— See Page 2 —

VOL. VI.—No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1942

FIVE (5) CENTS

NEW BOARD STACKED AGAINST LABOR

OPM Parley Rejects Auto Union Plan

Bosses, OPM Are To Blame For Shut-Down

By DON DORE

The 450,000 auto workers who face total unemployment by mid-February because the auto corporations thought it unprofitable to prepare for a speedy transition to war production, can draw no hope of quick re-employment from the results of the OPM auto industry conversion conference in Washington last week.

Heads of the auto industry, backed by William Knudsen former chief executive of General Motors and now OPM director, flatly refused ito consider any proposals for quickly expanding production which might limit their control or cut into their profits.

Auto union leaders who came to Washington hoping to receive a voice in the planning of production in the auto industry, were forced to express "keen disappointment" at the outcome of the conference, as the CIO auto workers union President, R. J. Tho mas, put it.

The conference established a seven-man joint labor-management committee, including one government representative, "to assist in the development of the best methods for the utilization of labor, tools, machinery facil ities, etc., for the most expeditious conversion of the automo mobile industry for the production of war materials."

At the demand of the corporation representatives it was decided that this committee's functions ject to the determination of the crucial spheres of Soviet life has will be purely advisory and "sub-Office of Production Manage-

COMMITTEE'S COMPOSITION

The committee's members are ed proportions.

(Continued on page 3)

At The OPM Conference



Shown as they discussed the auto industry situation at the OPM conference in Washington are Walter Reuther and R. J. Thomas, officers of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, William Knudsen and Sidney Hillman of the OPM, and C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors.

Youth Play Increasing Role In USSR Defense

YOUTH IN INDUSTRY

reported:

Gaining Confidence As They Bear Brunt of for stock while youths from 14 Struggle At Front and Behind the Lines

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

In the resurgence of the Soviet masses which came with the German invasion of the USSR, the youth is playing a role of exceptional importance. The preponderance of the youth in the | bor on a vast scale prior to the

marked the development of the the world. workers state since its founda- The predominance of the youth ion in October, 1917. Under the is even more accentuated behind

to the time they enter military training (the present age is 16-JGW) will undergo a course of tractor and combine operation" (New York Times, Jan. 7).

It is clear that the Kremlin which began employing child la-

impact of the war this prepon- the lines, especially in industry. dren and youth is taking place other year. In 1941 GM hauled derance has assumed unprecedent- In 1940, on the eve of the Nazi under conditions without paral- in a profit of close to a quarter UNION CONTRIBUTIONS invasion, a decisive section of lel in history. These same chil- of billion dollars The majority of the front line the giant Soviet proletariat condren are simultaneously being Motors, C. E. Wilson, president fighters of the Red Army are sisted of young men and women trained in the art of war. In the dollars worth of reasons for GM ton, vice president of Motor teens. In point of age as well as since elapsed, children of four-reports that lectures in a Soviet Wheel Corporation, as direct boss formation, the Red officers' corps teen and fifteen have become in school he visited were "punctuatis the youngest of any army in dispensable parts of the labor ed by the intermittent crackle of gunfire from the basement below, where boys and girls were learning how to use a rifle . . . This According to the official report is a picture of a typical Russian of the Labor Reserves Adminis- school in wartime" (idem).

tration issued in Sept. 1941, more than two million of these chil- MILITARY TRAINING

dren were already working in the FOR CHILDREN basic industries. The official program called for drafting several streets of Kuibyshev," continues more millions not only for indus- McLoughlin, "I met boys and production are continuing to hagtry but also for labor on the girls from 14 to 16 practicing gle over terms of contracts, try- this week by the National Office Eric McLoughlin, correspondent a little older than those engaged up the fact that it was the auto mittee that a new pamphlet on of The Sydney Morning Heraid, "The younger children will be and were undergoing the toughtaught the cultivation of vege-

(Continued on page 4)

Long Term of Unemployment By JOE ANDREWS

450,000 Face

Hundreds of thousands of jobless auto workers today are asking why in the midst of the war the greatest manufacturing industry in the world is shutting

for big business, gives the real employment auto workers, "Ungadgets than by converting to war production, than by speeding arms output. Now: Industry no . . So peacetime production there is every incentive to convert to war production."

This is a confession that the big industrialists run their plants Civil Rights Defense Committee only to grab the greatest possible profit in the shortest possible time.

For a year the UAW and CIO have been proposing a plan to pool auto productive forces to prevent mass unemployment dur bile to military production. This was to be carried out by an industry-labor council. This proposal was shelved as "impracti cal" and "socialistic" by the OPM and the employers. They were busy figuring out the more "practical" problem of operating the auto industry to maintain maximum profits.

"PRACTICAL" RESULTS

C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors has admitted that outbreak of the war has now ex- General Motors turned out more tended its plans to include chil- automobiles in 1941 than at any dren of twelve and even younger. time in its history and made This proletarianization of chil- more profits in 1941 than in any

This was a quarter of a billion Motors, C. E. Wilson, president fighters of the Rea Army are in their under 27. In the year that has of General Motors and C. C. Carlyoung. A great many are in their under 27. In the automobile graphical Union, independent, of tivities in the Gastonia textile Board in a much weaker posimarket and to give the union the Newark, N. J., had pledged moral strike of 1929, was paroled last tion than they held with respect run-around on its conversion support to the appeal being made week by Gov. J. M. Broughton, to the NDMB. They have already plans. It is also a good reason by the defense movement, and why General Motors can now af- sent a donation to aid in the ford to take 9 months to con- work. vert their plants. But 450,000 jobless auto workers will have no such reserve to fall back

> U. S. News, January 2nd, "As I walked out into the states: "High officials in agencies NEW PAMPHLET concerned with speeding war REVIEWS CASE grenade throwing . . . Brushing ing to strike bargains." This is shoulders with me. . were boys big business double-talk to cover in the grim grenade-throwing barons who were "haggling" over the Minneapolis case is being game. They were wearing the military contracts, both to get prepared for distribution by local Red Army uniform for trainees the most profitable terms, and to branches. The pamphlet will conpostpone military production tain a complete review from the est and most exacting course in while they still had a chance to time the indictment was handed refused to support the movement the business of dealing out death sell automobiles.

TO AID 18

Church Relief Group Unions, Help Defense In Minneapolis Case

The Church Emergency Relief Committee of 287 4th Ave., New York, last week contributed \$50 toward the relief of The Jan 2 issue of U. S. News, the families of the 18 members authoritative dope sheet of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO convicted in reason for the plight of the un- Minneapolis last month of violating the 1940 Smith Gag Law, A til now: Industry had more to the same time two unions, one gain by producing peacetime independent and the other affiliated with the CIO, contributed money for the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, the longer can obtain materials for organization conducting the appeal of the Minneapolis case to higher courts.

Accompanying the donation from the Relief Committee to the was a letter which stated:

"I am enclosing a check for \$50 from the Church Emergency Relief Committee to be applied for relief expenses of the families of the Minneapolis prisoners. This Committee does not raise money for legal or organizational expenses, but has for some years raised funds for strike relief and relief of families of labor prison-

"We would be glad if you might convey our good wishes to these families. The money comes from liberal-minded church people from all parts of the United States. With

Sincerely yours, JAMES MYERS, Secretary"

The Civil Rights Defense Committee also reported that Local

Local 433 of the Plaything and Novelty Workers of America, CIO, of Bridgeport, Conn., likewise sent money to aid the de-

Announcement was also made of the Civil Rights Defense Comdown through the trial and sentencing by the judge.

3 GROUPS Majority Of The SEND MONEY War Labor Body Is Pro-Employer

Board Is Almost Duplicate of Discredited National Defense Mediation Board Attacked By the CIO for Upholding the Open Shop

The new 12-man War Labor Board named last Monday by President Roosevelt is virtually an extension of the discredited National Defense Mediation Board, from which the CIO representatives were forced to resign three months ago because of its pro-employer bias.

-called public representatives miners union in the captive mine

Five others of the new board, members of the defunct NDMB, including one of the present "public" representatives. Dr. Frank Board go far beyond those of the Graham, who also voted for the old NDMB. The Executive Order open shop in the captive mines gives it binding authority, in-

sentatives, who hold the balance conducted only voluntary mediaof power on the new Board, are tion and its decisions were not George Taylor, professor of eco-

Leader of Gastonia Four Years of Term

Fred Beal, serving a 17 to 20 year sentence in a North gle. 103 of the International Typo- Carolina jail for his labor ac-11 months of his sentence.

Aderholt in 1929.

Beal, acting on the advice of where he remained for 7 years. States, where he gave himself up to serve out his sentence. The Communist Party in this country to secure his freedom as the vic-

Heading the new board as chairman and one of the four is William H. Davis, who re- nomics at the privately-endowed ceived the condemnation of the University of Pennsylvania, and CIO when he headed the NDMB | Wayne L. Morris, Dean of the and supported the open-shop steel | University of Oregon Law School corporations against the CIO The four employer representatives are all of the hard-bitten open-shop variety. Thus, the very composition of the board guarin addition to Davis, were also antees that it will be overwhelmingly pro-employer in attitude.

The powers of this War Labor cluding the power to invoke com-The two other "public" repre- pulsory arbitration. The NDMB

binding This long step toward compulsory arbitration by executive decree, and its acceptance by the union leaders helps to prepare the ground for enactment of antistrike and compulsory arbitration laws being demanded by Congressmen and employers. The usurpation of the policy making powers of the union rank-andfile, whereby a few union leaders without the consent of the workers "voluntarily" surrendered the right to strike, paved the way Strike Served Almost for this repressive action Comright to strike, the most fundamental right which labor has wor with its decades of bitter strug-

The union leaders enter this after having served 3 years and | agreed to a no-strike policy, and are therefore committed to an As a member of the Commun- acceptance of the Board's deciist Party and a leader of the sions irrespective of how biased textile strike, Beal was framed and harmful these decisions may up and convicted of conspiracy to | be to labor's interests. The CIO murder Chief of Police O. F. in particular, by recognizing and serving on a board similar in so many basic particulars to the the Stalinists, forfeited his bond NDMB is in a far less favorable and fled to the Soviet Union position to defend those policies Disgusted with what he saw of NDMB. Moreover, the new board Stalinism in the USSR, Beal is not dependent on prestige for broke with the Stalinist move- its authority, and has less need ment and returned to the United to maintain a surface appearance of impartiality

> As outlined in the Executive Order, the procedure of the Board will result in entwining the unions' demands in endless redtape and delay. It provides for six possible separate steps in the settlement of a dispute. Each of these steps alone may entail weeks if not months of delay. During this time, the workers must continue to endure the conditions imposed on them by the employers.

During the last war, a similar procedure prevented the workers from getting 90 per cent of their grievances even heard by the Board. Of the cases considered, the 1918 Board made decisions in only a third, most of them Such increased taxation as may in favor of the employers. The be placed on big incomes and present size of the union moveprofits will be only a gesture to ment, as compared to that of the appease the masses, as Thomas last war, means an even greater Stokes, Scripps-Howard staff volume of grievances and the

> will settle relatively few cases. While the no-strike agreement and the activities of the Board strikes, there is every likelihood

As in the last war, rising intolerable hours and working tisfaction with the delays and edly arouse the workers to resist ance which in many instances will take the form of strikes.

On The 18th Anniversary of Lenin's Death

January 21, 1942 marks the 18th anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin, who together with Leon Trotsky led the Russian workers and peasants in 1917 in the revolution which established the Soviet Union.

Lenin, the architect of the Soviet Union, built well. He laid the foundations of the Soviet Union deep and strong. Neither Hitler's assaults nor the undermining effects of Stalinist rule have yet been able to destroy Lenin's work.

Everywhere Hitler triumphed until he turned east against the Soviet Union. In Lenin's Soviet Union, after months of bitter fighting and retreats, the morale and fighting capacity of the Soviet masses remain so high that Hitler's troops were brought to a dead halt for the first time, and now are actually

Why Soviet Morale Is High

The capitalist journalists and statemen either do not see, or pretend they do not see, the real cause for the enthusiasm and morale of the Soviet masses which is:

In place of the ownership of the factories and land by a small minority of capitalists and landlords, the Russian Revolution under Lenin's leadership established the national ownership by the workers and peasants of the means of production.

The Red Army and Soviet masses are fighting for their ballyhoo. Congressional spokes- tax, a family of two having a his budget speech is being "seized own revolution and not for a band of parasites. They are fighting for their socialist future.

In the Soviet Union alone Hitler has not found any Fifth Column to carry on his work behind the lines. The Fifth Column was destroyed-mark well the date, ex-Ambassador Davies and you Stalinist pen-prostitutes-in 1917, when under Lenin's guidance, the government of the capitalists and landlords was replaced by the Soviet government of workers and peasants and when the factories and land were nationalized.

Everywhere else, Hitler's Fifth Column has found a base among the large industrialists, bankers and land-owners, who prefer the foreign invader, Hitler, to revolution by their own

(Continued on page 4)

New Tax Plans Hit Workers Most Sales and excise taxes reach From reports of preliminary Congressional tax discussions most deeply into the pockets | the excess profits tax, the big is- doubtedly, there will be. But, the on the new gigantic war budget of \$59 billion, two facts emerge: 1. Congressional leaders are placing their main emphasis

on raising war revenues through lowered income tax exemptions, payroll, excise and general sales taxes, all calculated to shunt the overwhelming burden of war 9 costs onto the low income earn- nually (United Press dispatch,

2. Talk in legislative quarters about "No war millionaires this PAY-ROLL TAX time" and "Take the profits out FINE FOR BOSSES of war" is so much demagogic tive taxation of corporation incomes and so-called excess pro-

table, berry and fruit plots. Boys

and girls 12 to 14 will learn how

to handle hand tools and care

tax, and a reduction of the in- tically increasing the rate of taxcomes of single individuals earn- brackets. ing \$500 a year, and married persons receiving \$1,000 income an- interest is sales and excise taxes. | tax hint" was the President's re- | will be no increases in corpora- | sible."

Jan. 10).

The latest report from Wash- make their own deductions, they

men already have announced combined income of \$2,000 yearly upon" by Congressional tax leadtheir strong opposition to effect would have approximately \$5 a ers. week deducted from their pay by | Commenting on this section of icitude for big business. "Conthe bosses Since the bosses fix President Roosevelt's speech, the gressional tax leaders have taken their own salaries and would United Press, Jan. 8, stated that the view," reports the New York ington is that Congressional tax would see to it that their salaries Roosevelt said 'later', but they corporation profits too radically 'experts" and Treasury officials would not suffer by taxation. Sig- believed he might even now ap- would injure small business, are considering the proposal of a nificantly, there is as yet no re- prove a sales tax program as a would remove a great incentive to 15 per cent "salary withholding" port of any proposals for dras- 'temporary necessity'." come tax exemption to tax in- ation on incomes in the highest

Another focus of Congressional

of the low-wage earners, who spend almost all their income. Such taxes affect only a small fraction of the incomes of the wealthy, who save and invest most of their money.

dispatch, Jan 8, reported that "President Roosevelt's tacit ap-Under the proposed pay-roll proval of a general sales tax" in EASY ON PROFITS

But, adds the U. P. dispatch, than help it."

sue of the 1941 tax program."

taxes. Neither method proposed is a radical departure from existing, methods, neither would A United Press Washington result in cutting effectively into war profits.

While ready to place stagger-

ing burdens on the workers, Congress is displaying touching sol-"Congressmen noted that Mr. | Times, Jan 8, "that to cut down efficient operation of industry ing great sacrifices, they see the conditions, aggravated by dissagenerally and would in the long run hurt the war effort more

"not as well received as the sales This does not mean that there

commendation for a "revision of tion income and profits taxes. Unincreases will not cut very deep-The "big issue" concerns only ly into the augmented profits in difference in the methods for the war industries, where prodcomputing the base for profits uction and profits are expected to be doubled and tripled.

writer, pointed out in his Washington dispatch of Jan. 8:

"Administration leaders recognize the disturbing effect of tre- will be a serious impediment to mendous war profits upon rankand-file labor, particularly with that the war labor policy will taxes and living costs going up. not suppress strikes altogether. Therefore, to prevent unrest among the great masses from prices, intensified exploitation, whom the administration is asknecessity of putting a limit on profits in order to demonstrate bias of the Board, will undoubtan effort to distribute the burdens of war as equitably as pos-

Goldman Discusses The Government Witnesses

We must proceed now to analyze the testimony of some of the witnesses for the prosecution but I shall confine myself primarily, ladies and gentlemen, to only one witness. I confine myself largely to the witness who, in the words of Mr. Anderson, "continuously rose in stature during the trial until he reached way beyond the limit of the ceiling." Maybe I didn't understand Mr. Anderson correctly. Maybe he was

There obviously are times in a man's life when he changes his opinions about important questions. I would be the last man in the world to attack anyone who, after spending a certain number of years in the socialist movement, would finally reach the conclusion that the movement is based on a wrong philosophy.

JAMES BARTLETT, CHIEF WITNESS

If James Bartlett were that type of man, I would, of course, regret his leaving the movement. But I would not attack him. If he were that type of man, he would never testify against us. He could not possibly be an honest man and testify as he did.

From his testimony Bartlett can be designated as a careerist — a man only interested in carving out a career for himself. He goes from one party to another, always with the idea in the back of his mind of assuring for himself a comfortable living.

Why does he claim he left the Socialist Workers Party? Because he found out that we were advocating force and violence. On the face of it, that is unbelievable.

Defense Counsel Analyzes Testimony Of Government Witnesses In The Minneapolis "Sedition" Trial

Bartlett is a smart man — he is not an intelligent man —but he is a smart fellow, there is no question about it. Under certain circumstances he would make a good business agent better perhaps than most business agents. He can read. He testified that he wrote articles for the Daily Worker. He admitted that he read the "Communist Manifesto" before he joined the Communist Party. He admitted that he read "State and Revolution" by Lenin before he joined the Communist Party. When I asked him whether he knew that these two books advocated an armed overthrow of the government, he answered in the affirmative; that is, he knew that before he joined the Communist Party. He also admitted that he read a great deal of literature after he joined the Communist Party. He said he joined the Communist Party in 1932 and left it in the middle of 1933; and during this year and a half he read the literature of the party, he made speeches and wrote articles for the Daily Worker.

And then he states that he left the Communist Party because he found out that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government. So, after reading the "Communist Manifesto" and "State and Revolution", the two documents which, in his opinion, advocated the violent overthrow of the government, it took him another year and a half to find out that the Communist Party advocated that doctrine!

the absurdity of that testimony.

Then something occurred which gave the whole show away. Sidney Brennan got on the stand and of course testified that he also had a conversation with V. R. Dunne, subsequent to the passing of the Selective Service Act, in which conversation Dunne told him that the party was trying to stir up trouble in the army. Assistant Attorney-General Schweinhaut asked Brennan the following question: "Were you on good terms with Mr. Dunne at the time of the conversation?" and Mr. Brennan obediently answered in the affirmative. It was so glaringly obvious that Bartlett or someone else realized the absurdity of the claim that Dunne spoke to these people after they had ceased to be members and after they had ceased to be on good terms with him. It was therefore necessary to say that Brennan was still on good terms with V. R. Dunne. A minor point but very significant!

Another piece of testimony that shows how much perjury the government witnesses really committed was their story that the executive board of the union paid Emil Hansen's weekly salary at the time he was acting as a guard for Leon Trotsky. This evidence, of course, could not possibly help the jury arrive at a decision as to whether or not the Socialist Workers Party conspired to overthrow the government by force and violence, but I presume the prosecution used it for some effect on the jury. But somebody had forgotten to coach Miss Hanifan, the bookkeeper of Local 544-AFL, and when I asked her: "Did you issue checks for Mr. Hansen when he was in Mexico?" she answered, "No." This admission came from a government witness and now I suppose the government will be forced to contend that Mr. Hansen was paid out of the cash box.

In and by itself a minor point like this is not worth much but when you take all the little and big falsehoods testified to by the government witnesses, you have before you a case based on witnesses whose testimony indicated one thing, and one thing only — they were not afraid of a possible prosecution for perjury.

Yesterday I argued that even if you would consider the witnesses for the government as absolutely honest, you should disregard their testimony concerning statements allegedly made by the defendants two or three years ago because you have far more reliable, documentary, evidence on which to base your decision. But you are not confronted with honest witnesses. On the contrary, you are confronted by witnesses who are now officially connected with Local 544-AFL some of them paid organizers, most of them having taken the positions of the men who are now in the prisoners' dock — who were opposed to and fought the leadership of the defendants in 544 and whose testimony is shot through with falsehoods and perjury. There is nothing else for you to do but to give no credence whatever to this testimony.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE MUST DECIDE

Mr. Anderson made much of the fact that most of the testimony of these witnesses stood uncontradicted and undenied. This is a common trick used by lawyers. If a witness for one side makes 500 statements and the witness for the other side denies only 450 of them; then the other 50, undenied, prove the case. Suppose I had put all the defendants on the stand and all the defendants had denied all the statements which the government witnesses claimed they had made; wherein would that be of any help to you?

In this case, ladies and gentlemen, we are confronted with this situation: Either our program and our documents advocate the armed overthrow of the government by force and violence, in which case we are guilty; or else they do not advocate such a doctrine, in which case we are not guilty. The individual oral statements alleged to have been made by defendants a year or two or three years ago should play no role. I do not try cases simply by denying statements attributed to defendants. I prefer to get to the very heart

The charge in this case is conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. Was there or was there not such a conspiracy? The government has introduced more than 150 exhibits consisting of articles, pamphlets and official declarations. Let the jurors determine their decision by those and not by isolated statements alleged to have been uttered by some of the defendants two or three years ago.

WITNESS FOR PROSECUTION PROVED A PERJURER

Then in 1936 he comes to Mr. Vincent Dunne, and according to Bartlett's testimony, Mr. Dunne asks him to join the Socialist Workers Party. At that point I very quietly asked him: "Did Mr. Dunne tell you or give you to understand that the Trotskyists claimed to be the real Marxists as against the Stalinists?" Bartlett's answer was yes. Consider Mr. Bartlett's testimony! He says he left the Communist Party because he found out that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government. He comes to our party and knows, before joining our party, that we claim to be the real Marxists and he also testified that he read books by Marx and Lenin which, in his opinion, advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. It must follow, then, from Bartlett's testimony that he should have known before he joined our party that we also advocated the violent overthrow of the government. But according to his testimony, it took him three years to find that out. He found that out early in 1940 when he left our party. He joined our party in 1936 or 1937 so it took Mr. Bartlett all these years to find that out.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, the dumb government witnesses who followed Bartlett — Novack, Harris and others whose names I don't remember — testified that at every party meeting they attended there was a discussion in which the violent overthrow of the government was advocated. Violet Williams testified that she attended many meetings, heard many lectures, did not remember the subject of the lectures or the contents of the lectures, but she remembered in general that we advocated the violent overthrow of the government. So we have people like Novack and Harris and Violet Williams — not very smart — and they find out that we advocate the violent overthrow of the government after attending two or three meetings.

Bartlett — the smart fellow who read the "Communist Manifesto" and the "State and Revolution" before he joined the Communist Party in 1932, who, while in the Communist Party read all of the Communist Party literature and spoke for that party and wrote in the Daily Worker, who read many pamphlets while he was in our party — took three years before he found out that we advocate the violent overthrow

Mr. Anderson, for you to stand up now and say that you believe every word that Bartlett testified to would convict you of something more than sarcasm.

Let us go on. When, on cross-examination, I introduced certain statements made by Mr. Bartlett, I think that Mr. Schweinhaut and Mr. Anderson were overjoyed. It seemed that I had made a terrible blunder. I introduced the statement that Bartlett made when he joined the Socialist Workers Party; also the statement that he made when he campaigned in his own union against an opposition; and also the letter that he had written to the Star-Journal. The gentlemen of the prosecution did not catch the significance of those statements that I introduced. I did not care what Bartlett said about himself in those statements. But what I was interested in was one assertion that he didn't make in any of these statements.

Bartlett claims, ladies and gentlemen, that he left the Communist Party because it advocated force and violence. Now, wouldn't it be natural to expect that if that were the truth, he would say so in the statement giving the reasons why he left the Communist Party? The only reason that he mentions now for his leaving the Communist Party, he never mentioned in the statement in which he explained why he left the Communist Party. Is there any sense in that?

When Bartlett issued the statement against some of our members who were running in opposition to him in the warehouse union elections, he had already left the Socialist Workers Party. And according to his testimony here he left the party because he found out that it advocated force and violence. Where, in the statement he wrote in 1940, is there any assertion of that kind? It isn't in that statement!

In the early part of this year Bartlett wrote a letter to the Star-Journal, a letter that I introduced in evidence. In it he claims that he left the Communist Party in the summer of 1934 and not in 1933 as he testified to on the witness stand. It is obvious that he was lying on the witness stand. It is obvious that he wanted to justify his statement from the witness stand that during the 1934 strike he told Dunne that he was out of the Communist Party. A liar, no matter how clever or how intelligent, finds it impossible to remember all the lies that he utters.

Why did he not, in the letter that he wrote to the Star-Journal, give as his reason for leaving the Socialist Workers Party that it advocated the violent overthrow of the government? There is not a single mention of that. He never mentioned his alleged real reason for leaving the party in any of the statements that he made before the trial. In the parade of perjury represented by the government witnesses, Bartlett "rose to the ceiling" and way above it.

Mr. Anderson did not know that yesterday or the day before yesterday he, himself, convicted Bartlett of perjury. I shall show you how. Mr. Anderson was examining Mr. Dobbs. He had in his hand either the "ABC of Marxism" or "What is Trotskyism" and he gleefully asked Mr. Dobbs: "Well, this was written in 1941, wasn't it?" _Mr. Dobbs answered: "That is right."

When did Bartlett last visit the party headquarters? I asked him: "Was it March, was it February, was it April?" And finally he said that "It could not have been later than

Then I had to maneuver carefully — because Bartlett is a smart fellow - to get him to admit that he bought 'What is Trotskyism" and the "ABC of Marxism" in the party headquarters. He stated definitely that he bought them in the headquarters.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, if the last time that Bartlett was at the headquarters was in April, 1940 and if the pamphlets — as is proved by their internal context — were written after Trotsky's death, were published in February or March, 1941, how could Bartlett get those two books in the headquarters? Try to solve that riddle, Mr. Anderson.

Is there any question but that Bartlett is a perjurer? Would any witness for the defense guilty of such perjury be permitted to be free at the present time? There would be an indictment out against him, but Bartlett is a government witness and the government wants to prove its case regardless of the evidence and Bartlett, the greatest perjurer and the greatest liar that ever sat in the federal court, is permitted to go free.

AFTERNOON SESSION Friday, November 28, 1941

THE COURT: You may proceed.

MR. GOLDMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, by this time you know enough about our theory to understand that it is difficult for me to speak with bitterness against any individual. By and large we hold that social conditions are responsible for the character of an individual and it is almost impossible for me as a Marxist to be bitter towards a government witness regardless of the depths of perjury which he reaches. That does not, of course, prevent me from pointing out the false testimony which the government witnesses gave.

Most of the important government witnesses-whose names I enumerated and who are directly or indirectly connected with the Tobin administration of Local 544-AFL are helpless people who were motivated by a desire to get jobs in the local and they could only do so if the defendants were pushed out of their positions.

GOLDMAN SHOWS REAL MOTIVES OF THE WITNESSES

The government witnesses organized a Committee of 99 to fight socialism in Local 544. That is what they claim. Samuel Johnson said: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" and if ever this phrase applied, it applies to the government witnesses. These perjurers wrapped themselves in the American flag, not because they cared a tinker's damn about patriotism, but because in this way they think they can succeed in gaining a victory over the defendants. Their real motive was not to fight socialism but to get a few more dollars and get positions to which they could not be elected.

With great difficulty I succeeded in presenting the true motives of the government witnesses. It was the situation in the Minneapolis Brewery that gave the jury a clue as to their real motives. I do not intend to examine the evidence on that point in detail. You remember what the situation was there, the struggle between the executive board of the local composed largely of the defendants on the one hand, and government witnesses Holstein, Eugene Williams, Al Williams and Buckingham, on the other hand. You realized from the testimony of the government witnesses themselves that these people were participating in a racket. The government witness, Blixt, who worked in the market, was in the same boat. When I asked him whether, contrary to the orders of the executive board, he stopped farmers' trucks from coming into the market, he tried to excuse himself by saying that he stopped only the "wildcat" operators.

It was a great racket for these witnesses until the Executive Board of Local 544 stepped in and compelled them to give up their racket of charging small distributors, who wanted a load from the Minneapolis Brewery, a minimum of four hours' pay regardless of the time that it actually took to load the truck — whether it was 15 minutes or 20 minutes. You noticed that it was after the executive board compelled these witnesses to give up the racket that the Committee of 99 was organized to oppose the leadership of the union.

And this Committee of 99 could not convince the membership of 544, so the Committee invited the FBI to participate in the meetings of the Committee. The FBI, in fact, became part of the Committee of 99. This testimony comes from the government's own witness and is uncontradicted.

Do not misunderstand me, ladies and gentlemen, I do not claim that the Committee of 99 was powerful enough to initiate and set into motion this prosecution — not Bartlett, not Tommy Williams, not these witnesses, oh no, men higher up, men who appointed a Receiver to take the defendants out of their jobs — these are the people who had the power to initiate and set into motion -

MR. SCHWEINHAUT: That is absolutely not true, if your Honor please.

THE COURT: I don't think that is appropriate argument, Mr. Goldman; I don't think it is appropriate argument in the face of the state of this record, and I don't think you should pursue it.

MR. GOLDMAN: The Committee of 99 could not convince the members of Local 544 through argument. Is that in the record? Witness after witness testified that they had a chance to run opposition candidates. That is in the record. Members of the Committee of 99 testified here one after another to this effect.

THE DEFENDANTS BUILT THE UNION

"Under whose leadeship was Local 544 organized?" I asked some of the government witnesses. They had to admit that the union was built by the Dunnes, Dobbs, Carl Skoglund, Harry DeBoer and everyone else who is a defendant and connected with Local 544. From a membership of 200, the defendants raised the local to 6,000. Do you think any of the government witnesses were capable of creating this powerful union that exerted tremendous influence throughout the northwest area? Who built the Over-the-Road Committee? Farrell Dobbs. And these government witnesses, members of the Committee of 99, some of them unfortunate halfwits, are now in the offices that the defendants had prior to Tobin's appointment of the Receiver.

'Were you elected to office?" I asked Sidney Brennan, who testified that he is now Secretary-Treasurer of 544-AFL.

"Who appointed you?" "Neal," was the answer.

"You mean the Receiver for Tobin?" "Yes," was the

JOINED THE PARTY

Some of the government witnesses were at one time members of the Socialist Workers Party. What made these people join the party?

In commenting on the testimony of defendants Rainbolt and Orgon, Mr. Anderson said that had these defendants testified that they joined the party in order to get jobs, then he would have more consideration for them. Mr. Anderson doesn't see the significance of his remarks. He seems to think that the government witnesses who testified that they joined the party to get jobs have thereby cleansed themselves of any possible sin they committed by joining the party, while Mr. Rainbolt and Mr. Orgon are still criminals. The conclusion is: If people join the party because of idealistic reasons, because they are convinced that the party represents a cause worth fighting and dying for, then they belong in jail; but if they join the party in order to get a job, they should be released.

The defendants Rainbolt and Orgon did not know all the principles of the party when they joined. They joined because they knew the Dunnes; they knew Farrell Dobbs and Carl Skoglund and knew how honest these men were. Had there been, by the way, the slightest question of the honesty of the defendants in the leadership of 544, it would have surely been brought out in the evidence. No one dares impute any dishonest motives to any of the defendants -

'MR. SCHWEINHAUT: Now, just a moment. I wish your Honor would instruct the jury that we could not have proved in evidence here that these men were dishonest except by criminal records, if any.

THE COURT: That is true. The jury will so heed that statement. Until a man proves his own character in evidence, it can't be impeached or criticized by the government.

MR. GOLDMAN: It is in evidence that the union executive board did not permit racketeering. It is in evidence that all these government witnesses who testified that they joined the party in order to get jobs in the union, didn't get jobs; that all the government witnesses who testified that they joined the party to hold their jobs, didn't hold their jobs. The government witnesses finally succeeded in getting jobs in the union, only when the defendants, who built the union by their blood and their sacrifices in the course of many strike struggles, were pushed out and are now threatened with deprivation of their liberties. Take the testimony of all the members of the Committee of 99 and everything that I say will be borne out.

The government witnesses told the truth when they testified that they joined the Socialist Workers Party in order to get jobs. They probably thought that the Socialist Workers Party was like the Republican or Democratic parties. They saw the defendants in charge of a union and they thought they could get jobs by joining the party of which the defendants were members. Quickly, however, they were disillusioned. They didn't get any jobs because men like the defendants don't put people into jobs in a union unless these people

are capable. (To be concluded next week)

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Next week will announce the publication of one of the most important pamphlets it has ever issued. See next week's issue of THE MILITANT for full details.

THE ONE THING THAT ALL THE WITNESSES REMEMBERED

Those of the government witnesses who were former members of our party could testify to nothing about our program, with the exception, of course, that they testified that we advocated the armed overthrow of the government. I mentioned before that these people never remembered the subject or contents of a single pamphlet or party discussion, but always remembered that the defendants advocated the violent overthrow of the government. Mr. Eugene Williams, for instance, on direct examination remembered that Farrell Dobbs spoke at the first meeting he attended and naturally he also remembered that Farrell Dobbs advocated the armed overthrow of the government. On cross-examination he forgot that it was Farrell Dobbs and said that it was Felix Morrow, but still he remembered that, no matter who it was, the speaker ad-

vocated the armed overthrow of the government. And that's all he remembered.

Another significant point. A great many of the witnesses claimed that Vincent Ray Dunne who, as the outstanding leader of Local 544-CIO, is more or less of a chief devil in this picture, discussed with them the question of what our party wanted to do after the passing of the Selective Service Act. They testified that they had conversations with Dunne about this matter long after they were out of the party, even after they had fought in the union against our party members.

It looked peculiar, did it not, that Dunne who, you will all agree, is a highly intelligent person, should talk to people who were no longer members of the party and who were enemies of the party, about such delicate questions as inciting insurrection in the army. I think the jury must have seen

Negro Struggle By ALBERT PARKER

15 Other Negro Heroes

After reading again the other day about the heroic exploits of the Negro mess attendant on the sinking battleship, U. S. S. Arizona, my mind went back to the case of 15 other Negro mess attendants on another Navy ship, the U. S. S. Philadelphia.

The Arizona mess attendant, I thought, "forgot his place," which, according to Navy regulations, is down in the galley. On Dec. 7, at Pearl Harbor, he "forgot his place" and seized a machine gun and used it till his ammunition

The 15 Philadelphia mess attendants also "forgot their place." They had joined the Navy to become sailors and soon learned that in the Navy Negroes can serve only as sea-going dishwashers and lackeys. On top of this, they were subjected to all kinds of insult and abuse from

They sat down and wrote a letter to a Negro newspaper, The Pittsburgh Courier, protesting against the Jim Crow regulations which bar them from Navy positions outside of the mess division, and expressing the desire to get training in the Navy just as all other sailors do. They all signed their names to the letter.

As soon as the letter was printed, they were placed under arrest. A few weeks later, during the first week of Dec., 1940, almost a year to the day before the attack on Pearl Harbor, when the case had reached its end, they were fired out of the Navy with "undesirable discharges"for "the good of the service," as it was put by Admiral Nimitz, then chief of the Bureau of Navigation.

I was reminded of those 15 Negro sailors because to my mind, although they did not get honorable mention, although practically nobody wrote about their bravery, their action was every bit as heroic as that which characterized the mess attendant on the Arizona. Their action in writing that letter should be remembered and honored just as much as the different kind of action of the Arizona sailor.

P. S. After looking up the stories about the 15 sailors printed in this paper over a year ago, I find that at the time they signed that letter, the Philadelphia was stationed at...Pearl Harbor.

The Symbols of Democracy

Democracy apparently means different things to different people. It certainly doesn't mean the same thing to an auto magnate and an auto worker thrown out of his job. It doesn't mean the same thing for a worker on strike and a boss trying to break a strike. It doesn't mean the same thing for a lynch mob and the intended victim of a lynch mob. It doesn't mean the same thing for Secretary of the Navy Knox and a Negro mess attendant.

But what we want to discuss here is not democracy, but a symbol of democracy. We are certain that there are many symbols of democracy, and that they differ as much and as often as the definitions of democracy itself. To a member of the Sixty Families, democracy's best symbol is probably a dollar sign. A rope and a torch would go good as a symbol of democracy as it is understood by the defenders of Jim Crow.

Mr. S. Sloan Colt, Director of the Red Cross War Drive, has his own ideas about democracy and its symbols.

In reply to a letter from a doctor protesting the refusal of the Red Cross to accept blood from Negroes for its blood bank, Colt wrote as follows:

"The Red Cross is now able to obtain from white donors enough blood to keep all the processing plants fully occupied so that the total amount of blood plasma available to the armed forces is not lessened by our inability to accept Negro donors."

If this statement has any pertinence, it is that the Red Cross doesn't care very much if Negroes are angry about being Jim Crowed even when they want to donate their very blood, as long as they were able to get the amount of blood they want from white people. This implies that maybe later on, when it needs more blood than it can get from white donors, the Red Cross will do something about the protests of the Negro people.

Then after admitting that there are no scientific objections to transfusions of the blood of Negroes, Colt went on to say:

"It seems that the feelings and perhaps even the prejudices of individuals to whom transfusions are given should be respected as a symbol of democracy."

If Jim Crow prejudices are the symbol, then what must be the democracy they symbolize for which Negroes are called on to give up their

Joe Louis and the Navy

Joe Louis was on the receiving end of a lot of applause on Jan. 9 because he risked his title in a bout against Buddy Baer without getting a nickel in return. Even Secretary of the Navy Knox sent a telegram and a special representative for the occasion. All of Louis' share of the purse was contributed to the Naval Relief Fund.

But if Louis had gone down to the Naval recruiting station the next morning, he would still have been told that they were sorry, "but Negroes are admitted into the Navy only as mess attendants."

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co.-whose campaign to put over the "incentive" system of more work for less pay on its workers led to a strike recently—has a mighty big incentive of its own. The net profits for the company-after taxes—was \$12,455,843 for the first nine months of this year as compared to \$5,265,492 for the comparable period of 1940. That's an increase of 136 per cent. Some incentive!

OPM Parley Rejects Auto Union Plan

Bosses, OPM Are To Blame For Shut-Down

(Continued from page 1)

epresentatives. Walter Reuther. Richard Frankensteen, and George Addes, officers of the UAW-CIO, represent labor.

representative, who will act as vote, is Cyrus Ching, vice president of the United States Rubber Corporation. Ching was a member of the National Defense Mediation Board, and voted against the replied: union shop for the captive coal industry according to the dictates of the auto bosses.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS

UAW President Thomas summed up the results of the conference by stating:

"The scope of power accorded the sub-committee is such that labor will have no effective voice. The attitude of the spokesmen of industry, clearly indicated in our conference, is such that we must conclude that conversion will be handled in a leisurely way, and that there will be no pooling whatever, between the companies, of available machinery and skilled labor.'

Of course, the auto magnates will not act "leisurely" in the sense of wanting to take their time about converting the industry to war production. They will naturally try to get production started as quickly as they can in order to benefit by their present sources of profits, war produc-They will be "leisurely" only in the sense that they will undertake conversion in an individualistic fashion, without real industry-wide planning, pooling of resources etc. They will hold out for better contract terms. The various corporations will compete to get a monopoly of

raw material supplies. maximum production by planned. coordinated operation of the industry as one unit thus stands as far from solution as ever, Each of the big three corporations, GM, Ford and Chrysler, is free to determine its own production policies and utilize its facilities as it pleases.

This means that they will pool facilities and resources only when and if they think it profitable. But there will be no central organization of production.

RE-TOOLING THE

A great to-do has been made over the fact that the industry their unlimited control, no matter is undertaking the fulfillment of five billion dollars more of Army and Navy contracts. C. E. Wilson, president of GM, revealed at the conference, however, that his company does not expect to be in position to undertake actual production on any considerable scale for from nine months to a year. That is how long it will take to re-tool the industry. This belies the deliberate impression given the public by the OPM and auto bosses that auto unemploy ment will be virtually eliminated

in a few months The auto bosses will, of course, parcel out work to smaller parts and machine tool companies. This has been standard practice for the big companies up to now. However, the work will be subcontracted on the basis of the highest and most profitable bids from the thousands of competing small companies. Under genuine

industry-wide organization of production, the government PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION would contract directly with the small companies, issuing orders where they can best be fulfilled and eliminating hundreds of millions of dollars in added costs that go as profits into the pockets of the big auto moguls.

UAW leaders had demanded that auto labor be given an equal

voice with management "to determine and make effective" the 450,000 Face best policies for the operation of the auto industry. This idea was given a complete brush-off by the Long Term of auto manufacturers and the OPM, including Sidney Hillman.

WHY AUTO BARONS OPPOSE POOLING

The attitude of the auto corporations toward any delimiting of their control over production, even if this would expedite prod-The seventh and government uction, was expressed by C. E. Wilson. In reply to the question, chairman and have the deciding "If the Government called on labor-government board, would used. General Motors do so?", Wilson

"To divide the responsibility miners. It is obvious that this for management would be to descommittee, dominated by corpor- troy the very foundation upon ation heads, will "assist" the auto which America's unparalleled record of industrial accomplishment has been built." This was said as over 100,000 auto workers pounded the streets in Detroit alone.

> Wilson then showed what was really sticking in the craw of the auto bosses "There is no way to pool the facilities of the country," he said, "without the social-

ization of industry." Wilson, speaking the mind of tively against pooling because it it because it implies possible limitations upon the powers of the individual corporations to operate as they please. As between greater production through "socialization" - that is, pooling and lesser production through "undivided responsibility of management," Wilson and his colleagues are 100 per cent for lesser production.

WHITEWASH BY OPM

So far as the OPM is concerned, its only purpose in calling the conference, it seems, was to give the auto bosses a public whitewashing for the shut-down of the industry and the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of workers. Knudsen and Hillman cooperated in shutting off any The basic problem of achieving discussion by union leaders of the past policies of the compa-

> "That was before Pearl Harbor." Knudsen blandly stated "Do you think that that is the problem today before us?" piped up Hillman.

That, however, was and is the problem. So long as the private monopoly owners have control over industry, they will continue to operate it in the same fashion as hitherto, solely with an eye to profits. That is what this conference demonstrated above all

The bosses will continue to oppose the slightest loosening of what the cost to the workers an to the American people as a whole The corporation owners will "share" nothing with labor. least of all any voice in the operation and planning of production. They have made it clear that their stranglehold on production will never be broken until the government takes over the auto and other war industries and operates them under workers con-

Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the

IMPERIALIST WAR

and the

48 pages 5 cents per copy

> PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place

SPECIAL Subscription Offer

valid until February 1, 1942

2 issues of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL (20c each)

8 issues of the MILITANT (5c each) both for

TME MILITANT

116 University Place New York City

Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

While this "haggling" went on in recent months only 50% of machine tool capacity of Ameri can industry was being utilized as the National Association of Manufacturers has admitted. A recent survey of the UAW reveal General Motors to pool its facil- ed that 35% of machine tools in ities under a joint management- the auto industry were being

WHO BLOCKS EXPANSION?

Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold stated on Jan.

"Anti-trust investigations have shown that there is not an or- tackling the problem of converganized basic industry in the sion. United States which has not been device or other in order to avoid what they call the 'ruinous overproduction after the war.'

"These groups have been afraid to develop production themselves. They have been afraid to let the industry, cannot argue effect They have concealed shortages will not achieve greater and plies and talked of production speedier production. He is against facilities which do not exist, Arnold said

> In order to preserve their mon opolies, the owners of basic industries, including the auto industry, have disrupted and hampered production by falsifying the facts and blocking expansion.

What did the Office of Production Management do to remedy this situation?

KNUDSEN'S ROLE

FED. TAXES

1929

Corporation owners.

ship" clause demanded by the

the company refused to accept

recommended by the National De-

fense Mediation Board. The com-

pany's high-handed attitude then

when the Navy Department, un-

workers, which ended

1933

William S. Knudsen, OPM head and former General Motors President, has repeatedly replied to union demands for pooling production by referring to the 'complex" problems involved. On Dec. 22. Knudsen said: "There isn't a person living who could percentage of American industry that could be put to work on military orders"

norance, or an attempt to hide the truth behind the so-called "mystery" of American industry. some would claim. He deliberatefor profit advantages. If the OPM cannot give "accurate figures" on conversion, it is because it never

seriously tried to get them. Walter H. Wheeler Jr., deputy director of OPM's contract distribution service, testified before the Tolan House Committee late in December 1941 that:

"The OPM is just now approaching the question of conversion in an industry-wide man-

Only now, after the last drop of profits has been wrung out "business as usual," are the industrialists and the OPM

The order has been given by restricting production by some OPM for the complete change-"The new order has been aclooking forward to months of by optimistic predictions of sup- unemployment, are not so cheer-

THE CIO PLAN Why has the OPM refused to

accept the CIO plan to pool the resources of the industry and give labor a voice in the management of this conversion?

Arthur Krock in his New York Times column, made clear the reasons for this refusal: 'What was proposed was a social economic revolution in American industry," Pooling was out of the question, Krock insisted, because the Reuther idea would cut est of the masses of people. across corporation lines"

The OPM has made it clear give an accurate figure as to the of "crossing corporation lines" plants to maximum production This statement is either a self- respective corporations, who in- jobs for all.

Corporation Profits Rising in Spite of Taxes

PROFITS OF ALL CORPORATIONS, BEFORE AND AFTER FEDERAL TAXES

\$ 2.780 000,000

1938

\$ 5,456,000,000

FED. TAXES

1937

Contract Negotiations

Break Down At Kearny

\$ 5 237 000,000

1936

U. S. Steel Again Rejects "Maintenance of

Membership" Clause At Federal Shipyard

by the Navy Department to the full control of its U. S. Steel

Each coin represents 500 million, dollars SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, except preliminary figures which are estimated by reliable source

damning admission of complete sist on "freedom" to bargain and technical incompetence and ig- maneuver for the best contracts highest profits, etc. Behind this is the industrial-

ist's fear that if labor were given Knudsen hasn't "bungled," as a place in management, if representatives of the workers were ly sought to protect the indus let into the secrets of managetrialists while they maneuvered ment and given access to the corporation books, the whole system of private ownership and control might be exposed for the terrible drag on production that

The bosses want to be free to convert their plants to military production only in such way as to protect their privileges and profits. They insist on this even though it will mean continued waste and inefficiency, the hampering and future dislocation of production.

WHAT THE BOSSES COST IN PRODUCTION

What the bosses are costing this country in production losses is shown by the following figures. In the next few months, priorities and industrial dislocation are ex over in the auto industry to mil-pected to result in the unemployitary production. According to ment of 2,500,000 workers in all the New York Times, Jan. 4, industries. That is a loss of 70, 000,000 man-days of work per cepted cheerfully and willingly month. In all 1941, only 22,000, by the industry." The same ar- 000 man-days of labor were los others come into the field. | ticles admits the auto workers, | through strikes. The present curtailment of auto production, for which the bosses are responsible, will cost a greater loss of production in one month than all the auto strikes since 1933.

> When the bosses raise a hue and cry about the loss of produc tion due to strikes, they are try ing to cover up the real disrupt ers of production, themselves, as the above figures graphically testify

The situation in the auto in dustry merely underlines the in capacity and unwillingness of the industrial monopoly owners to operate industry in the inter-

Only a Workers and Farmers Government, which will take over that nothing will be done to limit the operation of the basic inqusthe power of the corporation own- tries and run them under the ers to completely control and control and management of the operate the industry. The system workers, can gear the nation's and pooling of production will Only such a government will not be used, because it conflicts plan the economy in a rational with the private interests of the manner that will provide steady

\$ 1,221,000,000

1940

FED. TAXES

1939

FEDERAL -

TAXES -

1941

Relations Between Great Britain And The U.S. In the War

British Resentment About U. S. Role

It was a Labor Party member of parliament who expressed the feeling of resentment of the British ruling class over its complete dependence on the United States in the war. He called attention to the fact that England was in danger of becoming the Helgoland base of the United States in Europe. The world press, including the press of the United States, featured the apt expression without disputing it or commenting

The actual entry of the United States into the war (formally speaking) has tended to readjust the balance somewhat in the English favor and they have not failed to take quick advantage of this new fact. It will be recalled that the United States exerted pressure through its lease-lend aid, to force England to forego exporting any real quantity of goods to South America for the duration of the war. Much as this action angered British business, it was compelled to obey and the United States was given a free hand in South America.

United States diplomacy was engaged just pefore the fateful Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, in trying to come to some agreement with the English government concerning the post-war handling of the return of lease-lend equipment or some equivalent. There can be no illusion that the "loans" made by the United States to its allies will ever be repaid in cash. All that the United States can do is to try to extract whatever advantages it can in place of repayment in cash or in kind.

Thus the press contained references to the fact that negotiations were going on with a view to adjustment of lease-lend aid by the ceding of naval bases and territory in the Western Hemisphere to America. This was to be not merely a matter of long leasing but of actual change of sovereignty. Some congressmen had advanced this dea when the lease-lend act was first broached.

The Negotiations Have Halted

The magazine Newsweek now points out in an editorial that the formal entry of the United tates into the conflict has halted these negotiations and has brought a change in English attitude. Whereas previously the English seemed quite ready to discuss the matter of post-war settlement in all its phases, that has now changed. From Churchill down to the lower rungs of the diplomatic ladder, the new line is followed of refusing to discuss post-war settlements. "First let us win the war; that is the only question of importance now," says Churchill. He prefers leaving other matters to the future.

This new attitude represents a first faint revolt against United States domination. But the relations between the two countries remain and must remain pretty much the same, despite the fact that they are now "equal partners" in the war. The fact that all discussions center in Washington is evidence of the role of this country. Churchill travels to Washington not only because of the war dangers abroad, but because the last word must be said there.

Not only Churchill himself, but the governments of the English colonies and dominions recognize their dependence on United States help. The situation of Australia is becoming rapidly more critical as the Japanese threaten to take Singapore. The loss of this Pacific base would be a tremendous blow at both allies. The way would become open for the Japanese to strike further south towards Australia and New Zealand. Their complete control of the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean, would enable the Japanese to threaten seriously India itself.

No wonder then that Premier Curtin of Australia appealed for help to the United States and made a none too veiled threat to take Australia out of the Empire. His later denial of any such intention does not change the actual situation. In the next period of the war Australia will be completely dependent on the naval forces that the United States can dispose as a screen between the South Pacific and the Japanese.

What Fall of Singapore Would Mean

There is another aspect also to the possible fall of Singapore. That great base with its naval facilities, represented one of the most powerful bargaining points for England in its relations with the United States. Should it be taken by the Japanese, then England has that much less to offer to the United States for its help in the Pacific. There can be little doubt that to gain an ultimate victory over Japan, America would have to regain the vital Singapore base. It will be at heavy sacrifice of American planes, ships and tanks that the Western Pacific area will be retaken by this country. This will complicate the status of the colonial empires all the more.

Naturally both England and the United States will fight as desperately as they can to hold Singapore. This is the critical center of the Pacific War, now and in the future. Here again, while most of the fighters may be soldiers of Australia, India, England itself, the equipment in planes, guns and munitions must come in the main from the U.S.A.

The stupendous program of armaments pro-Juction of Roosevelt means that the dependence of England on the United States will increase in the future rather than decrease. Thus the real relation of forces cannot help assert itself hrough diplomacy. The English will hardly be able to throw off the "yoke of dependence." The voice of the American government is the dominant one in the councils of the "United Nations." It will have the last say on any vital questions in dispute.

AVAILABLE NOW

Bound volumes of THE MILITANT for 1941 are now available at the price of \$3.00.

Since the supply is limited, we urge that all orders be sent in at once to the business office of the Militant Publishing Association, 116 University Place, New York City.

der orders from President Roosevelt, took over operation of the the Navy Department operated Kearny plant on Aug. 23, 1941. Union leaders state they will to enforce the "maintenance of place the issue of union security membership" provision although before the forthcoming War Laplant bor Board, asserting at the same time that they will abide by the Board recommendation" no-strike agreement recently accepted by the AFL and CIO

"has taken the view that it could not undertake to put any issue before the board until it had been established and the scope of its authority delimited."

Steel is an outstanding represd during the Naval regime in the amount of this payment." entative — in no sense have com- plant. mitted themselves to accepting

The principle issue continues to cated by the employer represent be the "maintenance of member- atives following the Washington agreement on war labor policy, union. This was the clause which that they will cooperate only with interference with their traditional open-shop policies.

precipitated a 17-day strike of UNION SECURITY CLAUSE NOT ENFORCED BY NAVY

During the 19 weeks in which the plant, it consistently refused it had nominally taken over the "because the company would not obey the Mediation York Times, Jan. 7, 1942).

The local union sought vainly But the company, as the New to have the Navy officials dis-York Times, Jan. 9, reported, charge 18 men, under the "maintenance of membership" provision, for failure to keep in good standing with the union. Among the 18, were several who paid dues to the genuine union while Unlike the leaders of the trade aiding in the organization of an union movement, the open-shop "independent" company union. employers — for whom U. S. The company outfit flourished poration declined to reveal the

When the union protested the either the intervention of the failure of the Navy officials to Board or its decisions. They are take action, the officials referred holding fast to the attitude indi- the issue back to William H. Da-

vis. Mediation Board chairman, for "action." Davis, without power to enforce any NDMB ruling, recommended that the Navy Contract negotiations between the CIO Industrial Union of take "action." "The Navy did Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and the management of the not carry out his decision," states Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company's huge shipyard the New York Times, Jan. 7. broke down on Jan. 7, 24 hours after the yard was returned COMPANY BENEFITS

Although the plant was nomin-

ally under the control of the Navy Department, the private management continued to direct operations to very large degrees. a board which will ensure them In his statement on turning back last August, after it had been in advance that there will be no the plant to the company, Admiral Bowen declared as much, when he said: "I have had to rely on the former management, yard superintendents and foremen and labor in general, for I brought with me only a small

> All the benefits of the plant 'seizure," it is now clear, have accrued to the company. It has its plant, and the open shop re mains in full force

Also, the company is receiving full profits from operation of the plant during the time the Navy was in control.

In this connection, the New York Times, Jan. 7, reports that "it was learned that the private owners would receive the profits for the operations during that time and would pay to the Navy a sum of money to compensate it for managing the property Both the Navy and the Steel Cor

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People.

Saturday, January 17, 1942 VOL. VI-No. 3

> Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place. New York, N. Y. Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

> > Editor: FELIX MORROW

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle erders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries-Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
- 4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
- 5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
- Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 7. An Independent Labor Party based on
- 8. A Workers' and Farmers' Govern-

Who Really Holds **Back Production?**

the Trade Unions.

Many steel mills are being shut down in the United States because of scrap metal shortages, Washington officials disclosed on Jan. 9, according to a United Press dispatch.

The reason? Because of "large" shipments of scrap iron and steel to Japan during the 10 years prior to the war... Huge exports to Japan in particular, they said have resulted in a shortage of scrap...'

Aluminum and copper production is also reported to be grossly inadequate for the needs of the war program.

The reason? Because of "the desires of producers of such materials to maintain and protect what they regard as their vested rights in their industries." (Report of the Special Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program, Nov. 17, 1941)

250,000 auto workers are already out of work and another 200,000 will join them shortly.

The reason? Because of "the attitude of powerful private groups dominating basic industries who have feared to expand their production because expansion would endanger their future control of industry... There is not an organized basic industry in the United States which has not been restricting production by some device or other in order to avoid what they call the 'ruinous overproduction after the war'." (Report of Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold to Congress, Jan. 3.)

Within six months, according to Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, the United States will face a "scarcity in a number of skilled occupations" at the same time that priorities unemployment is expected to reach its peak.

The reason? Because the depression of 1929 up till the war broke out deprived millions of workers, of the opportunity to learn and perfect themselves in skilled trades.

These examples of how the profit system and the captains of industry are responsible for holding up production could be multiplied a hundred times. In each factory there are workers who out of their own experiences could give examples of the same thing on a smaller scale.

And yet the bosses have the nerve to try to justify anti-union measures on the grounds that the workers hold up production!

Jim-Crowed Sailor May Get A Medal

A Negro mess steward on the U. S. S. Arizona during the bombing of Pearl Harbor so far forgot his "place"—as they put it in the deep South and in the Navy—that he "manned a machine gun on the bridge until his ammunition was exhausted," although he "never before had fired a gun" because such training is denied Negroes in the Navy. (New York Times, Dec. 22, 1941).

For his heroic exploit, this Negro mess attendant may now get a medal. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked Secretary of the Navy Knox to grant him the Distinguished Service Cross. Knox has replied: "Please be assured that an investigation will be made relative to the reported heroic action of the Negro mess attendant. The Navy Department will certainly recommend proper recognition for

any such heroic action."

But, even after getting a medal, the Negro mess attendant will still have to remain in the mess steward's division. There he will be able to polish the medal along with the dishes. He—and all other Negro sailors—will still be prevented by Navy regulations from securing training in the handling of a machine gun or in any other fighting capacity.

Knox evidently does not realize the contradictions in his position. He does not seem to understand how hypocritical he appears in offering a Negro mess steward a medal for heroic conduct and then denying him the opportunity to serve in a capacity where he can continue to demonstrate his fighting skill.

Under such conditions, all the medals and explanations in the world cannot satisfy the Negro people. Medal or no medal, they, together with the labor movement, must continue to struggle for equal rights for the Negro people in every phase of national life, military as well as civilian.

Food Prices Rose 25% In Last Year

A vast majority of American workers are compelled to spend more than half their incomes for food alone. Food prices, therefore, are the most accurate single gauge of living costs for low-wage

That is why every worker can fully appreciate the significance of the figures put out last week by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, showing that retail food prices now average 25.5 per cent higher than a year ago.

This fact exposes the hypocrisy in the talk about labor making "exorbitant" and "unreasonable" demands when it seeks higher wages during the war. Most American workers have through price rises already suffered a sharp slash in purchasing power.

During the past year, moreover, only 4,500,000 of the over 40,000,000 non-agricultural wageearners secured wage increases—against the bitter opposition of the employers. The average wage increase amounted to only ten per cent. Thus, rising prices in a few short months have wiped out these wage gains. The bulk of workers who secured no wage increases during the past year have received an actual wage cut, since their fixed wages have been able to buy less and less of the necessities of life.

And price inflation will continue. The United Business Service report of Jan. 12 discounts the effect of the price control bill and flatly states that prices will continue upward just as they have in England where, despite government price-fixing and rationing since Sept., 1939, the cost of living has gone up 28 per cent.

The present price inflation is attributable directly to monopoly practices, speculation and profiteering. Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, head of the Department of Justice antitrust division, on Jan. 3 publicly affirmed this fact.

Against this deliberate price gouging, the workers can have no immediate and assured protection other than a rising scale of wages to offset the effects of rising prices. Each passing day gives greater force to the soundness and justice of this demand. It must become the demand of all labor.

Pooling In Auto

The auto barons and the OPM last week rejected the CIO auto union's plan for operation of the industry as a single unit, pooling all facilities and resources under the direction of a central joint labor-management board.

C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, gave as a reason for this rejection:

"There is no way to pool facilities in the method suggested without socialization.'

This argument against the union's plan for pooling is not that it is technically unsound, or that some other method will do the job of conversion more speedily and ensure greater production.

In respect to speedy conversion and production it is easily demonstrable that the union's method is superior to what the bosses propose.

What the union proposes is that all the resources and facilities of the competing corporations be placed at the disposal of a single directing body, free to determine what each plant is fitted to produce, to shift materials and equipment where they can best be utilized, and to do this without consideration for the narrow competitive interests of the private owners.

The bosses raise no objections to the principle of pooling, but they want pooling by their own "method." Each corporation wants to bargain for the type of work it thinks most profitable, to build up reserve stocks of materials for its own exclusive use, and to let some other corporation use its tools and equipment only when it is to its own advant-

The bosses' "method" is better for protecting profits and monopoly. The union's method, obviously, is better for expediting production and more quickly reducing unemployment.

But, says Wilson, the union's method means "socialization." It might limit the control and profits of the owners. That makes it taboo, even if it is superior to the boss "method" in all other respects.

Profits and monopoly—these are the essence of boss patriotism. They explain why 450,000 auto workers face months of unemployment. They explain why it is absolutely imperative that the government take over the war industries and operate them under the control and management of

Dewey Refutes Davies Whitewashing Of Trial

Chairman of International Commission of Inquiry into Moscow Trials Objects to Davies' New Version of Stalinist Frameups

Professor John Dewey, in a letter to the New York Times, Professor Dewey, "And what Ian. 11, refutes the latest attempt to whitewash the Moscow more effective means could Staframeup trials, the recently published "Mission to Moscow" by lin have found to discredit these ex-ambassador Joseph Davies.

Dewey's letter makes note of view of the trials at the time he witnessed them Professor Dewey then points

out that Davies' present view of the credibility of the charges of "fifth column activities" against the Red Army High Command are admittedly based not on "detailed and specific proof, but Davies himself admit. 'charges" which in retrospect seem to Mr. Davies to justify the belief that the generals were

Professor Dewey's answer is it is impossible to find in the based on the voluminous evid- Moscow trials records "any cred- Aaron Burr had seized power and ence he helped uncover as head ible evidence of fifth-column ache had then consolidated it by tivity out of all the contradic-bringing George Washington, of the International Commission tions, confusion and patent of Inquiry into the Moscow lying, of accused, witnesses and prosecution, without even taking American Revolutionary heroes to into account such "promptly exthe fact that Davies himself ad- posed lies as the famous testimits that he held an opposite mony about the non-existent 'Hotel Bristol' or that about Pyatakov's alleged secret midnight flight to Oslo."

vations for the trials, the letter opposition" to Stalin's rule, as

Russia than the surviving asso-The letter further states that revolution and civil war, ?" asks in his dealings with Hitler."

men than to force them to confess that they had conspired with foreign powers? It is as though Thomas Jefferson, John Adams Alexander Hamilton and other trial on charges of having conspired with foreign powers a gainst the state they had helped "Mr Davies also chooses to

overlook the pertinent fact that Dealing with the political moti- Stalin himself, at the very time points out that they were an at- executions without trial, was trytempt to kill off "all potential ing very hard to reach an agree ment with Hitler. .

"Seen in this light, Stalin's li-"What more likely foci of op- quidation of the Old Bolsheviki position could there have been in appears not as punishment for their alleged dealings with Hitler ciates of Lenin and heroes of the but as a possible price of success

Youth Play Increasing Role In USSR Defense

(Continued from page 1)

f any army in the world." This eyewitness report of Mcnow stands an armed population.

On Sept. 1, 1941, a decree was passed instituting universal military training for men from 16 to 50. (It went into effect on Oct. . 1941). The workers in large Soviet cities began training and arming months before.

Now we learn that without any official legislation this military then the fusion between the Red Army and the population - a fusion that has already been welded in battle when the reguar army and the workers' detachment — in Rostov, Leningrad, Moscow - fought side by side to beat back the Nazi offensive.

STALINISM AND THE YOUTH

The entire history of Stalinist YCL) was dissolved as a political organization. The reason for this step was that Stalin feared it would develop into an opposition political party.

The Kremlin has been able to suppress the youth up to now because the latter lacked not only revolutionary traditions but, in general, traditions of struggle. The young men and women who have grown up in Russia since the 1917 revolution and the Civil War of 1918-1920 have known no school other than that of Stalin-They were taught only blind obedience to the bureaucracy. They found all initiative and creative ability suppressed. They were without authority among the masses, and without

ly, "Fourth International," which

Three other articles deal with

various aspects of the war: John

G. Wright on the USSR in the

war; James Cadman on "Naval

Power Today"; and Leon Trot-

sky's "Forecasts on the War"

consisting of interviews he gave

at the time to various newspa-

A roundup summary of the

conclusion of the Minneapolis

"sedition" trial is written by Fe-

lix Morrow, one of the defend-

One of the most famous ad-

dresses by the founder of the

German labor movement, Ferdi-

nand Lassalle, "On the Essence

of Constitutions," is published

here for the first time in English

These are the outstanding

items in one of the best issues

of "Fourth International." If you

came off the press this week.

Loughlin's supplies some of the duped above all the Soviet youth, freely. Every attempt to curb the nost revealing and important in- has now been exploded by events self-action and participation of formation that has recently em- themselves. As a matter of fact, the masses, first and foremost the anated from the Soviet Union, It the Kremlin today prohibits any shows how deeply the war is reference to socialism in the USSR, will make all the more ploughing up the masses, espe-struggle both inside and outside untenable the position of Stalin's cially the youngest generations the USSR. The war is placing regime. Soviet victories which in the USSR. Alongside of the the greatest burdens and respon- have been brought about by the many-millioned Red Army there sibilities precisely on the masses, mass upsurge, act to raise not and above all the younger gener- only Soviet morale but also the

> INITIATIVE AND SELF RELIANCE

At the front as well as in the rear, initiative and self-reliance are now at a premium. The Soviet youth is learning how to stand on its own feet in the very raining has been extended to heat of a life and death struggle. school children. These develop- For every thousand that is gainments can tend only to streng-ing confidence and authority today, hundreds of thousands will rise on the morrow.

At the same time, the Stalinist of the October revolution.

The Stalinist lie of building compelled to unleash these forces 'socialism in one country," which cannot permit them to develop youth, in the defense of the confidence of the masses. It is still too early to predict

> the final outcome of the processes engendered by the war But the tendency is already clear: Without in any way reducing the question of the fate of the Soviet Union to the struggle be tween two generations - the old and the young - we can never theless state with certainty that the Soviet youth is now playing and will continue to play a more and more decisive role in the struggle to preserve the conquests

Marshall Field Is Not So Liberal With Own Workers

or of a huge Chicago mercan- the Textile Workers Union, CIO, ed by the distrust and hostility tile fortune, palms himself off nine of these mills were organof the regime to the youth. In as a liberal. He is financial or renew its contract last month, 1936 the Komsomol (the Russian angel of the New York news- with "improvements which are paper PM, which boasts of its now standard practice" in most pro-labor slant. His most re- of its contracts, the company cent undertaking is the financ- turned thumbs down. ing and publication of a new Chicago newspaper, The Sun, ballyhooed as a liberal, pro-labor government for assistance in orattempt to break the monopoly der to avoid a strike which the of the reactionary Chicago Trib- members had voted on Dec. 2.

All these noble endeavors, as ation assigned a panel to medianyone must admit, take money, ate. big money. In fact they take the kind of money that Mr. Field III is making from his string of textile mills down South, about which you' will not read in PM or The Sun.

"After bitter company opposition," reports the Jan., 1942 Tex-

"FOURTH INT'L" FEATURES

STATEMENT ON THE WAR

A "Statement on the War," by | cannot obtain your issue at a

James P. Cannon, National Se- local newsstand, write to the mag-

cretary of the Socialist Workers azine at 116 University Pl., New

Party, is the leading article in York. Single issues are 20 cents,

the January issue of the month- a year's sub is \$2.

Marshall Field III, inherit- tile Labor, official publication of ized. But when the TWU sought

> The TWU then petitioned the The U.S. Department of Concili-

> On Dec. 20, the conciliators wired the union a set of recommendations which the union considered a favorable basis for further negotiations and which it promptly accepted. These recommendations covered negotiations for mills in Draper, Leaksville and Spray, North Carolina.

> So far, however, the company as ignored these recommendations. It seems that below the Mason and Dixon line Mr. Field's liberal blood is infected with typical Bourbonism.

> > Join the Socialist **Workers Party**

> > > 8 P. M.

Featuring

"TSAR TO LENIN"

Famous Full Length Documentary Film of the Russian Revolution

Speaker:— ART PREIS JANUARY 25th

WERDERMANN'S HALL

Admission 50c-Tax Included 156 3rd Ave.

Auspices:- New York Local, Socialist Workers Party

On The Eighteenth Anniversary Of The Death of V. I. Lenin

(Continued from page 1)

Soviet Union Resists Stalinism

Stalinism reduced the Soviets and trade unions to fictions; established a bureaucratic dictatorship over the Soviet Union, employing a vast GPU terror to enforce it; purged the Red army of its most able officers; saddled the country with a privileged bureaucracy, and murdered the Bolshevik Old Guard, Lenin's comrades-in-arms, on monstrous frame-up charges of being Hitler's agents.

If Lenin were alive today, he would be accused by Stalin of being a Fifth Columnist and Trotskyist! Stalinism has aided in the destruction of the international working class movement by its criminal policies and thus isolated the Soviet Union.

Yet, Stalin could not destroy the forces of the Russian revolution as long as the main work of Lenin, the abolition of capitalism and the nationalization of the means of production, persist.

Lenin Was A Marxist

Lenin could give leadership to the Russian revolution as well as the workers' movement of the world, because he was above all a Marxist. He mastered the ideas of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific socialism. An important part of Lenin's work was the defense of Marxism, not only against the capitalists, but also against such "socialists" as Bernstein and Kautsky who wanted to revise Marxism in line with their own opportunist ideas.

Lenin developed Marxism and applied it to the present period of capitalism. Modern capitalism, he showed, must conquer and exploit foreign territories so that the trusts and monopolies can continue to reap profits. Modern monopoly capitalism brings the millions of Asia, Africa and South and Central America within its arena of exploitation. Using Marxism, Lenin analyzed present day world economics in his book on Imperialism.

Lenin showed the need for close unity of the labor and socialist movement of the advanced countries with the masses of the colonies and semicolonies. Lenin was an internationalist in the true sense of the word.

Lenin During World War I

When the first world war broke out, Lenin was one of the few socialist leaders who did not betray international socialism. Other "socialist" leaders became cabinet members in capitalist governments; Lenin told the truth. He showed the aim of the war was to determine which group of capitalists would dominate the earth and reap profits from the labor of the toilers of the world. He was merciless in his exposure of those "socialists" who had sold themselves to the capitalists.

These were the most difficult years in Lenin's life. To speak to five or six workers was a grand occasion for him. Yet Lenin remained confident that the workers would rally to international socialism.

Above all, Lenin emphasized the importance of the party to the toilers in their struggle for emancipation. The party is the vanguard, the most farseeing and self-sacrificing section of the class, which organizes itself into a self-disciplined group to carry on Marxist education and organization for the transition to socialism. Lenin created the Bolshevik Party of Russia which led the Russian revolution in 1917; two years later, in 1919, he formed the world party of Bolshevism, the Third International.

Fourth International, SWP, Leninists of Today

The Trotskyists, the Fourth International abroad and the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, are the Leninists of today.

Just as Lenin struggled against those who would falsify and emasculate the ideas of Marx, so the Trotskyists battle against the Stalinists who falsify and emasculate the ideas of Lenin.

Just as Lenin struggled against the "socialpatriots" for working class internationalism during World War I, so the Trotskyists today struggle against the Stalinists for working class internationalism during World War II. Just as Lenin struggled against the "yellow so-

cialists" who betrayed the interests of the workers in the first World War, so the Trotskyists struggle against the Stalinists who betray the interests of the workers in the second World War. As Lenin fought for socialism, so now the Trot-

skyists fight for a socialist world against the Stalinists and all who say that "socialism is not on the order of the day." The capitalist system had matured for a change to socialism in Lenin's life time; it had reached and

it now remains in a stage of decay and can produce

only unemployment, crisis, fascism and war. The way to honor Lenin's memory today is to continue the struggle against capitalism to which

he devoted his entire life. Stalinism and Leninism are worlds apart. The spirit, ideas and work of Lenin live in the Trotskyist movement.

Available Now

BOUND VOLUMES OF

NEW INTERNATIONAL and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

for

1940 and 1941

Price \$3.00

Order now from

Business Office

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

116 University Place New York City