meaning the coal companies. Ickes says further, in his letter to the UMWA, that he is "eager to restore the mines to private possession..."

The mines are government property and they are also the property of the coal companies. The miners are working for the government and at the same time they are working for the coal companies. Ickes is the custodian of mines which are U.S. property, and the workers in these mines are working for the government. Presumably then, they are working for and under Ickes, representing their new employer, the government. But the WLB says "nothing doing"; the operators, who no longer own the mines, and the miners, who no longer work for the coal companies, are to appear before the WLB, and be told how to proceed with collective bargaining.

In his letter, Ickes capitulates to the WLB but he doesn't say that he has no authority to negotiate with the UMWA. He says that he has no power to "negotiate a contract" or to "institute collective bargaining conferences between the mine workers and the owners of the mines." Ickes also says that "any contract must have the approval of the WLB."

What are Ickes' powers, anyhow? Does he have any powers? How can the UMWA discover what they are if he has any? If the miners are working for the government and Ickes represents the government, then why can't he negotiate a contract with the miners, even though it must later "have the approval of the WLB?"

Furthermore, we would like to ask by what authority some coal

companies attempted to levy fines on the UMWA in connection with the strike? Does Ickes have anything to say about this? Does the WLB?

On the Alert!

What we want to emphasize, and what the miners had better get clearly in their heads, is the fact that they are in for a thorough walting from Ickes, the WLB and the real owners of the mines (the coal companies) if they waver for one instant. The position of the UMWA is impregnable. They have a considerable amount of "public" support. They have the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers, especially the membership of the CIO. They are only opposed, in the ranks of labor, by the top leadership and the Stalinist jackals and jackasses.

The miners must keep their ranks solid as they have so magnificently done up to now. They have set the example for all of American labor to see and follow. When they do this, all of their enemies combined cannot defeat them. Their demands are just. They have demonstrated, as the operators have not, willingness to adjust their grievances by genuine collective bargaining. They kept the "truce" even after their union was unjustly attacked by the WLB as an organization which "gives aid and comfort to our enemies."

But enough is enough! The UMWA must keep on the alert. The miners must maintain discipline and eternal vigilance. They must stand by for action!

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If you will go through the files of the New York press and your own New York Mirror, you will find that 50,000 people answered the call to demonstrate against the Bund's meeting, and that the leading speaker at a protest meeting

Editorials

Georgia Talks

The daily papers carry the information that the United Spanish-American War Veterans of Georgia have passed a resolution denouncing the United Mine Workers. The resolution speaks of "a Quisling labor leader." S. V. Sanford, the head of the organization and chancellor of Georgia's university system, said that the man referred to as a "Quisling" was John Lewis. The resolution calls Lewis a "traitor" and condemns his "arrogance" in defying the government.

One would expect just such a resolution as this to come out of Georgia. This Georgia whose soil for decades has been red with the blood of countless victims of the mob; this Georgia where hundreds of helpless men and women have been done to death by native white American savages, armed with "rope and faggot," club and shotgun. This is the Georgia which demonstrated its respect for "law," its adherence to "constituted government" by permitting a native mob to assault a Negro woman by ripping open her abdomen with a knife and then crushing to death under its heel the infant that dropped to the ground. The father of the infant was said to be a "respectable" white dentist of the town for whom the Negro woman had worked. Yes, this is the Georgia that talks about someone "defying the government"!

This is the same Georgia that today continues the rule of the mob, its vicious Jim Crow system, its poll-tax disfranchisement, its peonage and slavery, and the mass misery of its terribly exploited workers.

Yes, this is Georgia, land of the mob, of ignorance, poverty, illiteracy; land of shacks and tumble-down cabins; of demagogues and bloodhounds; of ignorance and illiteracy because the educational system of the state is as ramshackle and tumble-down as the cabins in which thousands of human beings are forced to live; of poverty, want and misery because thousands of human beings in Georgia are forced to toil in cotton field, rice swamp, turpentine forest, stone quarry and textile factory for the lowest wages in order to maintain their sub-human standard of living.

This is Georgia, where organizations of the "superior race" can take time out from lynching Negroes and clubbing labor organizers to exhort the country on "labor Quislings" and "good government."

It is Georgia and the other Southern states especially that fear what the miners are doing. If the mine workers win their victory, it will give hope to the thousands of white and black slaves of Georgia and

the rest of the South. It will hearten them and make them understand that they are not forever doomed to starvation and oppression. If the Negro peons of Georgia and the South know that black and white coal diggers fought together with no Jim Crow to improve their economic status, they too will lift up their heads and begin to understand. This is what Georgia fears most of all.

Price Control

Under the impact of the miners' fight, the government hastened to assure the people that something would be done about prices—that prices would be rolled back.

We are in favor of a roll-back. We have demanded a roll-back for two years. But on the basis of past performance, there is no reason to believe that the OPA will do anything to seriously benefit the working class housewife. OPA price ceilings have not kept prices from rising—in fact, prices have gone up in many cases with OPA blessing. And the roll-back promise may prove to be the same kind of eye-wash with which the Administration is amply supplied.

With almost the same breath in which the roll-back was announced, the President and the OPA announced that they were considering a subsidy plan. Now, we favor subsidies to the working farmers who are squeezed on a thousand different sides. We are NOT in favor of a subsidy to the big food monopolies. Such a subsidy would protect bloated profits, while the costs of the subsidy are passed on to the consumer through taxation. And that is exactly what Roosevelt has in mind.

Even at that, there is no indication of anything being done in the near future. The price situation continues as an intolerable mess. Prices are way up, going up, and cutting ever more deeply into wages.

The fault lies in the OPA set-up (and the entire profit system). First, it is shot through with dollar-a-year representatives of the big food combines. And, apart from these dollar-a-year protectors of their own interests, the OPA is composed of men who are bound to the profit system. Price control and profits DO clash.

You can't control prices and worry about profits at the same time! You can't help labor by rolling back prices and guaranteeing profits! In other words, the only people who CAN control prices are those who are interested in PRICES, and not in profits—working class housewives, trade union representatives, and working farmers. Committees of these people could keep prices in tow!

That is a demand for the unions to raise. But, we admit, it will take a bit of getting. In the meantime, two things are required: organized labor pressure to see that prices are kept in check and genuinely rolled back; and action, in the miners' manner, to raise wages in accord with the increased cost of living!

Pamphlet Points at Scandal of "Jim-Crow in Uniform"

By J. R. JOHNSON

"The War's Greatest Scandal, Jim Crow in Uniform," is the title of a pamphlet (published by the March on Washington Committee, five cents) on Negroes in the United States Army; and Jim Crow, ugly, barbarous and detestable as he is wherever he appears, is more than usually hideous when dressed in the uniform, and carrying out the commands, of American imperialism.

Take this: "Alexandria, La., January 11, 1942.—Twenty-eight Negro soldiers shot or clubbed in a race riot provoked by the attempt of a white MP to arrest a Negro soldier. Three thousand Negro soldiers put under arrest by white MP's and city and state policemen. Basic cause of riot: lack of recreational facilities for 16,000 Negro troops stationed in nearby camps; refusal of Army authorities to allow colored MP's."

There you have the main point which this pamphlet makes. We must note not only the persecution and the brutal mistreatment and humiliation of the Negro troops by the reactionary elements of the population, both inside and outside the Army. It is the refusal of the Army authorities themselves to protect their own Negro soldiers, which gives another glaring proof that the war is, not a war against Nazi racialism, but is a war for nothing else but the maintenance of the capitalist system.

Government Fosters Jim Crow

How could the Army, in this society, in such a war, do otherwise than join in the savage persecution of the Negroes? The Army segregates the Negroes in its ranks and thereby not only breaks the law with impunity, but encourages racial feeling. Winifred Lynn has challenged the evil at its legal root by bringing suit against the Army authorities for inducing him into a Jim Crow regiment. But whatever the legal aspects of the case, which the pamphlet goes into with brevity and precision, it is too much to expect that this case can act as anything more than a focus of exposure and agitation. For the Navy discriminates against the Negroes as if they have the plague; the Air Corps will not allow them any but the most meager opportunities; the Red Cross segregates their blood, in defiance of all science except the scientists of the Hitler regime.

For those hypocritical scoundrels who counsel the Negro to trust in Roosevelt, the record of this so-called friend of the Negro is briefly but pungently summarized. Here is a beautiful quotation: "We are inexplicably shocked that a President of the United States at a time of national peril should surrender so completely to enemies of Democracy who would destroy national unity by advocacy of segregation. Official approval by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of such discrimination and segregation is a stab in the back of democracy."

Who are the perpetrators of this piece of hypocrisy? Walter White of the NAACP, Arnold Hill of the National Urban League. Of course! And the latest addition to these two is A. Philip Randolph, of the March on Washington Committee. As usual they are at their old game, jumping in front whenever the Negro people are deeply stirred by intolerable injustice, running to Roosevelt and, when they are kicked in the pants, protesting to the world how deeply surprised and shocked they are.

Jim Crow Continues

Yet, despite the repeated kicks and repeated shocks and surprises of Walter White and Philip Randolph, the Jim Crow in the Army continues. The Negro press is filled with examples every week. Why it continues so flagrantly is also to be observed in this pamphlet.

The executive secretary of the MOW contributes a foreword: people may think it is unwise to raise these questions now, but it is necessary to struggle. The Negro people WERE READY to struggle! It was their determination that gave rise to the March on Washington Committee, whose aim was in its very title. But Randolph and White called off the march—called it off because they could not break with Roosevelt, called it off because they are all-out in support of the war and still want to oppose and put an end to one of the basic proofs of the American imperialist system. You cannot do both; and thus, whenever they run up against the consequences of their pro-war policy, all that they can do is to bleat: "We are surprised, we are shocked."

Nevertheless, the Jim Crow, as usual, continues. The great arsenal of democracy sends its armies and its arms abroad. But by its very nature it piles up an arsenal of weapons against itself in its incessant attacks against the elementary democratic rights of the people. These weapons need to be collected and put in handy form at the disposal of the masses.

This pamphlet, the work of Dwight and Nancy Macdonald, is a good arsenal. In the hands of people who know how to use it, it would be a powerful aid in the struggle for true and honest democracy. But though Randolph's organization can publish this pamphlet, it cannot use its material to any effect. To achieve any results it must be used to direct the Negro masses straight to the fountain-head—to march to the President himself in Washington.

Will Randolph do this? Only when the Negro people themselves stick him in the middle of the marchers and take him along with them, whether he wants to or not. Then, and only then, will Jim Crow begin to tremble.

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Churchill's Stooges Get All Of the Kicks--But No Credit

The British Conservative Party is fighting the war, doing all it can to consolidate its political position and kicking the labor leaders steadily in the pants. Curiously enough, the more they are kicked, the more they return for more. Let us give a few examples first, then see why.

The British Tories were in an awful hole just after Hitler had successfully invaded Norway. The Tories fired Chamberlain and put Churchill in his place. But to be able to have any support at all among the people, Churchill had to pack his ministry with labor leaders, including the all-important Ernest Bevin as Minister of Labor. It was a key post, for no Tory could dare, at that time, to take over the task of forcing labor to give up its rights. They saw Bevin firmly installed; and to ease his task, the capitalist press set up a barrage of propaganda. Ernest Bevin, the next Prime Minister. Ernest Bevin, the man to lead the post-war reconstruction.

Perhaps even Bevin believed it. But as soon as Bevin was well started on his job, the press dropped the next Prime Minister stuff, and Bevin now is just plain Bevin, doing a nasty job with no prospects, so far as the press is concerned, of going one step further. Anthony Eden is being groomed as the next Prime Minister.

STOOGING FOR CHURCHILL—AND VIRTUE'S REWARD

The Tory government then found itself in a nasty hole over India. It picked up Sir Stafford Cripps and made him second to Churchill. The press buttered up Sir Stafford as the next Prime Minister. He was sent to India and did the dirty work, dirtily enough. But as soon as Rommel was defeated in Egypt, Cripps was kicked out of the War Cabinet. When Churchill had an exceptionally nasty speech to make on India, he made Major Attlee, Labor Party leader, go over it with him the night before, and then mentioned it in the speech

the next day. So that official labor got its fair share of the mud that was thrown at Churchill, the imperialist.

Arthur Greenwood was made chairman of the Commission on Post-War Reconstruction. He was rash enough to take his job seriously and asked Sir William Beveridge to prepare a report on post-war insurance. Beveridge prepared the now-famous report and, as a result, Greenwood was fired from the War Cabinet.

When the Tory party summoned up enough courage to say that it was not going to share the administration of the Empire with anybody after the war, it put the words into the mouth of the Tory Secretary of State for Colonies. But at the same time it made Herbert Morrison, a leader of the Labor Party, deliver an official address along the same lines. Throw bricks at the Tories for being shameless imperialists? For every brick that catches a Tory in the eye, one hits a Labor Party leader in the neck!

What is Churchill up to? It is clear. You cannot make a single accusation against the Tories without their being able to say: "But Labor agrees with us. How can you say that we are reactionary?"

Now Churchill has had a series of posters prepared in which you see Churchill and Cromwell, Churchill and Queen Elizabeth, Churchill and the Duke of Wellington, Churchill and all the great heroes of Britain. These posters are issued by the Conservative Party. They are cashing in on the military victories, presenting themselves and their leaders as saviors of the country. The Laborites cannot do a single thing, for as faithfully as they help Churchill when he is in a jam, just so faithfully does he fire them when they are potentially dangerous (Cripps) or attempt to do something which will raise the prestige of the Labor Party (Greenwood).

STOOGING FOR CAPITALISM—OR, FIGHTING FOR SOCIALISM?

Why do the Labor leaders do it? Why do they take it? Because they cannot do anything else! But isn't there something they CAN do? They are not fools, they are not cowards. No, they are neither fools nor cowards. And there is ONE thing they could do—if they were REAL labor leaders. They could raise the banner of socialism and call upon the British workers to struggle with them. They would get a magnificent response, for the rank and file of the Labor Party is incensed at the barefaced way the Tories are taking advantage of the situation.

But Laborite leaders have tied themselves to the capitalist war machine. The only thing open to them is to do the dirty work and take the kicks when they come.

Such is the fate of all who will not understand that the fundamental law of society is the class struggle, and if you do not fight for the working class you are compelled to be the football, the wash-pot and the wastebasket of the ruling capitalist class.—A. A. B.

A Sacred Right

"The Japanese Governor of Hong Kong has announced that all residents can smoke opium 'so as to enjoy wartime life freely.' A proclamation announced that anyone may smoke in private homes or in public opium houses, but must register at the Governor's office, which shall be in sole charge of distribution."—UP dispatch from Chungking.

As you know, Britain once fought a war to establish her right to the opium monopoly in China. A sacred right, we might call it, worthy to be listed as the Fifth Freedom.

THE WAR

FDR and Churchill In Fifth Conference

By SAM ADAMS

For the fifth time since the outbreak of the war, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill have met, together with their respective experts, to discuss the war and map out their strategy. The meeting of the heads of the two most powerful members of the United Nations comes on the heels of the current victory of Allied arms in the North African campaign.

The victory in North Africa undoubtedly marks a significant stage, for not a definite turning point in the war. For the first time since the war began, the initiative in the struggle has gone over to the Allies. It is Germany and Italy which are now on the defensive in the European theater. Moreover, while Axis strength remains stationary, and may even be declining, the military strength of the Allies is growing. Hitler is fighting a war on two fronts, something which he sought to avoid when the war began.

It seems quite apparent that Italy, for all decisive purposes, is knocked out of the war or will soon be eliminated as an important factor to be considered by the Allies.

END OF WAR A LONG WAY OFF

The victory in North Africa over German forces demonstrates that the German army is not the invincible horde it was pictured to be a year or two ago. The battles in Libya, Tripoli and Tunisia have shown that, given manpower and the necessary weapons and supplies, the Germans can be fought to a standstill and defeated.

The sudden breakdown of the German defenses before Bizerte and Tunis has given rise to a wave of optimism that the war may be over very soon. Nothing of the sort is true! What is true is that the next stage of the conflict, an invasion of the European Continent, will bring the war to a higher and more intensive period.

The conclusion of the war is still a long way off. This is the main point in the statement of government officials and important press columnists. The serious writers are all agreed that the war, in the European theater at least, will not be over for another two or three years. Government authorities warn against the false optimism which sees the end of the war by next spring.

WHERE ARE THE FOUR FREEDOMS?

The Roosevelt-Churchill meeting is, without doubt, concerning itself with these military questions. To date, however, no information has been forthcoming about their deliberations. We do not, of course, expect any military information, that is, a disclosure of the strategy of their armed forces in the next stage of the war. But the question of war aims and post-war aims is of extreme importance for all the peoples of the world. On these important subjects, the conferees are totally silent.

This silence is in sharp contrast to the position taken by the state leaders of the United States and Great Britain when the latter was fighting a completely defensive war, and in the first months of America's entry. The propaganda about the "people's war" was spread far and wide. Promises about "the beautiful life" AFTER THE WAR were constantly on the lips of government officials—promises, of course, couched in the vaguest and most incomprehensible terms. All of this was culminated in the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting aboard a warship, where the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms were promulgated.

There was much ado about the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms for a long time. But since the upturn in the military fortunes of the United Nations, less and less emphasis has been placed upon these doctrines, which are poor repetitions of Wilson's Fourteen Points.

As a matter of fact, those who made these promises never took them seriously. Hardly had they been uttered than Churchill made it clear that they were not meant to apply to the British Empire—specifically India.

The Charter and the Four Freedoms are hardly mentioned at all now. In practice, especially in North Africa and India, they are violated. Witness the howl of the liberal press and the liberal columnists and radio commentators. They blame the State Department. They claim that the actions of the State Department in North Africa, where political power was placed in the hands of reactionaries and semi-fascists, were committed without the knowledge of the President and in opposition to the policies of Churchill. This is the most extreme kind of nonsense. Roosevelt is responsible for North Africa.

The one factor these commentators completely overlook is that, as the power of the Allies mounts, as their military perspectives improve and the prospects for winning the war become stronger, they have less and less need to make promises to the peoples of the world, or to repeat the promises already made. Churchill and Roosevelt know why they are fighting this war; they know it has nothing to do with a "holy crusade"—that its purposes are hard-bitten and clear-headed imperialist considerations. They can't very well tell the people that. Therein lies the explanation for the complete silence of Roosevelt-Churchill, either at their various conferences, or separately, on the question of war aims or post-war aims, except for increasingly vague generalizations.

Have You Read 'India in Revolt'?
If you haven't read Henry Judd's magnificent pamphlet, published by the Workers Party, lose no time in getting your copy. With India in the news daily, no worker should be without detailed knowledge of the situation in that country. Order from the Workers Party, 114 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. 25 cents per copy; 20 cents in bundles of five or more.

WORKERS PARTY PLATFORM

Against Both Imperialist War Camps! For the Victory of World Labor and the Colonial Peoples! For the Victory of the Third Camp of Socialism!

LABOR MUST DEFEND ITSELF!

- Hands off the right to strike! For the defense of civil rights and all workers' rights! Against any wartime dictatorship measures!
- \$1.00-an-hour minimum pay! Time and a half for overtime; double time for Sunday and holiday work.
- Wage increases to meet rising costs. No wage or job freezing! Equal pay for equal work!
- For a greater share of the increasing national income. For a higher standard of living!
- No sales tax on consumer goods! No tax on wages! Against forced savings!
- For control of price fixing and rationing by committees of working class organizations. Freeze rents and consumer goods prices at the 1940 level to stop the rise in the cost of living.
- No government contract without a union contract. The closed shop in all war industries!
- Maintain and increase all government social services!

SOAK THE RICH—LET THEM PAY FOR THEIR WAR!

- A government levy on capital to cover the cost of the imperialist war. Confiscate all war profits!
- Conscrip all war industries under workers' control!
- Expropriate the "Sixty Families"—the three per cent of the people who own 96 per cent of the national wealth!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS TO THE DRAFTEES!

- The right of free speech, free press and free assembly for the men in the armed forces.
- The right of soldiers to vote in all elections.
- The right of all youth, male or female, to vote at the age of eighteen. Old enough to fight; old enough to work; old enough to vote!
- For adequate dependency allowances paid by the government with NO deductions from the soldier's pay.

SMASH JIM CROW!

- Down with Jim Crow and anti-Semitism! All discrimination against Negroes in the Army and Navy or by employers in industry must be made a criminal offense!
- For full political, social and economic equality for Negroes!

BE PREPARED!

- For Workers' Defense Guards, trained and controlled by the unions against vigilante and fascist attacks!
- For an Independent Labor Party and a Workers' Government! No political support to the Roosevelt government!
- For Peace Through Socialism! For the independence of all colonies!
- For a World Socialist Federation! Only a socialist world will destroy capitalist imperialism and fascist barbarism!

Attention, Los Angeles Workers!

MAX SHACHTMAN
National Secretary of the Workers Party — Writer for Labor Action

WILL SPEAK ON

SOCIALISM — THE ONLY HOPE

In SAN PEDRO: Eagles Hall, 631 Ninth Street
FRIDAY, MAY 28, 8:00 P. M. ADMISSION: TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

In LOS ANGELES: Embassy Auditorium, 843 South Grand
SUNDAY, MAY 30, 8:00 P. M.