

### Freedom for Indonesia

DECENT people throughout the world are revolted by the spectacle of Dutch imperialism arrogantly trying to impose itself again upon the 72,000,000 people of Indonesia. At the same time they are heartened by the courageous stand of the Indonesians themselves for liberty and independence. An Indonesian Republic has been proclaimed and Indonesians have armed themselves with equipment seized from the Japanese. Today they hold large sections of the key island of Java, including the great naval base of Surabaya.

It is perfectly easy to understand why, to an Indonesian, the Dutch invader is as much hated as the Japanese. Both govern and exploit in much the same way. Too few foreigners recall the events of 1927 when violent clashes occurred between nationalists and government forces in both Java and Sumatra. In brutal retaliation the Dutch authorities arrested 4,500 Indonesian Communists and sent 1,308 of them to a concentration camp in Dutch New Guinea. During the present war some of these prisoners have escaped to tell the story of over seventeen years of life reminiscent of nothing so much as the Nazi concentration camps of Germany.

The Dutch overlords never succeeded in suppressing the nationalist movement in spite of the imperial policy of terrorism. The Communist Party, formed in 1920, has ever since furnished leadership to the emancipation movement. It is now evident that progressive forces have made great advances during the war. The strength and maturity of the present demand for independence goes far beyond anything which preceded it.

Queen Wilhelmina's imperialist servants are publicizing an offer of dominion status made to the Indonesians and to the colonies in the Caribbean in 1942. No one, least of all the colonial people, who examines this offer can be fooled by it. It is thoroughly fraudulent. The Dutch proposal calls for a Netherlands Empire conference to discuss political reforms. The conference is to have no power other than advisory; it is to be composed of a majority of government appointed delegates; the minority is to be appointed by the government on the nomination of the Indonesian Volks-

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raad, but as the Volksraad itself is composed of government-appointed Dutch and Indonesians, plus members elected by a limited franchise, that-itself is far from democratic. Independence, furthermore, is ruled out of discussion.

Workers and other groups in Australia and New Zealand are already giving active aid to Indonesian independence. Americans must join in this important movement. Our government has spoken of a "hands off" policy towards the Dutch East Indies while in fact pursuing an open policy of imperialism in the Far East itself. The Dutch are using American equipment from American lend-lease supplies. By fighting against that policy Americans can give positive aid to the struggle of the Indonesian people.

# **Rope's End**

MANKIND will breathe easier on the day the first twenty-four Nazi leaders are convicted and hanged for the bestial crimes perpetrated during their war to dominate the world. The four-power Nuremburg indictment is the first major step toward punishing the ruthless planned murder of millions of innocents. Among the twenty-four indicted criminals are the representatives of all the social, political and military elements that constituted the power behind German fascism.

The comprehensive nature of the indictments provides a real basis for making the coming trials an education for this and all future generations. The incredible and partly forgotten record of five years of predatory warfare, mass murder, fantastic destruction and untold agony will be telescoped within the brief period of the trial. The fundamental causes of the war can be traced from the banking and industrial combines headed by Schacht and Krupp through the Nazi party, the Hitler government and the General Staff and down to their degenerate tools who operated the gas chambers of Belsen and Oswiecim and the furnaces of Maidanek.

The ghastly evidence that will be introduced at these trials should rekindle the stern resolution of all democratic peoples to exterminate fascism everywhere. And the trials should also shed light on the aftermath of Nazi rule. Revelation of the role of the Krupp interests in the Ruhr ought to provide a commentary on the recent recommendations by American economic experts for preserving German heavy industry that industry which served as the foundation of fascism.

The chief lesson that all people must learn is that the cause of fascist wars will not be eliminated basically by the hanging of a core or even several thousand Nazi criminals. It is the social and economic sources which reared fascism that must be excised. Those sources were kept alive not only by German bankers and industrialists but by their American counterparts as well. It is too bad that certain Americans will not be in the dock along with the Nazi criminals, for they share in the guilt. They are financiers, they are newspaper publishers, they are the fascist small fry who were part of a deliberate conspiracy to make the United States a satellite of Germany. The blood is on their hands too even though for the time being they escape punishment.

## Smokescreen in Argentina

THE demonstration which last week brought the fascist Colonel Juan Peron back into the control of Argentina's Nazi government was not a labor demonstration, as certain American reporters alleged in their dispatches from Buenos Aires. Such reports have led to considerable confusion in this country because of the widely prevalent and correct belief that Argentine labor along with all other democratic sections of the population was dead set against Peron and his gangsters.

The truth of the matter, it is reliably learned from Argentine anti-fascists, is that Peron staged these so-called demonstrations with his own thugs and stormtroopers. The General Confederation of Workers (CGT), which American newspapers claimed had organized the strike, was not involved at all. The CGT, in fact, was dissolved by Peron over two years ago. All of its members, except for a few renegades who sold out to the fascists, now form the core of the anti-fascist movement which seeks to oust not only Peron but the entire Nazi gang. The key to the so-called strike and so-called labor demonstration was the stoppage of all transportation in the Argentine capital. That stoppage was not the result of a labor strike but actually was carried out by management, which is controlled by the government.

As we wrote last week, the crust of Argentine fascism has been broken, but the democratic ferment below has not yet boiled over to submerge and shatter the fascist power. Until that happens there can be nothing but chaos within the country and the spread of fascistlike developments throughout the hemisphere.

The United States cannot help by remaining aloof. It must speedily press forward a policy designed to obstruct the Argentine fascists and strengthen the Argentine democrats.

### **Promises to Puerto Rico**

 $T_{\text{long-awaited}}$  is being prepared for the Puerto Rican people. President Truman's October 16 message to Congress said: "It is now time, in my opinion, to ascertain from the people of Puerto Rico their wishes as to the ultimate status they prefer, and, within such limits as may be determined by the Congress, to grant them the kind of government which they desire." This carries forward a policy initiated by President Roosevelt. President Truman's message, however, does not solve the problem; it simply prepares the way for solution. There are several requirements to be met before that solution is reached. Congress must draft and pass a bill providing for a fair plebiscite. With the present Congress that will not take care of itself automatically.

The plebiscite itself and the preparations for it must be carried out in such a way as to create the least amount of confusion among the Island voters. Puerto Ricans must be given the opportunity to express their choice freely in the certain knowledge that their wishes will be accepted. Independence, for instance, must not be nullified in the name of military necessity.

By discouraging the appearance on the plebiscite ballot of alternatives which are either unconstitutional or unacceptable to the US Congress, alternatives such as statehood or dominion status, President Truman has acted wisely. Senator Tydings seems to be forwarding that suggestion in Congress by proposing the simple alternatives of independence or further steps toward selfgovernment within the colonial relationship. Even though Senator Tydings' motives as representative of mainland sugar interests may be suspect, the result coincides with the interests of the Puerto Rican people and therefore deserves support.

There can be no question in what direction Puerto Ricans want to move. The chief danger that irresponsible influences will intrude themselves lies in the persistence of the myth that political independence means cutting off the Island from all economic contacts with the United States. No nation, least of all a small one, lives in economic isolation from its neighbors or from the world. One great advantage of political independence is that it gives a nation freer choice in the establishment of its economic ties. In the case of Puerto Rico that point can best be made clear by an assurance from the United States that in the event the plebiscite favors independence we shall be prepared to enter into immediate and favorable commercial arrangements with the new republic.

# **Dewey's Goldstein**

By THIS time the political physiognomy of the three candidates for mayor of New York is clear. Were it not generally known that Jonah Goldstein, the Tammany hack running on the Republican and Liberal Party tickets, was chosen by Governor Dewey, his own speeches would provide ample evidence of his sponsorship. Who of those that heard the Dewey oratory in 1944 can fail to recognize in the Goldstein diatribes that corny district attorney manner, the puerile histrionics, the self-righteous moral tone, and above all, the Red-baiting? When Judge Goldstein declares that Communism "is an issue against anyone who accepts their support, plays ball with them and goes to bed with them," he is repeating almost verbatim the language of Dewey's scurrilous Boston speech against Roosevelt.

In one respect, however, Goldstein has out-Deweyed Dewey. While the governor gave lip-service to collective security and at the same time sought

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At NM's press time, the French election returns were far from complete. Next week NM will publish an analysis of the elections and their significance.

to placate the reactionary isolationists, Goldstein has frankly proclaimed an isolationism more extreme than that of the McCormicks and Hearsts. He has assailed every effort to link the New York election with state and national issues, including even an expression of sympathy for refugee Jews. He fears that the mere mention of such matters might cause voters to suspect that Dewey is running Goldstein so that the Republicans can run Congress in 1946 and the country in 1948—naturally, with Dewey as boss.

As for that pleasant gentleman, Newbold Morris, by announcing that he would ignore Goldstein and direct his fire at O'Dwyer, he has revealed the nature of the deal consummated by the synthetic No Deal Party whose candidate he is.

By contrast the Democratic and American Labor nominee, Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, stands out as the representative of the Roosevelt tradition behind whom the great majority of the labor and progressive movements are united. O'Dwyer has insisted that the problems of America's largest city cannot be isolated from the problems of the state, the nation and the world. His campaign has not been free from serious mistakes, particularly his recent lapse into Red-baiting, but on the whole it has been on a level that is both high and progressive. A big vote for O'Dwyer and his running mates on the American Labor Party line will strengthen the force that in city, state and nation can provide leadership and power in the battle for democracy. No less important is the election of a fighting team in the City Council: the Communists, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Peter V. Cacchione, the Laborites, Michael J. Quill, Eugene P. Connolly and the other ALP candidates.

# **Rank and File**

**N** EW YORK dock workers, after an eighteen-day strike, have achieved two important, if partial gains. They have forced the shipowners to reopen negotiations for a new contract with their union, the International Longshoremen's Association-AFL, based on the strike demands; and they have developed a powerful rank and file movement to win control of their union. Theirs was an insurgent strike against an unsatisfactory contract negotiated by Joseph Ryan, life-time president of the ILA. The longshoremen's economic demands centered around the reduction of slingloads and the modification of the shape-up. Oversize slingloads endanger the lives of the dockers, and the shapeup system forces them to appear at the docks on their own time without assurance of work or a fair and orderly rotation of jobs.

The strike was directed as much against the "racketeering and the dictatorship" of Ryan as against the shipowners. It was supported by the CIO maritime unions and by other unions, AFL, CIO and unaffiliated. The ILA is one of the worst examples of undemocratic AFL unions in which the bureaucratic leadership collaborates with the employers against the interests of the workers. The long-smouldering resentment of the rank and file, kept in check by gangster terrorism, finally flared up when Ryan signed a contract with the shipowners without so much as consulting the membership. During the course of the strike the rank and file movement developed its own organization, leadership and program that holds a promise of transforming the ILA into a cleansed and democratic trade union. It was the Rank and File Committee that called off the strike in order to preserve unity among the members and direct the fight within the ILA against the self-perpetuating leadership. That fight will go on despite the desertion of two of the strike leaders, William E. Warren and Salvatore Barone.

### Padlocking the Air

Tews flashes and the news commentators on the American radio are as much a national habit as eggs for breakfast. It becomes a matter of great national concern, consequently, when the Rankin-Wood un-American committee raises a bludgeon over the heads of those few commentators who have consistently reflected the truth of world events and those most concerned with promoting the general welfare. The committee says blandly that it is "engaged in determining just what is un-American," by way of explaining why it has subpeonaed the scripts of Cecil Brown, Sidney Walton, Johannes Steel, William S. Gailmor, J. Raymond Walsh, Gram Swing and Hans Jacob. True, they say they will examine other scripts, but they don't name the names of Fulton Lewis, Jr., or H. V. Kaltenborn, or Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. When you are trying to determine what is "un-American," you publicly pillory only the progressives, the spokesmen of the liberals, the consistent anti-fascists,

# **Eisenhower and German Anti-Fascists**

**I**N HIS monthly report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Eisenhower declared that (a) there are too many Communists occupying posts in Berlin; (b) that in an election the Communists would not have a majority; (c) that the bloc of four anti-fascist democratic parties is undemocratic; (d) that he would discourage such a bloc in the American zone. Stripped of all its diplomatic niceties, Eisenhower's report is a direct criticism of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in her occupation zone. And the tragedy of it is that Eisenhower lends his name to the broader reactionary policies pursued on a world scale by Secretary of State Byrnes. The general, under the blandishments of the ineffable Robert Murphy, is quickly becoming enmeshed in all the dirty business of resurrecting German imperialism.

All this was, of course, to be expected. When the State Department tries everywhere to divide the democratic anti-fascist camp, when it attempts to create Bulgarian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Chinese anti-Soviet fronts, how could its attitude toward Germany be different? If one plays with the idea of using Germany against the USSR, then logic dictates that the Germans must be kept from liberating themselves from their prejudices and from all the effects of the Nazis' anti-Russian propaganda. One may arrest Nazis and bring them to trial, but at the same time one must make certain that the Germans remain in such a state of mind that they can be used by the international cartellists for new adventures.

General Eisenhower's report is a call to the German Social Democrats not to unite with the Communists. It is a call to the middle class not to unite with the workers. No matter how carefully the report is worded, it can only be understood as advising the Germans to return to the conditions prevailing before Hitler and to fight each other in the name of "true democracy." This is exactly the state of affairs that made possible Hitler's rise to power, with all its terrible consequences.

If today—amid the confusion and demoralization of millions of Germans tainted in different degrees with Nazi doctrine—the democratic bloc of the four German parties should be broken and engage in a protracted internal struggle, the German imperialists could score their first decisive victory after Hitler's defeat. To try to split this bloc or to discourage its development is, from the point of view of reorganizing the whole political life of Germany, more dangerous than all the things General Patton did in Bavaria.

The fact that the Russians soon after the occupation of Berlin permitted the organization of these four parties proves that they understand what measures must be taken to promote a democratic and antifascist Germany. They have given the German democrats and antifascists from all classes a chance to show what they can do, to prove what they have learned from defeat. The result is that denazification and the development of the democratic process has made much greater progress in the Russian-occupied zone than in any other. And it is not surprising that the Communists hold many posts in Berlin, for it is in their ranks that the most reliable people can be found for the job of cleansing the country.

Without the unification of the German working class led by the Communists and Social Democrats, without the closest alliance of the working class and the middle and peasant classes, there will never be a peaceful, democratic Germany. This is the cardinal lesson to be learned from German history. Those who want a Germany that will no longer commit crimes against other nations and peoples will press for unity of the anti-fascists and democrats. Those who want to fish in Germany's bloody waters and turn her back to chaos and aggression will work against the formation of a democratic alliance and advise Eisenhower accordingly.

the CIO—these are the enemy to the un-American committee. And their real aim needs no formal exposition: it is simply to shut up every liberal commentator possible and to terrify that alltoo-necessary adjunct of broadcasting, the sponsor. There have already been two casualties to these tactics, Gailmor and Jacob.

It is no accident that these subpeonaes are issued on the heels of what was supposed to be a revealing expose of the nefarious aims of the Communist Party in the continuation of the questioning of CP leaders. The attempt to smear the Communist Party, which began with the summoning of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and others, and which continued with the questioning of William Z. Foster at the moment of the attack on radio commentators, is part of the dreadfully familiar pattern. Show America that the Communists are a present threat to American and world stability and you will have an easier time shutting off other progressive opinion.

Fortunately for the USA this first round of the assault on the primary liberty of free speech for honest patriots went to the Communists, who named the smear for what it was, a concerted attack on American-Soviet relations, on freedom of religion, on the fight against discrimination, on the democratic rights of trade unions. It was Foster who exposed Rankin.

But this is only the first round, and unless an aroused public realizes that the Dies Committee formula is always and inevitably a Hitler formula, the poison of the "dangerous thoughts" philosophy may easily make gains. It is to the interest of all Americans that the subversive activities of the Rankin committee be immediately suspended. And while our readers have out their pens they might remember that broadcasting companies are also sensitive to mail.

### Tax the Poor

THE Senate Finance Committee, after first drawing up tax proposals that were a slight improvement over the help-the-rich bill railroaded through the House, finally decided to combine the worst features of the House measure and the Treasury program. The big corporations are to be given a \$2,555,000,000 bonanza, as the Treasury recommended, through abolition of the excess profits tax at the end of this year. By cutting individual income taxes in a way that would give most of the benefit to the lower brackets, the Senate committee seemed to be on the way to compensating partly for this generosity to the corporations. But then it decided to add a five-percent across-the-board reduction for all taxpayers. This means that a maried man with two children, whose net income is \$2,500 a year, will have an additional five dollars knocked off his tax bill, but a man in the same category with a \$50,000-a-year income will have his tax reduced by an additional \$1,269, making his total saving nearly twice what it would be under the Treasury plan. The higher the income, the bigger the benefits both absolutely and relatively.

The Senate Finance Committee paid no attention to most of the eight-point. program presented to it last week by the CIO and the National Lawyers Guild in behalf of sixteen organizations, including the Federated Council of Churches in America, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Consumers Union, the National Women's Trade Union League, and the League of Women Shoppers. This program would go beyond the Treasury proposals in providing the bulk of individual income tax relief for families earning less than \$5,000 a year; would retain the excess profits tax till Jan. 1, 1947; and would grant special tax relief to veterans and small business.

Both the House-approved bill and the Senate committee proposals would strengthen the monopolies and the rich and encourage big business sabotage of reconversion. This kind of tax cutting is part of reaction's larger plan for taking over America lock, stock and barrel. The people's tax program of the sixteen organizations is the weapon with which to fight it.

### Here and There

• The New York Daily News' venture into the outright fascist technique of inciting anti-Semitism produced an immediate call by Dr. Stephen S. Wise for a boycott of the sheet; the boycott was promptly endorsed by the Trade Union Committee for Jewish unity; one of the Daily News advertisers in the sheet withdrew his advertising; the B'nai Brith demanded that the paper retract its anti-Semitic lies; and returned veterans threw a picket line round the Daily News offices. As a result, John O'Donnell, author of the News' anti-Semitic tidbit, wrote a column admitting that all his so-called facts were false, though not retracting their anti-Semitic implications.

• Life's little ironies! After using the free speech issue against the emerging East European democracies our top government circles apparently found free speech embarrassing. At a presidential command performance of Robert Sherwood's new play *The Rugged Path*, attended by Cabinet members and other government figures, one of the strongest lines in the play, the statement that "American newspaper policy is controlled by the National Association of Manufacturers," was omitted.

• Hoover made his grief for Germany and Japan public at a Pennsylvania college anniversary celebration. He pleaded against their de-industrialization (which would make them useless as spearheads against the Soviet Union). Hoover also found the "cult of the common man" distasteful and called for the training of the "uncommon man." The Nazis had another word for it— "elite."

• President Truman's call for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, which the British Labor government has rejected, should be matched with a proposal to admit another 100,000 to America.

• Seceding from civilization, a mob sought to have the state of Florida rejoin the Rankin-Bilbo belt of white barbarism with the lynching of the Negro youth, Jesse J. Payne, held on the usual rape charge. Fight the lynchers by aiding the International Labor Defense, which has taken up the case. It has offered \$500 for information leading to the arrest of the lynchers. But a powerful campaign will be necessary to move reluctant Florida authorities into any action.

• The House Appropriations Committee has approved the extension, for four months, of child nurseries established under the Lanham act to aid working mothers in congested areas. This is a mere stopgap. Parent-Teacher and other groups should use it to campaign for and win the permanent nursery system whose need became glaringly evident during the war.

Students in the film department of the City College of New York each year make a film as a part of the course. This year the business department of the college suggested that they make a film on "selling"; the art department wanted studies of nudes, but the students themselves wanted to do a film on full employment.

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## N. Y. and Soviet Divorce

To New MASSES: I was amused to read in your October 9 issue in the article "Soviet Marriage and Divorce" the following passage: "Divorce laws were particularly humiliating... (in czarist Russia) ... one of the conditions for divorce was proof (which had to be substantiated by witnesses) that adultery had been committed by one of the parties...."

The writer of that article, I am sure, would be interested to know that the law of the great state of New York today is still that humiliating; that, in fact, there is only one ground for divorce—adultery—and that proof has to be "substantiated by witnesses that adultery has been committed by one of the parties."

It might also be of interest to your readers to know that if the proof is that both parties committed adultery, the marriage will not be dissolved.

New York.

Washington.

JOSEPH SPENCER.

# **Some Praise and Criticism**

To New Masses: May I say again that to me among the most interesting types of material you publish are the specific factual accounts of social processes in the Soviet Union like Beloussova's account of "Soviet Marriage and Divorce" (New Masses, October 23).

I must also say regretfully that for me your editorial on "Behind the London Conference," has an equivalent defect of presenting conclusions without an analysis of facts, as a previous article on the Balkan situation.

MARCUS I. GOLDMAN.

## Labor and Foreign Policy

To NEW MASSES: How about an article or series on labor and foreign policies? What resolutions are unions passing on this question, and what discussions are taking place in the locals? What is the attitude of union leaders? I suspect that a survey would show that labor is not conscious of the importance of a progressive foreign policy as a vital objective in the fight for full employment.

Actually the objectives of the monopolists and the reactionaries, domestically and abroad, are part of a single program, one that would bring disaster to labor and to the whole American people. It is clear that in America they are striving for conditions

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of low wages and high prices, unemployment, insecurity and division among the workers. Callous to the results this would have not only in misery and lowered standard of living, but also in the bringing on of a disastrous crisis, they seek higher profits with restricted production.

Would not the foreign policy of the reactionaries have the same consequences? In opposing the upsurge of democracy in Asia and Europe, they are seeking to build a system of reactionary puppet regimes subservient to American capital. Among other things, such regimes could be expected, in gratitude, to grant very profitable contracts to a few favored monopolists. Abroad as well as at home, they hope for high monopoly profits in a limited market rather than the development of broad markets based on a rising world standard of living. Labor and the people as a whole have a vital economic stake in the development of a progressive foreign policy. The article suggested would help develop a realization that the fight against reactionary domestic and foreign policies are one and the same fight.

Chicago, Ill. GORDON PLACE.

## **No Compulsory Training**

To NEW MASSES: Been a constant reader of NEW MASSES for eight years. I am not at all concerned if I get it any more. In all the discussions over the recent convention, have you men repudiated your stand concerning compulsory military service? I would agree to it if it were led by the workers, but never in a capitalist state has it been used for anything but a boot—an additional boot, if you please—on poor folks' necks. Never in a capitalist state has it led to anything except war and bloodshed and additional suffering to the masses of people.

If the Communist Party line is so flexible as to include in America such an un-American thing it will in the near future necessitate another "convention" to abolish "militarism" which any one can see, after San Francisco, would be used for strike-breaking only, or for compelling colonial peoples to work for cartels or monopolists of the world imperialist powers.

New Yorkers!



ALP

Let us go all out for Negro rights-Jewish rights-full employment-higher social security benefits-a real Bill of Rights for veterans and the people. And especially socialism. And when we attain this program, if the rest of the world hasn't already brought about disarmament and if it looks like we need an army, let's have one; but as it is now, I plainly say "to hell with 'em." I am a disabled soldier from World War I and I do not believe in being a sucker for any more anti-American bunk. Minneapolis, Minn. C. L.

Lines from a Hospital

To NEW MASSES: One night very late, on the hospital grounds of a small island in the South Pacific, I had a long talk with a very intelligent, sensitive Negro youth. He touched me by what he said. I was so moved that I couldn't sleep; I got up and wrote these lines.

Soldiers. Soldiers, Hear my plea; For I too am a soldier of democracy.

I am asked to fight To set the world right.

I WANT TO FIGHT!

Maybe PU die; WILL I DIE FOR A LIE?

Hollywood, Cal. PAUL MARION.

#### Art in Washington Square

To NEW MASSES: I am writing you in reference to the Washington Square Outdoor Art Show. It is generally taken for granted that the work exhibited is mediocre, a situation which could be remedied by better artists exhibiting. It is my firm belief that this could be achieved with proper publicity. Otherwise this unique cultural activity will languish and die for want of strong nourishment. Artists after creating their *chefs a'ouvres* should present them before the greatest number of people, for their own, the people's, and the world's benefit.

The ivory tower principle died long, long ago; and if artists are not forerunners of new impulses for richer living, which people are? Life is naturally what one makes of it anywhere and its dynamics can be brought forth on Washington Square.

New York. NICHOLAS MOCHARNIUK.

P.S. I am writing as an artist and one of the exhibitors who believes that this event can become a very influential force for America's art world and life in general.

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