

THE MILITANT

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Judging by the groans and moans coming out of the mansions of the wealthy and executive offices of the corporations, the capitalists are on the road to the poorhouse.

No worker should be a sucker and feel anything but contempt for these hypocritical performances. The capitalist class is doing very well. Even the Commerce Department of the U. S., one of the most conservative of government agencies, is forced to point out that clear profits in 1942, after all taxes are paid, will be only 5% less than in 1941, a banner year. That means that for the bosses 1942 has been a very good year indeed.

The more conservative wing of the capitalist class is starting a big campaign against the \$25,000 ceiling on salaries. Not that salaries play an important role in the bosses' incomes. Compared with dividends, interest and other forms of income of the capitalists, salaries are unimportant. But the \$25,000 limitation has become a symbol to the capitalist class of a certain amount of restraint placed upon them in their drive to make fortunes out of the war. They want to abolish even this symbol.

The ceiling limitation is, according to those shouting for its repeal, unconstitutional and takes away incentive. However, the ceilings placed upon the workers' wages are very constitutional and very good for incentive, according to the Congressmen and the capitalist press.

Red Army's Offensive Staggers Germans At Stalingrad And Rzhev

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION PROTESTS ATTACK ON 'MILITANT'

Declares Banned Issues Do Not Violate Espionage Act Properly Construed in the Light of Previous Decisions

The Amer. Civil Liberties Union has protested the action of the Post Office Department in withholding from the mails the November issues of THE MILITANT, a press release issued by the ACLU declared last week.

According to the statement, "an examination of the issues barred discloses no material that can be properly construed as violating the Espionage Act in the light of previous decisions. 'The issues contain, the Union says, material criticizing the alleged imperialist phases of the war, the government's labor policy, and Negro discrimination.'"

CHARGES NOT SPECIFIC

"No specific charges have been made nor hearing granted," the ACLU declares. "Post Office rules require hearings only in cases of revocation of second-class mailing privileges. Individual issues of a publication, books or pamphlets may be excluded from the mails without specifications or hearings." The Post Office has not yet indicated whether it intends to demand the revocation of THE MILITANT'S second-class rights.

NOVEMBER ISSUES BARRED

Meanwhile, the Nov. 28 issue of the paper was "withheld from the

malls," as were all the previous Nov. issues. THE MILITANT was informed on Dec. 1 that the copies of the Nov. 14 issue "were being disposed of in accordance with the provisions of Section 725, Postal Laws and Regulations," that is, were being destroyed. The

Maritime Labor Defends Right to Sue Shipowners

SIU, SUP Conduct Struggle to Retain Power of Jones Act

The embattled maritime unions again crossed swords with the shipowners and their reactionary allies in Washington when they discovered last week an attempt to smuggle through Congress a bill which would nullify the Jones Act.

The Jones Act is considered by maritime labor as its "Magna Charta" for it gives the workers the right to sue the shipowners for injuries received in line of work and awards them minimum maintenance wages when they are sick during periods of the working contract.

Taking advantage of the fact that many seamen are now working directly for the government on ships operated by the War Shipping Administration, a bill is being pushed through Congress which would abrogate the Jones Act for the duration of the war and place all maritime workers under the reduced and fixed compensation rates which apply to all federal employees.

The present form of the bill was sneaked through the House without public hearing and is now before the Senate Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

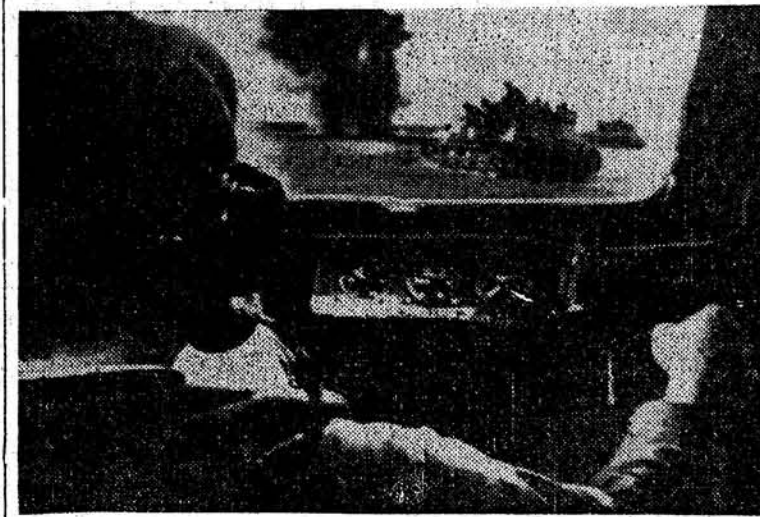
The fight for the retention of the Jones Act is being led on the East Coast by the Atlantic & Gulf District of the Seafarers International Union, and on the West Coast by the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

Nov. 7 issue has also been destroyed.

Protests against this high-handed action of the Post Office in barring THE MILITANT from the mails are increasing. The Call, organ of the Socialist Party, thinks that "Now is the time to rally to the bill of rights," while Labor Action, a labor weekly published in New York, "stands solidly with THE MILITANT and demands... Hands off the labor Press!"

Further comments by the labor press on the matter will be found on page 2 of this issue.

Tanks Slash Hitler's Flank



This Soviet tankist follows his armored unit toward the German lines north of Stalingrad. Units like this have driven across the Don River at several points and are taking a heavy toll of Hitler's siege army.

The Task Now Is To Arouse German Revolt

By MICHAEL CORT

The German troops have been retreating for the past two weeks under the blows of the Red Army in the south at Stalingrad and in the center on the Rzhev front.

On Nov. 18 an encircling movement was launched by the Soviet forces at Stalingrad and 300,000 German troops besieging this city were being squeezed from all sides.

On the central front Hitler's strategic position is likewise becoming grave. Here his troops were already at their "minimum winter positions" — positions they had held all last winter in the face of repeated Red Army drives. Now, however, the Soviets appear to have broken through north of Rzhev and driven to within 50 miles of the Latvian border. A German retreat from Rzhev would endanger Hitler's entire central and northern position.

MANY SURRENDERING

While the Red Army communications list captured arms by the thousands and the German dead at 155,700, the more significant development is the number of prisoners taken. Up to Dec. 1 the count is placed at 66,000 captured on the Stalingrad front alone. This is in sharp contrast to the Russian offensives of the winter of 1941 when the Soviet communiques claimed very few prisoners.

For the first time there are signs of demoralization among the German troops. "Miserable groups of soldiers... are creeping out to meet the Red Army and proclaiming themselves delegates for larger groups ready to surrender," wrote the N. Y. Times correspondent from Moscow on Nov. 25.

Associated Press dispatches tell of one instance where three Nazi divisions, along with their commanding staffs surrendered in a body.

DEVELOPMENTS INSIDE OF GERMANY

The declining morale of the soldiers at the front is meanwhile (Continued on page 3)

Both Parties Are Condemned For Defeat Of Poll Tax Bill

Randolph Hits Role Of Roosevelt, GOP And Senate Liberals

Responsibility for the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate lies not only on the poll taxers, but also on the Roosevelt administration, the Republican Party and the "liberal" Senators, said A. Philip Randolph, director of the Negro-March-on-Washington Movement, in a statement released last week.

"The most disgraceful spectacle of democracy in action witnessed in America in contemporary times was the bi-partisan conspiracy of Republican and Democrats to defeat the anti-poll tax bill," said Randolph. "... It served definitely to disillusion the Negro masses, North, South, East and West, with respect to the Republican Party constituting the ship for their salvation, or the Democratic Party representing any hope whatsoever."

"It also served to make Negroes completely aware of the fact that the New Deal, even under President Roosevelt's leadership, is absolutely bankrupt so far as providing any fundamental answer to the problem of the Negro masses is concerned. In the highways and on the farms, on the railroads and the steamships, in the hotels and domestic kitchens,



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

the Negro will have one thought and that is that 'the president, let us down at a crucial hour in our history.'

"TO BE LAID ASIDE"

"The final speech of Senator Barkley on the poll tax sounded passionate. However, his willingness to make the deal indicates that he was meticulously following the cue of the president in his speech last Tuesday in which he said: 'While long-range social and economic problems are by no means forgotten, they are a little like books which for the moment we have laid aside in order that we might get out the old atlas to study the geography of the battle areas...'

"Although the president expects the suffering people of Italy and other countries under fascist domination to strike out through underground and open rebellion for democratic ideals, values and principles, in America we must put our democratic interests on the shelf and make recourse to the atlas of geography which is primarily concerned with the foreign front. This, we submit, is a contradiction which the President shouldn't expect the American people to accept..."

"The liberal senators failed and failed miserably in upholding the principles of American liberalism, which have found expression in struggles for income taxes, abolition of slavery,

Business Booming

Big business profits have sky-rocketed 400% since the war started!

This is the essence of a detailed analysis of corporation profits made on Nov. 23 by James G. Patton, President of the Farmers' Union. Patton listed business profits for last year at \$15,500,000,000 and estimated that 1942 figures would reach \$17,200,000,000.

Attacking the NAM statement that such profits were "reasonable," Patton pointed out that by such a yardstick the returns to labor and the farmers were "exceedingly poor."

BOSSSES RIDE IN ROLLING NIGHT CLUBS WHILE RAILROADS PACK IN WORKERS 83 TO A CAR

By B. FORREST

CHICAGO — The railroads are paying for expensive advertisements in the daily papers asking the traveling public not to become too impatient with them if there aren't enough seats to go around because of the heroic efforts being made to transport soldiers and war supplies.

Here are a few facts that may shed a little light on the "heroism" of the railroads.

Daily at 2:15 P. M. the New York Central's "Pacemaker" steams out of Chicago, carrying 500 passengers for New York at \$30 per head per round trip. An hour and forty-five minutes later the Twentieth Century Limited pulls out with 140 passengers at a round trip minimum fare of \$83.45.

As the difference in fares would indicate, the Century is what the boys on the road call the "Bankers' Special." The Central uses the same number of

cars for the 500 common folk riding the Pacemaker as are reserved for the 150 privileged ones on the Century. Naturally, the Century supplies stenographers, long distance telephones and a night club so that the big shots can ride in the style to which they are accustomed.

THE ROLLING CLUB

The second example is what is famous around Chicago as the "Deerpath." This is a specially adapted Pullman club-lounge car operated at the tail of the Chicago & Northwestern suburban train pulling out of gill-edged Lake Forest at 8:00 A. M. and returning out of Chicago at 5:10 P. M.

The Deerpath is a rolling club in which 50 or 60 millionaire commuters hold membership. These steel barons, packers, and bankers buy regular tickets. In addition they pay a special annual fee of \$8,250 for the operation of the rolling club. They pro-rate this among the members as they do the cost of air-conditioning, remodeling and redecorating.

The only commuting club car

in the West also has its own porter along with all the frills that his presence implies. The car seats 54 while the other cars in the train accommodate 82.

When a reporter for the Chicago Times telephoned Col. Gardner, chairman of the house committee of the car, to ask what plans the Deerpath riders were making in the face of increasing congestion on suburban trains, Gardner replied he had nothing to say.

"PUBLICITY WOULD BE BAD"

However, the last time a reporter brought the subject to the Colonel's attention, he said, "Any publicity you would give us would be unfriendly. Back in the bad years there was a good deal of feeling about this car which I think was unjustified. It's a private club and I feel there is no reason for publicizing it. I don't think the car is capitalistic but some people do. Publicity would be bad because it makes people think."

Enough said. We can well understand his fear of having the people think.

CIO Convention Evaded Lesson Of The Elections

Facts Reported By Convention Delegates Lead to Conclusion That Workers Need A Labor Party to Protect Their Interests

By Felix Morrow

The 1941 convention of the CIO in Detroit adopted a resolution for "independent political action" to seek the election of "pro-labor" candidates and especially of "members of trade unions." The convention further instructed the incoming executive board to devote efforts and funds to carrying out this political work.

Logically, therefore, one might have expected that this year's convention of the CIO, in Boston Nov. 9-13, would have had before it a report from the executive board summarizing the board's activities in the political field and drawing a balance sheet of the experience. However, there was not a word said about the previous convention's instructions and what had been done to carry them out.

During the preceding year and in the elections the CIO leadership had generally interpreted the Detroit convention instructions to mean support of the Democratic Party. Much time and money had been expended by the CIO top and secondary leadership in attempts to re-elect Democratic incumbents, particularly in the key states of Michigan, California and New Jersey.

The Boston convention took place after the elections. But it did not produce a serious analysis of the defeats sustained by the CIO leadership in the elections.

CONVENTION RESOLUTION

There was a formal "resolution on the recent elections," but it analyzed nothing. Here are its main sections:

"WHEREAS the efforts of the people to secure the election of win-the-war candidates met with severe setback...

"Candidates of disunity, of labor baiting, of appeasement took advantage of the dissatisfaction of the hope with the insufficiently aggressive mobilization of the people for the war, with the division of counsel in our war leadership...

"In instances where the line was drawn sharply and clearly... candidates pledged to unity behind total war action were victorious. Elsewhere with issues beclouded, with the forces of labor and other supporters of the

leadership of our Commander-in-Chief not always united, and with the finger not accurately pointed out to the purveyors of confusion and of internal opposition, the candidates qualified for membership in a true win-the-war Congress went down to defeat... The task requires that the CIO mobilize more effectively than ever for the purpose of focussing nation-wide attention upon the significance of the activities of elected officials... and for voicing the insistence of the American people on unity... behind our Commander-in-Chief... This resolution comes very close to being double-talk. It explains nothing.

The irrefutable fact is that millions of workers voted with their feet in the elections, in such numbers as to blow up all pre-election estimates. The Associated Press expected 34 millions to vote; Gallup predicted 30 millions. Actually only 26 millions voted. Those who did not vote were predominantly workers. This has now been attested to by the Gallup poll, which reports:

GALLUP ESTIMATE

"Of four major occupational groups the institute's preliminary findings reveal that in proportion to their numbers professional and business people went in greatest numbers to the polls. Farmers came next, and then white collar workers. LABOR UNIONS TURNED OUT FEWER IN PROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBERS THAN ANY OF THE OTHER MAJOR GROUPS." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 24.)

Among the factors suggested

THE BENDIX CASE

Same Boss Who Led Fight Against North American Strikers Is Head of Firm Charged With Conspiring With Axis Employers

By C. CHARLES

Remember the North American Aviation Company strike in California during June, 1941?

The strike for a 75 cent an hour minimum and a real union agreement was broken, mainly by the bayonets of the U. S. Army, amid the howl of the aviation manufacturers and the capitalist press that the strike was crippling the armament effort.

While the hypocritical chorus of damnation against the strikers was filling the air, the Bendix Aviation Corporation of South Bend, which is closely linked up with the North American Company, was taking a leading role in an international conspiracy.

So close is the connection between North American and Bendix, that the chairman of North American and the president of Bendix is one and the same person, E. R. Breech.

AIRCRAFT CONSPIRACY

Other partners in the conspiracy were German, Japanese, Italian, French and British aircraft parts and instruments companies. The aim of the schemes between these concerns and Bendix, manufacturer of the greater part of the aviation instruments produced in this country, was to limit competition and extort monopoly prices from manufacture and sale of aircraft instruments and parts.

Thus while Breech, as chairman of the North American Aviation Company, was fighting against the strikers' wage demands, claiming that the strike was harming the preparation for the war against the Axis, the same Breech, as president of Bendix, was, according to government charges, participating in a plot with the aviation companies of the Axis nations.

PARTNERS

The complaint accuses Bendix of gaining up:

With Siemens Apparate und Maschinen of Berlin to divide monopoly control in the sale of aircraft instruments;

With the *Optica Meccanica Italiana* of Rome to limit competition in aerial photographic apparatus;

With the *Tokio Koki Seisaku* of Japan to charge monopoly

prices and divide the territory of the world in the sale of rate-of-climb indicators;

With Bosch of Germany and the *Societe Anonyme Air-Equipment* of France to fix prices and eliminate competition in the sale of de-icers, fuel injection nozzles and superchargers;

With the *Joseph Lucas company* of England for the sale of aircraft instruments, and with English and French carburetor companies.

According to the agreement with Siemens, which was signed on Dec. 17, 1936, the Nazi firm was to have as its domain Germany, Danzig, Austria and Hungary while the American concern was to have Canada and the United States.

The anti-trust division accuses Bendix of having made payments to the German company as late as April, 1941.

The government also charges that Bendix agreed with the German firm not to sell a secret airplane instrument to the Canadian government for war use after Sept. 1939 when World War II began.

VASSALS OF GM

Bendix and North American are organically linked up with each other. They both are partial subsidiaries of General Motors Corporation. GM is the largest single shareholder in both firms, owning 19% of the total stock of Bendix and over 29% of the North American stock, enough to give GM control over the two companies.

The tight hold that GM has over both corporations is further exemplified by the fact that E. R. Breech, chairman of North American and president of Bendix is also a member of the board of General Motors.

The General Motors Corporation is one of the most powerful in the U. S. It in turn is dominated by the DuPont chemical interests, owners of another mighty industrial empire.

Thus the strings of the conspiracy to establish an international cartel with the owners of the key aviation industries of the Axis powers, lead high up into the citadels of American capitalism and America's 60 families.

In a statement on the same day the charges were filed in court the Bendix Corporation dep-

lored the action and declared it to be "nothing short of tragic because the defense of the country will occupy so much time that is needed for the war effort." They are still playing the old refrain they used against the North American strikers.

DIFFERENT TREATMENT FOR BOSSES AND WORKERS

On the whole the government's policy "for the duration" has been not to prosecute anti-trust cases. In all probability this latest case will be allowed to lie dormant along with the many other charges of monopoly against leading U. S. firms.

During the North American strike all sorts of vile lies were told about the strikers. How different it is with Bendix! Bendix, a sister firm of North American, is an honorable, respected and patriotic concern.

Its stockholders and officials will not be attacked by naked bayonets or a lynch campaign in the press. Such treatment is reserved for workers fighting for a 75 cent an hour minimum wage.



Jim Crow Still Here

WAR SHIPPING ADMINISTRATION
DIVISION OF TRAINING
UNITED STATES MARITIME SERVICE
ENROLLING OFFICE

New Orleans, La.,
29 October, 1942.

Sir:-

Reference is made to your letter of recent date to the Training Division, Boston, Mass., regarding employment in the merchant marine as a radio operator.

You are informed that there is no training for colored men in the radio department, however, we are enclosing an information circular containing full information on the Apprentice Seaman Training.

If, after checking over the circular, you desire to enroll for this training you should fill out the enclosed form, "Application for Enrollment as Apprentice Seaman", and mail to the Commandant, U. S. Maritime Service, National Theatre Building, Washington, D. C., if approved you will be notified when and where to report for enrollment.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Clark
Ensign, USMS,
Enrolling Officer.

Discrimination against Negroes by the War Shipping Administration's radio training school is clearly shown by the above letter sent to a Negro applicant. Widespread protests over this Government Jim Crow policy led to the transfer—but not the dismissal—of Yale V. Clark, the official who made the ruling.

U. S. Industrial Accidents Outnumber War Casualties

By LARISSA REED

Speedup, Fatigue, Greed for Profits Result in Heavy Toll

Since the United States entered the war, seven times as many American workers have been killed in industrial accidents as have died on the battle fronts, the National Safety Council reported on Nov. 21. Against a total of 48,956 either killed, missing or wounded in the war, 44,500 workers have been killed and 3,800,000 wounded in industry.

Who is responsible for this appalling loss of workers' lives? The Travelers Insurance Company demonstrated in a study made a few years ago that 98% of all industrial accidents can be prevented. In practically all cases, the accident could have been prevented if the employers had been held responsible for introducing known methods of prevention, including close and watchful care over the physical and mental condition of their employees.

"THERE IS A CONNECTION"

The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences points out: "There is frequently a connection between the profit motive and private ownership on one side and the hazardous nature of industrial processes on the other. . . . Under existing economic relationships dangerous processes are sometimes continued because they are profitable, methods of prevention or safety are neglected because they are costly." From this same authority, we learn that not more than 2% of all accidents are of the so-called "Act of God" or wholly unpreventable type. The remainder could be prevented "if it were not for practical consider-

ation of cost and interference with production and profit."

Thus millions of workers have been killed and maimed—and millions more will become victims of industrial accidents this year—because profits, not prevention, come first with the bosses.

THE 40-HOUR WEEK

Under the pretext of aiding the war effort, the capitalists are whipping up a nationwide campaign of propaganda to lengthen hours and speed up production in the plants. All scientific studies have proven that fatigue brought on by too long hours and speed-up is the prime cause of industrial accidents.

British experience in munitions plants during World War I showed that accident frequency was two and one half times as great in a 12 hour working day as it was when working hours were later reduced to 10 hours per day. Moreover production output gradually diminished so that less was produced in the 12 hour than in the 10 hour day.

Josephine Goldmark and Mary D. Hopkins in a study made during and after the last war in the United States, proved what every worker knows; that even the 10 hour day is too long; that the fatigue it induces leads to a very high frequency of industrial accidents. These findings, published in an official document of the U. S. Government, Public Health Bulletin No. 106, Feb., 1920, proved that the 8 hour day was

more efficient than the 10 hour day; there were fewer deaths by accidents and less time lost thru disability and illness.

This report was prefaced by remarks about capitalist greed which apply with equal force today: "With the entrance of the U. S. into the war . . . the instant need of supplies awoke the instinct to spurt, to put on pressure which has always been associated with the desire for quick returns. In many quarters the lessons of history and experience went for naught and the demand was raised for immediately lengthened hours of labor."

STRIKES AND ACCIDENTS

There has been much fuss in the capitalist press about man days lost in strikes, the primary weapon of the workers for the protection of their wages and living standards. The UAW-CIO Research Department has compared the time lost in strikes during 1942 with the time lost in industrial accidents:

"In the face of the countless hours lost through preventable industrial accidents, the figures on man days lost through strikes are very small. The press and the manufacturers' associations are careful not to make the comparison, but the actual figures show that in the first seven months of 1942 total man days lost through war industry strikes was only 1,131,000, while in 1941 there were 42,000,000 man days lost through industrial accidents, and a total of over 400,000,000 man days were lost through disease and disability of all kinds in 1941."

The UAW-CIO paper lists some of the reasons for this terrible loss, most of which stem directly from capitalist greed: New workers are inadequately trained; they work on new processes involving dangerous chemicals or new machines; fatigue is brought on by longer hours on war work; bad lighting; the 24-hour operation of equipment, etc.

That the bosses are chiefly responsible for this tremendous toll in workers' lives and health is admitted even by the National Safety Council, an organization designated by President Roosevelt to try to counteract the accident menace. According to an AP report of Sept. 19, Ned H. Dearborn, executive vice-president of the Council, blames employers for the rising accident rate.

"It is due to the fact that far too many business men are not honestly trying to prevent accidents as hard as they must under wartime conditions," he said.

A JOB FOR THE UNIONS

In many plants unions and union stewards undertake the task of seeing that the workers are properly safeguarded in their work. This is especially necessary nowadays when millions of new, inexperienced workers, including women, are going into the plants. Since fatigue is the largest single causal factor in accidents, the trade unions should fight against the longer work week, and firmly resist the introduction of the speed-up, no matter what hypocritical pretext is used to try and foist it upon the workers. The workers should get proper rest periods and regular vacations.

The lives and health of the working class are the greatest asset of the American people; too much has already been sacrificed to swell the bank accounts

CIO Convention Evaded Lesson Of The Elections

(Continued from page 1)

may have been due to the fact that labor is less enthusiastic about the present Administration than formerly. In the past it has given the Administration heavy support."

The CIO resolution, however, did not even mention the fact that millions of trade unionists were so indifferent to the outcome of the elections that they did not vote.

The fact of this indifference was of course so well known that it came out repeatedly in the speeches of delegates who discussed the resolution. But, unfortunately, not one delegate attempted to explain WHY the workers voted with their feet.

NO EXPLANATION

In typical bureaucratic fashion, Van A. Bittner, Murray's second-in-command in the United Steel Workers, blamed the workers, saying: "Many of our own people forgot all about protecting themselves on the political field and did not go out and vote or did not take the interest in the elections that they should." WHY the workers didn't think it would protect them to vote Democratic, Bittner did not try to explain.

Bittner concluded in the language of traditional "pure and simple" unionism: "Build our unions, organize the unorganized, so that we can say, regardless of what politicians may do, our unions are going to protect labor."

On this point Bittner was effectively answered by the next speaker, Ben Probe of the Jackson County (Michigan) Industrial Council, who said:

"Organizing a l o n e is not enough because you may have 100% closed shop, but that isn't going to get a raise in wages. Collective bargaining as we have come to know it has probably been taken over by the government. If you want to get a raise in wages, if you want to call a strike, you are going to have to go to the government." In short, willy-nilly the unions are in politics.

But Probe stopped short there instead of discussing the basic question: the kind of politics that labor must carry on. Yet that question was sharply posed by Probe's own evidence: "We found in Michigan that probably anywhere from 25 to 35% of our people were not even registered to vote." And nobody could claim that the auto orkers of Michigan are indifferent union members!

THE ALP VOTE

One delegate, ex-Socialist Jack Altman of the Retail and Wholesale Workers, contrasted the results elsewhere with the fact that in New York State the American Labor Party polled the biggest percentage vote in its history—18 per cent of New York City's vote. But the obvious conclusion— that where the workers were given a half-chance to vote for independent labor political action they did so in large numbers— Altman did not have the courage to draw, although it was obviously on the tip of his tongue. His sole proposal was that "the CIO set up a political committee that will organize our forces in every state," to elect good candidates, "yes, even Roosevelt in 1944 if we are still in the war."

The Stalinist formula in the discussion on the elections was the hoary old one about the line being correct but that it had not been carried out, thus Adams of the West Coast longshoremen: "The program of CIO in the political field is right, but it has got to be carried out." Similarly Merrill of the Office and Professional Workers: "The political problem before us is a problem of massing support behind the Commander-in-Chief. . . . Labor had this very real responsibility which in many areas we failed to cover politically designs" (*Black Man's Burden*).

Thus in 1907 the French shelled Casablanca and occupied the city; similarly at Udja the French army moved in after the desecration of a native cemetery had provoked a disturbance. Having eliminated all her capitalist rivals except Spain, and then moved in with her army, France was ready to destroy the political independence she had guaranteed in 1906.

UAW LEADERS SILENT

It should be noted that none of the workers' leaders took the floor on the question of the elec-

tions. Yet they knew better than anybody else in the convention what a striking change has taken place among the most active CIO workers. In 1936 and 1938 (which was not a presidential-election year), the Michigan workers had been the backbone of the electoral victories of the Democrats in the state and Congressional elections. The local unions had enthusiastically mobilized and put over "their" candidates. In stark contrast, this year, no amount of exhortation from on top could get the workers down below to bestir themselves for the very same candidates.

Why were the auto workers' leaders silent on the floor? They had gone through the motions of submitting to the resolutions committee a "triple victory" program: 1. To win the war; 2. To maintain our democratic institutions; 3. To win the peace. All its formulations were somewhat to the left of the official CIO line and were rejected. The UAW leaders made no attempt to fight for their line on the floor on any point.

One formulation in the "triple victory" program is particularly worth noting. It calls for "re-orientation of the functions of the CIO and its international unions." It declares that necessity "to place the major emphasis of our work on programs and activities

of a broad economic and political nature." This formulation half-openly recognizes that "to deal effectively with the various emergency and normal legislative and administrative bodies of the government" has become the major problem of the labor movement.

Once this is recognized, the "solution" proposed by Murray & Co.—vainly begging Roosevelt for more labor representatives on the various government boards and bodies— appears utterly ludicrous. Certainly Roosevelt cannot appoint labor representatives to the most important body of all— Congress!

All the facts reported to the convention about the elections, all the discussions on all the questions, logically lead to but one conclusion: LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY. An independent Labor Party, rallying behind it not only the organized workers but also the still-larger body of those as yet unorganized, and the workers' families and the dirt farmers and agricultural workers — in short, the overwhelming majority of the nation.

This was the conclusion obviously indicated by all questions at the convention. But, tied to Roosevelt and through him to the Democratic Party, the CIO leadership evaded the plain answer.

How the French Came Into Domination of Morocco

By MARK BRADEN

France's seizure of Morocco in 1900-1912 is a long record of broken promises, secret treaties, military expeditions, bribes and coercion.

Writing in 1899, Professor E. D. Adams declared that "The main characteristic of French colonization has always been conquest by military expeditions." The French imperialists used such expeditions against the Moroccans on numerous occasions, but they did not hesitate, when they saw the need for it, to make all kinds of promises about preserving the independence of Morocco.

In a treaty signed with Britain in 1904 — which recognized Britain's "claim" to Egypt — the French government declared that it was not "its intention to change the political status of Morocco." But the treaty left the way open for France to do just this by stating that France would "see to the tranquility of the country and lend her assistance for all the administrative, financial and military reforms it is in need of."

The German imperialists did not view this with pleasure — they preferred to "assist" Morocco themselves. So in 1906 at the Algeiras conference France "appeased" Germany by ceding 100,000 square miles of the Sudan to Germany in return for recognition of her "special position" in Morocco.

Having previously appeased Italy—all these conferences also made secret treaties pertaining to boundaries, economic spheres of influence, etc. which were kept from the people for years — France was able to move in more openly to destroy the political independence of Morocco.

FRENCH PRETEXT

The French imperialists constantly utilized the device of provoking individual attacks by the natives to justify their own aggressions. The English humanitarian, Edmund Morel, who long crusaded against the slave trade, sums up: "These 'incidents' were quite unimportant but they gave the military of the French Algerian administration the necessary excuse for military action...they were never more than a pretext to cover political designs" (*Black Man's Burden*).

Thus in 1907 the French shelled Casablanca and occupied the city; similarly at Udja the French army moved in after the desecration of a native cemetery had provoked a disturbance. Having eliminated all her capitalist rivals except Spain, and then moved in with her army, France was ready to destroy the political independence she had guaranteed in 1906.

Agents of the big capitalists arrived to exploit the economic resources of the country. Its agricultural products of wheat, barley, maize, olives, figs and almonds were supplemented by large-scale planting of cotton, bread-wheat and potatoes. Capital was exported from France to develop the harbors of the fine ports on the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts.

sume the loan. In the face of their army he "consented" and tried to raise payment by taxing his subjects.

But the Rif tribes, who only nominally paid him allegiance, revolted. The French army went out to meet them under the command of General Lyautey. The French demanded of Sultan Hafid that since he could not keep "order," a protectorate had to be established. He reluctantly agreed in the face of the military situation. Thus France broke her promise and smashed the political independence of Morocco.

FRENCH DOMINATION

General Lyautey immediately proceeded to organize a colonial administration. Troops were garrisoned wherever possible. A French civil administration was established. More capital was imported. The trade of Morocco jumped, with big profits mostly for the French capitalists. From 95 million francs in 1910, total trade climbed to 222 millions in 1913, and then to 2,644 million francs in 1927.

But big profits to the French capitalists did not convince the natives that France was bringing them "civilization." In the northern section of Morocco which Spain controlled, revolt after revolt flared up. In the French section, the revolt of 1910 was scarcely "pacified" before a new upsurge occurred at Fez in 1912. No sooner did General Lyautey suppress this, then in the South the tribes rose again. By this time the French had almost 40 battalions in Morocco who were hard-pressed in their brutal efforts to maintain "tranquility."

PLUNDER AND WAR

This brief summary shows how, in the space of 12 years, France eliminated all her capitalist rivals except Spain, economically penetrated Morocco, destroyed its political independence and made it another profitable link in her vast African Empire. This process of the partitioning of Africa amongst the great capitalist powers was inextricably bound up with their preparations for the World War; they divided and plundered a continent only to fight for its redistribution.

And now they are fighting again. General Eisenhower stands at the grave of General Lyautey and praises him as an "empire-builder." Roosevelt and Eisenhower pledge that they are "protecting" French possessions until a "free" France can resume its own control. What they mean is that, notwithstanding the noble words of the Atlantic Charter, the Allies mean to hold Morocco and the rest of French Africa in subjection until its masters are "free" from their rival, Germany. But such "freedom" of large capitalist powers to oppress and exploit millions of colonial peoples and deny them their national independence, is rank hypocrisy.

When the large powers try to justify their carving up of Africa, they speak of "bringing civilization to the dark continent." Let the apologists of French capitalism answer the question: Besides plundering Morocco for the big banks, what have you done for the people of Morocco; where is the progress you promised them? In exchange for the destruction of their independence, what have you given them?

'Labor Action' Protests Post Office's Action

The Nov. 30 issue of *Labor Action*, a labor weekly published in New York, sharply criticizes the Post Office for withholding the November issues of THE MILITANT from the mails. An article, entitled "Post Office Department Dictators Bar Mailing of Labor Newspaper," says in part:

"An examination of the last three issues of THE MILITANT can offer no serious reason or explanation for this move. There are no 'military secrets' revealed, or any other news that could fall into a similar category.

"Could it be that the ban was placed on THE MILITANT for its references to examples of Jim Crowism in the American Army; its illustrations of how the capitalist class of America is making huge war profits; its criticism of the recently adopted tax program that places the burden of the war effort on labor?"

"We are of the opinion that THE MILITANT is under attack for exactly these reasons. If this is true — and there is still no statement from the Washington officialdom responsible for this disgraceful action — then it means that a labor paper representing

a certain political point of view can be banned at any time that its opinion doesn't FULLY coincide with that of Roosevelt and the American ruling class. Could there be a greater illustration of totalitarianism, of an anti-democratic blow against the American labor movement?"

The article then points out that the attack on THE MILITANT must be regarded as an attack on the whole labor press, including *Labor Action* and trade union papers of the AFL and the CIO, which could also be suppressed if the present attack against THE MILITANT is successful. The article then concludes:

"As THE MILITANT has stated in a press release issued this week (a release which was completely ignored by the boss press), we must 'preserve the right of all labor papers for a free press unhampered by reactionary bureaucrats!'"

"Labor Action stands solidly with THE MILITANT and demands that the Washington authorities restore its full mailing rights. HANDS OFF THE LABOR PRESS! FOR A FREE PRESS IN AMERICA!"

Comment Of 'The Call' On The 'Militant' Ban

An editorial in the Dec. 4 issue of *The Call*, organ of the Socialist Party, makes the following comment on the withholding of *The Militant* from the mails:

"If this vigorous but comparatively obscure paper can be suppressed or intimidated because of its forthright criticism of the administration, then, as the editors of *The Militant* state, 'no labor paper will be safe to utter the slightest criticism or to stand up for its democratic rights.' Or, as Norman Thomas declared at the recent dinner of the Workers Defense League, any publication which is not 100% addicted to adulation of the President is likely to find itself in hot water."

"It goes without saying that *The Call* and the Socialist Party do not reaffirm its historic stand in regard to freedom of criticism because of any sympathy with the Trotskyites or any belief in their principles. . . .

position to, post office or any administrative censorship stems from deeper causes, which have already been listed at length in these columns. We must be eternally on guard against the ready acceptance of totalitarian regimentation. We must protest unceasingly against any attempt at suppression of criticism. We must be ready to fight unhesitatingly against any manifestation of dictatorship.

"What happened to *The Militant* is especially bad because the paper was not even informed by the authorities of the fact that two issues were 'not being released.' Only when complaints came in that two successive issues had not been received by subscribers were questioners at the post office told that the issues were 'being withheld from dispatch.' . . .

"Now is the time to rally to the bill of rights."

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

How the Post Office Attack On Our Paper Affects the Struggle Against Jim Crow

The present activities of the Post Office in preventing THE MILITANT from going through the mails are closely connected with the whole struggle to smash Jim Crowism in the United States. The Post Office's objections to THE MILITANT are not based on what we have to say about the Negro struggle alone...

Women In Industry

How to Enforce the War Labor Board's Equal Pay Decision

By MARIE TAYLOR

In response to the demands of workers throughout the country, the War Labor Board last week handed down a decision recognizing the principle of equal pay for equal work done by women.

The Military And Political Effects Of The Turn In War

By A. ROLAND

No sooner do the "democracies" score a major victory in the war than an instantaneous change is noted in their politics. War is the extension of politics, by the other means. The policies pursued in a period of defeat are necessarily different from those put into effect when victory is the perspective.

A Clear Trend to the Right Is Shown As Capitalists See Approach of Victory

United States as well. The affair Darlan is a symptom of the new atmosphere. The "expediency" formula can lead quite far. It is only under the warming rays of the sun of victory that a United States official can say that the Army would be willing to treat even a Goering in the same way if he brought over the entire Luftwaffe.

Other. We may expect that more and more attempts to "discipline" the American working class will be made as the end of the war approaches. The N. Y. Times recognizes the turn in politics in England, but of course says little on the corresponding changes here.

Soviet Drives Stagger Germans On Two Fronts

(Continued from page 1)

matched by signs of ferment among the German workers at home. Nazi repressions have sharply increased and published lists of "radio criminals," "saboteurs" and "defeatists" have doubled and tripled during the past months.

ing them after the war is over. He has not pledged the aid of the Soviet Union to the German workers in their struggle to free themselves from Hitler. He has not summoned them to a joint struggle for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

The Cripps mission gained the badly needed time that Churchill wanted to steer the Empire into a brighter period. It is clear now that Churchill's pent-up feelings of endurance, the moment a ray of victory appeared, the moment the turn in the war came, he could contain himself no longer.

has reduced that fear by embracing the policies of the capitalist "democracies." The military victories of the Red Army can be extended and turned into decisive victories. The ferment in Germany can completely disrupt Hitler's rear and facilitate Soviet victory.

WHAT GERMAN WORKERS FEAR Moreover, the German workers' capacity to fight Hitler has been limited by their fear of the consequences of an Allied victory. Most of them lived through the post-war period when the Treaty of Versailles allowed the Allies to plunder prostrate Germany.

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT Boston—Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St. Chicago—Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.

Some Lessons Of The Anti-Poll Tax Defeat

Two significant conclusions can be drawn from the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate last week. One is the extent to which a ruling minority will go to resist even a minor concession to the masses.

and the establishment of a unicameral legislative body. When the Constitution of the United States was amended to provide for popular elections of Senators, instead of their election by state legislatures, there were people who concluded that no serious objection could henceforth be raised against the Senate as an anti-democratic chamber.

It can be argued that the power and wealth of the Southern ruling class is not at all threatened by eliminating the qualification of a poll tax to vote in Federal elections. That is true. It may also be true that if the Southern ruling class were really convinced that in order to win the war it must yield on this point, it would do so.

Next Week's Classes of the New York School of Social Science Wed., Dec. 9, 8:15 P. M. World Economy Is Ripe for Socialism C. CHARLES, Instructor

NEW YORK BRANCH OF CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE presents "TRIAL BY ERROR" A VERY LIGHT OPERETTA on behalf of The Minneapolis Defendants Sentenced One Year Ago DANCING — REFRESHMENTS WERDERMANN'S HALL, 160 Third Avenue (near 16th St.) 9:00 P. M. December 12, 1942 Subscription 50 Cents

679 Votes For Breitman NEWARK, N. J., Dec. 1 — New Jersey newspapers today reported that state officials had recorded 679 votes for George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for United States Senator in the Nov. 3 elections.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union By ALBERT GOLDMAN Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York City

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JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
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.

War Aims One Year After Pearl Harbor

A year has passed since Pearl Harbor. The casualty lists are becoming longer and longer. The people in this country have the right to ask, "What are we fighting for?"

Are they fighting to bring Darlan to power in France? Are they fighting to place the Habsburgs of Austria back to the throne? To many people it appears so.

In the first world war the slogan was that the war was being fought to end Kaiserism; in the second world war being fought to place the Kaisers of Austria back on the throne from which they fled before the aroused masses of that country?

So it seems, judging by the attitude and statements of the State and War Departments and of the President himself.

Archduke Otto of Habsburg is the pretender to the throne of Austria-Hungary. His father ruled over a prison house of peoples, a center of class and national oppressions of the vilest type. The Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm was a model of liberalism compared to the Austro-Hungarian feudal-capitalist set up. Otto has tied his hopes for restoration with the Allied camp.

On Nov. 19, Secretary of War Stimson wrote to "Otto of Habsburg" as head of the "military committee for the liberation of Austria," informing him that he had been "accepted by this Department." Thus Otto is recognized as head of an Austrian Battalion of the American Army.

The very heading of the letter to Otto reeks of reaction. It is addressed to "Otto of Habsburg," using a form very similar to that which is used in addressing royalty. It appears from the letter that the War Department took the initiative in the move, or at least went more than halfway to meet the vestige of a decayed monarchy.

The War Department consulted the State Department before acting, so the feeble excuse of ignorance cannot be advanced.

As an added straw in the wind it can be pointed out that Otto's mother, the former Empress Zita, enjoys "social advantages" in Washington. These advantages went so far as being a guest at a week end at the President's home in Hyde Park last summer.

According to many liberals, the relationship with Darlan is merely a mistake or a temporary wartime expedient to facilitate the military conquest of Northern Africa. This explanation has been suggested by the president himself.

But in the relations with Habsburg even this pretext will not hold water. Habsburg is not even the feeble force that Darlan was. The news of the "progress" in the status of Otto will be met by the Austrian masses with hostile indifference if not active opposition.

As a matter of fact, both Darlan and Otto have absolutely no roots among any section of the masses of either France or what was formerly Austria-Hungary.

They are hated and despised figures among the

people of the two countries. Neither of them has ever made any pretense of being democrats. They both have been bred in a tradition of reaction and hatred of democracy and have acted according to this tradition.

In their relations with Otto, the State and War Departments have contemptuously disregarded the liberal and semi-radical Austrians even though these are pro-Ally and have a measure of support among the people of Austria.

What is behind this close relationship, this bowing and scraping before impotent and isolated crass and bloody reactionaries? What is this war being fought for?

Washington officials may seek to suppress *The Militant* for raising such questions. But suppressions will not answer these questions, nor stop the masses from thinking about them and asking them.

What Happens To The Overtime Pay?

Last spring President Roosevelt asked the unions to voluntarily surrender premium pay for weekend and holiday pay on the ground that "in wartime it puts a brake on production." In reply to the question of what would happen to the money which the workers give up, he promised on April 8, in a letter to the Chicago emergency conference of the United Auto Workers, that:

"It is the intention of the government to renegotiate contracts with the employers wherever necessary to insure that the savings from relinquishment of double or premium time go not to the employer but the nation."

Late in the summer, Roosevelt decided to make the surrender of premium pay mandatory, and he issued an executive order on Sept. 9 decreeing its abolition. In this order he said that all government agencies and departments would "immediately open negotiations to alter provisions in existing contracts" so that the premium pay taken from the workers would not be kept by the employers.

Since that time there have been no reports by the government on the extent to which contracts have been negotiated. But last week the Stalinists spilled some of the beans.

In a statement printed in the Nov. 28 issue of *UE News*, the Stalinist-dominated leadership of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers electrically states:

"To date, only an insignificant number of the many government contracts have in fact been renegotiated."

And the same UE leaders are quoted in a Nov. 23 *Daily Worker* as saying that "This provision of the order has been substantially ignored, so that unless the companies agree to turn over the Thanksgiving Day savings to the government, these firms will pocket millions of dollars to which they are not entitled."

In an effort to save face before their own members, the UE leaders organized a campaign to persuade the employers under contract with the UE to agree to give the Treasury the money involved in Thanksgiving overtime.

Two days after Thanksgiving the *Daily Worker* reported the only results of this campaign thus far made public. In the metropolitan area, the story boasted, 11 plants employing 7,000 workers had complied with the UE request. At the estimated figure of \$4 per worker, this means \$28,000 would go to the government. The difference between "millions" and \$28,000 remained in the bosses' pockets.

The employers, government officials, labor leaders and Stalinists all argued that the payment of premium wages was impeding production. By pressure and threat and executive decree they took it away from the workers. Now the workers can see the real reason for their action, and its result.

Randolph's Statement

On the front page of this issue is an article which merits the closest attention of every worker: a report of the statement made last week by A. Philip Randolph, union leader and director of the March-on-Washington Movement, on the occasion of the defeat of the anti-poll tax bill in Congress.

The deal which saved the poll-tax was made possible only through the collaboration of the Republican and Democratic Parties, Randolph points out. It showed "that the New Deal, even under President Roosevelt's leadership, is absolutely bankrupt, so far as providing any fundamental answer to the problem of the Negro is concerned." And "that the liberal senators failed and failed miserably in upholding the principles of American liberalism."

In many ways, then, Randolph's was an excellent analysis of the lessons of the fight over the poll tax. But it was not an adequate analysis. It is true that he promised that the March-on-Washington Movement would intensify its activities on behalf of the democratic rights of the Negro and white workers.

But Randolph's statement did not indicate the political step which should be taken by all who are aware of the real role of the New Deal, the old parties and the capitalist liberals.

It is not enough to condemn the enemies of the workers. It is also necessary to organize a fight against them and to try to take political power out of their hands. The need of the workers today, white and Negro, and of all those who would defend and extend the democratic rights of the masses in wartime, is a nation-wide independent labor party based on the trade union movement.

WORKERS' FORUM

These 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.

False Propaganda On 40-Hour Week

Editor:
All the hue and cry about the 40-hour week being responsible for a shortage of war workers is just so much boss propaganda. The labor baiters in Congress, and elsewhere, are trying to give the people the impression that the law won't let workers spend more than 40 hours on the job. The facts are, as most *Militant* readers know, that the law merely says that overtime shall be paid after 40 hours — the workers can labor as long as they want to.

Even the so-called Gallup Poll has come out with a survey that explodes the boss propaganda on this point. The poll revealed that 79% of the war workers were willing to stay on the job more than 40 hours per week, but they wanted overtime pay for it.

And what's wrong with that, I should like to ask? The bosses are making enormous profits out of this war and there's no reason why they can't pay overtime to the men that really do the producing.

L. R.
CHICAGO

Glad We Intend To Fight It Out

Editor:
We have been visiting the people on our mailing list to explain why they weren't receiving the paper. We had some very encouraging comments, especially from our colored friends.

Each paper that is sent there is seen by many people other than those we send it to. Being afraid we had stopped sending it be-

cause perhaps their subscriptions had run out, they were scraping together some money to send to you. They were pleased to find that we intend to fight to be able to send them the papers.

M. J.,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sends Contribution, Wants Farm Articles

Editor:
I received your letter telling the reason why the Nov. 7 and 14 issues of THE MILITANT were not received. We subscribers demand that those two issues be released. Also we protest the interference with THE MILITANT's mailing rights in the future . . .

Enclosed you will find 50c. in postage stamps which is a small contribution to help in your fight. Also, as a farmer, I would like it if you would carry more articles on the subject of agriculture, farm problem, the farm bloc, etc.

M. A.
LIMA, N. Y.

Cost of Living Squeezes \$16 Worker

Editor:
I have just been listening to a bond-selling radio program — that 10% campaign — and out of curiosity I worked out just what a person earning \$16 a week (minimum wage in my work) would have left out of his pay. Whew! I think that is a subject that should be covered by *The Militant*. I'll bet few realize what it amounts up to for a low-paid worker.

Besides that, our dollar is

shrinking all the time. We all know butter is 55c. per pound. Ceilings were supposed to have been placed but we can't even see the ceiling. Things are going up and up and it's hard enough to make ends meet on \$16. But when you begin to take 10% off that amount — then it's really tough. Then of course there are all the hidden taxes that cut it down even more.

I know this has been going on for some time and maybe I've been slow in coming to, but it sure is hitting me between the eyes (and in the pocket-book, now.

R. Q.
Allentown, Pa.

Imperialists and Their Arguments

Editor:
Nationalism has played both progressive and reactionary roles in history; imperialism only reactionary ones.

The imperialisms of Germany and Italy, for demagogic purposes and in necessity of justifying themselves before a proletariat more or less advanced, use nationalistic arguments in their apologies. They present a cynical rehearsal of progressive nationalism.

For the same reasons the United States and England must use internationalism as an argument in their propaganda; but the internationalism of these countries is as false and rotten as the nationalism of Germany and Italy. It is the difference between a fascism that masks itself in the uniforms of the past and a fascism (as yet only in its embryonic stage) that must mask itself in the dress of the future.

EGIDIO MATTINA,
Easton, Pa.



VICTORY AND AFTER, by Earl Browder. International Publishers. New York, 1942. \$5.00, 256 pages.

Browder's book marks a new low point for the Stalinists in this country. Supposedly written as a "systematic presentation of the point of view of the Communist Party of the United States," it essentially apologizes for the very existence of that party and underwrites every reactionary policy of American capitalism.

Any worker who opens the book for a political answer to his daily problems will be wasting his time. The book was written for the purpose of alleviating all uneasiness about the "menace of Communism" amongst the capitalists, and seeks by apologetic scraping and bowing to make a respectable place for the Communist Party in the capitalist world.

Chapter V is entitled "Is Communism a Menace?" Browder explains in great detail that it is not. It should be surprising to many workers, including members of the Communist Party to find a leading "Communist" scoffing at the possibility of communism. But the explanation is simple. Browder is no communist. Consider this paragraph penned by him:

"Mr. Hoover thinks the capitalist system is such a delicate organism that if it has any competition with a socialist system anywhere in the world it will simply curl up and die of a belly-ache, and, therefore, to save capitalism, we must kill off socialism by war wherever it might appear.

"Mr. Hoover's judgment upon capitalism is worse than anything which I, as a spokesman for the Communists, have ever uttered against it. For I firmly believe that Mr. Hoover's theory is a slander against capitalism. I believe that it is possible for capitalism to continue in the United States even if there is socialism in the Soviet Union." (Pp. 76-77.)

The theory of the possibility of the reconciliation of the interests of the capitalist class and the working class is not the exclusive property of the William Greens and the Social-Democratic labor fakery. It is being taught by the Stalinist labor fakery as well.

"Secondly as a practical matter, national unity in the United States is above all a problem of adjusting class interests without the severe struggles by which this has usually been accomplished." (Browder's italics, Pp. 83.)

The most significant part of the book is the section in which Browder advances the idea that the workers must sacrifice, but the bosses should not be asked to give up anything! He speaks words that many workers in his own party will surely read with disgust.

Speaking of "equality of sacrifice," he says: "Any attempt to interpret literally the phrase 'equality of sacrifice' would of course, not help prosecute the war to victory, but would hopelessly sabotage it. There is not, and cannot be, any literal equality of sacrifice as between workers and capitalists in this war. The workers must make the main sacrifices, and they have enough

common sense to know, and enough patriotism not to object to it." (P. 86.)

On the high income allowances for the bosses and executives:

"The labor movement has not protested this generous allowance to the privileged classes, understanding that even in besieged civilization such persons trained to luxury and idleness must be handled gently and indulgently. Even the Communists have shown no disposition to urge more drastic restrictions on the upper classes." (P. 87.)

On the running of the war:
"We must find a way to finance, organize, and fight this war through to victory, a way which is acceptable to the owning class (industrialists, financiers, bondholders with their most important hired men) . . ." (P. 87.)

On the claims of the bosses and business executives:

"... The claims of property owners and coupon clippers . . . must be compromised with generosity in their favor . . ." (P. 88.)

"Business executives have been so completely habituated to receiving incomes scaled up to a certain equality with property incomes of the highest brackets that they will inevitably be favored at the expense of the masses and of the total war effort. This may be deplored from abstract considerations, but it must not be rejected. . . ." (P. 89.)

Following these ideas, the political perspective of the C. P. shapes up as follows:

"To the extent that they are prepared to subordinate their own special interests and ideologies to the needs of victory in this war, Tories and Communists can severally and jointly contribute to national unity, together with all others." (Browder's italics, P. 124.)

Limitations of space do not permit full examination of Browder's ideas. The above samples are displayed to demonstrate how little communism there remains in the so-called Communist Party. Those workers who seek communism today must seek elsewhere. Browder in his book refers to the Trotskyist party as a "super-revolutionary ghost." Perhaps this clue will show advanced workers where to seek.

Reviewed by HARRY FRANKEL

BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MILITANT 1941

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Why Is the Times Worried About Hitler's Weakness?

By ANTHONY MASSINI

Many readers of the Nov. 20 N. Y. Times may have been puzzled by the cryptic paragraph that concluded the lead editorial on "The Test Of Hitler's Power":

"What the African expedition precipitates, in short, is a test of Hitler's power over all of Europe. There are signs of uncertainty in the German plans, delays and waverings that suggest that the master strategist is taken by surprise and is improvising moves with counters he is not sure of. This is an opportunity for the Allied forces, BUT IT IS A PERIL, TOO, FOR IT SUGGESTS THAT THERE MAY ALREADY BE GREATER WEAKNESS THAN WE REALIZED UNDER THE FACADE OF NAZI POWER. The decisive battle may develop, in fact, before we are ready to fight it."

It is not accidental when the Times writes in such a half-revealing, half-vague style. That is its method of getting ideas across to the class-conscious supporters of capitalism without taking the responsibility for advocating opinions which are not very popular at present with the majority of the people.

But despite this precaution, a careful reading of this paragraph, and especially of the part capitalized, should convince everyone that the editors of the Times (and the farsighted sections of American capitalism for whom they speak) are genuinely concerned about the possibility that Hitlerism may be weaker than is generally supposed.

Why should the Times consider that possibility "a peril," especially when day-in and day-out it keeps warning its readers that Hitler is by no means defeated, even if Allied forces succeed in driving the Axis troops off the African continent?

There can be only one reason. The Times fears that Hitler may be crushed before the Allies are ready to come to final grips with him, that is, crushed by the revolutionary action of the masses of Europe and or the Red Army. The Times is worried about this possibility—and wants its readers to think about it—because it knows the defeat of Hitler under such conditions would mean the establishment of workers' governments throughout Europe. That would indeed be a peril to all those like the Times who are more afraid of socialism than they are of fascism!

Inventions and Fate of The 'Joads' After the War

By C. CHARLES

For hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers, the question of what will happen after the war has been settled. If the capitalist system still exists, they are going to be unemployed.

Such is the fate in store for them as a result of the development of a mechanical cotton picker. After 40 years of effort, completion of the machinery was announced by the head of the International Harvester Company on Nov. 20.

So far only a dozen or so machines have been made because of shortages of materials. As soon as the war is over, or if the government releases the necessary raw material during the war, the machine will be put into mass production.

Each machine replaces between 50 to 80 cotton pickers.

The machine will also mean the ruin of additional hundreds of thousands of dirt farmers, who will be forced into the ranks of the unemployed as were the Joads of Oklahoma in the novel and motion picture, "The Grapes of Wrath."

Cotton picking is backbreaking work and the invention of the machine could mean the freeing from this monotonous, dreary, hard toil of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. However, with capitalist ownership of the means of production, this new machine means the doom of these workers.

If the workers owned the means of production this machine would be hailed with joy, instead of arousing the dread of unemployment. Instead of meaning even greater profits for the few and hunger for many, as it does now, every such advance in technique in a socialist society would mean more food, clothing, shelter and education for the masses.

Starvation in Puerto Rico And the New Food Program

By HOWARD ALLEN

President Roosevelt appointed Governor Herbert Lehman as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation on Nov. 22. His new assignment, the Governor said, "would involve getting food, clothing, medicine and other assistance to the peoples of occupied countries as soon as their nations were freed of the Axis yoke."

The new director said nothing about Puerto Rico, where appalling conditions of starvation, squalor and misery exist. Puerto Rico is not under the Nazi yoke; it is an American colony.

The diversion of merchant shipping from Puerto Rico which virtually cut off the island from the mainland has resulted in a disastrous depletion of food stocks and in a complete collapse of the U. S. dominated economy of Puerto Rico.

On Sept. 1 40% of the workers were unemployed. Seven weeks later, the number of unemployed rose from 160,000 to 225,000. By Nov. 12 325,000 were without work and more than 165,000 families without any income at all.

While the incomes of the workers have been plunging downwards, the cost of living has zoomed to more than double pre-war levels. Rice, for example, which sold for 4 1/2c per pound in July, 1939, had risen to 10c per pound by October 1942.

While Puerto Rican industrial and agricultural workers starve, and Relief Director Lehman promises aid to Nazi-dominated lands in the future, Congress debates a \$5,000 investigation of Roosevelt-appointed Governor Tugwell's Puerto Rican administration.

Can it be that "the humanitarians" in Washington are less concerned about starvation in Puerto Rico than starvation in lands now controlled by Hitler because the conquest of Puerto Rico has already been completed?