

'MILITANT' DEFENDS MAILING RIGHTS AT POST OFFICE HEARING IN WASHINGTON

Why The Postal Authorities Want To Ban 'The Militant' Paper Opposes Attempt To Revoke Mailing Privileges

An Editorial

It is quite certain that the postal authorities in Washington will not like this issue of *The Militant*.

They will not like it because it prints the same kind of articles for which they want to revoke the second-class mailing privileges of this paper.

To show why they want *The Militant* banned from the mails, the Post Office officials last week selected excerpts from certain articles in this paper which told of the tremendous war profits being made by Big Business.

They will not like this issue of *The Militant* because it carries a story about a secret survey made by the OPA which revealed that "profits

of 1,753 corporations jumped 56% in 1941 over 1939 — after all taxes had been paid."

The government authorities objected to another excerpt which said: "While the bosses demand that the workers sacrifice everything, including life itself, they themselves have but one aim — to safeguard and increase their profits."

They will not like this issue of *The Militant* because it reports a government indictment last week of a big war firm which deliberately sold the army defective communication wire that endangered the lives of American, British and Soviet soldiers.

Still another excerpt, cited as "objectionable" by postal authorities, was written ten months ago and warned that unless organized consumers' committees were given control of prices and

rationing, a black market would arise here just as it did in Europe.

They will not like this issue of *The Militant* because it carries stories from several American cities showing that, despite the present price control and rationing setups, a black market has already appeared.

The Post Office — headed by Frank C. Walker, who is now national chairman of the Democratic Party — also cited a *Militant* editorial which charged the Republican and Democratic parties with having the same anti-labor program.

They will not like this issue of *The Militant* which reports that Democrats and Republicans alike are supporting the so-called "Equal Rights" bill now before Congress, which would abolish all protective legislation for women workers.

And they will not like our editorial in this issue criticizing the administration's policy toward Franco, nor our appeals to the workers to destroy fascism wherever it exists. Nor our criticism of Negro discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

But what they dislike most of all about this and all other issues of *The Militant* is that it offers the workers a fighting, realizable program for solving their problems.

In the eyes of Washington, this constitutes a crime. But in the eyes of the militant trade unionists trying to escape the consequences of the Big Business anti-labor program, it will constitute the best possible reason for opposing the Post Office Department's efforts to revoke our second-class mailing rights.

JAN. 20. — Tomorrow, at a hearing in the Office of the Postmaster-General, Washington, D. C., *The Militant* will fight to defend its second-class mailing privileges.

Albert Goldman, attorney for *The Militant*, and Osmond K. Fraenkel, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, will appear at the hearing in response to a Post Office

order dated Jan. 5, notifying this paper "to show

cause why the authorization of the admission of *The Militant* to the second-class of mail matter,

and the accordance to *The Militant* of second-class mailing privileges under 20 Stat. 359 (39 U.S.C. secs. 224 and 226) should not be suspended, annulled, or revoked."

In the past such hearings have always been the prelude to the revocation of second-class rights, which is tantamount to exclusion from the mails.

POST OFFICE ARGUMENT

Attached to the show-cause order, as the Post Office "Exhibit A" for the hearing, were 27 excerpts from articles and editorials printed in *The Militant* since Dec. 7, 1942. (The full text of these excerpts was printed in last week's *Militant*.)

The postal authorities claim that by printing these articles *The Militant* is "nonmailable . . . because it is in violation of section 3 of Title 1 of the Espionage Act of 1917." That section of the Act prohibits willfully making false statement with intent to interfere with the operation of the armed forces, or willfully attempting to cause insubordination or mutiny in the armed forces, or

willfully obstructing the recruitment service of the U. S.

WHAT WE ADVOCATE

Actually, not a single one of the 27 excerpts cited by the Post Office violates any part of the Espionage Act.

On the contrary, the articles attacked the role of Big Business in the war, proving by documentary sources that the chief aim of the Sixty Families is to pile up profits and protect their monopoly interests.

The articles criticized the domestic and foreign policies of the administration, calling attention to the reactionary character of the deals with Darlan and Otto, demanding an end to discrimination against the Negro people, opposing wage-freezing while the cost of living continues to rise, demanding control of prices and rationing by mass consumers' committees, etc.

The articles scientifically analyzed the character of the war, showing it had broken out as a result of the commercial rivalries between the advanced capitalist nations, and proposing the establishment of Workers' and Farmers' Governments as the only means of forever ending imperialist war and fascism.

In short, *The Militant* articles did not and do not contain false information—they contain facts.

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THE TRESCA MURDER

Stalinists Are Suspect, Labor Leaders Insist

Communist Party and Italian Stalinist Alibis Are Not Convincing to Those Who Know Stalinist Murder Methods

By Felix Morrow

A great assemblage of workers, estimated by the New York press at between 5,000 and 6,000 persons, mourned the death of Carlo Tresca at the memorial meeting conducted last Saturday at Manhattan Center under the joint auspices of the Il Martello Group and the Italian-American Labor Council. The mourners heard, over the body of the assassinated anti-fascist leader,

a resolution of the Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which plainly listed the Stalinist murder-gang high among the suspects. They heard similar statements from spokesmen of the Spanish Confederated Societies, the Italian-American Labor Council, the Mazzini Society, the Socialist Party, from Angelica Balabanoff and others.

The organizations with which Carlo Tresca was most intimately connected are the most insistent of all on the likelihood that he was assassinated either by the GPU or by the graduates of the GPU who are now running the Italian Stalinist apparatus on this continent. The Italian-American Labor Council, representing 300,000 trade unionists, in two public statements has strongly rejected the "superficial explanation" that fascists alone could have murdered Tresca and has pointedly called attention to the Stalinist interest in having Tresca out of the way.

The leading international Italian anti-fascist organization, the Mazzini Society, has likewise emphasized that not only the fascists but also the Stalinists were Tresca's deadly enemies, recalling that "the files of the Daily Worker are replete with invective against him." The members of Tresca's anarchist group, the Il Martello Group, say it even more bluntly.

These Italian-American organizations, in expressing these views, undoubtedly represent the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the Italian-speaking workers of New York.

So bitter, indeed, is the present feeling against the Stalinists that L'Unita del Popolo, the Stalinist Italian weekly, felt compelled at the last moment to call off its long-scheduled annual ball. It was to have been held this Saturday, January 16, five days after Tresca's murder. The issue of L'Unita del Popolo dated Saturday, January 16, which went on the news-stands Thursday, carried big advertisements for its annual affair for that night. But it was hastily called off without explanation by a notice in the Jan. 16 Daily Worker — the same day the annual ball was to be

(Continued on page 2)

"Equal Rights" Bill Would Destroy Laws Protecting Women Workers

By LARISSA REED

It is no accident that the first bill presented for adoption by the new, reactionary Congress is the cunningly vicious anti-labor amendment hypocritically named "Equal Rights" for women.

Introduced before the new Congress by Representative Ludlow of Indiana, this bill — H. R. 1 — is praised by him as an "historic proposal" which should "bring to full fruition the age-old struggle of women to attain the complete stature of position and influence to which they are entitled as creatures of God under all of the canons of justice. It would do this by repealing in one swoop an almost infinite variety of State enactments and local ordinances that discriminate against women," according to the N. Y. Times of Jan. 6.

In reality, however, this bill seeks to abolish all the protective legislation for women that it took the labor movement years of bitter struggle to win. The Jan. 16 issue of Labor, railroad union paper, describes it as a "sweat shoppers dream", which if adopted, would "wipe out all Federal and State laws safeguarding and protecting women and children from exploitation... legislation making it illegal to work women at night, or at hazardous tasks, or for over-long hours, or which helps them through the perils of maternity and keeps their children in school rather than at a workbench." Labor charges that what the sponsors of the bill really want is the opportunity for the bosses to exploit women as freely as men.

THE SPONSORS

Originally — 20 years ago — this "Equal Rights" bill was sponsored only by the National Women's Party, an organization that most working women have never heard of, since it is composed of wealthy women and wives of labor-hating bosses.

These rich and reactionary women, who are quick to conduct a fight against separate income tax returns for husbands and wives, are equally quick to seize the opportunity offered by a wartime

anti-labor campaign, together with a reactionary Congress sympathetic to the desires of the wealthy, to try to smash the protective legislation for working women — under the hypocritical guise of emancipating them!

In the past, says Labor, the National Women's Party has received the support of "every reactionary group in the country, particularly those which labor-hating employers dominate."

GROWING DANGER

Within the new Congress the proposed bill has the backing of 42 members of the House, Republican and Democratic alike, from all parts of the country, and the number is growing. Senator Gillette has announced that he now has fourteen of his colleagues as co-sponsors of the bill with him. And Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party, claims: "This strong support back of the amendment on its introduction in this Congress makes us feel that the day of final victory is not far away."

This victory for the employers would be a crushing defeat for the entire working class, and especially for the working women. The trade unions must be aroused to this danger and mobilized into action in defense of their rights. With all the forces of reaction now lining up behind the bill, there is no time to be lost.

'Tsar to Lenin' to Be Shown at N. Y. Memorial Meeting

NEW YORK — The Lenin Memorial Meeting, to be held under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party on Sunday evening, Jan. 24, at 8 P. M., will feature the famous documentary film of the Russian Revolution, "Tsar to Lenin," and an address by John G. Wright, translator and editor of Leon Trotsky's works.

The meeting will be held at Irving Plaza, Irving Pl. and 15th St., New York City.

Employers' Greed Endangered Lives Of Allied Troops

Anaconda Copper Co. Indicted Again for Defective War Goods

By JOHN BATES

The Anaconda Copper Company has, for the second time in two months, been indicted for defrauding the U. S. Army by selling it defective communication wire. On Jan. 14 a federal grand jury returned an indictment against Anaconda's wire and cable plant in Pawtucket, R. I. A grand jury brought similar charges against the company's Marion, Ohio plant last Dec. 22.

The company has been accused by the government of installing secret equipment to enable defective communication wire to pass government tests and be shipped to the American, British and Soviet armies.

When the first indictment was returned against the Ohio plant, the president of Anaconda passed the buck by blaming local plant inspectors and firing them. Under the new indictment, however, the general manager of all the Anaconda wire plants was indicted, along with the assistant manager and several local administrators and supervisors.

This indicates that the fraud was company-policy and not a few down the top executives — a policy aimed at increasing profits regardless of the fact that the lives of American and Allied soldiers were endangered in the process.

Anaconda has done very well in this war so far. In the past two years it has sold \$6,000,000 worth of equipment (much of it defective) to the army and navy alone. In addition, the government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation is building a \$1,500,000 plant for the company in Sycamore, Ohio.

Beside outright fraud in producing cheap and dangerous equipment to be sold at a high price, the company made certain that the price level would be maintained by entering into a price fixing deal with eight other wire and cable manufacturers. In Oct. 1942 the Department of Justice indicted Anaconda for price fixing.

At that time the Attorney-General of the United States charged that this "criminal practice" netted the nine companies profits of 35% to 70% on \$55,000,000 war sales.

Anaconda is typical of Big Business, whose interest in the war arises not from a hatred for fascism, but from a desire to make and protect profits.

For them, profits are more important than the lives of American soldiers.

Black Market Operating In All Parts Of The Country

DETROIT—Black market distribution of food has been reported from all parts of the country, but the most dangerous aspect of the problem was highlighted here last week when it was discovered that diseased meat was being sold through bootleg channels.

On Jan. 13 a Detroit Board of Health official, making a routine inspection of butcher shops, discovered a retailer with 2,500 pounds of pork which had not been government-inspected, part of which was found to be tubercular.

black market operators have been forced to go out of business, asserted Dressler.

TWO BLACK MARKET TRICKS

Methods of conducting the black market—which is extensive among most of the regular merchandise.

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Diseased Meat Sold in Detroit

A considerable portion of the ham, loin, shoulder and bacon had been sold to neighborhood households before the bootleg meat was discovered.

When questioned, the butcher reported that a stranger had driven a truck up in front of his shop a few days earlier and offered him the meat at the low price of 25 cents a pound. The bootlegger unloaded the meat, demanded cash and did not give a receipt for it. He promised to return the following week with more meat.

Two days following the first discovery of the diseased meat, Detroit health authorities uncovered a second butcher shop which dealt in bootleg food. The scandal reached the Detroit newspapers and consumers were warned to buy only meat bearing the government seal of inspection.

A city-wide survey is being made in an effort to expose the source of the meat.

The butcher shops involved were not those which cater to the wealthy. Shops in the "better" neighborhoods buy and sell only the choicest cuts, and at exorbitant prices. The shops in the working and middle class areas are the ones that get squeezed by the diversion of available foods to the most profitable market; that is why they are the first driven to patronize the black market.

Why Prices Keep Rising in Chicago

By JOSEPH KELLER

CHICAGO, Jan. 15—A vast black market in meat, estimated to be aggregating millions of dollars weekly, was uncovered here this week.

The disclosure was first made by George Dressler, president of the Chicago central association of the Retail Meat Dealers Association, in the Jan. 13 *Chicago Sun*.

Dressler charged that retail butchers are forced to pay an overcharge above the ceiling prices to wholesale and commission houses, and that these prices are then tacked on to what the consumers must pay for meats.

Small butchers who refuse to "cooperate" with the wholesale

Mine Strike Caused By Rising Prices

JAN. 20. — After three weeks of the strike in the anthracite coal mines, President Roosevelt, at the request of the War Labor Board, yesterday ordered the miners to return to work. His order contained a thinly veiled threat to use troops if the miners persisted in their strike to win a \$2 a day wage increase.

Three days before Roosevelt's order the WLB had ordered the miners to return to work without guaranteeing them their wage demands. But the majority of the miners refused to comply.

DEMANDS

The demands of the miners, not completely clear from press reports, are centered on two points: for a \$2 a day general wage increase; and for the rescinding of a United Mine Workers convention decision to increase union dues by 50 cents a month. There is no doubt that the major objective of the strikers is the wage increase.

The union contract does not expire until April. But the cost of living has shot upward to such a point that the anthracite miners were forced to launch a struggle in defense of their living standards. This is the main issue.

At the War Labor Board hearing on Jan. 15, John L. Lewis, UMW President, joined with the Board in demanding the workers' return to work. But he correctly pointed out that the WLB has no right to interfere in the affairs of the union movement, either to nullify union contracts which have been agreed upon between union and management, or to rule on such inner-union questions as dues.

This warning by Lewis to the WLB not to infringe on the independence of the union movement came after many anti-labor rulings by the Board which invaded fundamental union rights.

This strike has been used by the anti-labor press and union busting politicians and employers, to whip up a reactionary crusade against labor. But the demands of the miners are justified. The miners' strike is the most significant strike since the entrance of the U. S. into the war.

MINE STRIKE SHOWS NEED FOR RISING SCALE OF WAGES

The major issue at stake in the anthracite coal miners' strike was succinctly stated by a coal miner interviewed by the N. Y. Post.

"There was a day when we could get pork chops for 25 cents. Today we pay 45 cents and more. . . if we have it. After deductions for bonds and the victory tax and dues, sometimes I bring home less than \$30."

The plight of the miners, faced with the rapid rise in living costs, is eloquently described by this worker.

This strike makes clear the necessity for every union to demand that union contracts include a clause to provide for an automatically rising scale of wages to meet the rise in prices. There is no better way to defend the living standards of the workers.

of the U. S. into the war.

Basic Problems Facing Labor Movement Today

By E. R. Frank

The War Labor Board has become the super-directorate of the American labor movement. Today it instructs the unions on everything: what wages the workers shall receive, what the working conditions are to be, what provisions the union contracts must contain. It seeks to hog-tie the labor movement and smother all resistance under an avalanche of bureaus, legalistic rulings, delays, buck-passing, hearings, appeals, etc.

The War Labor Board is now embarking on an ambitious program to "discipline" the labor movement, to mold its policy and to influence the selection of its leadership. With this aim, it is issuing harsh warnings to all workers who have the temerity to disobey its edicts. One group of workers is threatened with loss of seniority rights, another group with loss of their "maintenance of membership" rights, another is instructed to punish its union leaders for the calling of an "unauthorized" strike.

Role of The War Labor Board

The War Labor Board has thus emerged as a governmental super-executive board for the labor movement, coaching the rank and file unionists to select and keep in office the "constructive," "safe and sane" union leaders and to reject the "irresponsible" leaders, in other words, the militant unionists who have not been housebroken by the war machine.

This constantly increasing assumption of power is possible only because the leadership of the CIO and AFL have gone over lock, stock and barrel to the war machine. The labor leaders sit on the War Labor Board and underwrite its decisions. (Here and there, they offer a verbal protest for the record, but it is only a platonic gesture with no significance.) As a matter of fact this is now becoming the most important factor in keeping the workers tied in the strait-jacket of the war machine.

But with the soaring war inflation, the new oppressive tax laws and the increasing arrogance of the employers, it is only a question of time when this too-complicated

governmental machinery will prove totally inadequate to hold the workers at bay.

In Michigan, we are already witnessing the first minor flurries of discontent and resentment. A series of departmental strikes, generally of one or two days' duration, have swept through a considerable number of the important war plants. Ford, Dodge, Chrysler, Chevrolet, Buick, Bohn and many other shops have been affected.

Union Leaders' Efforts

The top leadership of the Auto Workers Union is again in a cold sweat. They are attempting, with might and main, to dam the dissatisfaction and deflect it into safe and harmless channels. To this end, they have launched a noisy campaign to make the War Labor Board more "efficient."

The International Executive Board, at its recent meeting in Los Angeles issued a solemn warning that "the administrative machinery of the War Labor Board has broken down." R. J. Thomas thunders "that the machinery of the War Labor Board must be reorganized, it must be speeded up if the Board is to survive and serve its intended purpose. . . . The UAW has decided to open a great campaign to bring about such reorganization." George F. Addes writes that "it is clearly evident that the entire (WLB) machinery must be revamped and streamlined."

The Detroit papers have joined in the hue and cry and demand nothing less than the immediate establishment of a WLB Regional Office in Detroit. This campaign of sound and fury is, of course, fraudulent from beginning to end and will not avail. It has no purpose but to throw dust into the eyes of the workers and hide from their attention the fact that the "Steel formula"—the guiding principle of WLB policy—rules out, at the outset, any chance for 99% of the Michigan industrial workers to receive approval of any new wage increases. When the Michigan workers learn the truth, the campaign will boomerang on its organizers.

The War Labor Board has already proven inadequate in carrying out its assignment of smothering the militancy of the Michigan labor movement. It has therefore been supplemented in Michigan by the military. Colonel George E. Strong, who carries the title of Chief of Plant Protection for the Army Air Forces, is permanently stationed in Detroit.

Methods of The Military

He and his staff inject themselves into every disagreement between management and labor, every controversy, every stoppage or threat of stoppage. These army activities are not of an episodic or improvised character. No, Colonel Strong is on the job seven days a week. He and his staff constitute a full time "labor relations" department "supplementing" the work of the War Labor Board, and the government "conciliators."

A few examples will illustrate the technique.

A two day stoppage took place at the Flint-Buick Aluminum plant several months ago. Immediately, Colonel Strong stepped into the situation, denounced the strikers and instructed the company to fire two of the plant committeemen. The army withdrew its decision only after the most energetic protest on the part of the Buick local leadership. The company, however, refused to reinstate the two men and the case, now in the hands of the GM "impartial arbitrator" is, after a period of months, still hanging fire.

The New Army Game

A similar case occurred recently at the Bohn Aluminum plants in Detroit. The day shift men spontaneously walked off the job in protest against the long delay on the part of the War Labor Board in rendering a decision on wage increases negotiated between the union and the company several months ago.

The army stepped in, this time by direct invitation from the treacherous Stalinist local leadership. Several army officers at-

tended a specially called union meeting, denounced the strikers from the union platform, and ordered the men to return to work. For hours the following day several of the army officers grilled a number of the union militants and threatened that they would take "disciplinary action" against the so-called "ring leaders."

On Jan. 13, Colonel Strong made good on his threat. He instructed the company to fire eight workers, two of them chief stewards. These eight workers, as matters now stand, are barred from any plant holding Air Forces contracts. "If any of the other services want to approve them for work that is their business," the Colonel added ominously.

Fred Williams, the traitorous Stalinist business agent of the Bohn Local greeted this victimization of his union members with the bland announcement that he "neither condones or condemns" the action of Colonel Strong.

Teamwork At Ford's

The most recent incident at Ford's illustrates what phenomenal teamwork has developed between the WLB, the army officials, the company officials and the union officials, and the new streamlined technique that is employed to terrorize the workingman, choke off all resistance and convert the once proud CIO into a pliable cog of the war machine.

On Jan. 5, the maintenance workers of the River Rouge plant, fearing loss of their seniority rights, walked off the job. The War Labor Board immediately sent a wire instructing the men to return to work. The Executive Committee of the Ford local thereupon informed the strikers that their grievance would not be negotiated until they returned to work. R. J. Thomas, International President, and Richard Leonard, Ford Regional Director, issued a press statement praising the stand of the local executive board. With the ground thus well prepared, in stepped Colonel Strong and threatened that "Ford workers who refuse to return to work and to cooperate fully in

the war effort may not have the opportunity in the future to be engaged in war work."

Of course, faced with this concerted barrage, the opposition collapsed and the men returned to their jobs. Upon the resumption of work, army officers promised to take disciplinary action against the persons supposed to be responsible for the unauthorized strike, while the newspapers continued to howl and rage about the workers' "treason." "The time may be at hand," declared the Detroit News, "for calling things by their right names and moving against them in their true characters."

What was the reaction of the labor leaders to this brutal assault upon the rights of labor, this bullying, threatening and victimization of the union membership by the military? The labor leaders are too frightened and stunned by the rush of events to even protest.

Paul St. Marie, President of the Ford local, stated in a letter to the Detroit Free Press a few days after the strike that "Detroit is fortunate to have Colonel Strong here representing the U. S. army;" in return Colonel Strong wrote a letter to Paul St. Marie, assuring him that "I believe that Mr. Thomas, Mr. Leonard and yourself have been working constructively" and concluded: "I feel confident that the necessary disciplinary action which you and the other leaders have promised, will be taken."

The lion and the lamb are lying down together, and at the expense of the Ford workers, all is sweetness and light again at the River Rouge plant.

The Workers Are Learning

The UAW convention at Chicago last August registered the first important protest against the reactionary anti-labor drive of the Roosevelt war government. Four significant events—the nervousness and dissatisfaction of the Michigan war workers; the demand of the important Buick local of Flint for a special union convention to restore "genuine collective bar-

gaining;" the heated debate at the New Jersey CIO convention on labor's right to strike; and the demand of a West Coast conference of aircraft workers belonging to the International Association of Machinists, AFL, that Roosevelt release them from their no-strike pledge—prove conclusively that the protest of the Chicago convention was no "flash in the pan" and that the discontent on which it was based is growing and accumulating.

The heroic period of the CIO in 1935-37 educated the mass production workers in "unionism." They learned the value of strong industrial union organization. They learned the unconquerable strength of labor when it is united, determined and militant. They learned how to organize great strikes and see them through to victory. The heroic period saw the hardening of class lines. It developed primitive feelings of class consciousness among the American workers and definite opposition to the great corporations, the capitalists.

But the heroic period left untouched many of labor's illusions and misconceptions, dominated by the greatest blind spot of all: that the government was the impartial agency of all the people. And this illusion was maintained along with another: an absolutely blind trust and faith in Roosevelt and an absolutely uncritical support of his administration.

The tiny flareup at Ford's is like a lightning flash which for one moment brilliantly illumines the road ahead. One can see how the workers are being forced to learn, from such experiences, the role of the army, of the War Labor Board, the true policies of Roosevelt and the war government he heads and, as a by-product, the true character of their own top union leadership.

The mass production workers learned "unionism" from the galling experiences of the economic crisis of 1929-33. They will learn "politics" from the far richer and far more profound experiences gained in the feverish war days we are now passing through.

Radek and Rakovsky Are Reported Dead

The current issue of *Socialist Courier* — the organ of the Russian Abramovich wing of the Russian Mensheviks — contains the following information concerning the Russian Communists who were purged in the period of the Moscow Frame-ups, that is, since 1936:

"The information relates to the summer of 1941 — the eve of the German-Soviet war. The number of Communists in prisons, concentration camps and exile at the time ran into hundreds of thousands. A special prison has been built — somewhere in the wilds of Yakutsk oblast: incarcerated here are the most prominent figures. No news has come about this jail since no one has as yet been freed there. No correspondence is permitted with those held in this jail. The only thing known is that several hundred of the 'Old Guard,' including all the former members of the Central Committee who had not been executed, were sent there. Among those mentioned are Bubnov, Rudzutak, Etkhe and others.

30,000 PRISONERS

"The wives of prominent Com-

munist who were left at liberty during the initial period of the Moscow Trials were rearrested in 1939-1940 and placed in a special concentration camp, especially built for the purpose, 40 versts outside of Moscow.

In 1940 this camp contained about 30,000 prisoners including the children who were permitted to stay with the mothers." (*Socialist Courier*, Jan. 5, 1943.)

The same source goes on to report that K. G. Rakovsky died in jail "from natural causes." Rakovsky was one of the outstanding figures of the Russian revolution. He served as the first chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Later he served the Soviet Union in the field of diplomacy. He was a member of the Trotskyist Opposition from its inception in 1923. He capitulated to Stalin in 1934. He was sentenced to imprisonment in the Moscow Frame-up of March 2-13, 1937.

RAKOVSKY AND RADEK REPORTED DEAD

Another death reported is that of Karl Radek, one of the outstanding Soviet journalists, formerly a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1919-1924. Radek was given a jail sentence in the Moscow Framup of Jan. 22-30, 1937.

"Radek died under mysterious circumstances shortly after he was sentenced. (According to our informant, all rumors of Radek's receiving special assignments from Stalin are completely false). He was killed during a walk by one of the GPU guards who shot him with a revolver. The rumor is that the assassin was wreaking vengeance on Radek because the latter's 'revelations' had involved one of the relatives or friends of the assassin. According to another rumor, the assassin was involved in a conspiracy whose aim was to prevent any further revelations by Radek.

"It is also reported that after Hitler's attack on Russia many of the arrested Communists were executed. We have no details concerning these executions."

According to the *Socialist Courier*, which has in the past published several authentic reports concerning the Soviet Union, the above information comes from a "credible source."

THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by JAMES P. CANNON to the

Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

48 Pages

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Seek Investigation Of Army Jim Crow

As a result of protests lodged in Washington by a delegation from the Twin Cities Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Representative Melvin Maas has promised to demand an investigation of the "Sam Reed case," which concerns the "breaking" of two Negro non-commissioned officers at Camp Lee, Va., after they had protested the army's Jim Crow policies.

The non-coms involved were Sergeant-Major Samuel Reed and First Sergeant Clifford Clemmons. Moving on a technical pretext having nothing to do with the issue of Jim Crow and the right to protest against it, ranking officers placed Reed under arrest and offered him the alternative of standing trial by court martial or accepting reduction in rank. Reed and Clemmons chose reduction in rank, and Reed was transferred to another camp.

Typical of Jim Crow sentiments among anti-Negro officers was the statement made by Colonel Henry, commander at Camp Lee, before a group of Negro non-commissioned officers. According to an NAACP release, Col. Henry warned the soldiers to "shut their damn mouths and accept the army's policy and practice of discrimination or be busted and shipped."

The Militant, which is opposed to all forms of Jim Crowism everywhere, including a r m y segregation indorses the NAACP campaign on this case and urges workers everywhere to support the demand for a Congressional investigation and the abolition of all Jim Crow policies.

THE TRESKA MURDER

Stalinists Are Suspect, Labor Leaders Insist

(Continued from page 1)

held! The affair was "postponed" for three weeks, to Feb. 6.

THE STALINIST "REPLY"

Confronted by this widespread labor and liberal suspicion, the Stalinists — after playing down the story of the assassination in their press — issued three public statements within eight days of Tresca's murder, disavowing any connection with it:

1. Jan. 13: A statement by Robert Minor, assistant general secretary of the Communist Party, which claimed that "Tresca, especially in the recent years, never represented any significant following, and that for this reason the Communists never found it necessary to devote any attention to combat politically his views or activities." It was in answer to this bare-faced lie that the Mazzini Society recalled that "the files of the Daily Worker are replete with invective against" Tresca.

2. Jan. 16: A statement by L'Unita del Popolo demanding belatedly "a full investigation of the murder" which it insisted vehemently "bears all the characteristics of a fascist crime." The statements of the Italian-American Labor Council concerning the Stalinists, it said, "can come only as a shock to all genuine anti-fascists."

3. Jan. 19: A statement by Mary Testa, the public-front editor of L'Unita del Popolo — its real boss is Ambrose Donini — whose character is indicated by the headline it carried in the Jan. 20 Daily Worker: "Tresca Smears Hurt War Unity." Accusations against the Stalinists, said the statement, "disrupt the unity movement" and have "no purpose except disruption of the anti-fascist front."

All three statements repeated the usual Stalinist formula, used after every GPU murder, that as a "Marxist movement" it does not believe in the use of individual terror.

How Tresca's powerful voice and pen would have answered these Stalinist alibis!

Indeed, he did answer them, not once but many times: when the GPU murdered his friend and comrade Camillo Berneri in Barcelona; when the GPU murdered the Trotskyist, Ignace Reiss, in Switzerland; when the GPU murdered Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Fourth International, in Paris; when the GPU kidnapped Marc Rein, son of the Second International leader Abramowitch, in Barcelona; when the GPU assassinated Trotsky in Mexico, etc., etc.

Tresca called the long roll of these GPU murders whenever, after a new one added to the roll, the Stalinists claimed to be opposed to "individual terror."

The three Stalinist statements

protesting the accusations leveled at the GPU in connection with the Tresca assassination are as yet ostensibly couched in merely defensive terms. But already, in the last one, charging that such accusations "disrupt the anti-fascist front," there is the beginning of a turn to offensive warfare against all those who have dared to suspect the Stalinists. Tomorrow the Stalinists will go on to brand as tools of Hitler and Mussolini all those who will not be silenced by their threats and who will not join in "unity" with the Stalinists.

TRESKA ON GPU THREATS

Tresca pointed out how this Stalinist formula unfolds when the Stalinists, after attempting to woo the Mazzini Society into a "broad anti-fascist" front which would include fascists like General Pope, tired of wooing and began to resort to threats.

The threats were made by the notorious Sormenti, the GPU killer who, Tresca charged, had been directly responsible for the GPU murder of Berneri and others in Loyalist Spain, and who, having moved to Mexico, was suspected of being implicated in the GPU murder of Trotsky.

In Il Martello of May 14, 1942, Tresca wrote about this threat of Sormenti:

"And now Sormenti is moving against the Mazzini Society by order of Stalin. The method is the old one: 'if you want no unity with us you are agents of Hitler and Mussolini.' And then there are veiled threats. The GPU does not joke. When the GPU, by the mouth of Sormenti, says: 'This means war,' the significance of this threat is clear. It is clear to those who like ourselves have just recently been of assistance in thwarting the Stalinist dagger which was aimed recently at the backs of the socialist Pivert, the dissenting communist Gorkin and Victor Serge."

THREATS AGAINST ILGWU

As Sormenti declared war on the Mazzini Society because it would not unite with the Stalinists and remain silent about GPU crimes, so now the Stalinists here are opening war against all those who seek investigation of possible Stalinist connection with Tresca's assassination.

The opening gun in this war came in the Jan. 18 and 19 issues of the Daily Worker, in two articles by the trade union "expert," Rose Wortie, directed against the Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The crime of the board? Its resolution demanding that the Tresca murder "should not be another Krivitsky case," but that all possible Stalinist connections with it be investigated.

Translated into Stalinist terminology this becomes, in the headline of the first Daily Worker article: "ILGWU Leadership Still

Harbors Dangerous Anti-Soviet Prejudices." The article quotes the Jewish Daily Forward, which stated:

"Lately the anti-fascists in America have begun to feel that the domestic Communists (Stalinists) are out of bounds and are ready to clean out left elements as they did during the civil war in Spain."

The article then goes on to say that "association with this Forward clique has undermined the prestige and influence of the ILGWU." The second article, entitled "ILGWU Membership Will Fight to Make 1943 a Victory Year" is an open declaration of war against the union leadership which has become "an obstacle to unity."

It is clear from these articles that the Stalinist assault on the ILGWU leadership is solely designed to punish it for daring to seek the murderer of Tresca in the GPU. The Stalinists are able to make blocs and to praise in the Daily Worker the most hardened reactionaries and racketeers in the trade union movement — the latest being a love-feast between the Stalinists and the unsavory top officials of the Building Service Employees International — but not anyone who reminds the workers of the murderous role of the GPU.

MORE ATTACKS COMING

In the name of "anti-fascist unity" the Stalinists will now organize attacks — both public and private — against all the friends of Carlo Tresca, and especially against those who remain true to his memory. In the name of this unity the Stalinists will not only try to prevent a real investigation of this assassination but go on to new crimes. As Carlo Tresca wrote:

"In the name of unity the agents of Stalin have committed too many crimes all over the world. We know them too well. We shall not let them pass." (Il Martello, May 14, 1942.)

And, a month later, Tresca warned:

"Instead of talking about unity with everybody including the servants of Stalinism, it is necessary that we prepare ourselves to avoid being stabbed in the back." (Il Martello, June 14, 1942.)

Tresca could not save himself from the stab in the back, but his warnings should now awaken the entire labor movement to be on its guard against new blows.

There must be no retreat under the threats and blows of the Stalinists. All workers' organizations must see to it that a full and searching investigation is made of the assassination of Carlo Tresca — not only investigation of possible fascist guilt which nobody appears to be hindering but also investigation of possible GPU guilt, an investigation which the Stalinists are moving heaven and earth to prevent.

Browder Opposes Freedom For African Colonies

C. P. Members 'Shocked' to Learn of Government's Treatment of Stalinists

By PHILIP BLAKE

Current Stalinist propaganda, especially since the renewal last summer of the Indian struggle for national independence, has placed great emphasis on the need for granting freedom to the colonial peoples.

But a statement by Earl Browder last week, given in an interview with a member of the PM staff, shows that the Stalinists are not genuine fighters for colonial independence.

"It is very questionable," said Browder, "whether such nations as India would agree to any government which is not a direct expression of the national will. On the other hand, in the case of some of the African countries, the only practical interim application of the principle of self-determination would seem to be some sort of United Nations supervision and guidance under which a step-by-step realization of self-determination could be worked out."

In other words — India, which will not agree to anything but independence, should be granted a government which is "a direct expression of the national will." But for those African countries where the movement for independence is not very strong or has not yet been able to assert itself because the repressive machinery of the capitalist oppressors is so powerful, the Stalinists advocate continued slavery. Oh, for the time being only, of course, Browder would add — in the same way that the British imperialists would add certain "step-by-step" reservations about the need for "supervision and guidance."

Let no one think this was an accidental statement by Browder. PM did not print this part of Browder's interview, but the Jan. 14 Daily Worker did.

Other parts of the interview: "Question: Do you think that there is a sizeable portion of the German people that can be trusted?"

"Answer: That is a matter which must be revealed by events. I would not speculate on it. Opinions on such questions are not

worth much until borne out by facts . . .

"Question: And any return (by the U. S.) to isolationism would be out of the question?"

"Answer: Any return to isolationism would be fatal. Any trend in this direction would have reactionary consequences within the country and lead to anarchy in international relations. Withdrawing the United States from cooperation in the peaceful reconstruction of the world would increase the possibility of a protracted period of bloody civil war in most of the countries of Europe."

The most interesting aspects of the New York Stalinist memorial meeting on the occasion of the nineteenth anniversary of Lenin's death, held at Madison Square Garden on Jan. 11, were Browder's revelations of certain War Department policies toward the Stalinists. The audience listened to these "in shocked surprise," according to the Daily Worker story the next day.

"In July of last year," Browder said, "a certain Colonel Strong, assigned by the Army to supervision of war production in the Detroit area, circulated a memorandum to employers which contained the following paragraph: 'There are many Communists in the plants and they cannot be trusted since their attitude is likely to be guided by whether Russia remains in the war on the side of the United States or not. Russia may or may not remain an ally of the United States. She deserted the Allies in the last war and may do it again in this war.'"

When Browder got a copy of this letter in October, he immediately sent it to Roosevelt. "I received no response, but attributed this to pressure of other business, and hoped the issue would be cleared up."

"Last week, however, I was informed that Colonel Strong has presented long lists of presumed Communists employed in war industries in Detroit, with the demand on the employers that these men shall be discharged from such employment."

And this is going on, Browder added, at a time when "strike

Not Even Lowly Potato Is Safe

There is no ceiling on the appetite of the capitalists for profits and super-profits. The current shortage of consumers' goods is looked upon by certain sections of Big Business primarily as a golden opportunity for cleaning up at the expense of the masses. Not even the homely potato has been overlooked.

A plot to raise the price of potatoes to the consumers in Virginia and Maryland was revealed in the trial of 13 corporations and 16 individuals which began in Wilson, N. C., on Jan. 4. These corporations, which include all of the larger chain stores on the Atlantic coast, are charged with "price-fixing and conspiracy to monopolize trade and commerce in potatoes."

This trial brings to light one of the main sources of pressure behind soaring prices on countless basic food items.

Behind-the-scenes manipulations contrive to create artificial shortages where actual shortages do not exist. By withholding supplies from the market, dealers compel the public to pay prices satisfactory to the pigish appetite of Big Business.

The government machinery established to maintain price ceilings is proving wholly inadequate to cope with the ingenuity of the profit-hungry capitalists. For every case of price-evasion uncovered and punished, there are hundreds that remain unpunished and continue without interference. Only price control and rationing enforced by the organized consumers can guarantee effective resistance against Big Business war profiteering.

moods are sweeping the workers of Detroit because of their intolerable grievances, and it is precisely these presumed Communists who have been most zealously and effectively aiding to hold these strike moods under control and prevent a strike wave from sweeping Detroit . . .

Nor is that all. "I must speak of another example," Browder continued. "Our War Department has issued instructions to the officers in charge of training camps to segregate and remove from combat training 'all known Nazis, fascists and Communists.' Pursuant to this order, hundreds of Communists had been isolated in labor camps together with German and Italian enemy aliens of pronounced Nazi views. Veterans of the International Brigade are included as Communists, regardless of their party affiliations. Many more hundreds of Communists have been removed from combat units in which they had been trained, and given non-combat assignments at home."

Browder complained about this policy. He reminded the administration and the War Department that no one supported the war program more vigorously than the Stalinists. As the poet put it:

"You do very well to dissemble your love,
"But why do you kick me downstairs?"

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

The Work of George Washington Carver

The driving force of the whole adult life of George Washington Carver, noted scientist who died on Jan. 5, was to raise the lowly.

To do that he harnessed science to the needs of the South. He devoted himself to the field of agricultural research for the purpose of discovering and developing new tools, techniques, methods, by which the poor farmers — white and Negro alike — could double and treble the output of their little farms.

All his life he was a hard worker — and a completely unselfish one. He accepted no money for his discoveries; he donated them to the interests of the masses. He gave away what money he had to further scientific research and the work whose trail he had blazed. He could have been rich, but he preferred to be useful.

Dr. Carver was born of Missouri slave parents in the early 1860's. He was kidnapped while an infant, and ransomed for a horse. Illiterate until he was a grown man, he worked his way through high school, saved a little money, filed an application by mail to enter an Iowa college, arrived broke, and was rejected because he was a Negro.

He went to work again, saved a little more money, went to another college, finally came to Tuskegee Institute, where he began the remarkable discoveries which made him world-famous.

The curse of the South was the one-crop system, cotton, which ruined the land and brought little returns. What was needed, he insisted, was a diversification of crops, and he set out to show that other products could be grown as money crops, even from the notoriously poor soil of the South.

He suggested growing peanuts and sweet potatoes — and he proceeded to show how valuable these products were, how they could be used and marketed for industrial purposes.

From the peanut he developed more than 150 products: milk, ink, flour, breakfast foods, wood stains, face creams, axle grease, shaving cream, linoleum, butter, lard, soap, numerous kinds of oils for industrial and medicinal purposes.

From the sweet potato he developed almost 100 products:

starch, library paste, vinegar, ginger, shoe blacking, dyes, wood fillers, rubber compound, tapioca, molasses, flour.

He extracted dyes from the Southern clay, he found dozens of valuable products in the pecan. He improved the quality of cotton. He discovered a thousand new commercial uses for agricultural products and thus helped to lay the basis for the industrialization of the South.

This was his way of helping the masses, and to it he devoted a lifetime. Such were his achievements that they are recognized, no matter how reluctantly by the Southern white ruling class.

Yet something intervened between his work and those for whom he created it. The new uses of the peanut and the sweet potato and the Southern clay did little to improve the plight of the oppressed and hungry masses. The riches that flowed from his laboratory, the riches that he did not seek for himself, flowed into the coffers of the wealthy. The great majority of the small working farmers and sharecroppers for whom he toiled are little, if any, better off today than they were before he made his great discoveries.

Yes, the poor people need science to help them improve their lot, and the achievements of Dr. Carver are the final proof — if proof is still necessary — that the Negro people can provide the necessary science.

But before the masses can enjoy the full benefit of the science George Washington Carver worked in, they must first apply another kind of science, social science. The science of achieving increased production and just distribution of the necessities of life. The science of making it impossible for work like Dr. Carver's to be appropriated by the rich. The science of guaranteeing that the work of all the great scientists is used for the benefit of the masses.

To this science we have given the name of socialism. We are doing all in our power to hasten the day of its victory. Only when that day comes will Dr. Carver's discoveries be put to full use in the benefit of the masses, only then will scientific discoveries of that kind bear their full fruit.

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

"Four prominent trade unionists have been interned without trial or public charges and their unions of government employees have been ordered disbanded by the governor of Jamaica, Sir Arthur Richards," according to the Jan. 9 *Pittsburgh Courier*.

"The four Jamaicans, who have been put behind barred wire, are: Richard Hart, 23, president of the Railway Employees Union; Kenneth Hill, newspaper reporter; Frank Hill, officer of the Postal Workers Union; and Arthur Henry, secretary of the Railway Employees Union."

The first news of this suppression of workers' rights came on Oct. 27 when the *N. Y. Times* reported that the union of the government railway employees had been declared illegal by the governor, who invoked the emergency defense regulations and put the leaders in jail.

Later, the Dec. 5 *British New Leader* reported that following tremendous agitation, including a demonstration organized by the National Council of Civil Liberties which was attended by thousands of people, the governor of Jamaica withdrew the ban on the railway union and other unions of government employees but that the officials of the railway union remained in jail.

Now we learn that others have also been jailed, that membership in some of the unions has been prohibited and the unions' books and papers seized. The government has refused to bargain with representatives of government employees or to permit their grievances to be arbitrated. Laws requiring the arbitration of disputes have been suspended by fiat and the courts have been ordered not to intervene.

In Johannesburg, South Africa, thousands of native meat workers, milk delivermen and municipal workers went on strike recently, according to the Jan. 4 *Time* magazine. "Negro pickets attacked scabs, defiant municipal workers barricaded themselves in

compounds against the police."

In spite of the objections of the most extreme advocates of "white supremacy," the government was forced to recognize the native unions, which have always been illegal, in order to subject them to compulsory arbitration. This recognition along with the fact that they won some concrete gains, constitutes a real victory for the Negro workers.

The British New Leader states in its Dec. 5 issue:

"It is now virtually certain that, when the number of trade disputes, of men involved, and of working days lost are dispassionately assessed, even the statistics of the Ministry of Labor will reveal the existence of the most extensive industrial upsurge since 1926, the year of the General Strike."

In an article entitled "Fascism Without Mussolini — Darlan as Example," the German refugee paper in London, *Die Zeitung*, states that there is a strong move in Italy among certain leaders of the Italian Fascist Party to drop Mussolini, turn anti-German, but to maintain fascism in agreement with the American and British governments.

There are now 11 million foreign workers in Germany. Stockholm newspapers report that Dr. Walter Gross, Chief of the Foreign Office for Racial Politics, made this statement in an interview for *Ostdeutscher Beobachter*.

Japan, the new oppressor, does not hesitate to exploit colonial national sentiment against the old oppressor.

In Burma a new national flag has been raised, according to the Japanese News Agency, Domei. Its design is a peacock, 200-year-old symbol of Burmese prosperity, in green and red on a white background fringed with gold.

This color arrangement is based on the flag used by the Thakin revolutionary party, equivalent of the Indian National Congress, in its movement against the British around 1920.

Tresca, Defender Of The Persecuted



Carlo Tresca, valiant defender of labor's rights, is shown in the above picture, shaking hands with "Big Bill" Haywood (right), in 1912, when both were leaders in important strike struggles.

Carlo Tresca's Views On The War

The last published expression of Carlo Tresca's view on the war was an unsigned editorial, "Reflections on the War," printed in the Jan. 14 issue of his paper, *Il Martello*. Translated from the Italian, it read as follows:

As the offensive of Anglo-American forces in Africa gives rise to the hope that the military defeat of Hitler may happen much earlier than we expected, by the same token the problems that will confront the American ruling class in Europe present themselves with greater urgency. The same problems will come up not only for the ruling classes in America and England but also for the working classes of those countries.

The hope of a rapid victory is so great that the rulers have thought it timely to warn the people that there is little hope of an imminent ceasing of the armed conflict. They remember perhaps how Stalin last winter assured the world that Hitler would be defeated within 1942. Stalin has at least the excuse that the Allies did not succeed in opening a second front.

It is clear, however, even for those modest people who do not claim to be military experts, that Hitler is in a more unfavorable position than last year. The offensive in Africa shows simply that the industrial power of the United States is beginning to count. From the purely military side Hitler is still far from defeat. The retreat of Rommel and the invasion of the French colonies in Africa are insignificant compared to the vast conquests of the German army in Europe.

From the beginning of the war the superiority of the United States in productive capacity was the greatest obstacle in the way of Hitler's victory. This obstacle is now, after American armed intervention, still more serious. But it is also true that mere capacity in production begins to count only in the long run. With better preparation and with more decisive action it is possible for a nation that is weaker industrially to use the margin of time for winning. For some time it seemed as if Hitler might win long before the United States was able to set its production machine rolling. At present, not having been able to conquer the Caucasus, to beat the Red Army, and to expel the British from Asia Minor this year, the defeat of Hitler appears to be inevitable.

MEANING OF A PURELY MILITARY VICTORY

We need not even add that the more advanced section of the American and British working classes will not be in any way satisfied with the victory that the British and American armies are on the way to winning. A purely military victory certainly means defeat for the German imperialist ambitions, and the monopoly capitalists of America and Britain are sure to profit by it. Such a victory, however, would not be a defeat for fascism; it would not solve the problems of the peoples who have lived under

Hitler's oppression, including the German people. It will leave the capitalist regime intact, the same regime which gave birth to fascism and to the present slaughter. Because of this, certainly, the rulers of the two great capitalist allied countries, America and England, from Churchill to Roosevelt and down, prefer to reach a military victory pure and simple without the attendant social upheavals.

We can be sure, however, that the military defeat of Hitler will let loose great revolutionary forces, not only in Germany but in Italy, in France, and in all the occupied countries.

Can we expect the French masses to be satisfied with getting back under the regime which brought forth the catastrophe? Can we expect the European masses to allow the corrupt and reactionary regimes which controlled them to get back into power?

Will the German masses accept with resignation the chains of another Versailles treaty? No, never.

WE MUST EXPECT REVOLUTIONARY UPHEAVALS

We must expect, therefore, revolutionary upheavals in which the masses shall fight to reaffirm themselves and to destroy the capitalist regime which has brought them such misery.

The British and American working class will have to stand guard against the inevitable attempt of the monopoly capitalists in the allied countries to control the political and economic destiny of the European peoples. The big capitalists of Britain and America have many conflicting interests, but will find no difficulty in presenting a united front against the European masses. If the British and American armies are already in Europe when Hitler's regime collapses, the capitalists will try to use these troops to suppress any revolutionary movement of the European workers.

For the capitalists of the allied countries a real social revolution in Europe is a much greater danger than Hitler. They can always find a compromise with Hitler or with any other representative of German imperialism, but they cannot possibly expect to reach an agreement with revolutionary masses who intend to use the productive wealth of Europe for the good of the peoples. For the owners of the banks and of the major industries, the defeat of Hitler will be their defeat if it is followed by libertarian conquests of the working masses. If anything is certain today, it is that they will try to use the allied troops to suppress revolutions which can be expected to flare up from the countries so tragically stricken by the war.

Walter Lippmann wrote on Nov. 28: "The fact is that we face the tremendous risk that liberation will be followed by civil war unless we are prepared to choose correctly and swiftly, as territories are liberated, the authority which the great powers will back to restore order and to negotiate peace." This shows how the big capitalists and their representatives understand the problems which will come up after Hitler's defeat and what is their solution.

POST-WAR PERSPECTIVES

Lippmann does not even pretend to respect the democratic principles. He does not insist on the group chosen to represent the majority, since a popular referendum "does not matter in the immediate state of affairs." The will of the people is something that they can do without. It is also true, however, that in the same article Lippmann declares himself against the selection of men like Darlan. But to "re-establish order" means for him to suppress any attempt on the part of the working class to organize society on a truly equalitarian basis.

The capitalists will have two means at their disposal to "restore order." One will be the use of the allied troops present in Europe. The other will be the food supplies sent by America to the hungry populations of Europe. Already the plans are being drafted for feeding and clothing the populations in occupied countries as soon as Hitler goes. Governor Lehman is presiding over the undertaking. The monopoly capitalists expect to use food and clothing as a political weapon. What was done by Hoover in 1918 can be repeated.

If the workers of any country in Europe seize the power and establish workers' governments, the American capitalists would not allow the distribution of food and clothing to the people of that country. The food grown by the farmers of this country and the clothes manufactured by its workers will be utilized by the capitalists to support regimes contrary to the interests of the workers and peasants of Europe. History warns us to be on our guard.

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION By Leon Trotsky 48 pages 5 cents per copy PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York City

He Gave Aid To All Victims Of Reaction

By George Novack

Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee

It was through Antonio Bellussi that I first came to work closely with Carlo Tresca. Bellussi, a fighter against Mussolini's Black Shirts, fled Italy in 1923 and entered the United States without official passport. In June, 1933 he was arrested by government agents in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where he was working as a miner, for expressing opposition to fascism during a Khaki-Shirt rally. (Ten years ago it was not so safe for a worker to oppose the fascists!)

Together with the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, Tresca worked to release Bellussi from jail and to save him from deportation to Italy. We succeeded in obtaining a visa and raising enough money to send Bellussi to South America. In those days it was still possible to find some refuge for a known anti-fascist worker.

ONE OF HUNDREDS

Bellussi was only one of many hundreds of persecuted workers whom Carlo defended throughout his lifetime. And this case was typical of the rest. Here was a poor, unfriended miner, who, although he did not share Carlo's political opinions, had been persecuted by the authorities for continuing to fight against the Fascists. The moment he called upon Tresca for help, he received it, unquestioningly, unstintingly.

Tresca fought to protect the rights of the working men and women arrested, injured, victimized in the historic strike struggles he led before the first world war in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in Paterson, New Jersey, in the mining towns of the Mesaba Range in Minnesota, and in so many other places. He was among the first to join the prolonged struggle to free Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. During the twenties he was instrumental in smashing the frameup against two Italian workers, Greco and Carrillo, who had been wrongfully accused of killing two fascists at a meeting in the Bronx.

BATTLING FRAMEUPS

A few years later, in the case of Athos Terzani, we find Tresca once more battling a frameup against a militant worker. At a Khaki-Shirt meeting in Astoria, Long Island, which ended in a free-for-all between the armed fascists and some workers in the audience, Anthony Fierro was shot and killed. Terzani was arrested and charged with slaying Fierro, who was his friend.

Carlo, as Vice-Chairman of the Terzani Defense Committee, set out to save Terzani's life and expose the fascist frameup, which had been aided and abetted by the authorities of the law. Terzani's defenders succeeded not only in obtaining a not guilty verdict for Terzani at his trial, but also in uncovering the real murderer, the Khaki-Shirt officer Moller, who later confessed to shooting Fierro.

There were other cases where

Leon Trotsky's Attitude Toward Carlo Tresca

How Leon Trotsky regarded Carlo Tresca was indicated almost four years ago, on the occasion of the sixtieth birthday of Tresca and a celebration held in his honor in New York City, when Trotsky sent the following telegram from his exile in Mexico:

Dear Comrade Tresca:

In spite of all the profound divergences, which neither you nor I have the habitude to deny or attenuate, I hope that you will permit me to express the deepest esteem for you, as for a man who is every inch a fighter. Your sixtieth birthday is being celebrated by your friends, and I take the liberty of counting myself among them. I hope that your moral vigor and revolutionary ardor will be conserved for a long time to come.

Yours,

LEON TROTSKY

April 19, 1939

the efforts of Carlo and his fellow-fighters did not avail. Most important of these was the frameup of Sacco Vanzetti. Carlo spent years in arousing the working class to the significance of this case and in trying to prevent the State of Massachusetts and the U. S. Supreme Court from sending the shoemaker and the fish-peddler to the electric chair for a crime they never committed. He never forgot nor forgave this judicial murder.

HIS OWN EXPERIENCES

Carlo knew only too well from his own experiences in the class struggle what it meant to be persecuted by the authorities. He had been exiled from Italy. In this country he was arrested on various trumped-up charges thirty times or more. He served several months at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, ostensibly for publishing a two-line advertisement on birth control, but actually because of his anti-fascist activities.

It was inevitable and appropriate that this expert in fighting reactionary frameups should take a prominent part in exposing the greatest frameup of our time: Stalin's Moscow Trials of the Old Bolsheviks. Tresca was one of the ten members of the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. After an investigation of all the evidence, lasting a year and a half and extending into several countries, this impartial authoritative Commission reported that the Moscow Trials were frameups and that Trotsky and his son Sedov were not guilty of the charges made against them.

AID TO REFUGEES

As Fascism spread over Europe, more and more anti-fascist refugees from Italy, Germany, Spain, France called upon Carlo for aid. So numerous and pressing were these demands that, at times in the past few years when he was himself in poor health, the load seemed heavier than even his broad shoulders and generous spirit could bear. But how could he refuse to help those whom so few would or could rescue? In view of their needs and their distress Carlo would dismiss his own difficulties with the remark: "Now, what you want me to do for so-and-so?" Then, after the conference had been concluded, we would leave his little office of *Il Martello* and adjourn to some favorite restaurant nearby where good wine and food would soon

revive his exuberant personality. It was after leaving a conference like this that Carlo was assassinated.

THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE

When the political leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the trade-unionists of Local 544-CIO were indicted in Minneapolis in July 1941, I went at once to visit Carlo and his wife, Margaret De Silver Tresca at their summer residence on Cape Cod. How cordially he received me; how anxious he was to hear what had happened in Minneapolis; how instant was his response! He agreed to become Vice-Chairman of the projected Defense Committee; he telephoned John Dos Passos and others in the neighborhood for their help; he sent me away with letters of introduction to a number of individuals requesting their assistance. And that marked only the beginning of Carlo's support to the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

OUR OBLIGATION

Legal frameups and political assassinations are twin weapons in the arsenal of reaction against working-class opponents. Time and again Carlo fought against both. He condemned the assassinations of the Socialist leader, Matteotti, and the Roselli brothers by Mussolini's henchmen; the assassinations of the anarchist leader Berneri, of Andres Nin, and of the Trotskyist Klement, and numerous others by the agents of Stalin's GPU in Spain and France. He accused Stalin's GPU of murdering Leon Trotsky. Now Tresca himself has fallen at the hands of a political assassin. Upon his friends lie the obligation to work as vigorously as he would have worked to uncover those responsible for the political crime and to expose them before the working class.

Carlo never permitted partisan considerations to enter where the welfare of a worker persecuted by the powers of reaction was involved. He was animated by an unflinching sense of class solidarity, fulfilling in practice the motto of the IWW: "An injury to one is an injury to all." Workers in hundreds of cities and towns in the United States and in many other countries feel the loss of their friend, their companion, their fellow-fighter for the cause of labor. They remember with love and with gratitude this warm-hearted warrior-leader of the working class. So do we — and so will generations of workers to come.

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



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
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5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

We Hate Spanish Fascism, Too

The Franco regime in Spain was given categorical promises of support by the United States government last week when on Jan. 15 U. S. Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes addressed a meeting of fascist leaders in Madrid and said, "If the political and social institutions of this country undergo changes or modifications in future years it will be . . . not (the work) of the United States or of Spanish emigres."

This is the third promise of American administration support received by Franco in recent months. Last fall Roosevelt sent a letter to Franco in which he offered to put the Spanish fascist regime "on its feet economically" after the war.

This winter when American troops landed in North Africa the administration hastened to assure Franco that "these moves are in no shape, manner or form directed against the government . . . of Spain."

Ambassador Hayes' remarks about "Spanish emigres," coupled with the failure of the North African allied administration to release loyalist prisoners, can be interpreted as a promise that the United States will even suppress pro-democratic agitation by the Spanish anti-fascist workers who fled Spain when Franco defeated the Republic.

It appears that the American capitalists, having originally aided Franco in crushing the Spanish workers and peasants through the maneuver of the non-intervention committee, do not intend to undermine his regime as long as he maintains neutrality in the present struggle with Hitler.

Francisco obviously fears that American landings in North Africa will encourage the Spanish workers to greater resistance to his bloody rule. Hayes' speech is intended to disabuse the workers of any illusions about American support in their struggle.

These developments serve to drive home the fact that the struggle against fascism cannot be entrusted to men like Hayes and the forces they represent. The working class is the principal victim of fascism and only the working class can be depended upon to wage uncompromising war against it.

This is one of the principal reasons why we call for a Workers' and Farmers' Government in the United States. Such a government would fight not only against Hitler and Mussolini and Franco but would give wholehearted aid to the revolutionary masses in the fascist countries in overthrowing capitalism — the breeder of fascism.

For our part, we say now and will continue to say as long as we have the strength to speak, we are opposed to Franco and all he represents. We will war to the death against fascism, not only in certain European countries, but everywhere on the face of the earth.

Black Market Arising In All Sections

Why Prices Keep Rising in Chicago

(Continued from page 1)

chants and wholesalers—include billing the buyers at the legal price, but obtaining a cash rake-off on the side, or billing for a given poundage at official prices, with the understanding that the actual amount delivered will be less than that on the bill.

Behind these black market operations, which are shooting meat prices sky-high and costing the consumers millions of dollars here and throughout the country, are "certain key figures in the meat industry" who "are demanding and getting a few pennies of graft on every pound sold," reports the Chicago Daily Times, Jan. 16.

The Times report is based upon the disclosures of a veteran Chicago wholesale meat dealer, whose name could not be revealed lest he be driven out of business. In a letter to the OPA, this dealer cited the scope and specific practices of the black market in detail.

GRAFT PAYOFF

"The dealer made the amazing charge that in certain places where wholesalers make their purchases, meat barrels are used as collection depots for graft," reports the Times.

"Since the first of the year, he added, it has assumed virtually city-wide proportions. The dealer said that he had canvassed scores of wholesalers and found none who is not paying cash tribute for the privilege of buying meat."

"For example, I buy 1,000 pounds of pork loin," stated the dealer. "To get it, I pay the exact ceiling price. And that is what shows on my receipt. But the following day I return to the place. Folded small in my hand I have a \$10, \$20 or, perhaps, a \$50 bill, representing a payment of one to five cents on each of those 1,000 pounds."

"I indicate a barrel containing pork loins, I say aloud, 'These are good loins,' then drop the money into the barrel and pass on. My remark is the signal to the man who sold me the meat. He reaches into the barrel, palms the money and drops it into his pocket."

"Naturally, I add those extra pennies to my price when I resell the loins to butcher shops, hotels, restaurants and night clubs. These customers of mine are aware that I am charging over the ceiling price, but all they want is to get the meat. In turn, they add those extra pennies to the bills of their customers—the ultimate consumers."

WHO GETS MOST MEAT

The dealer further explained that the wholesalers who can afford to pay the highest prices, get most of the meat supplies. "These wholesalers can afford to pay such a high rate of graft that the lesser fry, such as myself, are laughed at with our promises of pennies."

"Take a look around town. In one block you'll find a market with plenty of meat and a second with bare counters. Nine times out of 10 you'll find that the well-stocked store gets its meat from a wholesaler who's going along with the system."

This means, in turn, that consumers with big incomes who can afford to pay high prices can get meat. The low-wage earner must do without.

Revealing the squeeze being put on the wholesalers, retailers and finally, the consumers, by the big meat packers and distributors, the dealer asserted, "We've got to go along with the racket or go out of business. If it was learned that I was the one who broke this conspiracy of silence, I might as well close my doors. Nobody would sell me any meat."

Here is the real story behind much of the meat scarcity. And it is a typical example of how the meat trust is evading the price ceilings and making the workers, with their fixed wages, pay through the nose for its gigantic profits.

Meat Bootlegging Reported in Minn.

ST. PAUL, Minn., Jan. 16. — The rise of a black market in meat, principally beef, has been reported in the Minnesota press.

A packing company official, who preferred to keep his name unknown, called attention to a want ad in a Minneapolis paper offering to deliver quarters of beef to homes on telephone orders.

The official arranged, according to the St. Paul Pioneer Press, "for an employee to telephone the advertiser and received information that the latter is charging 28 cents a pound for hind quarters and 24 cents for fore quarters."

"In both cases, the official said, this is 3½ cents a pound higher than ceiling prices for best quality beef, and persons who purchase from the advertiser have no guarantee of the quality of the meat."

Butchers Afraid To Talk in N. Y.

NEW YORK — A black market in live poultry has become so flourishing in New York City that OPA officials estimate 15% of all poultry is sold through these channels. And make no mistake about the channels—it is not outside racketeers who have suddenly moved in on the industry. The regular meat packers and wholesalers are the black market operators who are now taking advantage of the opportunity to gouge the small retailer and the consumer.

The packers and wholesalers use several bookkeeping dodges in order to exact tribute from the retailer, who in turn passes the increased costs on to the consumer.

Here are some of the common practices: billing a butcher for fowl and shipping him roosters, which sell for about eight cents a pound cheaper; billing him for pullets and shipping him cheap fowl; creation of a "blacklist" of rebellious butchers who refuse to pay black market prices, so that no other poultryhouse will sell to them.

The New York Department of Markets reported on January 16 that there was an "abundance of poultry" waiting distribution in the city. Still, the price ceilings were being violated in all sections of the city and the black market wholesalers were threatening the withholding of supplies from those retailers who protested the shake-down.

After a recent survey of meat and poultry shortages, the Consumers Union reported in a special bulletin, "Asked why they were charging such high prices, most butchers wouldn't talk. Of those who did, the vast majority blamed it on the wholesalers. They said they themselves were paying higher prices, that they were forced to buy on the black market, that they had to tip the salesman to get meat, that they were forced to take veal in order to get beef. But apparently they were afraid to report the violations to OPA for fear of black-listing by the wholesalers."

On Jan. 18 the OPA began prosecution of 22 small packers and wholesalers in the New York area on charges of conducting a black market. While this may frighten a few small dealers, it will not affect the basic source of the black market, which is ineffective control and distribution of available food.

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What To Do About The Black Market

AN EDITORIAL

How to fight the black market?

That question must be on the mind of every militant unionist and every housewife who understands what the black market is. For the black market can prove injurious to the health as well as the pocketbooks of the masses, as was demonstrated last week in Detroit when it was learned that diseased, tubercular meat was being sold through the black market.

The black market is a mechanism for evading price ceilings. Thus far it has assumed two major forms. One operates outside the regular sales channels, where there can be no price control whatever. The other operates within the regular sales channels, with purchasers having to pay so much graft per pound for the privilege of buying, and with the extra costs being passed on to the consumer.

It must be obvious by now that the government's anti-black market methods are not very effective. OPA officials have begun a few prosecutions, but such steps do not and cannot strike at the roots of the black market.

The point is that unless, in times of shortages and scarcity, food and other necessities are controlled at the point of production, there is no power in the world able to prevent them from being diverted to the bootleggers.

Unless, at the point where the foods are canned or packed, check is made to determine where the foods are being sent, and how much, and at what price — the black market cannot be eliminated.

It goes without saying that a large force of people is required for such control of food distribution and prices. The government is both unwilling and unable to establish such a force.

But the many-millioned masses — the workers and farmers and housewives and small retailers — have the manpower to carry out such a program. Furthermore, they have the burning desire to curb price racketeering, because it hits them first of all and above all.

That is why The Militant advocates — and calls on the masses to struggle for — the creation of mass consumers' committees to control prices, rationing and distribution of the commodities necessary for maintaining the health of the people.

'MILITANT' DEFENDS MAILING RIGHTS AT POST OFFICE HEARING IN WASHINGTON

(Continued from page 1)

Their intent is not to interfere with the operation of the armed forces, but to impress upon the masses the need for struggling to protect their living standards and democratic rights. Their aim is not to cause insubordination in the armed forces, but to educate the working people toward socialist ideas.

THEIR PROBABLE CLAIM

The postal authorities' citation of a number of articles discussing the nature of the war, however, indicates that at the hearing to be held tomorrow they may argue that the mere characterization of the war as imperialist constitutes a violation of the Espionage Act. This was the line of argument pursued by the Post Office in World War I, when scores of periodicals were banned from the mails simply because they criticized certain aspects of administration policy.

Albert Goldman is prepared to answer this possible argument by presenting quotations from articles in *The Militant* showing that, far from advocating insubordination, etc., this paper pointed out:

"Our program against Hitlerism and for a Workers' and Farmers' Government is today the program of only a small minority. The great majority actively or passively supports the war program of the Roosevelt administration. As a minority we must submit to that majority in action. We do not sabotage the war or obstruct the military forces in any way. The Trotskyists go with their generation into the armed forces. We abide by the decisions of the majority. But we retain our opinions and insist on our right to express them."

Both Goldman and Fraenkel are expected to argue that *The Militant* has a legal right to express its ideas and that the expression

of such ideas is not in violation of the Espionage Act.

CHARACTER OF THE HEARING

The hearing to take place tomorrow is not a trial; it will be held before administrative officials of the Post Office, who will hear the arguments of the Post Office on the one hand and of *The Militant* and the American Civil Liberties Union on the other. The administrative officials will present their findings and recommendations to the Office of the Postmaster General, Frank C. Walker, who will then decide how to dispose of the case.

Firmly convinced that it has violated no laws, and aware that the revocation of its second-class rights would set a dangerous precedent for this war which could be used to attack the rights of the entire labor and liberal press, *The Militant* is prepared to take its case to the courts, if necessary.

PREVIOUS INTERFERENCE

The Post Office interference with the mailing of *The Militant* began early last November. Since then four issues of the paper were withheld from the mails and ordered destroyed; delivery of the other issues was delayed for periods ranging from 4 to 15 days.

The Post Office has also destroyed the Dec. issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, and released the Jan. issue this week, after a delay of more than two weeks. Recent issues of *Labor Action* have also been held for as long as a week after their deposit at the Post Office.

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Chicago — Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.
Minneapolis — Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.

Newark (Downtown) — Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.
New Haven — Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.

New York (Harlem) — Newsstands north west corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.

New York (Garment Area) — Newsstand, corner of 38th St. and 7th Ave.

New York (Manhattan) — 14th St., between 4th and 7th Aves.; Newsstands on 42nd St., between 4th and 5th Aves.

Rochester — Newsstand, Main St. and Clinton Ave., southeast corner.
San Francisco — Duncans Smoke Shop, 1986 Sutter.
Seattle — Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

WORKERS' BOOKSHELF

IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM (Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition) by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York, 1942. \$2.00 cloth, \$1.50 paper, 240 pages.

Trotsky's last works, contained in this invaluable volume, are among the most lucid expositions of the Marxist method of thinking and the Bolshevik principles of organization.

Trotsky wrote these articles and letters in defense of the fundamental ideas of Marxism against an attempt by a petty-bourgeois minority in the Socialist Workers Party to destroy them.

What Was at Stake

The Marxist doctrine, from its most elementary to its most complex concepts, was at stake in this fight. For over six months, beginning shortly after the Hitler-Stalin pact in August, 1939, this historic battle was waged.

The first issue in the struggle was the defense of the Soviet Union. In his articles Trotsky clarified the class nature of the USSR, its role in the war, the character and function of the Kremlin bureaucracy. Those who would understand the true source of the Soviet Union's ability to withstand the terrific onslaught of Hitler's armies, can find a fundamental answer in Trotsky's polemical articles against the petty-bourgeois opposition, who abandoned the defense of the first workers' state.

In explaining the program of the Fourth International in relation to the USSR, Trotsky stressed the importance of the Marxist method. Without applying dialectical materialism to historical processes, the contradictory and complex movement of history cannot be correctly understood and analyzed. This book supplies a clear and simple introduction to dialectical materialism.

The Burnham-Schactman-Abern faction in the S.W.P. was based on an unprincipled combination of groups with widely divergent political views: those who professed to be defenders of Marxism united in a bloc with the avowed enemies of the theoretical foundations of the movement. The result of such unprincipled politics is the obscuring of fundamental ideas and the undermining and destruction of the theory upon which the party is based. The leaders of the petty-bourgeois opposition ended by repudiating not only the theoretical but also the political and organizational concepts of Bolshevism.

Behaving like typical petty-bourgeois radicals who are divorced from the proletariat, the opposition demanded that the party relax its discipline and centralism, and substitute for it a regime of unconfined and unending discussion. But the majority faction led by Trotsky defended the Leninist organizational principles, which begin with the idea that the revolutionary party must be a combat organization, which democratically discusses its program, arrives at conclusions, and then carries out the decisions in a disciplined manner.

The proletarian wing of the party, led by Trotsky, emerged victorious from the struggle, strengthened immeasurably by the clarification of theory which resulted.

Meaning of the Struggle

Workers often ask why it is that the Bolshevik movement has been so severely torn by factional disputes. Unions are forged and steeled in clashes with the employers; the workers' political vanguard develops out of struggle against alien class influences and ideas. The conflict within the Socialist Workers Party was such a struggle.

The clash between petty-bourgeois ideas and revolutionary proletarian ideas is no less a manifestation of the class struggle than clashes on the picket line. In the last analysis the ability of advanced workers to absorb the lessons of these theoretical and political struggles, and to act on the basis of clear Marxist ideas, will determine the fate of society.

The lessons learned both on the field of class action, and on the field of ideological combat, arm the working class, and guarantee the leadership necessary to establish workers' power.

Trotsky's great classic, "In Defense of Marxism," is one of the major source-books for revolutionary workers in search of the tools necessary to rebuild the world.

The volume contains an introduction by Joseph Hansen and William F. Warde; also two articles by James Burnham. The authorized translation was made by John G. Wright and Joseph Hansen, and the volume was edited by Wright.

Reviewed by Joseph Andrews.

A Timely Political Document!

IN DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

By LEON TROTSKY

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