

# THE MILITANT

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## Stalinist Hand Seen In Postal Ban On 'Militant'

By Anthony Massini

It has been widely felt and even freely stated in informed circles that there is a sinister connection between the Communist Party and the Post Office Department's suppression of recent issues of *The Militant*.

Further ground for this belief is furnished by a significant article which appeared on the editorial page of the Dec. 5 *Daily Worker*.

As our readers know, the Post Office has consistently refused to give any reason for its action against this paper.

However, the *Daily Worker* article openly says: "The paper was banned for the same reason that Coughlin's *Social Justice* and like organs of those who want the United Nations to lose the war were barred."

How does the American organ of Stalin's GPU know the reason which has not been revealed to *The Militant* or any other newspaper or even to the American Civil Liberties Union which has made persistent and so far vain attempts to discover this official information?

### HOW DO THEY KNOW?

It is a matter of record that for the past year the Stalinists have been actively engaged in getting union locals among which they have some influence to pass resolutions calling on the government to suppress *The Militant* and all other papers which are in any way critical of Stalinist activities or the administration's policies.

But what reason have the Stalinists for asserting that Washington has accepted their frameup slanders when the Post Office has issued no statement?

Last week—after a silence of more than two weeks—the capitalist press gave the first publicity to the ban on *The Militant* when it quoted a statement by Albert Goldman, attorney for this paper, reporting that he had learned from a conference with a Post Office representative in Washington that there were objections to *Militant* articles criticizing the administration for such things as its deal with Darlan, its anti-labor policies and its Jim Crow treatment of the Negro people.

Although the Post Office has not denied that it is interfering with the mailing of *The Militant* because it prints such articles, the *Daily Worker* goes to great lengths to deny it. On what grounds does it make such a categorical denial?

### C. P. INFLUENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT

The answer to these questions may be found in the following facts:

When Goldman met with the Post Office representative on Nov. 18, he was informed that the Department of Justice is co-operating with the Post Office in the case of *The Militant*.

The Department of Justice, like many other government agencies, is heavily staffed with

Stalinist members and sympathizers.

A recent evidence of the influence the Stalinists enjoy in the Department of Justice is the Jan Valtin case. Valtin, renegade Stalinist and Comintern agent who rendered signal service to the American government throughout the entire period of the Stalin-Hitler pact by his "exposés of subversive Communist activities," who cooperated with the FBI in putting the finger on his former Stalinist associates, who sold \$300,000 worth

of war bonds at a rally last month, has been ordered arrested and interned while awaiting deportation to Germany.

This act, which has been demanded only by the Stalinists, is universally recognized as a concession to the Kremlin and the drive of the American Stalinists to "eliminate" all their political opponents.

Another sign of the new trend within the Department of Justice, which formerly cooperated in sending Browder to jail, is in-

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## Dec. 'Fourth International' Also Barred From The Mails

Contains Articles Condemning Darlan Deal, Post Office Ban and Stalinist Union Role

The Post Office struck another blow at freedom of the press this week when it withheld from the mails the December issue of the monthly Trotskyist magazine, *Fourth International*.

The Post Office has also held up the fifth consecutive issue of *The Militant*. The postal authorities have failed to explain their interference with the mailing of these two papers.

The monthly magazine thus becomes the second labor journal to be attacked by the government in World War II. A statement issued on Dec. 8 by Albert Goldman, attorney for the paper and the magazine, declares:

**GOLDMAN'S STATEMENT**

"It is my opinion that the administration is very sensitive about criticism from the left, especially since its deal with Darlan. It has moved to suppress *The Militant* and *Fourth International* because it deems them to be the most outspoken of the leftist papers.

"Should the administration succeed in suppressing the Trotskyist organs it will undoubtedly move on to suppress more widely circulated labor and liberal papers critical of the administration.

"I warn all organizations interested in preserving democracy at home to protest against the

arbitrary order of the Post Office. To suppress any anti-fascist paper is to follow in the steps of the fascists."

### F. I. CONTENTS

The December issue of *Fourth International* contains the following articles:

An analysis of the Post Office interference with *The Militant*, by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

A review of the deal made by the U. S. Government with Darlan in North Africa.

An editorial on the 1942 elections, citing the need for the formation of an independent labor party.

A criticism of Harry Bridges and the Stalinists for favoring the establishment of government boards to assume control of the maritime industry.

The text of a speech by Leon Trotsky on the problems of the struggle for independence in the East.

An article on inflation, giving the economic roots of the inflationary process and its effect on American economic life.

An analysis of why the German revolution failed, presenting an historical review of German events.

International notes, featuring a letter on conditions in Ireland. Discussion articles on the program for overthrowing Hitlerism in occupied Europe.

### Union Advertising Labeled 'Subversive' By City Officials

Warnings of horrible social disaster resulting from B. O. or athletes' foot or dishpan hands or lackluster hair, are approved reading for the millions of New York subway riders, but a sober recitation of the reasons for decent wages and working conditions for the employees of the subway is "subversive to discipline and the proper operation of the lines."

This is the position of the N. Y. Board of Transportation which ruled last week that the CIO Transport Workers Union could not purchase regular advertising space in the cars in order to present its side of the struggle with the city to win wage increases and better conditions.

Mayor La Guardia has not only denied the workers a wage increase commensurate with the boost in the cost of living, but he has denied that they have a right to bargain collectively with the city.

## McNutt Appointment Opens Way To More Regimentation

### McNutt Given Power Over All Hiring, Transfer Of Workers

'Hoosier Hitler' Given Greater Power Over U. S. Labor Than Anyone Ever Had

By Joseph Andrews

Sweeping dictatorial authority to control the destinies of America's millions of workers was granted to War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, in an executive order issued by President Roosevelt on December 5.

The presidential decree, setting McNutt up as the virtual czar over labor in this country, opens the way toward the totalitarian regimentation of the people.

Commenting on the new powers granted to McNutt, the *N. Y. Times* stated: "McNutt has been given more power over men in this country than anyone has ever exercised in its history."

By the provisions of the presidential decree McNutt has the power to shift workers from job to job, to force workers to migrate from one area to another, and to send workers from the cities into the country to perform agricultural labor.

The executive order states: "No employer shall retain in his employ any worker whose services are more urgently needed in any plant, facility, occupation or area designated by the chairman (McNutt)."

### GIVEN CONTROL OF DRAFT MACHINERY

To make this grant of dictatorial authority over manpower effective, the presidential decree places the Selective Service system in the hands of McNutt. With the national draft system and local draft boards under McNutt's rule, any worker who objects to being transferred from his plant, can be ordered reclassified by the centralized Manpower Commission. This makes it possible to enforce "work or fight" threats against union militants with greater effectiveness than ever before.

In addition to the broad powers to shift manpower and to utilize the selective service as a weapon of enforcement, McNutt has been given control over the U. S. Employment Service, which by the executive order is now to become the clearing house for "all hiring, rehiring, solicitation and recruitment of workers."

### THREAT TO HIRING HALLS

The enlargement of the powers of the U. S. Employment Service, and its control by McNutt, can lead to an attempt to destroy existing union hiring halls, and to hire all labor only through government employment agencies. It is clear from the decree that should hiring halls continue, it will be only because McNutt does not yet dare to apply the full powers granted to him in the president's order.

The decree also provides that all training programs for workers, previously controlled by Army and Navy, and by civilian institutions, be placed under the control of the War Manpower Commission.

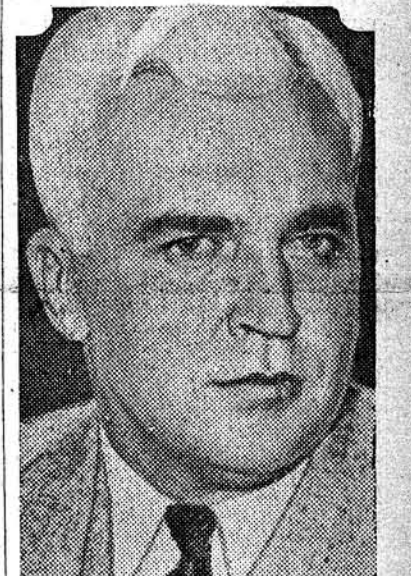
### NO SAFEGUARDS FOR SENIORITY

It is significant that there is not one word in the presidential

### Just a Suggestion

The Dec. 3 *Daily Worker* announces that the Communist Party has voted to postpone its regular national convention "in the spirit of President Roosevelt's request to reduce all traveling to a minimum."

As long as the Stalinists are being so patriotic, someone should remind the editors of the *Daily Worker* that the government has also announced a paper shortage.



PAUL V. McNUTT

decree safeguarding the Democratic rights of individual workers or of the labor movement.

The trade union movement has repeatedly demanded that the seniority rights of union workers be taken into consideration and protected. Nothing in the decree prevents McNutt from shifting workers with absolute disregard for protection of their seniority rights.

A provision making it possible for workers to appeal decisions of the War Manpower Commission is included in the executive order, but the appeal machinery too will be under the control of McNutt, and no provision is made for appeal through civil court.

### McNUTT'S RECORD

These sweeping powers have been conferred by Roosevelt upon a man who gained a reputation as the "Hoosier Hitler" while he was Governor of Indiana. McNutt's administration during his governorship was one of the most notorious anti-labor regimes in American history.

The presidential decree provides that McNutt shall appoint a Labor-Management Policy Committee as part of the Manpower Commission set-up. But the labor members of this committee will be powerless to prevent anti-labor acts by the Commission, since Roosevelt's decree grants the Committee only consultative powers.

The autocratic powers of McNutt confront the labor movement with a great danger. It is another step along the road toward the increasing governmental domination of the trade unions, and toward the kind of regimentation which was put into effect with such disastrous effects for the labor movement in the fascist countries.

These powers will not necessarily be put into effect immediately or at one blow. But the process of the gradual reduction of the union movement to a mere appendage of the government, has speeded up by this decree.



(Federated Pictures Cartoon)

The Senate killed the bill to abolish the poll tax that bars ten million Southern workers and sharecroppers from voting and regularly results in the election to Congress of the most vicious labor baiters in the country.

Every worker who wants to see the poll tax abolished should remember which forces were responsible for killing the anti-poll tax bill:

The poll tax Congressmen. The Democratic Party. The Republican Party. And last but not least, President Roosevelt himself, who said that he didn't know anything about the bill or the filibuster against it, and hadn't even talked to anyone about them.

The only logical conclusion to be drawn from the fate of the anti-poll tax bill is that the workers cannot place the slightest dependence on either capitalist party for the passage of progressive, pro-labor legislation.

A nation-wide, independent labor party, representing the strength of the trade unions on the political field, is a crying necessity. Only by organizing such a party and breaking from support of the old parties will the workers be able to defend and extend their democratic rights.

## BEVERIDGE DOES NOT SOLVE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

By MICHAEL CORT

The long heralded "British Revolution" made its appearance last week. On Dec. 1 Sir William Beveridge's plan for social security was released—a plan reported to have kept the English capitalists apprehensive for almost a year.

The capitalists should have kept their shirts on. Sir William didn't double-cross them; his plan in no way threatens their profits or privileges. This "blue print for the future" turns out to be nothing more than a rehash of existing social insurance laws with the benefits for the unemployed revised slightly upwards. But even this is done at the expense of the worker who must pay increased premiums on the insurance when he is employed.

International notes, featuring a letter on conditions in Ireland. Discussion articles on the program for overthrowing Hitlerism in occupied Europe.

### PURPOSE OF THE PLAN

Shortly before publishing his report, Sir William made the statement, "A revolutionary moment in the world's history is the time for revolution and not for patching." Such radical talk is meant to deceive the workers, to divert them from taking the revolutionary path by making them believe that the capitalists will voluntarily bring about revolutionary changes in their system and create a just and equitable society after the war. Such talk is meant to conceal the fact that the new plan is precisely what Sir William denied that it would be, a patch on the cracked and irreparable structure of capitalism.

Raymond Daniell, the N. Y. Times' correspondent in London, (Continued on page 4)

## CIO-AFL Unity Committees Meet

Agree to End Jurisdictional Disputes, But There Is Little Prospect for Unification

By Felix Morrow

The first meeting in three years of "unity committees" of the AFL and CIO produced a written agreement on Dec. 2 to "decide disputed jurisdictional differences."

The capitalist press has widely hailed the agreement as a major step toward unification of the labor movement. This interpretation is facilitated by declarations of both sides, such as CIO President Philip Murray's that the document was "unquestionably a move toward organic unity."

On the one hand, these statements reflect a recognition of the strong desire of the rank and file of the labor movement for a united trade union organization. On the other hand, however, the statements have aroused some concern among the more far-seeing workers who, while desiring labor unity, want a unity which will safeguard the industrial unionism represented by the CIO.

### THE JOINT COMMITTEE

The agreement sets up an AFL-CIO joint committee to consider any disputes which arise. When the committee comes to the conclusion that it is unable to reach an agreement on the dispute, it will then proceed to choose an "impartial" arbitrator. Then, if it is unable to agree on one within five days, the choice

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## NAM Calls A War Congress -- to War Against Unions

Denounce Workers In New Campaign for OpenShop Conditions

By JOHN BATES

The National Association of Manufacturers opened its annual convention in the sumptuous Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on Dec. 2, and formulated a "War Program of American Industry" which was aimed less at Hitler than at American labor.

The NAM is a trade association of 7,000 industrialists and is the most class-conscious of all boss organizations. Any program laid down by this group is highly significant for it includes the most powerful monopoly corporations in the country—corporations (Continued on page 2)



# WLB Hands Down Three Reactionary Rulings

By ELOISE BLACK

The fact that workers are living under obvious and recognized "sub-standard conditions" is no grounds for their receiving wage increases, according to a ruling handed down last week by the War Labor Board in the case of 800 workers employed in 28 San Francisco hotels.

The conditions of the San Francisco hotel workers have been unbearably poor for years. Twice they have been forced to strike in an attempt to improve their lot. Both strikes, although long and bitter, failed to change their conditions, which even the WLB had termed "sub standard."

Yet, what small pay increases the Board did grant certain classifications of these workers were based only upon a "saving in bookkeeping."

This verdict establishes the precedent for future WLB decisions to ignore the growing discrepancy between wages and living costs in the establishment of pay levels, regardless of how low the wages may be in a particular case.

## BOARD IGNORES SLIDING SCALE CLAUSES

The "escalator clause" has been one of the methods advanced by

## Hits Wages, Escalator And Security Clauses

labor to meet the disproportion between wages and prices. Written into many union agreements, it provides for an automatic increase in wages as the cost of living goes up.

But this safeguard of the workers' living standards is also not recognized by the War Labor Board. On Dec. 2 it ruled that the escalator clause in the contract between the Pyrites Company, Wilmington, Del., and the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, should be ignored by the boss because the increases provided would raise the wages more than 15% over the January 1941 level. This 15% rule is the yard stick used in the "Little Steel" decision, and since then applied to the majority of cases coming before the Board. Under this formula most unions are denied any increases.

## WLB ASSUMES POLICE POWERS

Another step in the Board's current union-busting drive was its decision to "punish" those workers who attempt to defend themselves in the face of boss provocation.

When the workers of the East Alton Manufacturing Company walked out on strike over wage chiseling by the boss, the WLB

placed the local of the Chemical Workers Union, AFL, on "six months probation." Their maintenance - of - membership clause was withdrawn until the union demonstrates to the Board its "good faith and responsibility."

Thus the WLB is taking on itself police powers by which it can punish workers who resist chiseling, stalling and other anti-union employer methods.

## NO TRUST IN THE WLB!

These three decisions of the WLB serve notice upon labor that:

1. The WLB intends to ignore the problem of the rising cost of living as it affects the workers.
2. The sub-standard conditions of millions of workers will not necessarily be remedied by any act of the WLB.
3. Security guarantees, such as escalator and maintenance - of - membership provisions in union agreements, may be rendered null and void by the Board.
4. The WLB will take punitive measures against any union that conducts militant struggles to fulfill its obligations to its members.

Added together, these decisions mean that workers can place no confidence in the War Labor Board. If they want to safeguard their conditions, the unions must depend only on their own organized strength and militant activities.

# Unity Committees Meet

(Continued from page 1)

of an arbitrator devolves upon President Roosevelt.

What kind of disputes will be considered by the joint committee? Will it, for example, seek to divide the jurisdictions of the United Auto Workers (CIO) and the International Association of Machinists (AFL) in aircraft?

Any such attempt, we may be sure, would meet with strong protest from the great mass of auto workers who demand a single industrial union of all auto and aircraft workers. But no such attempt is in prospect, according to the analysis of the agreement in the CIO News of Dec. 7, which states:

"Its function would call for the use of 'elasticity' and 'good judgment' in the handling of specific disputes rather than in the establishment of rigid spheres of jurisdiction for the various unions."

In short, whenever the AFL and CIO make disputing claims to a majority in a given plant, the joint committee machinery will attempt to settle the issue.

Will the AFL leaders agree to settle such disputes by submitting them to majority vote of the workers in the plant? Unless the AFL leaders agree to do so, the agreement is likely to have a very short life. Any attempt by the CIO leaders to settle such disputes by any other means is certain to arouse widespread protests from the CIO workers.

## THE KAISER DISPUTE

If the situation in Kaiser's shipyards is a criterion, the AFL leaders have no intention of agreeing to such elections. The AFL metal and building crafts signed a closed-shop contract with Kaiser under conditions which brought charges from the CIO of collusion between the company and the AFL. The CIO shipyard workers demanded elections in the yards to determine which union has the majority. The AFL is resisting this demand. The CIO has prevailed upon the National Labor Relations Board to begin proceedings to determine whether the AFL has a bona-fide majority in the yards.

It was on the heels of this NLRB decision that the "unity" committees met. The two events were joined together in the leading headline of the AFL Weekly News Service of Dec. 1: "Labor peace conferences start as new warfare flares in west with CIO raids on Kaiser yards." The sub-head on this story was: "Peace plans embarrassed by raiding tactics as parleys open." The story reported that the AFL unions involved had decided "to raise a defense fund to carry on their campaign to combat the combined efforts of the CIO and NLRB to wreck their organizations."

It was with this curtain-raiser that the "unity committees" met. Queries by newspapermen as to whether the new joint committee on jurisdictional disputes would deal with the Kaiser situation met with no comment.

## NO BASIC SOLUTION

At bottom, then, it is clear that the new committee is not likely to be toward organic unity. At most it is a stop-gap method of attempting to alleviate clashes between the CIO and AFL. But it cannot remove the basic issues which produce these clashes.

The fact is that this is not the first time such an agreement for dealing with AFL-CIO disputes has been arrived at. In May of this year WLB chairman William H. Davis announced an arrangement, jointly agreed to by Philip Murray and AFL President William Green, for settling jurisdictional disputes by methods

somewhat similar to those of the new agreement. The machinery set up in May appears never to have been used.

As for actual unification of the trade union movement, that appears to be as far off as ever.

The basis for unity laid down by the recent CIO convention, in Boston Nov. 9-13, was essentially correct. The convention resolution provided:

## CIO PROPOSALS

1. Industrial unionism: "Unity requires the maintenance and extension of the gains that the CIO has won for the workers through industrial organization."

2. Democratic approval: "All members in all unions shall be protected and any steps taken must receive the democratic approval of the membership involved."

3. Negro rights: "Unity should assure that all forms and practices of racial discrimination within unions be abolished." This would require abolition of the "jolly white" clauses of certain AFL craft unions.

4. All CIO unions must be chartered: "Unity need not wait on the solution of jurisdictional disputes between the various affiliates of the American labor movement. These are matters that can be resolved within a unified national labor movement."

The opposition of the AFL leaders to this entire method of unification is expressed in the objection to Point 4 made by the AFL Weekly News Service of Dec. 1, which stated:

## THE AFL STAND

"Reports were current that the CIO would propose that there be an immediate merger of all AFL and CIO unions into a single organization and that jurisdictional conflicts be ironed out later. A similar proposal was made by the CIO in 1939 and was rejected by the AFL."

"The AFL contention then, and it has not changed since, was that . . . peace and unity can be achieved only by settlement of all jurisdictional conflicts before the entire CIO membership is readmitted."

# 'Daily News' Makes A Fascist Bid To Win Soldier Support

By EUGENE VARLIN

The N. Y. Sunday News of Nov. 22 printed an article called "Gripe from a Selectee," relating the experiences of draftees at Grand Central Palace, the largest induction center in the country, described by the author as "an unpleasant place where they (the draftees) get pushed around in the most unpleasant and undemocratic manner possible." In support of this charge, the article cites the testimony of several men who went through the mill at Grand Central.

At one local board, where the men had been told to come at 6:15, they were compelled to wait until 7:30 before the draft officials took things in hand. Among them were some night workers who had not slept all night rather than arrive late.

Before their examinations at Grand Central the draftees removed all clothing. Then they were subjected to long waits in unheated rooms. One man, with a bad cold, asked for permission to put his shoes on. "A sergeant, heavy with authority, refused." The toilet facilities provided for the draftees were out of order. "One guy who had more guts than the rest of us just barged into the officers' biffy. They made it seem as though he had walked into Hitler's private boudoir." And so on.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

Discussing this article, the editors of the Daily News declared on Nov. 24:

"And that is the kind of introduction to the Army that Americans are getting in the nation's biggest induction center. . . ."

"This is the Army which we are told is crusading for human freedom and decency all over the world. We are also told that the old World War No. I Army monkey business — M. P.'s of the Harbored Smith school, arrogant 90-day shavetails from Plattsburg lording it over better men than themselves, etc. — has been ruled out of our World War No. II Army. . . ."

"The only sufficient answer is for those in charge of draftee inductions (that is, existing officers caste — E. V.). . . to see to it that the selectee's first contact with the Army makes him feel that, if accepted, he will be joining a fine crowd of fighting men, not be booted into a concentration camp."

How is it that while the liberal press limits its discussions

The AFL method, it is plain, would mean to begin a series of inter-union negotiations—between the UAW and the IAM, the UE and the IBEW, the Woodworkers and the Carpenters, the Steel Workers and the Metal Trade, etc., etc.—which would be certain to drag out for many years, while the CIO and AFL remained separate entities.

At the CIO convention there were only three speeches on the unity resolution. Sidney Hillman repeated his line of 1940—the main emphasis on unity, without touching the problem of safeguarding industrial unionism. Murray insisted on the need for maintaining the industrial unions and, for good measure, claimed that any other form of unity would "interfere with the war effort."

It remained for Walter Reuther, speaking for the auto workers, to touch the heart of the question. Incidentally, he had great difficulty getting the floor. Clinton Golden of the Steel Workers was in the chair and refused to recognize Reuther after Murray spoke. Golden called for the vote and put it, and only when Reuther still remained standing and demanding the floor, did Murray intervene and recognize him.

## UAW POSITION

Reuther began by announcing that "the Auto Workers have a point of view which is not in complete agreement with the two previous speakers." The essence of this point of view was expressed in the following words:

"We haven't got labor unity because in the labor movement there are vested interests. There are those in the AFL, bureaucrats who don't give their membership a chance to have democratic conventions and elect their officers democratically, who are going to do everything they can to block labor unity because they are fearful it will interfere with their vested interests inside of the labor movement. . . . We have got to launch a campaign to expose these people and drive them the hell out of the labor movement so we can get decent, legitimate unity."

There is no doubt that this formulation is 100% correct. The chief obstacle to unity is the hard crust of craft union bureaucrats.

If Reuther touched the heart of the question, he did not, however, answer it: Why, after seven years of the CIO, are the craft union bureaucrats still in a strong position to prevent unity of the labor movement?

## WHAT PREVENTS UNITY

The answer was indicated by John L. Lewis at the Atlantic City convention of the CIO in 1940. Lewis has now deserted the CIO, but his words to the delegates remain true:

"There is no peace because you are not yet strong enough to command peace upon honorable terms. And there will be no peace until you possess that strength of bone and sinew that will make it possible for you to bargain for peace on equal terms."

Lewis and the CIO leadership in 1940 thought they would gain that strength of bone and sinew as production in the heavy industries, under the impulse of armament orders, stepped up and expanded. Since the CIO was already then predominant in the mass production industries, it seemed to them an automatic process for the CIO to forge steadily ahead of the AFL to the point where the CIO could command unity.

But it proved not to be an automatic process. The subservience of the CIO leaders to Roosevelt, the no-strike agreement, etc., stopped the growth of the CIO. Many new war plants were built in the open-shop South and elsewhere where the CIO has been unable to organize thanks to its "national unity" policy. The AFL took the offensive, invading aircraft and other fields which the CIO had thought were surely its own.

The question of labor unity thus boils down to two simple propositions. The craft unionists do not want unity; and the CIO leaders, because of their false policies, have not strengthened the organization to the point where it could force unity on a progressive basis.

had become Plattsburg colonels, it demanded that the profits be taken out of war. On Dec. 19, 1919, an editorial appeared in the American Legion Weekly calling for the termination of "that state of thought which permitted such orders in France, for instance, as the one forbidding American women workers in the Army to be seen in conversation with enlisted men, yet permitted them to talk and walk with commissioned officers."

This from an organization founded and led by the same officers who had put these regulations into effect! But it was only by such demagoguery that they could trick the soldiers into supporting their program for the difficult period immediately after the war, which was to discourage unionization, break strikes, launch a wave of terror against the Communist, Socialist and I.W.W. movements, beat up and murder union organizers.

## WHAT THE "NEWS" WANTS

The News follows a line similar to that of the American Legion, a line that is demagogic because it does not explain the real cause and is not interested in a real solution for the conditions it describes. The News shows that from the soldier's first day in the army little regard is shown for his personal welfare, but it does not show that these conditions must arise because of the nature of the officer caste, which is recruited from the wealthy sections of the population, has nothing in common with the private in civilian life and is given unlimited power over him in the army.

The News does not propose the substitution of a new kind of officer. Its attacks on the "Plattsburg shavetails" only serve to hide its support of the existing officer caste, as shown by its campaign to build up MacArthur and to demand his return to this country to do bigger and better things.

The News differs from the American Legion in that it aims to create not merely a reactionary veterans' movement but a reactionary political movement in which the veterans will play an important part.

Moreover, this is 1942, not 1917. By the 1920's the American Legion was no longer necessary to the capitalists in their struggle against the labor movement because they had managed to extricate themselves from the post-war crisis. But the News knows that the American capitalists will be able to escape the con-

# Women In Industry

By MARIE TAYLOR

## Economic Necessity — Not Always Choice

Sometimes one wonders where all the newly-arisen experts who write columns in the daily newspapers on the problems of women in industry get all their information. Certainly it is not from the women who are actually working in factories. These columnists, along with many government agencies, seem to think that women are going into industry "for a lark" or purely in a spirit of personal sacrifice. The thought that women are going to work out of absolute economic necessity does not seem to have occurred to them.

Thus they talk very glibly about which women they think should go into factories and which they think should not. Eleanor Roosevelt writes in her column, "My Day," that of certain women are well adapted to handling machines and instruments, while others are best fitted for housework and should stay at home. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor says that "Women who are homemakers, particularly those with small children, should not be asked to go into factories until absolutely necessary. They can be much more helpful to the nation by staying in the home and taking care of the family."

What these experts seem to forget is that when butter sells at 55c. a pound and eggs at more than 60c. a dozen, when the prices of vegetables, meats, and canned foods are sky high, women, at least in working class families, have to work in order to feed themselves and their families. And if there are small children to feed and clothe, it often becomes all the more necessary for women to go to work. A young woman who works on a machine near me says that even though over half her wages goes toward keeping her 3-year old son in nursery school and hiring someone to take care of him on Saturdays, those extra dollars which are left are absolutely necessary to help pay the rent and feed the family.

Now that they are beginning to draft married men, even with children, thousands of women are being forced to become the family wage-earners. It does not matter whether they are well "adapted" to factory work, or that they should be home caring for small children — they have to feed, house, and clothe themselves and their families, and that's all there is to it.

There are, it is true, a few "so-called" girls who go into industry with a great deal of fanfare, not because they need the money but as a novelty and as a change from bridge parties and charity benefits. But these are so few in number and so different from the average women in industry, that they are usually a joke to the workers in the shops.

The bulk of women workers today are either those who were working long before the war, those who were displaced by the curtailment of consumer's industries and now work in various defense plants, or those who have had to go to work because of the rising cost of living or because husbands and sons were drafted.

The so-called experts who deal with the question of women in industry would do better to devote themselves to some of the concrete demands of equal pay, decent working hours and adequate nursery facilities, which are the real problems facing women in industry today.

sequences of the crisis to follow this war only by resorting to a permanent anti-labor dictatorship — and its current propaganda can only mean that the News wants to transform the troops into the base of a fascist movement.

## UNIONS MUST ACT IN SELF-DEFENSE

The News and the sections of Big Business which it represents can be stopped in this campaign only if the unions come out in defense of the interests of the worker-soldiers. This is a job which up to now they have largely neglected, and that is why the fascists and semi-fascists regard it as such a fertile field.

In self-defense the labor movement must champion the interests of the soldiers. It must expose the real reason for the mistreatment of the rank and file soldiers: the existence of an anti-labor officer caste drawn from the wealthy classes and hostile to the interests of the privates. It must demand officer training for the leading militants in the unions, to be provided through trade union control of military training financed by the government.

Otherwise, the unions face the risk of a post-war drive against their standards that will make the work of the American Legion after the first world war seem like child's play.

# Stalinist Hand Is Seen In Post Office Attack

(Continued from page 1)

dictated in an AP dispatch from Albuquerque, N. M., on Dec. 4, reporting the resignation of an FBI agent, Charles B. Winstead, after J. Edgar Hoover had reprimanded him and ordered his transfer "for an informal denunciation of Communism" and "Communist activities."

## PART PLAYED BY THE STALINISTS

The first public demand for the latest repressions came from the Stalinists in the trade unions. Their links with the Department of Justice explain why they can speak with such assurance about the frameups being concocted in Washington. These same links also provide good reason for believing that the Stalinists in the governmental apparatus had a hand in the original decision to keep The Militant from the mails. (See Page 4 of this issue for an editorial on "The Communist Party and The Militant.")

# Negro Non-Com. Reduced to Ranks for Making Anti-Jim Crow Proposals

Because he signed his name to a series of recommendations on how to alleviate Jim Crow conditions at Camp Lee, Va., a non-commissioned Negro officer was recently reduced to the ranks and transferred to another camp, the St. Paul Recorder reported in its Nov. 27 issue.

Rev. Clarence Nelson, publicity director of the St. Paul Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, tells the details as follows: "A group of Negro non-commissioned officers at Camp Lee, near Petersburg, Virginia, helping to train other Negro soldiers to fight for the four freedoms on foreign soil, decided that they would like to have some of these 'freedoms' right here in their native land, especially around the army camp.

## JIM CROW CONDITIONS

"They came together and prepared a list of recommendations dealing with the camp and army policies of discrimination and segregation, and sent these recommendations over their several signatures to the general in command of the camp.

"These recommendations had to do with the bus situation (which is terrible), the Army Air Corps' use of the service clubs by all Negro troops (Negro soldiers may use only one) and a few other things that irked the Negro soldiers. On the buses the white officers or drivers have ordered the Negro soldiers to stand up so the whites could sit down and sometimes a bus would pass by a group of soldiers without stopping, solely because they were Negroes.

"When the commanding officer received the list of recommendations he became enraged. It is reported that he is a 'Southern cracker of the worst order.' He issued an order which demoted Sergeant Major Samuel Reed, a native of St. Paul, to the ranks of a private. The

# NAM Calls A Congress To War Against Unions

(Continued from page 1)

which have the greatest influence over the government, the courts, and all press and radio propaganda.

Violent hostility to labor was the dominant tone throughout the three days of the convention. Heading the attacks upon the workers were such men as Wilfred Sykes, labor hating president of the Inland Steel Company; Lamont duPont, Tory industrialist and financier; W. P. Witherow, president of the NAM; and Herbert Hoover, former president of the United States.

## DEMANDS ON LABOR

After much inflammatory talk, the convention unanimously adopted the following program to be shoved down labor's throat — if they can do it.

1. Labor must stop all strikes and boycotts.
2. It must end all jurisdictional disputes.

3. It must end all slow downs.
4. Unnecessary absences from work must end.
5. Labor must stop organizing activities "which restrict production."
6. It must put to an end "the practice of making workers pay fees before being permitted to work in American war plants."

In short, the trade unions must surrender all the functions for which they were created and leave the workers stripped of their protection against the bosses.

Having formulated its minimum demands upon the workers and their organizations, the industrialists then proceeded to draw up directives for the government in carrying out the task of smashing labor. Here they are:

## WHAT THEY WANT OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. The government must recognize that planning and production is the responsibility of the bosses alone. (Labor shall have no voice in production.)
2. It must protect the "right of all loyal Americans" to work. (No interference with scabs.)
3. The government should stop imposing any form of the closed shop or compulsory union membership upon the workers.
4. It should prevent and punish all picketing.
5. It should recognize the necessity of lengthening the work week. (This means more profits from cutting wages.)

These measures have largely been adopted by the government already, but the industrialists were highly critical of the delays and half measures used by Roosevelt. While the NAM approved the administration's method of "placing union leaders in position of responsibility so that they will see that strikes end," nevertheless it demanded more prompt and vigorous "union disciplining" by Roosevelt and his labor lieutenants.

In the name of patriotism, the bosses demand that the workers give up all their unions and class protection while the bosses strengthen their class organizations and launch all-out war against labor.

## SERIOUS THREAT

J. Howard Pew, president of the Sun Oil Company, gave a warning to Roosevelt that he'd better do what the bosses want or else! Here is what he said at the convention. "Do these things (admit the NAM program to smash labor) and the output of war materials will soar. . . . Fail to do them and we lose initiative, lose production, lose the war. . . ."

Thus the bosses indicate that they see in this war the dual task of smashing Hitler abroad and labor at home. However, their main enemy is labor and they do not intend to retreat on that front, regardless of its effect upon the war abroad.

These developments drive home the necessity for independent class action by the workers, the splitting away from collaboration with Roosevelt and the driving of a sharp class line of battle.

A NEW PAMPHLET

## THE WORKERS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A Speech by

JAMES P. CANNON

to the

Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party

With the Political Resolution Adopted by the Convention

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**The Negro Struggle**  
By Albert Parker

**Will McNutt Appointment Help the Negro?**

How will the struggle against discrimination in industry be affected by the selection of Paul V. McNutt as manpower dictator? The answer to this question can be found in an examination of the policies pursued by McNutt during the last six months in some of the government agencies under his control, the United States Employment Service, the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the War Manpower Commission, etc.

The Militant reported last August that Operations Bulletin C-45 issued by the USES had been greeted with a storm of criticism because it permits employers to ask for "white Christians only" and because the USES grants such requests.

The Workers Defense League reported this week that John J. Corson, USES director, had promised in October to amend Bulletin C-45, but that to date nothing has been done about it. The WDL also quotes a Southern journalist to the effect that "no Negroes hold jobs in the Georgia USES."

The Chicago Defender of Dec. 5 carries a story from its Washington bureau showing that the D. C. Employment Center, also a subordinate of the War Manpower Commission, is continuing with its usual policies, and that its officials spend a good deal of their time trying to explain to Negro applicants why they can't be sent to certain jobs, although they meet all the occupational qualifications.

As for the Fair Employment Practices Committee, here is an estimate of its activities under McNutt's jurisdiction, as made by A. Philip Randolph, national di-

rector of the March-On-Washington Movement, in a statement released through the WDL this week:

"Instead of discrimination against Negro workers decreasing, it is on the increase. . . . The President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice . . . is less effective now than it was when it was first established in breaking down barriers relating to employment opportunities on account of race, color, religion or national origin. The reason for this is the President's order which transferred FEPC from its status of independence with responsibility to the President alone, to the War Manpower Commission under the direction and supervision of Paul V. McNutt. Since FEPC has been submerged in this government agency its work in eliminating discrimination has been at a standstill. . . .

"As a concrete instance of the way FEPC has been handicapped as a result of the transfer is the fact that nearly four months elapsed between the transfer and the submission to the President of a final budget for the Committee. And this budget is less than one-third of the modest and inadequate amount originally requested. . . .

"A press release of the March-On-Washington Movement quotes Randolph as saying that the reported \$300,000 budget set for the FEPC "is a subtle way of starving this vital and important agency to death."

Add it all up and you get this answer to the question asked at the very beginning of this column: Now, more than ever, Negroes and the labor movement must depend on their own organized and militant struggles against industrial Jim Crow.

**General B. O. Davis Is a Busy Man**

Brigadier-General Benjamin O. Davis, first and only Negro general in the U. S. Army, seems to be the busiest officer of his rank in the armed forces.

True, he isn't seeing any active service against the Axis.

True, he isn't in command of any soldiers, either Negro or white.

But just the same he's always on the go and busy proving his value to the brass hats and Washington bureaucrats who appointed him.

For his is the job of whitewashing Jim Crow conditions in the Army — and that's a full time job for any man.

His first big assignment in this field was in the Fort Bragg case in August, 1941 when Private Ned Turman died fighting for democracy in a hall of M. P. bullets. Davis did such a good job in whitewashing the Jim Crow con-

ditions that are at bottom responsible for "race riots" in Army camps that this became a specialty of his.

More recently, after complaints about the export of Jim Crow to Britain, Davis was sent to that country. He reported that everything had been exaggerated and that conditions in Britain were actually nothing less than fine.

And now Davis is on the scene again in Phoenix, Arizona, where brutality against Negro soldiers led to an armed struggle last week that resulted in the death of three, the wounding of a score, and the arrest of 180 soldiers.

You don't have to gaze into a crystal ball to be able to predict that Davis will soon blandly announce that of course, Jim Crow conditions and above all segregation had absolutely nothing to do with the Phoenix clash.

Who said Uncle Tom was dead?

**INTERNATIONAL NOTES**  
By BETTY KUEHN

The forcible inclusion of the Sudeten Germans as a repressed minority in another Czechoslovakia is the plan of the Czech government-in-exile.

According to the Nov. 23 release of the Czechoslovak Council of America, Dr. Herbert Ripka, Minister of State, has declared in London:

"On the principle of the Czechoslovak national claim to freedom and in view of the only possible conditions under which it can freely live, the self-determination of the Czechoslovak nation EXCLUDES an unlimited right of so-called Sudeten Germans to self-determination."

Ignoring the fact that the Sudeten's desire for self-determination was justified and that refusing it led them to become the unwitting instruments of the Nazi advance, Dr. Ripka said:

"The majority of the so-called Sudeten Germans . . . accepted the domination of the crooked cross and actively spread it in the Czech, the Slovak and the sub-Carpathian lands. Thus the majority of those Germans are equally guilty and responsible for all that nazified Germany has done and is still doing in Czechoslovakia."

In other words, the Czechoslovakian state's search for "Lebensraum" will force it to repress the Sudeten minority, under worse conditions than in pre-Munich days and in much the same way that the German state has acted toward occupied Belgium and France.

Such is the plan of the Czech government-in-exile. But these people have fears also.

President Eduard Benes, speaking to the plenary session of the

Czechoslovak State Council in London on Nov. 5, said:

"Serious occurrences in all the occupied countries, including France, will soon be evident, followed at length by the fall of Germany and Italy brought on by internal rebellions and revolutions which will be carried out on a much greater scale than any which occurred in 1918." In Germany, a revolution on a much larger scale could only mean the socialist revolution.

However, Benes' fears for the post-war period are somewhat allayed by his confidence in the role of the Kremlin. The Czech bulletin says that Benes characterizes the British-Soviet treaty "as one of the most important diplomatic acts concerning post-war Europe's reorganization."

As for Czechoslovakia itself, the Soviet Union's recognition of her pre-Munich boundaries reassures the Czech government-in-exile that it will have the Kremlin's cooperation against the Sudetens.

The Polish Labor Group takes responsibility for the following excerpt from the Nazi newspaper, Deutsche Post aus dem Osten, on the relations between German workers and foreign born workers today employed in Germany.

"A German woman and foreign worker may be working at the same machine. They quickly become familiar and even intimate. Thousands of lonely German peasant women whose husbands are away are today working in factories. To escape their loneliness, they live together with foreign-born workers in distant huts. The number of illegitimate

**The Slaughter Of The Jews**

By A. ROLAND

Capitalist civilization reeks with crimes against humanity, but none is so foul as the brutal crimes now being committed against the Jews. The horrible tortures perpetrated on innocent men, women and children make the blood run cold in the veins of anybody with the slightest feeling of humanity left in him.

The Czarist regime at the height of its power committed bloody pogroms against the Jews, but it never dared do so openly in its own name — only by instigation and indirection. The regime of brutal fascism scorns indirection and the slightest pretense of fairness.

It herds the Jews into ghettos, walled up to become their tomb. It descends without warning on these helpless creatures anywhere and everywhere in the occupied lands, packs them tightly into freight cars and seals the cars up for days and weeks on end. The sufferers who somehow survive these inhuman conditions have committed the crime of remaining alive. They are electrocuted in mass, or killed off with poison gas or merely shot after being made to dig their own graves.

**Hitler's Policy of Extermination Is Intended to Cow the Workers Everywhere**

agreement not to rouse any indignation, any protest of any kind, in the cause of the Jews.

The reasons for this indifference are not far to seek. Capitalist society everywhere fosters divisions and hatreds among the masses. Anti-Semitism is not the exclusive prop of Nazism. It exists in every capitalist country. It could not be eradicated overnight, even if the ruling class wished to see its end — and they don't by any means.

That is why there is not only reluctance but positive opposition to the extension of aid to the Jews. No effort was ever made to secure lease-lend aid for the Jews in the Polish ghettos, suffering the tortures of hell. The Red Cross never budged one step to attempt to alleviate the suffering of a blighted people.

The greatest hypocrisy of all was practised in the matter of granting visas to the frantic Jews seeking refuge somewhere, anywhere. Laval, taxed by the United States with handing Jewish children over to the Germans for certain death, openly offered to send them to the United States from then-occupied France if Hull would grant them visas. Hull, questioned on this challenge, answered that he had no information concerning it.

The policy of the government has been to place every obstacle in the way of refugees attempting to reach these shores as a haven of safety. Roosevelt has just been denied the authority by Congress to set aside immigration quotas where he deemed it necessary for the conduct of the war.

His request for this authority

was interpreted as a quiet way of getting around opposition to permitting refugees, especially Jews, to enter this country. But the President himself stated that his intention was merely to hasten the entry of a few dozen people who otherwise might be kept out, and whose presence here would be of aid in the war.

There is more than irony in the fact that Lehman has been appointed to draw up a program for the relief of starving Europe after the war. After the war! Lehman will find very few Jews to aid then at the rate at which Hitler is wiping out the Jewish people.

**JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE U. S.**

Lehman is quite typical of bourgeois Jewry in this country. The Jewish organizations have merited nothing but scorn by their failure to fight for the cause of their suffering fellows abroad. They have soft-pedalled on demands on their government to give aid. They have made excuses for the government's failure to act, on the ground that the war came first — and there must be no disunity!

Truth to tell, these organizations, like the Joint Distribution Board and the Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Labor Committee, feared to make themselves heard because they were afraid of arousing a wave of anti-Semitism here as a result. They feared for their own hides too much to fight for the lives of millions abroad.

But anti-Semitism cannot be downed by keeping silent. The Jewish organizations have merely done their bit in the conspiracy of silence against the Jews. They did not want to appeal to the masses of workers of this country who, once really aroused to the terrible plight of the Jews under the heel of Hitler, would not have failed to demand assistance in the common cause of humanity.

The situation now is more desperate than ever. It is more than ever necessary to appeal to the American masses for real aid.

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**They Will Try To Suppress European Socialist Revolts**

By M. Morrison

The offensive operations undertaken by the combined English and American forces in Africa have led not only to hopes for the military defeat of Hitler much sooner than was expected, but also to a more serious consideration of the problems that will confront the American capitalist class in Europe in the event of a Hitler defeat. And just as the ruling classes of England and America will be confronted with serious problems, so will the working classes of these countries be faced with equally serious problems arising out of the same situation.

Hopes for a quick military victory over Hitler have run to such a high point that the political leaders have felt it necessary to sound a warning of caution. They probably remember that Stalin burned his fingers last winter when he assured everyone that Hitler would be defeated in 1942. Stalin at least has the failure of the Allies to launch a second front in Europe to justify the non-fulfillment of his predictions.

It is clear even to the modest people who do not assume the role of expert military guessers that Hitler is not in as good a position as he was a year ago. The North African offensive on the part of the Allies merely shows that the industrial power of the United States is beginning to tell. Hitler is far from being beaten if one considers only the military situation. The defeat of Rommel and the invasion of the French African colonies are insignificant in comparison to the vast conquests of the German imperialist army in Europe. From a purely military standpoint Hitler still seems to have the upper hand.

From the very beginning of the war the superiority of the productive capacity of the United States was the factor barring the path of victory for Hitler. It is true that superiority in productive capacity is decisive only in the long run. By virtue of greater preparation and more decisive action it is possible for an industrially weaker nation to achieve victory. For a while it looked as if a Hitler victory was assured long before the United States could set its productive machine into motion. It now appears that, having failed to conquer the Caucasus, knock out the Red Army and drive the British out of the Near East this year, a military defeat of Hitler is most probable. It is not by any means certain but it is very probable.

It goes without saying that the advanced workers in the United States and in England will not at all be satisfied with the kind of victory that the American and English forces obtain over Hitler. If such a victory results, it will be a defeat of German imperialist ambitions, and the monopoly capitalists of the United States will be the ones to gain from that victory. Such a victory will not defeat fascism; it will not bring any solution to the peoples under the brutal reign of Hitler, including the German people. It will leave intact the capitalist regime which gave rise to fascism and to the slaughter.

But it can be confidently expected that a military defeat of Hitler will immediately set into motion vast revolutionary forces. Not only in Germany but in France, in Italy and in all the occupied countries. Will the masses of France be satisfied to

return to the regime which permitted such a catastrophe to occur? Will the masses of Europe permit, without a struggle, the return to power of the rotten, decaying and reactionary regimes that controlled their destinies in the period immediately preceding the war? Will the masses of Germany willingly accept the chains of another Versailles?

Revolutionary convulsions are to be expected, with the masses fighting to establish their own power and do away with the capitalist regime that has brought them such terrible agony.

What the American and English workers must guard against is the inevitable attempt by the monopoly capitalists of these countries to control the destinies of the European peoples, economically and politically. The big capitalists of England and the United States have many conflicting interests but as against the masses of Europe they will have no difficulty in presenting a united front. Should the American and English troops be in Europe at the time of the collapse of Hitler's regime, the capitalists will try to use those troops for the purpose of suppressing any socialist governments that the workers of the European countries may establish or attempt to establish.

To the capitalists of the United States and England socialism in Europe is a far greater danger than Hitler. They can always come to terms with Hitler or with some other representative of the German imperialists, but they can never come to terms with any revolutionary socialist regime determined to use the productive wealth of Europe for the benefit of the people. For the owners of banks and big industry a victory over Hitler will be a defeat if it is followed by the establishment of socialist governments in the European countries. If there is anything certain, it is that they will insist on using American and English troops to suppress any socialist uprising.

**Why We Broke With The Left-Wing Zionists**

Statement By Four Who Left to Join the Socialist Workers Party

It is in the name of the oppressed Jewish masses that we, a group formerly in the left wing Zionist movement—have decided to join the Socialist Workers Party. It is in the name of a real solution to Jewry's problems that we now raise our voice to our former comrades.

of the Jewish problem. We remain as always the warmest proponents of national self-determination for Jewry. What has changed is our concept of the methods of achieving it.

A detailed analysis of our position has been drawn up; this program for Jewry will appear shortly. Preparations are being made by the Socialist Workers Party for the establishment of a Committee on Jewish work in the near future which will deal with specific Jewish problems such as anti-Semitism and discrimination, coordinate the party's recruitment activity in this field, and will put out literature pertaining to the subject.

**Why We Left Hashomer Hatzair**

The most left wing of all Zionist groups, Hashomer Hatzair, torn between its lip-service to socialism and its very real attachment to bourgeois Zionism, has succumbed to the general trend toward complete subordination of Zionist goals to the war effort. From the progressive concept of opposition to imperialist war, the movement turned to the "realistic" concept of the loyal opposition, until today Hashomer Hatzair is "loyal" only to the war effort, loyal to bourgeois Zionism. Every day has accentuated the trend to the right; the opportunistic approach of activity for activity's sake became more important than theoretical study; unity with bourgeois Zionists was maintained the world over; cooperation with socialist forces in America was rejected and American working class problems were disregarded; Palestine was stressed the more, the less possible it became to either go there or work for it.

Instead of producing more politically mature persons, the "splendid" contribution of Hashomer Hatzair to a solution of the Jewish problem was to train ten more people to become farmers; to collect for Jewish funds with the "V-for-Victory" slogan; and to "criticize" the imperialists, instead of completely separating from them.

We fought this tendency but could not prevent it from dominating Hashomer Hatzair.

A new organization was required, to provide us with a rallying point. We founded the Workers Zionist League.

**An End To Zionism**

In the midst of this most terrible of all wars, the Zionists meekly ask for a place at the coming "peace" conference; a "new" Balfour declaration; immigration to Palestine; collect funds for the purchase of land which cannot be purchased as long as England rules Palestine; call for the defense of "our" homes, thereby defending an imperialist colony; cooperate with reactionaries; protest to the wrong people, take steps—in the wrong direction.

With millions of Jews maimed and killed, hundreds of thousands in immediate need of emigration with no place to go—you Zionists must re-evaluate your "realistic" and "constructivist" approach and ask yourselves: What have you contributed to the solution of this problem? With reports of the relentless extermination of European Jewry reaching this country on the very date of the 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration "promising" Palestine to the Jews—you must ask yourself: Of what avail are our settlements—the productive labor of 25 years—when a powerful aggressor from without can destroy all this in one week; when your "protector" stops all immigration; prohibits the purchase of land and refuses you arms to defend yourselves?

**The History Of An Illusion**

Consisting of people that had either been expelled or had voluntarily left Hashomer Hatzair, the WZL was a movement that was to cooperate fully with the socialist movement without abandoning its Zionist concepts. A long series of debates and discussions on such questions as Jews under Socialism, the importance of Palestine, nationalism vs. internationalism, culminating in a complete reevaluation of our previous position, a new approach was slowly evolved. Instead of creating the basis for an independent Zionist-Socialist organization; this rough draft of a program proved to us that there was no need for an independent Jewish group; that instead of cooperating with the Fourth International, we logically would have to enter it.

Our analysis led us to reject Zionism and to recognize world socialism as the only real solution to the Jewish problem. Basing ourselves on this analysis, our main task clearly became one of creating not farmers, but revolutionists.

**The Only Ally Of Jewry**

The period of reformist patchwork, mass migrations, "peaceful" construction, resettlement has come to an end. The alternative is one between socialism and barbarism the world over. The Jewish problem, more than ever, is part of the world problem. As such it will be solved with the world problem by socialism.

Oppressed national and racial minorities, as well as the colonial peoples, find their only true allies in the rising class that of necessity must help emancipate them in order to emancipate itself—the industrial proletariat. Those among the left wing Zionists who not only earnestly strive for a solution to the Jewish problem but can also analyse the tremendous class forces clashing on an international scale must and will come over to our side. The forces of the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat must be strengthened. The international party must become the human race. Therein lies Jewry's only hope for survival—with the Fourth International.

**The Only Road For Jewry**

Let our former comrades and sympathizers not think that we have become assimilationists, "forgetting" the Jewish problem. On the contrary; we maintain that only inside the revolutionary movement can one fight for the solution

**Where You Can Get THE MILITANT**

- Boston—Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.
- Chicago—Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.
- Detroit—The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock.
- Minneapolis—Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.
- Newark (Downtown)—Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.
- New Haven—Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.
- New York (Harlem)—Newsstands north west corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.
- New York (Garment Area)—Newsstand, corner of 38th St. and 7th Ave.
- New York (Manhattan)—14th St., between 4th and 7th Aves.; Newsstands on 42nd St., between 4th and 5th Aves.
- Rochester—Newsstand, Main St. and Clinton Ave., southeast corner.
- Seattle—Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

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(Signed) Dan Shelton  
Ben Walker  
Debby Black  
Ernest Hellerman

"Some Lessons Of The Anti-Poli Tax Defeat," an article printed in this column in last week's issue, was written by M. Morrison. The name of the author was omitted through a typographical error.



# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People.

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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.

## Another Exception — The Dutch Empire

Two weeks ago we noted that the principles of freedom as laid down in the Atlantic Charter were being subjected to two important exceptions. First, Prime Minister Churchill announced that the British capitalists have no intention of releasing any of the colonial peoples ruled and exploited under their empire, and second, President Roosevelt assured the French capitalists that their colonies would be returned to them after the war.

Now comes a third exception to the Charter, the Dutch empire. Speaking on Dec. 6 over Radio Orange, the Dutch broadcasting station in London, Queen Wilhelmina made it clear that the Dutch ruling class has no intention of granting freedom to its colonies at the end of the war.

"I know that the Netherlands more than ever feel their responsibility for the vigorous growth of the overseas territories and that the Indonesians recognize, in the ever increasing collaboration, the best guarantee for the recovery of their peace and happiness," the Queen said.

Concretely, the Queen's speech means that the Dutch capitalists now feel "more than ever" the need of maintaining their grip over the colonies. The loss of their homeland and the cost of the war have cut into their profits and they must now redouble their efforts to drain the riches of their overseas possessions.

To soften the effect of this announcement, the Queen promised the colonies a change in the administrative apparatus of the Kingdom and predicted a gradual evolution into a Dutch "Commonwealth" patterned after the British empire.

Such a "concession" is, of course, worthless. Regardless of the governing apparatus employed, the Dutch rulers would still exercise strict political control of the colonial people and would still be in a position to smash any resistance to their exploitation.

When one eliminates the British, French and Dutch empires, there are few colonial peoples left in the world who can look forward to receiving the "four freedoms." The Atlantic Charter is becoming a museum piece even before the war is won.

## The Communist Party And 'The Militant'

The labor movement should be prepared to expect a new avalanche of resolutions sponsored by the Stalinists and calculated to aid in the suppression of *The Militant* and all other labor papers which advocate a policy critical of the Stalinists or the administration.

The launching of such a Stalinist campaign is indicated both by the article in the Dec. 5 *Daily Worker* (see Page 1 of this issue) and by information that comes to us from sources in touch with the Communist Party.

The Stalinists are the first and thus far the only

group to "applaud" the Post Office action against this paper, but they do not intend to remain the only group.

Their strategy is clear. First, through their members in certain unions, they introduced resolutions calling on the government to investigate and suppress *The Militant* on the ground that it is acting as "an agent of Hitlerism." When the Post Office began to withhold issues of this paper from the mails, the Stalinists remained silent, waiting to see what the general reaction to this step would be. They got their answer soon enough, and they don't like it.

Every single organization and labor newspaper that has commented on the case thus far has expressed nothing but disapproval. The American Civil Liberties Union has protested and declared that "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." Newspapers such as the *New Leader*, *Reading Labor Advocate*, *Labor Action* and *The Call*—all political opponents of *The Militant*—have protested the Post Office action. And the Stalinists know that there will be more protests forthcoming from other organizations and papers as the news breaks through and they learn about what is happening in this case.

Under these conditions it is quite certain that the Stalinists will take every possible action to prod and encourage Washington to continue and extend its action against this paper. And nothing would better serve their purpose—and the purpose of the reactionary forces in Washington—than to have some "labor support," in the form of resolutions passed in trade union locals, for suppression of freedom of the press.

We can expect the Stalinists to press for further governmental repression against their working class opponents at this time for an additional reason: Washington is now more responsive to such ideas than at any time since the war began. Now that victory in the war appears as a possibility, all factions in the government and Congress must be considering the advisability of cracking down to prevent the formation of a powerful anti-capitalist leadership of the working class after the war.

This fits in well with the Stalinists' own perspectives. It would be a great mistake to believe that the Stalinists want only the suppression of certain newspapers. As the *Daily Worker* article puts it, that would be "only a small step toward what the government should have long ago carried out against these fifth columnists."

The Stalinists also want lynch campaigns, persecutions, arrests and convictions—American versions of the Moscow Trials which could be used thereafter as a club not only against the revolutionists but also against the trade union militants who want to defend labor's gains and maintain the independence of the unions. The Stalinists want nothing less than the "elimination" of all their advanced working class opponents and the intimidation of all others.

That is why all the militants in the labor movement must anticipate the Stalinists' next moves and prepare to meet them.

## Save Caballero!

Largo Caballero, leader of the Socialist Party and head of the Popular Front government in Spain during the Civil War, is a prisoner in the hands of the Fascist butcher, Franco.

Caballero had sought refuge in France after the fascist rebellion had crushed the workers in Spain. Unable to obtain passage to the Americas, he remained a political prisoner in unoccupied France until Hitler's recent occupation of the entire country. When Hitler's troops rushed southward to Toulon, they captured Caballero and turned him over to Franco.

Franco's method of dealing with his political opponents is well known — he kills them. It was precisely because of this that Hitler sent him Caballero.

Our differences with Caballero are many and profound. For one thing his policies during the Civil War helped to prevent the Spanish workers from establishing a workers' government that could have annihilated Franco's counter-revolution. Today Caballero's life is in danger as a result of those false policies. But the fact remains that he is a leader of a working class party, and as such deserves the support of the workers everywhere against the butcher Franco.

All unions and labor organizations should immediately demand that Washington intervene on behalf of Caballero. All workers should demand that the State Department, which is still in close contact with the Spanish government, obtain his release from Franco, facilitate his passage to the United States and afford him political asylum in this country.

Roosevelt has written many letters to Franco recently, most of them proclaiming his great friendship and offering material aid to help put the Spanish fascist regime on a stable economic footing. Now Roosevelt should be made to write a letter in defense of an anti-fascist working class leader.

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# WORKERS' FORUM

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.

## Garment Workers' Reaction to Ban

Thousands of New York's politicalized garment area workers learned of the post office ban on *The Militant* last week when distributors shouted, "Read about the government's suppression of a working class paper—this paper!" This seemed to reawaken the class instinct which is deep in the marrow of the bones of these trade unionists.

Many workers commented, "They can't do this!" Others would answer, "They can't! This is only the beginning, Mac."

The fact that the government was moving against our paper made our distribution in this area the most successful in history. The workers displayed a deep resentment at the Post Office attack upon freedom of the working class press. Groups of workers

## Seaman Finds Little Democracy in Egypt

The ship I was working on recently hit a port in Egypt and I took a look-around to see some of the "four freedoms," but I didn't see much. To the natives in this port, a good quality of burlap would have been luxury clothing. As for food, it's a wonder they could keep alive. However, a British army man explained to me that "the natives didn't want anything better."

Native longshoremen were unloading my ship and the only place they could get water to drink was a water tank in the crew's alley-

gathered near the distributors and discussed the suppression heatedly. Within a period of one hour we distributed 4,000 papers. Joe Simpson, Literature Agent, New York City

way. However, the British army—which was supervising the unloading of the ship—refused to let them drink the same water used by "white men." Therefore the longshoremen had to go without water entirely. When the ships crew found out what was up, we raised a stink and demanded that the natives be allowed to have the water. Our cook also warned the military that if they didn't change their tune they might find some strange things in their food (they ate aboard ship). From this point on the longshoremen didn't have any trouble in getting a drink of water.

All this made me wonder about the "Atlantic Charter," but when I got back to the States I read where Churchill said it didn't apply to the colonies anyway. So I guess that straightens everything out.

M. C. New York

# Beveridge Plan Fails To Solve Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

was struck recently by an interesting phenomenon: "It is notable that at times of severest stress the voices of Toryism become subdued while the advocates of change are encouraged to give tongue to hold plans for building a Utopian post-war world. It would be easy for a transient visitor at such time to be misled into believing that Britain was undergoing basic social and economic change." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 29.)

It is the hope of the British capitalists that their workers will be misled into just such a belief, and not threaten capitalism until the war is won and the bosses in a better position to smash opponents of their system. The bosses' lip service to the welfare of the workers always ends when the danger of revolution has passed.

## THE PLAN'S PROVISIONS

Here, briefly, is what the Beveridge plan provides: The government would take over from private concerns the job of insuring the workers against unemployment and ill health. The worker would be forced to pay the state fund 85 cents every week and would receive the following miserable "benefits":

A man with a wife and two children would receive medical attention and \$11.20 per week if he became too ill to work.

An unemployed worker would be expected to house, clothe and feed his wife and two children on \$11.20 per week.

After becoming too old to be of use to the bosses in the factories, a worker would receive a retirement pension of \$8 per week for himself and wife.

A worker injured in the factory could not sue the boss, but would receive a fixed compensation at the rate of \$11.20 per week.

There are additional small lump-sum grants for marriage, childbirth and death.

Supporters of the plan point out that the weekly rate of \$11.20

## The Record of Sir William

The record of Sir William Beveridge reveals that his interest in the workers is that of a master for his slaves. He is a throughgoing aristocrat with a confirmed anti-labor bias.

Beveridge's reactionary political views were revealed as recently as last March when he openly advocated the junking of Parliament, the smashing of trade unions and the creation of what amounted to a dictatorship of big business. (N. Y. Times, March 19, 1942.)

That organ of American capitalists, *United States News*, gave Beveridge's statement great prominence in its March 27 issue and declared that it was "the pattern of a fascist state."

Beveridge's sudden concern for the workers is not surprising, for even so reactionary a movement as fascism must take into account and promise to solve the ills of the workers.

is a boost over the present payment of \$7.60. But what these apologists fail to reveal is that the workers bear the brunt of the cost of the increase. Whereas formerly both worker and employer contributed 33 cents each toward the fund, now the contribution of the boss is boosted to 65 cents while the worker's share is raised to 85 cents. The worker's contribution is boosted by 160% but the benefits received will increase on the whole by less than 50%.

Here then is the "better world," the "freedom from want and fear" that is being planned for the post war world — \$11.20 to feed, clothe and shelter a family of four.

## NO SOLUTION AT ALL

Liberal criticism of the plan is that it "doesn't go far enough." By this they mean that the bene-

fit payments should be higher. While this is true, the real fault of the plan is not that the payments are too low, but that it leaves untouched the basic cause of poverty, private ownership of production and the power of the monopolies.

Rather than seeking to solve the cause of unemployment, Beveridge attempts to make the worker accept it passively. Beveridge admits that there will be "continuous unemployment" of 1,500,000 workers in England after the war ends—but he proposes only a means of keeping the workers half alive, not of giving them jobs and security.

## BOSSSES OBJECT ANYHOW

In spite of the obvious mildness of the plan, a mildness commented upon favorably in America by such capitalist spokesmen as the N. Y. Times and *The Sun*, there is little belief that the plan will be adopted in its present form.

All the reactionary arguments against social planning are now beginning to appear in the London press. The plan is assailed as a step "along the road to Moscow." (There is no unemployment insurance in the Soviet Union because there is no unemployment.) The plan is assailed because the payment of unemployment benefits "will reduce the incentive to work." This cry is also being taken up by the N. Y. Times. The London *Daily Telegraph* warns against "excessive security."

## UNEMPLOYMENT ITSELF MUST BE ABOLISHED

In the long run the plan will have little effect upon the suffering of the workers under capitalism and will not retard by a single day the decay of the system that sponsors it.

The plan is patch. Capitalism is beyond patching up. The workers must discard it and replace it with a sound and healthy socialist system that will eliminate the evils of unemployment by abolishing unemployment itself.

# Reading Labor Paper Protests 'Militant' Ban

The Nov. 27 issue of the *Reading Labor Advocate*, Pennsylvania labor weekly, contains an editorial vigorously condemning the Post Office action in barring recent issues of *The Militant* from the mails. The editorial, entitled "The Case of *The Militant*," is reprinted in full below:

"We do not share the views or subscribe to the philosophy of that group of people who call themselves 'Trotskyists.' Nevertheless we learn with regret and apprehension that two issues of their weekly organ, *The Militant*, have been withheld from the mails.

"Not only the action of our postal authorities, but even the way in which that action was taken is, we fear, a sinister preview of repression and tyranny. For those two issues were kept

from the mails without notice and without any charge of illegality against the publishers: . . .

"We are not arguing here for a freedom of the press that is without limit. It is conceivable that any publication, even our own, might publish facts or even opinions so dangerous to public welfare that suppression would be justified. But under such circumstances notice should be forwarded to the offender and charges should be presented.

"Certain fundamentals of what we have always regarded as 'Americanism' appear to have been scrapped by the edict of somebody in authority. There is the fundamental of due process of law. There is the right of the accused to face his accuser. There is the freedom to speak and think and advocate. And all these basic rights were ignored in the case of *The Militant*."

"We protest against what has happened to the Trotskyist organ on broad principles. But we are also moved by selfish consideration. For we still remember the ruthless and arrogant rulings of World War I, when Socialist newspapers were arbitrarily deprived of their mailing privileges, deprived indeed of the right to use the mails for any purpose, by the ukase of a Democratic Postmaster General.

"We're hoping that a satisfactory explanation will be forthcoming for what appears as a flagrant piece of suppression more fitting to the Nazi philosophy than to the freedom for which Americans are spending blood and treasure. We will continue to hope while hope remains that a war to establish freedom everywhere in the world will not result in the death of freedom here at home."

## The Stalinist Criterion On Deals With Fascists

By PHILIP BLAKE

It is rumored that Stalin, through his Ambassador Maisky, has expressed to British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden his "concern" over the deal made in North Africa with the French fascist Darlan.

Similarly in this country the Stalinists have made the record on an issue that has aroused widespread criticism of the Roosevelt administration in both this country and Britain.

But let no one think that the opposition of the Stalinists to deals with fascist elements is very profound or flows from basic anti-fascist principles. For they are just as ready as other opportunists to propose and to make such deals.

James S. Allen, political commentator of the *Daily Worker* who keeps closely in touch with the political line and directives laid down in the Kremlin, has an article in the Dec. 3 *Daily Worker* which gives the show away by indicating just where the Stalinists stand on this question.

Allen was polemicizing against the N. Y. Times which, he says, had "hinted editorially that such a (separate) peace could be made with Mussolini's puppet king."

What is required for Italy, he declared, is not such a perspective but the establishment of national unity of the Italian people:

"In such national unity there is room for all forces opposed to Hitler and his puppet gang in Italy, EVEN MEMBERS OF THE FASCIST PARTY OR SUPPORTERS OF THE MONARCHY. But there is no room for those who participated in the subjugation of their own country, whether he be king or Hitler's No. 2 or No. 3 puppet."

In other words, kings and the very top fascists are not welcome because they are too closely connected with Hitler. But monarchists and fascists who are not puppets of Hitler, who did not participate in the subjugation of Italy (to Hitler), are cordially invited.

There you have the criterion of the Stalinists: a fascist who is against Hitler is a good fascist who can be collaborated with during the war and after when the Mussolini government will be overthrown. All the others are bad fascists, whom the Stalinists will attack and condemn. Except during interludes like the Stalin-Hitler pact.

## A and P Is Indicted for Monopolistic Practices

By C. CHARLES

The A & P (Atlantic and Pacific), largest grocery chain in the world, was charged by a federal jury on Nov. 25 at Dallas, Texas, with having "restrained trade and conspired to monopolize a substantial part of trade and commerce" in food marketing and food producing.

Besides the A & P and its officers, the following subsidiaries of the chain were also indicted: Quaker Maid Co. (food products), American Coffee Corp., White House Milk Co., Nakat Packing Corp. (salmon) and Atlantic Commission Co. (fruits and vegetables).

The A & P chain operated 6,412 stores in 3,436 cities. In 1941 it did \$1,378,000,000 worth of business.

The indictment charged that the A & P has injured and destroyed food manufacturers, processors, wholesalers, canners and thousands of small independent merchants.

The A & P allegedly was able through "systematic discriminatory buying" to secure better buying prices from farmers and food producers than were its competitors. The chain is also accused of a "systematic practice of secretly enhancing their actual prices above their advertised prices through short-changing, short weighing and marking up prices on store tags and purchases."

The indictment represents a kind of victory for the middle class, above all the group of small independent grocers, which desires to break up the chain stores and large corporations into small units.

In spite of this temporary success, the middle class is fighting a losing war. The large chain with its mass buying and more scientific marketing is more efficient than the wasteful corner-grocery method of distributing food and so must triumph in the competitive struggle.

Breaking up the big corporations into small units is like turning the clock of economic history backward. The workers and dirt farmers' answer must be: Forward to social ownership of the large corporations so that the efficiency of large scale production and distribution will benefit society as a whole rather than the handful of capitalists who now own and get huge profits from the large corporations.

## U. S. Bosses Eye Soviet Union In Hunt for Profit

By R. FREEMAN

The American capitalists have been loudly proclaiming their solidarity with the Soviet Union. Speeches in Congress and on Wall Street might lead one to believe that the capitalists no longer viewed the existence of a workers' state with hostility.

Every now and then, however, the bosses' real thoughts show up in print. For instance, the Nov. 12 issue of "Report For The Business Executive," a survey of big business perspectives put out by David Lawrence, tells of plans for American imperialism after the war is won.

"Planners in control here right now," says the report, "are thinking in terms of world development, of encouraging U. S. investments in Latin America, China, maybe Russia."

Investments in Russia—there is a glittering perspective. 180,000,000 new workers to exploit.

The American bosses laud Stalin today because he offers them aid in fighting their rival German and Italian imperialists. But they never lose sight of the fact that the workers' state is a potential danger to them greater in some ways than their immediate enemies in Germany and Japan. They never forget that one sixth of the earth's surface offers them riches—if they can restore the capitalist system there.