

3 Things To Be Noted About Post Office Hearing

An Editorial

There are three important things to be remembered about the Post Office hearing, held in Washington on Jan. 21, to consider revocation of The Militant's mailing rights:

1. Despite months of preparation, despite the wholehearted and active collaboration of the Department of Justice and Attorney General Biddle who instigated this attack on The Militant, the postal authorities were able to concoct only the flimsiest kind of pretext for barring this paper from the mails.

The Militant, asserted the attorney who presented the case for the Post Office, has violated the Espionage Act which prohibits willful obstruction of the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States. Proof? The Post Office attorney presented absolutely none. He introduced into the record of the hearing 105 excerpts taken from Militant articles and editorials. Not a single one of these even mentioned the subject of recruiting or enlistment.

On the other hand, several of these articles pointed out that as long as the majority of the people actively or passively supports the war program, the revolutionary minority "must submit to that majority in action," does "not sabotage the war or obstruct the armed forces in any way," and must "go with their generation into the armed forces." On scores of occasions The Militant warned its readers against accepting the individualist or abstentionist views of conscientious objectors and pacifists.

The record was so clear that the Post Office did not dare to claim that The Militant had urged resistance to conscription, which has accounted for easily more than 80% of the armed forces. And yet it pretends that The Militant tried to discourage enlistments, which have constituted such a small part of the personnel of the armed forces!

2. The Post Office arguments and procedure at the hearing made it clear that government authorities are seeking to establish a precedent for World War II which will enable them to ban or intimidate into silence all periodicals which are critical of government officials or their policies.

Consider the fundamental argument presented by the Post Office attorney at the Washington hearing: People, he declared, who read Militant articles criticizing such domestic and foreign policies of the administration as wage-freezing or Negro discrimination or collaboration with the Darlans might be persuaded thereby not to enlist in the armed forces.

But people might be similarly persuaded by reading articles written in the labor press, the liberal press and even the capitalist press. If The Militant can be banned from the mails because of a possible effect its articles might have on some readers, wouldn't the Washington bureaucrats then find the way clear to take similar measures against such periodicals as The Nation or the New Republic or even the N. Y. Herald-Tribune?

Truly, as American Civil Liberties Union Attorney Osmond K. Fraenkel pointed out at the hearing, "This effort to revoke the mailing rights of The Militant constitutes the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in the war."

3. Biddle and the Post Office want to suppress The Militant because it tells the truth about all the major issues facing the labor movement and because it advocates a fighting program to solve the problem facing the workers today.

The Post Office attorney had to admit that Biddle and the Post Office could not and did not challenge the truth of the Militant articles cited as evidence at the hearing. He tried to get around this important question by saying, "We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything The Militant said is true." But by this attempted evasion he only emphasized what has already become evident, namely, that The Militant would not now be under attack if it had printed lies about the basic cause of the war or if it had defended wage-freezing and extolled the deal with Darlan.

The characteristic which distinguishes The Militant from other papers — and which explains why it is the first labor paper to be attacked in this war — is that it presents a program in addition to making criticisms of administration policies and attacks on Big Business.

The Militant, for example, not only opposes the 15% Little Steel wage formula of the War Labor Board — it also urges the labor movement to fight for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. It not only demonstrates that the Democratic and Republican Parties are anti-labor to the core — it also advocates the formation of an Independent Labor Party to fight the capitalist parties. It not only warns that fascism cannot be eliminated without the abolition of the cause of fascism, the capitalist system — it also calls on the workers to fight for a Workers' and Farmers' Government to put an end to both fascism and capitalism.

To sum up then: The attack on The Militant is based on a frameup. It constitutes a threat to all papers and groups who are critical of the administration. It is intended to suppress the truth and the socialist program.

The struggle against the Biddle-Post Office frameup is difficult because it costs money. And it is made more difficult because the capitalist press, obviously acting on "advice" from Washington, is consistently refusing to give any publicity to the case. The way to help The Militant defend itself therefore is to:

1. Send financial assistance to The Militant Defense Fund, 116 University Place, New York City.
2. Inform as many people as possible in every way possible of the vital issues and developments connected with the attack on this paper.

New Trotsky Book Meets Warm Response

Reports about the sales of the newly published book by Leon Trotsky, "In Defense of Marxism," are beginning to come in from all parts of the country and, according to Pioneer Publishers, which issued the book a little more than a month ago, the response is invariably enthusiastic.

"You've done a real service to the labor movement," says a letter from a Chicago industrial worker to Pioneer. "I don't often buy books, and I seldom keep those I buy, but I'll always treasure this book because it teaches the method of Marxism so vividly and clearly."

"I had read most of the material before in magazine and newspaper articles, but it is only when you have it all together before you and can read it from beginning to end, that you fully appreciate the significance of

what Trotsky was writing."

A student at a west coast university says:

"I am not a Trotskyist, and may never be one, but this book convinced me that of all commentators on the Russian-Finnish war, Trotsky alone correctly analyzed the main trends of events. . . .

"I have long believed that the Moscow Trials were frameups, and like many others I was indignant to learn that Hollywood was making a film presenting the Stalin version of these trials. After reading this book, my indignation increases at any attempt to slander a man who had so much worthwhile to say to mankind."

A worker in the metropolitan area wrote that she had intended to send a complaint to Pioneer, but—

"You promised to let me have

my two copies of the book by Christmas. I had arranged to give one of them to a friend as a Christmas gift. The books arrived late, and I was preparing to complain when my friend wrote me that although he had received it later than all his other gifts, it was by far the best and he wouldn't trade it for anything else he got."

The Educational Department of Local New York, Socialist Workers' Party, informs Pioneer:

"In the education and training of Marxist cadres, especially of the youth, Trotsky's 'In Defense of Marxism' is beginning to play the same role that Friedrich Engels' classic polemic, 'Anti-Duehring,' played in its day."

A former member of the Young Communist League in Michigan says that he had read a few magazine articles by Trotsky before this, but "my eyes were really opened by this book."

"I was in the YCL for almost two years, and although I was considered quite a student there, I realize now that they didn't teach us even the rudiments of Marxism. I have been to the library, and am now on the second volume of that great book, Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution.'"

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Unions Attack WLB 'Little Steel' Formula, Demand Wage Increases

An Answer To A Slander



At one point in the Washington hearing called to consider revocation of The Militant's mailing rights, the attorney in charge of presenting the Biddle-Post Office case gave a distorted picture of The Militant's program and shouted, "That's Hitler propaganda!"

The answer to that lie is shown above in the picture of a few of the headlines on the hundreds of anti-fascist articles printed in this paper during the last 14 years.

This picture shows that The Militant and the Trotskyist movement — unlike the people who want to suppress them in the name of a war against fascism — have from the very beginning been in the forefront of the struggle against fascism

at home and abroad.

This picture shows that long before the present war began — when it was not so fashionable as it is now to be known as an anti-fascist — The Militant opposed Hitler in Germany; that it fought the German-American Bund on picket lines called by the Socialist Workers Party before the New York Madison Square Garden and in Los Angeles; that it organized to resist the attacks of the Coughlinites and Christian Fronters and Silver Shirts; that it called on the masses to defend the Soviet Union.

This picture shows also why those who want to suppress us can depend only on slanders and frameups for their weapons.

Unionists Send Aid to 'Militant'

That progressive unionists are concerned about the Biddle-Post Office attempts to bar The Militant from the mails was demonstrated last week.

In reply to an appeal for aid sent to all Militant subscribers, Louis Nelson, Manager-Sec'y of Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. sent \$5 "for financial assistance so that you may continue your legal action in order to maintain your Post Office rights."

'Anti-Racketeer' Bill Menaces Union Activity

The House Judiciary Committee has reported out a so-called "anti-racketeering" bill (H. R. 653) under whose provisions union officials could be sent to jail for 20 years and fined \$10,000 for the performance of their legitimate trade union duties.

The bill is in the form of an amendment to the Anti-Racketeering Act of 1934. This bill was aimed at criminals of the Dillinger

type. The amendment, however, broadens the provisions of the bill so that anyone convicted of interfering with interstate commerce can be imprisoned.

It is easy to imagine how a strike, a picket line, or even the process of bargaining with an employer engaged in interstate commerce, can be interpreted as restraint of that commerce.

The amendment is dressed up to appear as a move against sabotage of the war effort. In reality, it covers all workers whether engaged in war work or not. It covers blocking or retarding transportation of troops, munitions, war supplies, mails, or the orderly makeup, movement or disposition of any train, railway or highway vehicle, airplane or ship in interstate or foreign commerce.

All branches of labor have announced intention to fight this bill, which is characterized by the AFL as follows:

"What it really does is to demolish labor's peaceful and ordinary activities by the methods of a straight criminal statute, so broadly worded as to afford a threat, if not actually proscribed, almost all the usual activities of labor organizations."

CIO President Philip Murray this week called on the CIO unions to rally against the bill which he declared was intended to "outlaw the very existence of organizations of working men and women."

The bill was railroaded through committee without even the holding of hearings.

Anti-Fascists Are Still Persecuted In North Africa

By MICHAEL CORT

The Liberals have been wailing for some time that the reactionaries in the State Department are responsible for the maintenance in power of the French fascists in North Africa. They saw particularly in the appointment of Marcel Peyrou, fascist and anti-Semite, a Machiavellian plot by these same reactionaries to sabotage the administration's "pro-democratic" foreign policy. Just what this contention of the liberals is worth was revealed last week when the news came of the Roosevelt-Churchill meeting in Casablanca.

This conference opened in North Africa on Jan. 14. Peyrou arrived in North Africa on Jan. 16 and was immediately installed as Governor-General of Algeria.

HULL AND DAVIS EXPLAIN

Secretary of State Hull dropped his previous contention that the political situation in North Africa was purely a military matter and therefore under the sole jurisdiction of the military authorities.

He openly defended the support given Vichy Frenchmen and indirectly admitted that the entire plan had the approval of the administration. In a press conference held on Jan. 27 he lashed

CIO, AFL, Mine and Railroad Workers Press for Higher Pay

But War Labor Board Still Refuses to Make Any Changes in Its Wage Policy

By Antony Massini

Working class resentment against rising prices, new tax burdens and monopoly-induced shortages is forcing the leaders of the trade union movement to come out in opposition to the War Labor Board's Little Steel wage formula, which prohibits any increase of more than 15% over wage levels of Jan., 1941 and which has resulted in the freezing of most workers' wages since May, 1942.

During the last two weeks leaders of several of the most powerful unions in the country openly called for a revision of the WLB's formula, demanding that wages be brought in line with living costs. It is expected that the War Labor Board will be confronted with the same demand by many other unions

Price Rises Cause Drive Against WLB Wage Ruling

The labor movement's demand for a revision of the War Labor Board Little Steel Formula, which is gaining momentum in most important industries, is based primarily on the continued rise of prices and the growing realization that the OPA is either unwilling or unable to keep living costs from rising.

In his first press interview on Jan. 20, the new OPA head, Prentiss Brown, blandly stated:

"I don't believe, and Congress never intended, that prices could be held at a flat level. We thought a slow, well-ordered rise of one-half of one per cent a month would occur under the most favorable circumstances."

In other words, unless the workers secure wage increases which are now prohibited by the Little Steel formula, they can expect to suffer at least a 6% cut in their living standards during the next year—not counting the additional reductions that will be imposed on them through increased taxes, hidden price rises and black market operations.

Meanwhile, Secretary of Labor Perkins reported last week that living costs had risen one-half of one per cent between last Nov. 15 and Dec. 15. Thus the cost of living, according to conservative government figures, is now 9% higher than it was at the time of Pearl Harbor, and more than 22% higher than in Aug., 1939.

Simultaneously, the OPA authorized price increases on 9 more food products, effective Feb. 2. This is but one of a long series of price rises permitted by the OPA in response to pressure from profiteering food manufacturers and processors who threaten to discontinue production if their demands are not met.

Furthermore, the House of Representatives this week received a favorable report on the Pace Bill, which would alter parity prices to increase the price of most foods by an additional 10%.

If anything, then, the drive for increased wages is long overdue.

in the immediate period ahead. Meanwhile, although the WLB and Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes are reported to be "resurveying" the situation, the Board has continued to stick fast to the Little Steel formula.

UAW CONFERENCE

The policy committee of the United Mine Workers (Independent) was scheduled to meet in Washington on Feb. 2 to formulate wage demands to be served on the bituminous coal operators, whose contract with the UMW, covering 450,000 workers, expires next April. It seems certain that the UMW, whose members struck for increased wages in the anthracite fields last month, will ask for increases greater than those provided for in the WLB formula.

UAW President John L. Lewis struck sharply at the WLB on Jan. 23 when he declared: "Under its arbitrary and miserably stupid formula, it chains labor to the wheels of industry without compensation for increased costs, while other agencies of government reward and fatten industry by charging its increased costs to the public purse."

"Assuredly, labor, despite its present weak and vacillating leadership, cannot long tolerate such economically paradoxical and socially unjust treatment."

The CIO Executive Board was also scheduled to meet this week, and to consider among other things its attitude toward the WLB formula. A number of important CIO internationals have already forwarded resolutions on the question to the board.

The AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 30,000 of whose members struck in New York City last week after the refusal of the dress manufacturers to negotiate wage increases, has also announced that it will oppose the Little Steel formula, which it declared had been rendered "obsolete" by the rising costs of living.

"Since the adoption of the Little Steel formula," said ILGWU President David Dubinsky, "the cost of living has gone up 22%, while the dressmakers, in that period, have had an increase of only 10%."

UAW RESOLUTION

The CIO United Auto Workers, whose executive board met in

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Prices, Wages And Pamphlets

The Office of War Information has prepared for mass distribution a small pamphlet, "Your War and Your Wages," intended to convince the workers that wage "stabilization" is in their own interests.

One example given by the pamphlet read as follows: "A 10 cent-an-hour raise in normal times means that \$1 more worth of goods can be bought on Saturday night. But suppose that prices meanwhile rise high enough to absorb that \$1—then what has been the use of the long arguments before a government

agency to win that 10 cents an hour?

But suppose that prices go up \$4 a week and wages don't go up to meet them? That means that the worker gets \$4 less of goods on Saturday night than he got previously. And most workers don't have to do any supposing about this—it's happening to them right now.

That's why the workers want wage increases—and that's why there is little chance that pamphlets will change their minds on this question.

(Continued on page 2)

Stalinists Get Trounced At Connecticut CIO Convention

Their Reactionary Labor Policies Laid Basis for Defeat On Executive Board

HARTFORD, Conn. — A complete routing of the Stalinists and their elimination from all posts on the Executive Board marked the high point in the recently concluded annual convention of the Connecticut Industrial Union Council.

The Connecticut Council had for years been a political playground for the numerous C. P. stooge outfits. As often as a new Stalinist committee was established, the endorsement of the Connecticut Council immediately followed. Past conventions of the Council, and the resolutions adopted at each, one, closely mirrored the Stalinist line. The conventions successively adopted resolutions praising Roosevelt, then condemning him, calling for collective security, then isolation, then collective security—followed by an outright demand for the declaration of war.

Up to last year the Stalinists enjoyed overwhelming control of every section of the Council's apparatus. At the 1941 Convention a bloc of anti-CP delegates managed to elect a majority to the Executive Board and throughout the ensuing year blocked the Stalinist attempts to use the Council for a cover to their stooge organizations.

This year's convention saw the complete elimination of all Stalinists or followers from EB posts, and was accomplished by a bloc composed of auto workers, textile, steel, rubber, brass and about 50% of the UE delegation.

LITTLE MORE ACHIEVED

Other than the routing of the Stalinists on all major questions little of a positive nature came out of the convention. Resolutions mildly critical of the delays encountered in getting a decision from the WLB, calling for a revision of the WLB's 15% Little Steel formula, and opposing discrimination, were the nearest the convention came to acting on the important questions of the day.

To a certain extent the failure of the delegates to take strong action on the many problems facing their organizations can be explained by the fact that the convention was a two day affair. Because of the strong positions the Stalinists had been able to assume over their four year period of control, practically the entire two days were taken up with maneuvers by the CP bloc to protect itself, and maneuvers by the anti-CP group. It had been well understood by both forces prior to the convention that the matter of the role of the CP in Council affairs was to be the major issue to be resolved at the convention.

"REVENGE"

While defeated in the elections to the Executive Board, the Stalinists managed to take revenge by holding up the passage of a constitutional change to finance the new Council's work. The Stalinist-dominated *News of Connecticut* has been passing as a

semi-official CIO organ in the state, and the Council's legislative work has been conducted through the Stalinist-controlled Connecticut Labor's Non-Partisan League.

The majority of the delegates wanted to publish an official CIO paper, and to undertake legislative work in their own name. To finance this, they offered a proposal to raise per capita payments by one cent, which required a two-thirds majority for adoption. The Stalinists resorted to parliamentary stalling and fighting over "points of order" and prevented a showdown vote on the per capita issue until one-third of the delegates had left the convention hall to make train connections for home.

CP WAS VULNERABLE

This defeat of the Stalinists opens a new chapter to the Connecticut CIO. Stymied for the past two years by the Stalinist execution of the "party line," the Connecticut CIO was used to cover abolition of double-time contract provisions long before the Thomases and the Murrys had guts enough to move against them.

The workers here also found themselves in the strait-jacket of a "no strike pact" of industry, labor and government, long before the establishment of the WLB. In Connecticut the Stalinists fostered a pact that merely called for the elimination of strikes without even the establishment of machinery guaranteeing a minimum of protection to labor's rights. The application of the pact was left entirely to the discretion of the Governor.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the opposition to these misleaders should meet with little difficulty in organizing a convention against them.

While little of a programmatic nature can be seen when examining the opposition to the CP, one can get comfort out of the knowledge that instinctively the average worker will be more ready to protect his position and gains than the Stalinists Connecticut has been so abundantly cursed with.

CP Loses Ground In Connecticut Locals of UE

Another stronghold of the Stalinists—the UE—is showing signs of revolt in Hartford, Conn. The huge Colt Arms local in Hartford has swung away from the Stalinists, and has been followed by three other locals over which the Stalinists have exercised complete control for years.

This movement, too, has its roots in the failure of the Stalinist officials of the international union to stand behind the workers in their efforts to maintain and extend their working standards.

While for the moment this anti-CP movement in the UE is isolated to Hartford, the possibility that it will spread throughout the state is heightened by the recent defeat suffered by the Stalinist forces at the recent state CIO Convention.

Full Speed Ahead!



FOOD OR PILLS?

By GRACE CARLSON

With the increasing food shortages and the steady worsening of the already poor diets of American workers, strenuous efforts will be made by vitamin pill manufacturers to sell their products to workers as substitutes for natural, nourishing foods.

A measure of the success of their advertising campaigns is the fact that a CIO electrical union local recently wrote into its contract with an Eastern Ordnance plant a demand that every worker be supplied with two vitamin pills daily by the employer. *Business Week*, in reporting this situation, gloated over the huge new market which this new demand of trade union workers for vitamin pills opened up for the drug manufacturers of the country.

But the employers have another and even more practical interest in selling the idea of vitamin pills to their workers.

A recent report, "The Food and Nutrition of Industrial Workers in Wartime," issued by the National Research Council's com-

mittee on Nutrition in Industry, has this to say on the subject:

"Employers are beginning to appreciate the importance of better nutrition among their workers, and in their anxiety to obtain quick results are in many instances distributing synthetic vitamins in varying dosage without preliminary study of diets or nutrition. This is a practice which the Committee on Nutrition in Industry cannot recommend on the basis of present knowledge."

"Where diets are found to be inadequate by modern standards, the obvious remedy is to bring the diets up to the desired level by the use of natural foods. Human beings cannot live on minerals and vitamins alone, and proper nutrition must be maintained in the long run by the daily habit of consuming natural foods containing the amounts and kinds of nutrients recommended by the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council."

But why are employers so anxious to serve vitamin pills to their workers? The learned scientists of the National Research Council's committee either do not understand the employers' motivation

or they are too timid to speak about it. The fact is that it is much cheaper for an employer to buy vitamin pills and dole them out to his employees than to pay them enough wages to buy the natural, vitamin-rich food necessary for themselves and their families.

Continental Machines, Inc., a machine tools plant in Minneapolis, which also operates a plant in Des Plaines, Illinois under the name of the DOALL Company, has gained great prestige in industrial circles for its pioneer work in dispensing vitamin pills to its employees.

Sigrid Arne, a feature writer for *Wide World*, points out in a recent article that a three month supply of vitamin pills for the thousands of workers in these two plants cost the owners only \$500. One employee, after taking the pills for some time, is quoted in the article as saying, "Boy, can I work now! Thirteen hours a day." The underpaid workers of these plants which have never been organized are repaying their anti-union boss a "hundredfold" for his outlay of \$500 for pills.

NECESSARY FOODS

The National Research Council recommends the following daily allowances of food:

- 1 pint of milk at least, preferably 1 quart.
- 2 servings of potatoes.
- 2 servings of fruit, one of which should be either oranges, grapefruit or tomatoes.
- 2 vegetables, one of which should be leafy, green or yellow.
- 1 egg.
- 1 serving of meat, fish or poultry.
- 1 whole-grain cereal dish.
- Butter or vitamin-fortified oleomargarine.
- Whole-grain or enriched white bread at every meal.

It would be better for trade union leaders to see that the wages paid the workers in their industry enabled them to buy sufficient amounts of these nutritious foods for themselves and their families than to write demands for vitamin pills into their contracts.

These synthetic vitamins can be very useful in the hands of a skilled physician in the treatment

The Chilean working class is on the defensive against the Rios government's gradualistic but ruthless attack. It has still not reached the point of breaking with its "Socialist" and Stalinist misleaders, who with one unanimous blast call on it to commit class suicide for the sake of the war.

But every blow, every betrayal, is a revealing lesson. First by ones and twos then by hundreds, and finally by thousands, the Chilean working class will find the road to where the small but unconquerable P.O.R. holds high the banner of revolutionary socialism.

PRO-CONSUMER FORCES BEING DRIVEN FROM AGRICULTURE DEPT.

By JOHN BATES

The purge of pro-consumer elements in the Agriculture Department continued last week as Gardner Jackson, special assistant to the Under-Secretary of Agriculture, and Mary Taylor, editor of the Department's *Consumer's Guide*, were forced to submit their resignations. Previous resignations in recent weeks included Donald Montgomery, Consumers' Counsel to the Department, and H. W. Parisius, Food Production Director.

The removal of these people is a victory for the lobby of big farmers whose aim is increased profits through higher prices and restricted production, for Jackson, Montgomery and Parisius were advocates of a program aimed at increased food supplies for workers in the lower income groups. Miss Taylor explained that the policies of Secretary Claude Wickard made it impossible for her to serve the interests of the consumers.

THE SMALL FARM PLAN

The conflict involving Jackson and Parisius was over the reorganization of farm production by giving the small farmers government credit so they could increase production and market food which would be priced within the reach of the worker. The farm lobby wanted to meet the demand for greater food production merely by raising food prices and thus giving an "incentive" to the big farmers to increase their acreage.

The Montgomery-Parisius plan for increase in small farm production was entirely realistic, based on the experience of the Farm Security Administration in 1942. Parisius drew up a report, since suppressed by the Department of Agriculture, in which he revealed that the small farmers operating under the FSA credit program, constituting less than 10 per cent of the nation's farms, had contributed almost half of the expanded milk production last year. Similar figures were revealed for the production of such foods as eggs, dry beans and poultry.

This small farm plan, regardless of its production record, is

only a partial answer to the problem of getting food to the workers. By no means radical, it was a stopgap designed to meet a wartime emergency. But even so mild a program as this aroused the antagonism of Big Business and the powerful "farm bloc" representing the big farmers. That is why the resignations took place.

COUNSEL OFFICE ABOLISHED

Montgomery, Consumers' Counsel in the Department of Agriculture, was forced out when his office drew up a program of distribution which would have cut into the rate of profits enjoyed by the big farmers. His plan called for: the immediate rationing of all foods at once; government subsidies to keep food prices down; special rations of milk to children and expectant mothers—the milk to be distributed free if they couldn't pay for it; aid to millions of families who cannot buy the food necessities; continuation of the food stamp plan to secure low income groups with proper food diets; penalizing of food waste; etc.

Montgomery has not only been fired, but his office has been abolished. Henceforth, no consumer group will have a voice in the formulation of Department of Agriculture policy.

Mother's Group To Conduct Study Class

A New York class based on Frederick Engels' classic, *The Origin of the Family*, will be held each Wednesday at 116 University Place, from 3:30 to 4:30 P. M., starting on Feb. 17, 1943.

Both admission to the class and care of children during the session are free to friends and members of the Socialist Workers' Party.

Kindly register in advance on the fourth floor of 116 University Pl.

Anti-Fascists Still Persecuted In Africa

(Continued from page 1)

out at critics and charged that they "belittled" the president's leadership when they objected to the American policy in Algeria and Morocco.

Elmer Davis, head of the Office of War Information, also met reporters that day and in reply to questions admitted that Peyrou's appointment was made after the arrival of Roosevelt and Churchill in Casablanca and "one can only assume that it hardly would have been made without their approval."

REPRESSIONS CONTINUE

Shortly after the Casablanca conference news arrived that the regime of General Nogues in Morocco, far from changing its Vichy complexion, was continuing its persecution of Spanish republicans, Jews, and anti-Vichy Frenchmen.

In a series of articles appearing in the *N. Y. Times* on Jan. 28 and 29, correspondent Drew Middleton wired from Morocco "Whereas in Algeria there is some prospect that the regime may

move away from the extreme right toward center, there is little hope in Morocco where General Nogues runs the protectorate."

According to Middleton, 4,000 Spanish Republicans are still imprisoned, hundreds of Jews, Poles and de Gaulles are still in jail, and the Vichy-organized political police, "an ersatz Gestapo," hounds anyone who expresses anti-fascist sentiments.

This reporter revealed further that French capitalists, along with the officer caste, have moved into Morocco to exploit, not only the native population and the European anti-fascist refugees, but also the American soldiers stationed there. Food supplies, clothing and housing have been cornered by these capitalists and war-profiteering has already reached the proportions of a major scandal. Not only that, their control of the necessities of life is used as a political weapon to prevent, any semblance of an anti-fascist movement from getting underway.

The local military administrators require the people to obtain ration certificates in order to buy anything from a new shirt to a dozen eggs. These certificates are given freely to members of the fascist Legion of Veterans, but are withheld from those who have shown even coolness to Petain and his Vichy gang.

"Membership in the Legion is a prerequisite for success" in any business undertaking, according to Middleton. He quotes high French officers as saying "We don't want to fight (against Hitler), we only want to make money out of this situation."

Thus life in North Africa continues much the same today as it did under Petain and Laval. Despite the arrival of the American forces, it remains a despotic colonial regime which ruthlessly destroys all political opposition, which jails any worker who resists exploitation, and which keeps the natives of the territory in political and economic slavery.

Women In Industry

By MARIE TAYLOR

Now that the novelty of women working together with men in machine shops, shipyards, and railroad yards has begun to wear off, many men are wondering what effect nearly 4 million women workers will have on the labor movement. Will they retard or further the struggle for strong and effective unions, for better working conditions? How well will they protect the gains made by trade unionists who have left their jobs for the armed forces?

As workers, there is no question but that women generally are capable and efficient. As far as unionism and militancy go, however, there is not the same uniformity.

A large proportion of women workers are not new to industry or unionism at all, having worked in lighter industries and, generally, in smaller unions. Their background and experience is extremely valuable, and helps considerably to lighten the task of the labor movement to educate women workers on the important role and problems of the unions.

Many other women, even before entering the factories, had already been educated on the picket lines and in the soup kitchens during strike struggles in which their husbands, brothers, or sons were involved. About these two groups of women there is little doubt: they are not only good workers, but also good union members and fighters.

Then there is another important section of women in industry who are certain to be a real aid to the labor movement—the Negro women. Whether or not they have worked in industry before, these women have known oppression, discrimination, poverty and injustice all their lives. They understand especially well the need for unity among the workers—unity for better working conditions, against discrimination, against attempts by employers to divide the workers and thus reduce their strength and effectiveness.

The final group among the women workers constitutes the main problem. These are the women who have never known factories or unions. They come mainly from offices, from white-collar jobs—the women who used to be sales-clerks, nurses, teachers, housewives, etc. In the main, these are the women who need education most of all.

There are many among them who still think that unions are creations of the devil which will "get you in bad" with the boss, who otherwise would certainly give you a raise as soon as he felt you were worth more. There are even some (believe it or not) who still argue that women, even though they run the same machines and do the same work as men, should not necessarily receive the same pay because—well, because they're women! Naturally these women are not very popular in the shops, either with men or women—except, of course, with the foremen.

It is important that the unions reach these women and give them some education on the history and importance of the union movement. The more advanced women can help by keeping on their toes to correct these and other backward ideas.

The men in the shops have already proven their concern over the conditions and status of women workers, which they understand are integrally connected with their own conditions, by supporting and often leading the campaign for equal pay for women. It is up to the women, now, to demonstrate their understanding and their willingness to cooperate in solving the problems that face the entire labor movement.

Equal Pay for Equal Work by Women

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Latin America

Chile Since The Break With The Axis

By TERENCE PHELAN

Anti-Semitic persecutions, censorship and other suppressions of civil liberties, martial law in the mining districts—such are the first fruits of Chile's entry into "the crusade for democracy" by breaking diplomatic relations with the Axis a fortnight ago.

War's dislocations had already brought severe suffering to the Chilean people. Bread recently doubled in price; milk rose 20%; many other foodstuffs 50 to 100%. In the last year, while production dropped nearly 10%, general prices rose almost 25%. As in the U. S., the government showed less interest in holding down prices than in freezing wages; but until last week Chilean labor had in most cases succeeded in resisting wage-freezing by sharp defensive strikes.

Since the Rios government came to power last spring, it has put through a series of emergency laws giving it semi-dictatorial powers. Carefully unreported by the U.S. capitalist press was the real reason for the repeated postponement of Chile's diplomatic rupture: the government needed one more measure, "Law of External Security" giving it further broad dictatorial powers against all dissenting opinion. Behind the usual pretext of action against "Axis agents," this law is of course aimed directly at labor. Once it was passed, the government felt secure enough at home

to bow at last to Washington pressure for the rupture of relations with the Axis.

First the government issued a decree declaring the mining regions "emergency zones," that is, subject to martial law. The pretext was of course defense against Axis invasion. But an indication of the real purpose is given by the last occasion when the government took such measures.

Last October the workers of the far-southern province of Magallanes declared a political general strike against the skyrocketing cost of living. Martial law was declared; the strike leaders flung into prison; the workers driven back to work.

Particularly significant in the present measures is the fact that the mining unions are largely controlled by the Stalinists, who, in Chile as in the U. S. are moving heaven and earth to strangle labor militancy. That the government finds these "emergency zone" measures necessary can mean only one thing: that not even the Stalinist misleaders can hold back the angry miners.

Next the government ordered great numbers of Jewish refugees who had settled in Santiago, the capital, to clear out to the rural provinces. In some cases, the United Press reported, they were told not only where to go, but what occupations they must engage in on arrival—usually farming.

Particular indignation was

aroused by the typical case of one E. T. Baksi, owner of a little storage-battery shop and chemist-experimenter in processes for utilization of coal by-products. So outrageous was this case that even the bootlicking Stalinist sheet *El Siglo*, was driven to ask: "Shall he now go raise potatoes?"

Since Hitler took over Germany, between 25,000 and 35,000 Jewish refugees have entered Chile. What proportion are affected by the government's eviction-ukase, the first press dispatches did not immediately make clear.

As the usual finishing touch, the Rios government slapped a strict censorship on all international mail, telephones, and cables, especially outgoing news-dispatches. It is obvious that direct press censorship is just around the corner.

The trained seals of the capitalist press huffed and puffed to blow up into colossal, enthusiastic, and unanimous mass movements, demonstrations celebrating the rupture (usually Stalinist-organized).

But the government's real evaluation of the degree of popular support for its policy was indicated by its panicky reaction to the proposal of ex-President Alessandri that the diplomatic rupture be submitted to a nationwide referendum, with every man and woman of 18 or over having the right to vote.

The proposal aroused wide popular approval, including the

critical support of the Fourth Internationalist Partido Obrero Revolucionario. But the government hastily issued a flat refusal to submit the question to a democratic vote.

As dictatorial reaction thus step by step tightens its stranglehold, the Chilean proletariat is in confused ferment. At its annual convention at Rancagua last week, the Chilean Socialist Party split right down the middle, the left wing, under Marmaduke Grove Vallejo, walking out, and apparently, judging from United Press dispatches, approaching the previous left reformist split-off, the Partido Socialista de Trabajadores.

A cabinet crisis followed, the three socialist ministers resigning, as did hundreds of Socialist provincial and regional governors and mayors—a crisis surmounted by President Rios' recognition of the right-wing Socialist ministers and other government functionaries, and thereby the party right wing under Salvador Allende.

The reports in the capitalist press are too scanty and confused to permit exact deductions, but only pseudo-revolutionary sell-outs can be expected from the left wing Socialist leaders.

Nevertheless, the incident demonstrates that the proletarian rank and file of the Socialist Party's left wing is putting up comfortable heat under the self-satisfied posterior of its bureaucratic leaders.

The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

A New Government Committee?

A. Philip Randolph was right when he said that the hearings on Negro discrimination in the railroad industry, scheduled to take place in Washington on Jan. 25, would be a key test for the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

As things developed, the test showed that the FEPC had no real power to do anything fundamental about Jim Crow employment policies. It showed too that the administration had no intention of putting up a fight against the pressure of the Southern Democrats who are unequivocally opposed to any change in the Negro's status, war or no war.

McNutt, who as War Manpower Commissioner had jurisdiction over the FEPC, suddenly called off the hearing. A great roar of protest arose from the labor movement, CIO and AFL, and from all Negro organizations. It is reported that McNutt stated privately that he was "taking the rap" for someone "higher up," which could only be a reference to President Roosevelt.

What little prestige the FEPC had is already gone. Malcolm Maclean, chairman, resigned to hunt a job as adviser on Negro affairs for the Navy. David Saroff, head of RCA, and Mark Ethridge, Southern newspaper editor, have also left the committee. The only ones who remain are the two Negro members and the representatives of the CIO and AFL.

What next? Administration prestige is dwindling among the Negro masses, and some move is necessary if it is not to disappear altogether.

The only thing that could recover some standing for the FEPC would be to hold the hearing which McNutt called off and to have it end with some measures against railroad Jim Crow. But it is hardly likely that this could happen now, so the days of the FEPC appear to be numbered.

According to newspaper reports, a new committee is being planned to take the place of the FEPC, and may be set up within the next week by a presidential executive order. This body would be known as the Full Employment Committee, and would differ from the FEPC in that its members would be paid officials and it would operate along the lines of the National Labor Relations Board. It is said that Attorney General Biddle has studied and approved the proposal and has even recommended as members of the committee Frank P. Graham, member of the War Labor Board, and Judge William Hastie, who announced his resignation last month as Negro

adviser to the War Department. It will not be possible to analyze the proposal in all its details until it is made public. But certain questions about it will inevitably arise at once in the minds of all informed opponents of Jim Crow.

How much chance is there that the new committee will prove any more effective in abolishing discriminatory hiring practices than the old one, when the administration was willing to submit to the pressure of Southern reactionaries and scuttle the old committee just because it proposed to INVESTIGATE Jim Crow on the railroads?

If the new committee should actually be given some powers which the old committee never got, what will happen if it goes seriously about its business and the Southern Democrats again put some pressure on the administration? Will the administration give in again, or will it stand firm and take the risk that the Southern Democrats will join with the Republicans to take over control of Congress?

For even during to ask these questions, we know that The Militant will be accused by Biddle of "stimulating race issues"—as he did in his Dec. 28, 1942 letter to the Post Office asking that this paper be barred from the mails. But we ask them just the same because we are genuinely interested in abolishing Jim Crow root and branch—unlike the members of the administration who appear to be concerned only with working out a "good" formula and making some minor concessions in the hope that these will serve to lessen the discontent of the Negro masses.

We think that the administration already knows it, but we're willing to say it again. You're not going to put an end to the struggle against Jim Crow by barring The Militant from the mails any more than you can satisfy the Negro masses by establishing still another committee with a new set of initials. The struggle against Jim Crow will continue as long as Jim Crow is practiced and Negro dissatisfaction will remain as long as the government keeps bowing to the wishes of the poll taxers.

Whatever the Post Office decides to do about barring The Militant from the mails, whatever the administration decides about a new committee, we shall continue to warn the Negro masses that for the abolition of Jim Crow they can depend only on their own organized strength and the labor movement and a fighting program directed against the breeder of racial discrimination, the capitalist system.

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

A joint Bolivian-American commission is being set up to study wages and working conditions in the tin mines of Bolivia, according to the January 29 *La Prensa*, Spanish-language newspaper.

The commission will be composed of two or three Americans and six Bolivians.

Announcement of the commission followed charges made by Ernesto Galarza, labor representative of the Pan American Union, that U. S. Ambassador Pierre Boal had intervened against the workers in the recent tin miners' strike and had prevented enactment of the long-sought labor code which the strikers were demanding.

The principal mines involved are the Patino interests, a subsidiary of the American corporation, National Lead.

Answering CIO and AFL demands for an investigation, Secretary Hull defended Boal's intervention, arguing that Boal merely "made inquiry about the effect of the proposed labor code on production costs of the strategic materials that we were securing from Bolivia."

However, I. F. Stone, in his Washington letter in the Jan. 9 *Nation*, says that he "obtained a detailed paraphrase of the five-page cable sent the State Department on November 30 by our Ambassador, Pierre de Lagarde Boal, from La Paz. I also have the text of the pertinent paragraphs in the reply which Secretary Hull sent him on December 2."

"The President of Bolivia, according to Boal, expressed the opinion that he could not veto the code without provoking strikes and labor agitation. The President suggested however, that the code was provisional and that he could suspend the application of the causes most likely — in the opinion of the mine-owners and

the American Embassy — to have an adverse effect."

"Boal pointed out the inconvenience of Article 53, which would require payment of wages every fifteen days. Boal said this would increase bookkeeping costs! He also objected that this article, if enforced, would encourage the miners to quit on pay day. 'They are now paid tardily,' he explained, 'deliberately in order to maintain them on the job and to give them a stake in their next month's pay.' A simpler if less diplomatic word for this is poison. Boal ended by declaring it imperative that the United States government make its suggestions promptly, while there was still time, or we will not be able in the future to protest the enforcement of the law."

The State Department's answering cable clearly encouraged Boal to back the mine owners. Stone quotes Hull's cable as stating:

"It is, however, considered desirable that you discreetly express to the president your government's hope and confidence that no steps will be taken which might result in the creation of situations which would inhibit the full performance of contracts made in good faith by both parties." The two parties referred to are the mine owners and Metal Reserves, the RFC subsidiary which is buying Bolivian tin. These were the only parties in the situation that Hull was solicitous about—not the tin miners.

Hull's attempted whitewash of Boal did not satisfy the protesting organizations. The announced commission is a new attempt to mollify public opinion. One may well wonder, however, whether it will lead to anything for the tin miners. A commission to "study" the situation may drag along indefinitely while the intolerable conditions of the miners continue.

Who Killed Carlo Tresca?

Is The GPU Planning a New Murder Drive Against Us?

By Felix Morrow

The bitter controversy over the assassination of Carlo Tresca still continues in the labor movement, along the lines indicated in our previous articles. The Italian-American Labor Council — led by Luigi Antonini, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers and Joseph Catalonotti, vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers — continues to demand a searching investigation of possible Stalinist responsibility. They insist that a Stalinist-inspired assassin is a more likely possibility at this time than a Mussolini-fascist murderer.

The "answer" of the Stalinists—whether in the Freiheit, the Daily Worker, L'Unità del Popolo or the New Masses—follows a strictly-defined pattern: Antonini's statements are characterized as a slander against the Soviet Union, a blow against the "United Nations," aid to an Italian Darlan scheme and red-baiting.

It is clear, on examining these Stalinist "answers," that they all stem from a very specific set of instructions which laid down very precisely what arguments may be employed by each Stalinist writer on this question. And the slavish care with which each writer repeats the approved formulations and no others indicates that the set of instructions is very authoritative indeed.

In all likelihood the authority in this case is higher than Browder's. Answers to charges of assassination are generally not formulated by a Browder but by Stalin's GPU.

Precisely because of the authoritative note in these "answers," one must assess the importance of an extraordinary difference between these Stalinist writings and those in previous situations. The present articles do not breathe a word about the Trotskyists!

Ordinarily one would expect the Stalinists to make much of the fact that the suspicions voiced by the leaders of the Italian-American Labor Council are similar to those in *The Militant*. Ordinarily the Stalinists would seize the opportunity to insinuate that Antonini is simply repeating the charges of the Trotskyists.

During the Moscow Trials, for example, the Stalinist press linked all critics of Stalin's frameups with the Trotskyists. Likewise anyone who pointed to the GPU assassinations in Loyalist Spain was branded as being in league with the "Trotskyist-fascists." Tresca himself, when he charged in 1938 that the GPU had kidnapped Juliet Stuart Poyntz, was "answered" by the Stalinist press with charges that he was a "fascist spy" and linked with the Trotskyists. One could adduce scores of similar examples.

But this time the Stalinist press says not a word about the similarity in views on the Tresca case between the Trotskyist press and the Italian-American Labor Council. Why this strange silence? The implications are ominous.

It is understandable that the Stalinists would be silent about the fact that Tresca himself had close relations with the Trotskyists in many labor defense activities. That Tresca was also a member of the famous Commission of Inquiry, headed by John Dewey, which investigated the Moscow Trials and concluded by condemning them as a frameup against Trotsky; that Tresca joined with the Trotskyists in branding the GPU murders of Trotskyists in Spain; that Tresca branded Stalin as the instigator of the murder of Trotsky; that Tresca's voice never tired of warning the labor movement against new assassination attempts by the GPU against "Trotskyists"—it is quite understandable that the Stalinists do not recall these facts at a moment when they are vociferously arguing that the man they called a fascist and Trotskyist ally could only have been killed by a fascist!

Unions Hit WLB Wage Policy

(Continued from page 1)

Chicago last week for special consideration of the problem, adopted a resolution to be presented to the national CIO which demanded adoption of "a realistic formula recognizing an advance of at least 30% in the cost of living since Jan., 1941, so that the workers through their unions can commence to bargain now for comparable increases in wages."

UAW President R. J. Thomas pointed out after the meeting that "the real increase in the cost of living in Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles and other manufacturing cities is far beyond the government index of living costs. Black market operations and prices do not get into the index."

The railroad unions, representing more than a million workers, are asking for wage increases amounting to 30%.

The Allied Printing Trades Council of Greater New York, representing 25,000 members, announced this week that it was calling a conference of all AFL unions in the city, representing 750,000 workers, to plan a program to meet the mounting cost of living and to lift the WLB wage ceiling.

"Pressure for new wage demands to meet ever-soaring living costs was universal," the announcement said.

And even the Stalinist-dominated leadership of unions such as the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and the State, County and Municipal Workers have been forced by pressure from their members to state their opposition to the WLB formula.

THE PROGRAM NEEDED

Prentiss Brown, new OPA administrator, declared on Jan. 20 that "a slow, well-ordered rise (in prices) of one-half of one per cent a month" can be expected

plan that it conflicted with the Little Steel formula. Acting on the same ground two days later, the Board refused to grant a 4-cent hourly increase to a New Jersey textile workers local, approving only a 3-cent raise.

Thus, for the time being at least, the WLB appears to be determined not to make any concessions to the unions' demands. It may be that the WLB is depending for a solution of the problem on the well-known readiness of most of the labor leaders to submit to Roosevelt's demands.

But as against the unwillingness of the labor leaders to enter into conflict with the administration, there is the growing pressure being exerted on the union leadership by their rank and file members, whose dissatisfaction with present conditions has already been manifested in a number of short but nevertheless significant strikes.

The trade union ranks are faced now not only with the necessity to guard against capitulatory tendencies on the part of their official leaders, but also to formulate a program to replace the oppressive Little Steel formula.

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But these considerations do not apply to the living Antonini and the Mazzini Society leaders who, like the Stalinists, are supporting the war and the "United Nations," etc. In their pro-war circles, not a few figures prefer to remain silent about the GPU "for the sake of the war effort." Such circles could be influenced by a Stalinist barrage identifying Antonini's statements with those of the anti-war Trotskyists. Why, then, do the Stalinists carefully refrain from this type of barrage?

The GPU authors of the instructions to the Stalinist press on the Tresca case know their business. Is a new GPU move against the Trotskyist now being planned which, when it is executed, the Stalinists do not wish to have connected in any way in the public mind with the murder of Tresca? If the Stalinist press were publishing diatribes about "Trotskyists" against Antonini and others and tomorrow a Trotskyist leader met the same fate as Tresca, the diatribes would be very embarrassing to the Stalinists. Is it for this or a similar reason that the GPU instructions on the Tresca case avoid mentioning the Trotskyists? Is some sinister GPU attempt against the American Trotskyists now in the process of unfolding?

It is now two and a half years since the GPU assassinated Trotsky. As the assassination gang led by the Stalinist Siqueiros on May 24, 1940 struck—and missed—while the world press was preoccupied with the Battle of France, so the successful Stalinist assassin "Jackson" struck on August 20, 1940 while the press was centered on the crucial phases of the great air Battle of England. Is a new GPU attempt planned for a moment when the world press will be preoccupied with the coming offensive resulting from the Casablanca deliberations?

The GPU murder of Trotsky dealt the Fourth International a heavy blow but the Trotskyist movement remains the only really formidable opponent of Stalinism in the world labor movement.

The American Trotskyists—the Socialist Workers Party—have demonstrated since Trotsky's death how imperishable are his ideas. The governmental persecutions—first the Minneapolis "sedition" trial of the 28 in October-November 1941, then the suppression of issues of *The Militant* and *Fourth International*, and now the Post Office hearing on barring *The Militant* from the mails—eloquently demonstrate that Trotsky's great work is being resolutely carried forward by his American comrades. Already it is clear that these governmental blows at the Trotskyists have failed to halt the forward march of the movement which Trotsky built so well.

Is the GPU, then, planning to attempt by assassination to achieve what the U. S. government's persecutions failed to do to the Socialist Workers Party? A moment which the GPU must consider particularly favorable is approaching: the forthcoming release of the picture which ex-Ambassador Davies had Hollywood make as a special favor to Stalin, "Mission to Moscow." The scenario of this picture was approved by the Office of War Information and therefore may justly be considered to be sponsored by the Roosevelt administration. It portrays "Trotskyists" as Nazi agents. When thousands of movie theaters are showing it, the GPU may well believe that relatively few people will be too perturbed over the assassination of a Trotskyist leader—or more than one.

Certainly a new GPU attempt appears to be the most logical explanation for this strange "omission" in the Stalinist press on the Tresca case.

We call the attention of all sections of the labor movement to this situation.

On guard against the GPU murder-gang!

Unless these factors are to be taken into consideration, and a program worked out to meet them, labor will be unable to solve the problem of rising living costs. What is indicated therefore is a struggle for a rising scale of wages to be adjusted automatically as the cost of living rises.

'Fourth International' For February Is Now On Sale

The February issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, which appeared this week, contains an interesting list of timely articles.

Wallace's *Post-War Utopia* by C. Charles reviews several of the Vice-President's recent speeches and articles and explains on the basis of conditions which will exist at the end of the war why American capitalism cannot bring prosperity to the world.

A lead editorial deals with the Biddle-Post Office attack on *The Militant*, and the editorial notes, *The Month in Review*, take up the tenth anniversary of the Third Reich; a discussion of what Roosevelt didn't report in his Congressional message on the state of the union; and comment

on the assassination of Carlo Tresca.

A Reminder: How Hitler Came To Power by Terence Phelan reviews the lessons of German events from the time of the armistice to the victory of fascism.

From *The Arsenal of Marxism* contains an illuminating article written by Leon Trotsky in 1933 on *What Is National Socialism?* Trotsky was the first person to give an all-sided Marxist analysis of fascism, and although ten years have passed since it was written this article retains all the educational value it had when first printed.

Roosevelt and Spain by Joseph Hansen examines the attitude of the Roosevelt administration toward Spanish fascism from the time of the outbreak of the Civil War up to the recent overtures made by Washington to Franco.

The USSR: The Civil War Heroes Go by Olga Petrova gives the story and an analysis of a new Soviet play, "The Front," which has been widely shown throughout the USSR and even published in *Pravda*. The article shows that this play has a deep-going political motive and is being utilized by the Stalinist bureaucracy to extend the purge of the Bolshevik fighters of the Civil War period.

The column, *International Notes*, contains two sections: *New Ideas* on Italy, and a copy of a letter dealing with the British Independent Labor Party, sent to the British discussion magazine, *Left*, by Marc Loris, author of an article on the ILP originally printed in *Fourth International* which has aroused considerable comment in Britain.

The magazine sells for 20 cents per copy and an annual subscription costs \$2. The address of *Fourth International* is 116 University Pl., New York City.

Rickenbacker's Speeches and Labor's Responsibilities

By M. MORRISON

Captain Edward Rickenbacker's campaign against organized labor (and that is what his recent statements and speeches amount to) brings to the fore one of the most serious problems the trade union movement is confronted with. It is the problem of the hostility which, undoubtedly, the majority of the men in the armed forces have towards the trade unions, a hostility created and fostered by the clever propaganda of those hostile to organized labor.

When Rickenbacker returned from his trip to the various fronts in the Pacific he was naturally hailed as a hero, because the plane in which he was flying was compelled to make a forced landing and he was rescued after spending almost three weeks on a raft. It was certainly a harrowing experience although not any more so than befalls many a soldier and sailor.

The great publicity which he received made Rickenbacker an ideal mouthpiece for the interests who have everything to gain in creating a division between soldiers and sailors on the one hand and organized workers on the other. Whether he was actually advised by the big monopolists who are his friends to take advantage of his publicity to attack organized labor, or whether he did it on his own initiative, is immaterial. In effect he speaks for the group of big capitalists.

A trade union leadership with social vision would have no difficulty in counteracting the vicious propaganda of those whom Rickenbacker represents. Alas, that is exactly what is lacking—a leadership with social vision. The essence of the reply given to Rickenbacker by Philip Murray, head of the CIO, was a whine that members of the trade unions also prayed for Rickenbacker's rescue and that consequently he should not be so ungrateful as to make statements hostile to organized labor.

In his speeches and in his interviews Rickenbacker took great pains to point out that if the men fighting on the Solomon Islands were transferred to the factories and the workers sent to the fighting fronts, production would double in a month. This statement of course is sheer poppycock, but it is undoubtedly an effective piece of propaganda.

That the men fighting in North Africa or anywhere on the islands in the Pacific Ocean have the most terrible conditions to contend with is not to be denied. That they do not have an eight-hour day and do not receive overtime pay is perfectly true. But that those same men, if transferred to a factory, would be willing for any lengthy period to work under the same conditions under which they are fighting, is absolutely untrue.

Assuming that all of the men fighting on the Solomon Islands do so because they are fired by a great enthusiasm for a noble cause, it must be remembered that this enthusiasm is not destroyed by one factor which is ever present in the case of a worker in a factory producing war material. The worker toiling for a boss is not only producing arms for the front, but profits for the boss. This is the factor ever present in the situation of the workers in a private factory and which would soon destroy the enthusiasm of any soldier who would be transferred to the factory.

The enlisted soldier fighting his head off under the most terrible conditions sees no relationship between his struggles and any profits to a private employer. He sees nothing indicating to him that a private individual is making any profit out of his fighting. The worker in the factory cannot help but see the direct relationship between his work and the huge profits reaped by his employer.

Take the marine off Guadalcanal and place him in a factory and after a short period he will act exactly as the union worker does. He will refuse to work long hours without extra pay and will demand more pay for his work. Why? Because he will see a boss making profits out of his labor.

There are of course other factors explaining the difference between the attitude of workers in a factory and soldiers on the fighting front. In the case of the latter compulsion may play a dominant role. The soldier has no choice but to obey orders. He is also under the necessity of fighting for self preservation. And furthermore he knows that the fighting will not last a lifetime. Nor is the soldier in Guadalcanal confronted in the same way as a worker in the factory by the problem of a rising cost of living and providing his family with all of the necessities.

It must however be recognized that the propaganda of the type Rickenbacker presents is effective and it is undeniable that a majority of the men in the armed

forces is hostile to organized labor. Reports from intelligent workers who are in the army and navy establish that fact. And it is not at all surprising in view of the composition of the men in the armed forces, of the clever propaganda they are subjected to and of the failure of the trade union leadership to counteract this propaganda.

A large proportion of the men in the army and navy come from rural areas where trade unionism is looked upon with hostility. Wartime conditions afford the reactionaries a greater opportunity to inflame them against trade unionism. The low pay, the strict discipline, the hazards of fighting are utilized by the reactionaries to create bitterness toward the trade unions that are not in the least responsible for these conditions.

It is quite easy for a demagogue to arouse a backward soldier or sailor receiving fifty dollars a month against workers earning seventy-five cents, a dollar or even more an hour. It is not difficult to get men on the fighting front to resent strikes in war industries. Soldiers want weapons and ammunition and a strike in a war industry can be pictured as directed against them and not against the employer. Whenever there happens to be a lack of a certain weapon we can rest assured that the reactionaries whose greed for profits or whose inefficiency may be responsible for the lack, blame it on the unions.

Since the vast majority of the men in the armed forces come from the toiling masses they can easily be won over to the trade unions provided the trade unions present themselves as champions not only of the interests of their own members but of the interests of the whole working population including the farmers and the soldiers. This requires a program and intelligent education and propaganda.

It is necessary for the trade unions to carry on systematic propaganda impressing the soldiers and sailors with the tremendous profits made by the employers in the war industries. If there is any stoppage in industry it should be pointed out that the blame lies at the door of the owners who refuse to grant the legitimate demands of the workers. If in addition to such propaganda the trade union leaders would come out for the demand that the government take over the war industries and operate them under workers' control, the sympathies of the soldier and sailor masses would surely be on the side of the trade unions.

Organized labor must have a program for the soldiers and sailors. It should protect them against the officer caste. It should demand greater democracy for the men and better conditions. A soldier and sailor would look differently upon unions if he were to see that they interest themselves in his welfare and that he can look to them for protection.

Why have not the powerful trade unions even taken such steps as establishing canteens where the men in the armed forces can spend their time while on furlough? An intelligent and far-sighted leadership would have done this simple thing long ago and would have seen to it that the men in the armed forces were furnished places for their enjoyment and at the same time be educated in the principles of trade unionism.

The reactionary forces are aware of the big role the soldiers will play after the war is over. The *N. Y. Daily News* has been running editorials to the effect that the soldiers will take over the control of the country when they are through fighting and winning the war. What that means is that with the aid of the demobilized soldiers the reactionaries hope to set up a dictatorship which will completely destroy the trade unions.

It is too much to expect the present trade union leadership to take the necessary measures to gain the sympathies of the soldiers and sailors for the working class. Not unless the trade union masses recognize the danger and exert pressure on their leaders. It is for the trade union militants to assume the task of educating the rank and file to the necessity of adopting a program to win the soldiers and sailors to their side.

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IN LOGIC

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— LEON TROTSKY

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2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
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.

The Secret Of Soviet Production

The German fascists, reeling under the blows of the Red Army, are attempting to explain away their defeats by bitter complaints regarding the Soviet superiority in equipment on the central and southern fronts.

Hans Fritzsche, Nazi military commentator, spoke to the German people on Jan. 27 and said, "Only now do we know what terrific masses of arms and reserves the Soviet Union had stored up."

But it is more than a question of "stored up" planes and tanks and guns — it is a question of producing new ones to replace those worn out or lost in action. In this respect the Soviet Union has accomplished what appears to the capitalist world to be miracles of production. They have converted the entire economy to war production. They have transported whole industries out of the battle zones and relocated them deep in the rear. Moreover, many plants have even continued to produce sinews of war under the very muzzle of enemy cannon. And throughout, the Red Army has received a steady flow of new and improved arms with which to battle the fascists.

And from what source do these seeming miracles flow? From the self-sacrificing Russian workers producing under socialist methods. The abolition of capitalism in the Soviet Union allows planning and the mobilization of the economy behind the war effort to a degree impossible where the profit system operates.

In Germany and England and America, much energy and material is diverted into profitable channels by the capitalists in wartime as in peace. In the Soviet Union, however, there are no capitalists looking out for their own profit, and thus all individuals, all plants and all raw materials are at the disposal of the State to be used against the enemy.

Trotsky foresaw the present production achievements in the USSR when he said in 1936, "The planned economy has... its greatest advantage from the military point of view."

The superiority of the Soviet productive system was irrefutably demonstrated in peace time when in the midst of the gravest crisis of capitalist economy, the USSR made gigantic leaps in in-

dustrial and agriculture under the Five Year Plans. The superiority of the Soviet productive system is now being demonstrated under wartime conditions. But under Stalin the FULL advantages of the Soviet system are not realized.

Today as in the past the factories are run by bureaucrats whose arbitrary rule prevents the direct and unhampered participation of the mass of the workers in organization and production. The bureaucrats have little regard for any plans or production ideas that might originate with the workers. Yet the richest source of such ideas lies precisely with the mass of the workers.

The character of the stifling Stalinist regime was illuminated by Edgar Snow, a journalist now in the USSR. In *The Saturday Evening Post* for Jan. 30, he cables from the USSR:

"I asked, (a factory manager) if he had some kind of workers' advisory council helping to run the plant. 'How do you share your responsibility for factory administration?' I asked.

"There is no sharing," he replied. 'I am solely responsible here for the operation of the factory. No, there is no workers' advisory council. We find it neither necessary nor desirable. The workers do their jobs and I do mine.

"Do the labor unions have no voice in the direction of your plant?"

"No," he said, 'they have other work to do. They cannot interfere with my management in any way.'"

This brief conversation reveals the extent to which Stalin continues to strangle the trade unions and to stifle worker initiative.

Soviet industry and thereby Soviet military power would be immeasurably strengthened were the freely elected Soviets and trade unions restored.

Through their own mass organizations the workers could develop their creative abilities and attain the most for the economy. Then the full fruits of planned production would be realized and Soviet output would rocket upward.

The replacement of the Stalinist regime by Soviet democracy is the surest road for transforming the present Soviet military successes into a decisive victory over Hitler.

Davies' Smear Film Will Aid The GPU

"Mission to Moscow," the movie version of ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, is now in the final weeks of production.

The book itself was a fraud. It purported to be based on "excerpts" from Davies' reports to the State Department from the Soviet Union, and its authority was further bolstered by formal permission of the State Department for the publication in it of sections of Davies' reports. However, it is a notorious fact that Davies' reports at the time characterized the Moscow Trials as frameups, while in his book he does not quote those reports but says he "discovered" — when Stalin became an ally — that the Trials were genuine after all.

The film goes even further than the book, it is reported. There is no hint in it of the character of Davies' original reports on the Moscow Trials. Instead it portrays the distinguished victims of the Trials as paid agents of Hitler, and does not breathe a word of the fact that the well-nigh universal conclusion of public opinion throughout the world — including labor public opinion — was that this monstrous charge of Stalin was a fabrication.

"The Militant" has already explained that the purpose of the film — the scenario was OK'd by government officials — is to appease Stalin in the most cynical manner. American capitalism offers him a Hollywood whitewash of his crimes against the co-workers of Lenin. Of course these new-found "friends" of the Soviet Union know that their slanders against the Trial victims are lies. They do it all the more willingly since they understand very well that to portray thus Lenin's closest co-workers — the generation which made the revolution — is in reality a slander against the Russian revolution and the Soviet Union.

There is a danger now, as Felix Morrow points out in his article on the Treason murder in this issue, that the film may serve to create an atmosphere favorable to the persecution of the revolutionary movement in this country — the Trotskyists. With the "Trotskyists" in the film pictured as Nazi agents, it would facilitate GPU assassinations of the actual Trotskyists in America. This may very well be the sinister consequence of this cynical Hollywood-State Department favor to Stalin.

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The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

More Articles On Fascism Required

Editor:

I have been reading The Militant for almost a year and I think you are doing a very good job enlightening the workers on capitalism. I can see by the paper that you are the only serious fighter against fascism and for socialism. However, I do believe you should carry more articles about German and Italian fascism, how it makes slaves of the working class, how it developed and what slogans were used.

I think you should emphasize the fundamental issues of fascism and socialism and explain how and why capitalism turns to fascism if the workers fail to organize society in their own interests.

I can assure you that I prefer to live in the U.S. than in Europe for living conditions are vastly different. But such a statement should not confuse the worker or farmer in the U.S. who is forced constantly to fight for his living standards. He knows that forces are at work here which would like to create American fascism. These forces should be thoroughly explained.

Enclosed is \$5 to be applied in the struggle for the existence of The Militant.

German-Jewish Worker
New York City

An OPA Agent Admits Some Facts

Editor:

What the OPA is doing to stabilize prices was explained by a representative of the OPA at a membership meeting of a San Francisco local union. He prefaced his remarks by saying that in order to stabilize prices, wages had been frozen. He indicated that this part of the program had been a success, and that the price stabilization part had been a complete failure.

He reported that 50% of the grocers sell above the ceiling prices and of 20 stores investigated, twenty violations were found. And that due to lack of funds, personnel and weak provisions for enforcement, the OPA had been unable to enforce the law.

On being questioned by a member as to what he should do when

a violation was found, he advised him to report the violation to the rationing board. In order not to disillusion the members too much, he explained how a new order was coming out in the near future that would place all grocery markets in three divisions: that all stores in each division would have like prices; also that consumers interest committees are to be formed. But he did not explain how these committees were to function. A new member whose job it is to adjust complaints is to be included on each rationing board. He was confident that the new setup would solve these difficult problems.

However he failed to explain how the government, by allowing the wholesalers to raise prices to the retailers, had placed the squeeze on them and led them in the hole to sweat it out. Until the government sets prices on all articles from top to bottom, the consumer cannot hope to get a break.

The small corner grocer cannot continue to keep articles on his shelves and sell them at a loss. He will simply fail to restock his shelves with these articles, and the consumer will have no variety to choose from. If the government is really interested in seeing that the price laws are enforced and that quality of merchandise is maintained, provision should be made for the trade unions to set up committees of housewives, with the authority to investigate and correct violations.

J. Long
San Francisco, Calif.

How Price Rises Are Put Over

Editor:

A fine squeeze play on the worker-consumer, with myself as one of the victims, is being worked out in the field of soap. "Protex," a cream put out by du Pont for removing grease, has been bought and used by industrial workers for a great number of years. I have been told that before the war it sold for as little as 15 cents for an 8 ounce jar.

When I began to use it about a year ago it was 20 cents, and recently it rose to 29 cents. This rise was engineered, despite a price ceiling, by two methods. First, some stores stopped selling

it and it became available only in places that got high prices and ignored the ceiling.

Recently it completely disappeared from the market. Suddenly, however, a similar compound called "Handsaver" appeared in its place. There was a slight difference though—the new product sold for 25 cents for 3½ ounces. This was an increase overnight of 125% for what appears to be the same product under a new name!

R. Oliver
Philadelphia, Pa.

What Closing N. Y. Schools Will Mean

Editor:

The decision of the Board of Education to close the schools for a week in February in order to meet a reduction in the school's allotment of fuel oil is a measure which meets the problem only by intensifying the misery of tens of thousands of already underprivileged children.

The authorities are well aware that a large portion of New York's school children come from slum areas where social and recreational facilities are nil; that thousands of these children, whose mothers are forced to work in order to provide the essentials of life, will find themselves free in the midst of winter to run wild in the wet and dirty streets or shiver in the drafty unheated flats of the tenements.

If the fuel supply is not sufficient to fill the needs of all the oil burning public institutions and private homes in New York City, let the wealthy home-owners feel the first restrictions. Let those who live in the luxurious mansions of Murray Hill, and those who maintain lush apartments on Park Ave. feel the bitter sting of winter—not the under-dressed, under-fed youngsters of the slums whose only taste of winter comfort has been in the warmth of the school rooms.

Children should not be victimized by a bungling city administration whose lack of foresight finds it unprepared to meet the current fuel shortage.

As long as there is any fuel in the city, the public schools should be kept open.

E. B.
New York City

Police Hound Trotskyists In Northern Ireland

LONDON, Jan. 9 (By Mail)—The vicious police regime of Northern Ireland has opened a campaign of terrorization and repression against the Irish Trotskyists, members of the Ulster section of the Workers' International League. One comrade has been blacklisted by the Belfast employers, another has been deported to Southern Ireland, while a third has been thrown in jail upon trumped-up accusations obviously inspired by the Stalinists.

The first victim of this campaign was a comrade who was driven out of the shipyards in the beginning of November, and was blacklisted by the Employers Federation. This means that it will be impossible for him to obtain employment in his trade.

On Dec. 29, 1942 the second Trotskyist, Pat McKevitt was arrested and detained under the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act. Comrade McKevitt is well known in Dublin for his militancy in the Plumbers, Glaziers and Domestic Engineers Union. He was held by the authorities a week without charges being placed against him. Then, without any pretense of a trial, he was escorted to the border and deported into Southern Ireland.

Finally, on Jan. 6 Bob Armstrong, the leading member of the Irish section of the W. I. L. was arrested and detained under the same act used against McKevitt. Armstrong has a record of more than 10 years activity in the British labor movement. He served his earliest years in the I. L. R. Guild of Youth, following which he joined the Communist Party. He was one of the earliest British anti-fascists to go to Spain to fight Franco where he was twice wounded.

Disillusioned with the Stalinist line, Armstrong demanded a thorough discussion within the party, and then broke with the Stalinists, along with five other members of the Islington Branch of the London C. P. He immediately entered the ranks of the Trotskyists and has since placed his entire life and experience at the disposal of the revolutionary movement.

It is obvious that Armstrong's influence with the workers and his undeviating opposition to the Stalinists' sell-out tactics made him a marked man. In a letter sent to the WIL headquarters last November he warned that the Stalinists were out to frame him if they could. He wrote:

"I received a report that the chief of the political police had asserted that I was linked up with the German legation in Dublin. Yesterday in an interview... he denied that the Stalinists had directly given 'information' on this, but tacitly permitted me to understand that they have their own methods of allowing such 'information' to filter through."

Although the "Special Powers Act" was introduced ostensibly to deal with the I. R. A., the labor movement in Northern Ireland has constantly fought it. Trotskyists have explained to the workers that it would be directed against militants. And so it has.

None of the arrested Trotskyists have at any time been members of the I. R. A., but are Marxists who carry out their activity with the traditional weapons of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—attempts to win the Irish masses to the Marxist banner.

That they were meeting with success is evidenced by these persecutions launched by a frightened regime assisted by the degenerate party of Stalinism.

Premium Pay Chiseled By Perkins' Wage Rule

The workers are in for another jolt to their living standards under a new interpretation of President Roosevelt's executive order on overtime payments, made on Jan. 27 by Secretary of Labor Perkins. The interpretation, if allowed to stand, will result in the elimination of much overtime money now being earned and will materially reduce the size of the pay envelopes in all war industries.

The president's original order banned double time pay except for the seventh consecutive day worked. Now comes Secretary Perkins with an interpretation which further chisels down the size of the pay envelopes by requiring that the seventh day must be worked within the calendar week in order to bring double time rates.

Under such a setup a man could be forced to work as many as 12 consecutive days without receiving overtime. Here's how it could be arranged by the employer:

A worker gets Monday off. He works the next six days of that calendar week and then works the first six days of the following week and takes the seventh day off. Thus he would have worked twelve consecutive days and not one cent of double time pay would be due him.

We can look forward to a juggling of work schedules by the employers in order to take advantage of this new loophole and increase their profits at the expense of the workers.

Organized labor has registered strong protests over this new attack upon the workers' living standards. Philip Murray, President of the CIO, accused Perkins of "formulating policies hostile to organized labor," and appealed to Roosevelt to remove the question of overtime pay from the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor. Murray announced his intention of laying the entire question before the next meeting of the CIO Executive Board, scheduled to convene on Feb. 5.

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THE MYTH OF THE NEGRO PAST by Melville J. Herskovits. Harper and Brothers, 1942. 332 pages, \$4.

In the hey-day of the Southern oligarchy, enslavement of the Negro found its sanction in biblical text. Then it was the theologian who justified the enslavement of the Negro on religious grounds. Today racial prejudice and discrimination are defended in a more "scientific" fashion.

Today it is the scientist and the scholar who defend the lie about the Negro's innate, biological inferiority. A nice division of labor takes place between scholar and scientist. While the "scientist" of the Red Cross school separates the blood plasm of Negro and white donors on the basis of fictitious differences, the "scientific" ethnologist proves that the Negro had his origin in a state of savagery akin to that of animals.

According to this school of ethnology, the wardship exercised by the white man prevents the Negro from reverting to his original savage state. Every cultural acquisition the Negro has made is explained as a gift of the white race. This is the myth of the Negro past combatted in Herskovits' latest book.

It is a damning indictment of the "scientist" who, acts as a mouthpiece for the ideas of a ruling class engaged in the vicious but profitable business of oppressing a minority, and keeping it separate from the rest of the exploited by means of race prejudice. Besides policemen in the everyday world, the ruling-class also needs police in the realm of ideas.

The Africa from which the Negro people of the New World were torn and which still exists, is an agricultural society having a distinctive culture. According to Herskovits, this tribal society manifests a high degree of political and social organization. Enough of a surplus is produced to support a caste of rulers and priests. Land is the basis of the society and is held and worked in the form of collective property by the large family units. Because of the sexual division of labor, women are accorded an equal role in life. Considerable specialization exists in the field of the crafts. Finally, these societies enjoy a rich esthetic and religious life.

The Negro who came to the New World brought with him a definite cultural heritage. These "Africanisms," as Herskovits calls them, included such qualities as the ability to work hard, co-

operativeness, acceptance of women on an equal plane with men, a talent for political and social organization, and a rich esthetic endowment. Having established the real background, the author takes up the history of this cultural heritage in the New World. Because the ordinary ethnologists accept the theory of the Negro's biological inferiority — a concept which justifies race prejudice and coincides with the interests of the ruling class — they are incapable of handling the problem scientifically. Such people misread and distort a cultural heritage in the process of adaptation to a different civilization as biological traits and proof of innate inferiority.

Herskovits' scientific approach contrasts favorably with the daydreaming method of the "apologetic" school of ethnologists. Laziness, according to this reactionary school, is supposed to be part of the Negro's biological equipment! One "authority," Tillinghast, claims that the climate of West Africa is adverse to persistent effort; that this has resulted in the natural selection of the industrially inefficient. Herskovits merely presents the facts, and they have nothing in common with this arm-chair theory.

The African is noted for his ability to work hard. Natural conditions are even more adverse than in a temperate climate. The "laziness" of the Negro slave, cited as "proof" by Tillinghast, is shown by Herskovits to have been sabotage, a form of protest and means of struggle against the master class.

Having disposed of the myth concerning the inferiority of the Negro, past and present, Herskovits does a creditable job of showing how these "Africanisms" have enriched American culture. As the author says, the Negro has a past of which he can be truly proud.

Reviewed by A. STEIN