

Why Are There No Labor Representatives In The New Congress?

An Editorial

Of the 435 Representatives who took their seats in the new Congress on Wednesday, not one is a representative of labor. Not one!

The responsibility for this intolerable situation must be placed on the shoulders of the AFL and CIO leaders. In the November elections they failed to place any independent labor candidates for Congress before the voters.

The potential vote for independent labor candidates was enormous. There are over eleven million members in the trade unions.

In addition there are the adult members of their families — housewives, etc. — who would vote with the trade unionists.

There are also the millions of workers who are still unorganized through no fault or unwillingness of their own and who would vote with the organized workers.

There are the agricultural workers and poor dirt farmers, the natural allies of the industrial workers, who could be rallied under labor's banner. There are the many, many white collar and professional people and small shopkeepers who are wholeheartedly pro-labor.

Instead of arousing these millions around labor, the AFL and CIO leaders backed Roosevelt's party, the Democratic Party.

But deep currents within the working class were hostile to this policy of delivering the workers' votes to one of the capitalist parties. As a result, the trade union leaders could not deliver what they promised Roosevelt.

Growing more and more discontented with the Democratic Party and long disillusioned with the Republican party, a large section of the working class simply stayed away from the polls. Over eight million fewer votes were cast in the Congressional elections than in 1938, and all observers agree that it was mainly the workers who stayed away.

Nor was it a case of turning from Tweedledee-Democrat to Tweedledum-Republican: although the Republicans polled over 50% of the total vote, they polled three million fewer votes than in 1938.

In short, large sections of the workers were apathetic toward the elections because they rightly felt that there was no choice for them at the election booths.

And generally the workers who felt that way were the backbone of the trade unions — the most loyal, the most active, the men and women who built the unions. As one delegate to the recent CIO convention confessed, anywhere from 25 to 35% of the Michigan CIO members — the cream of the CIO — did not bother to even register to vote.

These facts are particularly important in the light of the demand, voiced by both the CIO and AFL for more labor representation in the various governmental bodies in Washington.

This demand is in part an alibi of the union leaders to explain why the trade unions are being kicked around in Washington — if Roosevelt would only appoint more union leaders to government bodies things would be different, they say.

But this demand is also a distorted expression of the realization, growing among the workers, that the old pure and simple trade unionism is inadequate, that organized labor must plunge deeply into politics.

Certainly the most important governmental body in Washington in which labor leaders should sit is Congress. Yet the trade union leaders, demanding seats everywhere else, are not demanding any seats in Congress!

So far they are only "demanding" what Roosevelt can give them: a seat or two on the various bodies he appoints, the WLB, OPA, WPB, etc.

But Roosevelt cannot give the trade union leaders seats in Congress. Those seats can only be gotten by running labor's own candidates in Congressional elections.

Even a handful of Congressmen, had they been elected by an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, would today make an enormous

difference in Congress. Such tribunes of the masses would raise their voices loud in Congress, and they would be heard.

The workers' representatives would be heard by the great mass of workers. They could arouse these workers to such a pitch of resistance to the reactionary attacks that even this Congress would have to retreat.

None of the hypocritical "friends of labor" in Congress — the New Dealers, etc. — will do this. They will make the record perfunctorily on various anti-labor bills. But they will not sound the alarm to arouse the great masses against the reactionary wave. They will knuckle down to the poll-taxers, rather than to bring the great masses into the union halls and streets in protests against the reactionaries.

Only Congressmen elected by an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY could speak for the workers in Congress and thus mobilize the workers against their enemies. But, thanks to the company unionism in politics practiced by the AFL and CIO leaders, we do not have such Congressmen.

Members of the trade unions, both AFL and CIO: Let this be the last Congress which meets without being confronted by labor's own Congressmen! Forward to the INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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British Soldiers Show Sympathy For Unionists

Notify Leeds Transport Workers That They Do Not Want to Act As Strikebreakers

An inspiring demonstration of solidarity between soldiers and trade unionists in Great Britain is reported in the December issue of the *British Socialist Appeal*.

The Transport and General Workers Union in Leeds had decided to "withhold their labor" unless their employers showed a willingness to improve certain working conditions which have been greatly and deliberately worsened in the recent period.

Immediately after this decision was made known, armed troops and military vehicles were brought into all depots and garages in the district, some to drive a skeleton service and others apparently to guard the premises. A meeting called by the transport workers on Nov. 29, and attended by 1500 members, learned that the soldiers were decidedly hostile to the idea of being used as strikebreakers, and had expressed their views in hand-written copies of a manifesto distributed to bus drivers and conductors.

The text of this manifesto follows:

Somewhere in Leeds
Nov. 29, 1942

To The Mass Meeting Of
The Transport Workers:
Fellow Trade Unionists:

This is a letter from your brothers in the forces who are in sympathy with you.

We know the army will be used in an endeavor to break the strike and to force you to accept those conditions against which you are fighting.

But you must know that although there are some who are prepared to take action on your behalf and many who sympathize with you, the nature of military discipline necessitates that this sympathy does not find open expression and that every action be secret.

The drivers of the military vehicles are forced to scab, but we ask you to realize that WE ARE NOT WILFUL STRIKEBREAKERS BUT VICTIMS OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

You must not forget that the soldiers' uniform is no more a barrier to class solidarity than is the uniform of a tramwayman or bus conductor.

We ask you then in your

struggle not to direct your attack against the soldier but against the real scabs—the people who, of their own free will, use the military vehicles.

In this way you will destroy that artificial barrier which military discipline has created between worker and worker.

The fraternal feelings of the soldier towards his civilian brother will be strengthened and he will be given heart and courage in his own struggle for decent conditions.

We therefore suggest to you the following course of action:

1. That in your own uniforms, you picket all bus and tram stops in order to dissuade people from travelling on the military vehicles.

2. That you do not undertake any action which will place the soldier in an awkward position by compelling him to openly disclose his sympathies.

3. That you endeavor to give this letter publicity among soldiers so that they will know that their sympathy is appreciated and is a mark of your own solidarity with them.

In conclusion we wish to congratulate you on the stand you have taken. We urge you all to be firm and united. You are fighting not only for yourselves but for your fellow workers also. Your solidarity, your resolution and your courage will be an example to our class—to workers both in and out of uniform.

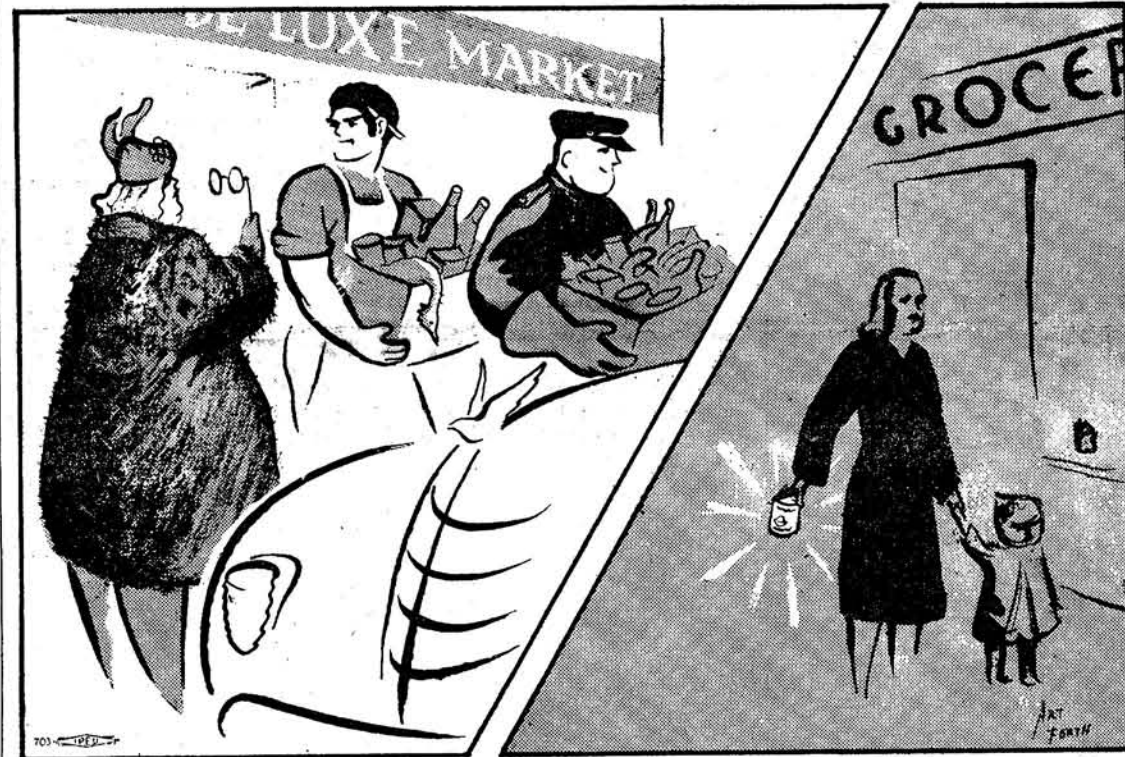
We wish you success and sign ourselves.

NO NAMES—NO PACK DRILL

P.S. We are writing copies of this letter and distributing them to conductors in the confidence that at least one will reach the Strike Committee and be read to the meeting.

OPA KEEPS RAISING PRICES

Some More "Equal Sacrifice"



17 Reported Killed In Bolivia Strike

CIO, AFL Officials Protest Attempts to Label It Nazi-Led

Jose Antonio Arze, exiled leader of the Bolivian Left Revolutionary Party, stated on Jan. 1 in telegrams to the CIO, AFL and American Civil Liberties Union, that government police and troops had killed seventeen workers since the declaration of martial law against the tin miners' strike in Bolivia.

This strike nearly led to a general strike, according to the Jan. 4 CIO News. When the Bolivian government tried to cover up the real causes by accusing the leaders of being "Nazi agents," CIO and AFL officials protested saying they knew the strike leaders as bona-fide representatives of the workers.

The real cause of the strike is the desperate economic condition of the workers and the Bolivian government's refusal to institute the long-promised labor code which would ease these conditions.

Ernesto Galarza, chief of the Labor Division of the Pan-American Union, charged that the American Ambassador to Bolivia, Pierre Boal, had intervened against the workers on behalf of the mine operators.

The CIO, AFL, National Farmers Union and other labor and liberal organizations have demanded an investigation of the Ambassador's activities.

Frameup Movie Nears Completion

By JOHN BATES

The movie version of ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, "Mission to Moscow," is being filmed specifically to dispel "all antiquated convictions about the Moscow Trials." This is on the authority of none other than the author himself.

The film will portray Trotsky

'New Leader' Hits Davies' Movie

The New Leader, organ of the Social-Democratic Federation, has denounced the whitewash of Stalin's crimes in the forthcoming movie, "Mission to Moscow," and expressed fears that the picture may be shaped to the "grotesque pattern of Comintern propaganda."

The Dec. 26 issue of the paper reported that Trotsky would be shown as an agent of Hitler and organizer of a Russian Fifth Column. "The technical film advisor on this vicious fabrication," the New Leader said, "was Jay Leyda, well-known Kremlin cultural agent, Fellow-traveler Erskine Caldwell prepared the screen adaptation. . . . What minor items are available about the picture hardly attest to scrupulous concern for the facts."

The paper further reports that Elmer Davis, director of the Office of War Information, and Warner Brothers' in Hollywood, are receiving protests from numerous distinguished liberals.

as the paid agent of Hitler, and Stalin's monstrous murders of the old Bolsheviks will be presented as "protective measures against German fascism." This was revealed last week after Davies had visited the Warner Brothers set and enthusiastically watched the trial scenes of the picture being made.

Thus the U. S. State Department is appeasing Stalin in the most cynical manner. Instead of a second front in Europe, it is giving him a Hollywood sugar-coated whitewash of his crimes against Lenin's co-workers and the world revolution.

The government's hand is directly in the picture, for all of the slanderous material comes from State Department archives, and Davies has acted as an unofficial government supervisor whose job it is to see that the picture follows a line which will

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LaFollette Paper Hits P. O. Ban

An editorial in the Jan. 4 issue of *The Progressive*, the LaFollette weekly published in Wisconsin, calls attention to the Post Office attacks on *The Militant* and *Labor Action* as signs of the need for relentless vigilance to "prevent a recurrence of the type of witch hunting which provided such a shameful chapter in American history a generation ago."

"The recent action of the Post

Pro-Consumer Gov't Official Forced to Resign

Forced to resign because he took his job of consumer's counsel (representative) of the Agricultural Department seriously and advanced a program which would to a certain degree protect the consumers! Such was the fate of Donald E. Montgomery.

The program that Montgomery put forward was by no means radical. But because it would to a certain degree aid the consumers and cut the profits of the food manufacturers, packers, dairies, chain stores and large corporation farms, his post was abolished and he had to resign after seven years service.

Montgomery stated on resigning on December 28 that he was convinced that the "new Food Distribution Administration does not recognize the need for a partisan of consumers" while "food processors and distributors" have ample representation and a "chance to say what they want."

He declared that he saw "the termination of consumers' counsel as a clear signal to consumers that they had better look to their food needs themselves." He urged farm and labor organizations to begin immediately to "concern themselves with the food problems of their families and join with consumers organizations in making their needs known."

The program proposed by the ousted official called for the rationing of all foods except cereals and perishable fruits starting at once; government subsidies to keep food prices down; special rations of milk to children and expectant mothers at a price they could pay or, if necessary absolutely free; aid to millions of families whose incomes have not been raised by war work so that they could buy the food necessities; continuation of the food stamp plan as well as other methods to secure the lower-paid groups of the population a more adequate diet; penalization of food waste, etc.

Undoubtedly there are many points in this program which would help in solving the food problem. Its main weakness is that it does not place the question clearly of who shall control the price fixing and rationing: the masses themselves through their own organizations or capitalist bureaucratic government bodies? Even this program, however, aroused the fear of Big Business. That's why Montgomery had to go.

Office Department in denying arbitrarily and without due process of law the privilege of the United States mails to publications like *The Militant* and *Labor Action* shows that the American Civil Liberties Union and other genuine friends of freedom have their work cut out for them in the trying year ahead."

Big Business is carrying on a full-scale offensive against the living standards of the masses in the form of increasing demands for food price rises.

That the government is giving in to the demands of Big Business was shown last week in several ways: the price of milk was raised in several centers; the price of flour went up; the quality of bread went down; the consumer's counsel of the Agriculture Department was forced to resign because he opposed some of the Big Business profit-gouging policies; it was announced that the food stamp plan would be terminated March 1.

Meanwhile the shortages of certain foods are growing more intense in the workers' neighborhoods. Those with plenty of money of course manage to get what they want. The government's rationing plans announced last week are full of loopholes which enable the wealthy to evade the regulations with ease.

How can the workers meet these problems?

Rationing and price control are absolutely necessary. But under the control of the bosses and their government representatives, they have been swindles.

Real rationing and price fixing can be realized only under control of democratic mass committees of unions, working farmers' organizations, housewives and small businessmen. The policies of such committees would not be governed by the food trusts' greed for profits — a factor which now prevents much of the food from being shipped to low income neighborhoods.

At the same time the workers must raise the demand: For a rising scale of wages to meet rising living costs.

Only in this way can the plans of Big Business be fought. Only in this way can the masses be assured of a chance to get an adequate amount of food and the other necessities of life.

New Rises Mean More Slashes in Living Standards

By C. Charles

The steady rise of OPA-authorized prices, above all prices of food, continues. This week the procession was led by increases in the price of milk and bread.

The price of milk in the New York, Chicago and Duluth-Superior areas has been raised from 1½ to 2 cents. The immediate pretext for the increase in the price of this basic food was the abolition of government subsidy payment for milk.

The prices of flour, bread and bakery products have been raised. Flour prices have gone up about 10%.

The price increase in store bread and other bakery products has not taken place directly and openly, but by a lowering in the food value of bread and bakery products. The amount of sugar, milk and shortening in each loaf of bread has been cut.

The consumer pays as much for a loaf of bread as he did previously, but the loaf represents less food than before.

The price increases in the last week were not limited to milk, flour and bread. Thousands of stores in the metropolitan area are completely disregarding price ceilings for all foods of which there are shortages.

Prices are so high that Donald Montgomery, former Department of Agriculture consumer's counsel, declared recently that 38% of American families will not be able to buy the meat allowed to them under the forthcoming meat rationing plan.

SHORTAGES

The price increases take place on the background of an ever more acute condition of shortage, particularly in beef and dairy products.

Beef has become a rare item

(Continued on page 2)

Cannon Trial Testimony Is Now Being Translated Into Arabic

The testimony of James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the Minneapolis "seditious conspiracy" trial of Nov. 1941, has been well received in Egypt and is being translated into Arabic with the purpose of republication, according to a letter received in New York this week. Several articles by Leon Trotsky are also to be translated with the same object in view.

Another letter recently received reported that copies of Cannon's testimony have found their way to India where they made a very favorable impression in labor and radical circles.

Cannon's testimony, which has

been hailed as a primer of socialism and has already introduced the basic ideas of Marxism to thousands of workers, was published in this country early last year under the title of "Socialism on Trial." It has also been given a wide circulation by the Workers International League in Britain.

The American edition, running to 116 pages, may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City, for ten cents. A companion pamphlet, "In Defense of Socialism," (same publisher; same price) contains the stirring final argument to the Minneapolis jury of the chief defense counsel, Albert Goldman, himself one of the defendants in the trial.

How I Got Plenty of Butter

By Michael Cort

NEW YORK — Last week I went to the grocery store to buy some butter and was informed by the grocer that I would have to purchase \$2 worth of other foods before he would give me any. I bought the \$2 worth of food and then was given permission to buy one quarter of a pound of butter. I noticed a woman went without the butter because she could not afford to buy the other food.

The following day a relative of mine arrived from the middle west and took my wife and me to Longchamps, one of the swankier restaurants. There were four of us and the waiter placed eight thick pads of butter in a silver tray on the table. When all but two pads were gone, the tray was whisked away and returned in a moment with eight more pads. Unfortunately we were unable to finish the second service of butter and I never discovered if we could have had more.

There is certainly no butter shortage at Longchamps. The only trouble is, of course, it costs you more than \$1 for the skimpiest plate they serve.

Red Army Makes Important Gains

Advances Are Already Greater Than Those Achieved During Last Winter's Fighting

By Joseph Andrews

The Red Army continues its offensive against the Nazi invaders, taking several strategic cities and capturing tens of thousands of prisoners as well as stores of matériel, according to dispatches this week from Moscow.

Velikie Luki, northwest of Moscow, a strategic center on the Riga-Moscow railroad, through which supplies had been sent from the Reich to the Moscow and Leningrad fronts; Mozdok and Elista, key cities on the central Caucasus front; and Chernishkovskiy airport and the railroad junction of Chernishkovskiy southwest of Moscow, were all reported recaptured by the Red Army. It has also been reported that the Red Army has regained Nalchik, the most important center in the northern Caucasus; this would endanger the whole German line in that area.

The German general staff has either denied or did not comment on the reported defeats of Nazi forces at these points. But German military communications have admitted that the Red Army has launched a serious offensive all along the wide front, in the midst of the second winter of the war.

That such an offensive is under way, regardless of the possible exaggerations of the Moscow reports, is heartening news to defenders of the USSR. This offensive testifies to the continued high morale and great vitality of the Red Army and the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union—a vitality such as no capitalist nation can summon, and a spirit such as no imperialist army can bring forth.

The very launching of an offensive in the second bitter winter of the war, against great odds and in spite of the defeats of last spring and summer, is evidence of the deep resolve of the Soviet workers and soldiers to defend the conquests of the October revolution, and to regain every inch of ground wrested from the first workers' state by the Nazi imperialists.

The current offensive is on a larger scale and reports already indicate that it is more successful than the Soviet offensive last winter. While last winter the Red Army was able to push forward on only one front, central Moscow, this year they have not only retaken salients which last year were held by the Nazis, but also have driven ahead on the southwest and Caucasus fronts.

GERMAN SITUATION
Hitler in his New Year's Day speech stated, "The winter may be difficult. It's blows, however, cannot hit us harder than last year." He was over-optimistic. With the recapture of Velikie Luki, Mozdok and Elista, the Red Army has already inflicted heavier blows against the Nazi armies than they were able to inflict all last winter.

Germany has been feeling the heavy costs of over three years of war. The Russian campaign has taken a heavy toll of Nazi strength. From Nazi sources it is reported in the January, 1943 issue of Foreign Affairs that the Nazi farm officials have warned that the German people should not expect "any additional food supply from the Ukraine before the 1943 harvest." Transportation difficulties and civilian resistance were cited as the chief reasons why so little food was forthcoming.

Hitler's dream of feeding Germany upon the Ukrainian breadbasket has suffered a rude awakening. The scorched earth policy has cost Hitler dear.

QUESTION OF MORALE
The failure of the Nazi armies to gain their objectives and the pressure of the prolonged war on the economy, above all on the German masses, can very well bring about a breakdown in the morale of the German troops at the front and workers in the factories.

But these important factors in the Nazi-Soviet war are not included in the highly touted "Master Plan" which Stalin has reputedly drawn for the Red Army.

A military offensive alone, unaccompanied by revolutionary propaganda to win the working class solidarity of the German proletariat and to break down the morale of the Nazi troops, cannot insure victory for the USSR.

REvolutionary METHODS NEEDED
Conditions are now more ripe than ever for revolutionary methods against the Nazis. Hitler can no longer boast of victories. The USSR is advancing. Pre-conditions for a break in morale among Nazi troops have been established. A call to the German soldiers and workers to join with the Soviet masses against the Nazi slave-drivers, a true internationalist campaign to win the German masses to the side of the Soviet Union, would insure the success of the winter campaign.

But the revolutionary methods of Lenin and Trotsky are alien to Stalin and his bureaucratic clique who have been strangling the workers state. Stalin's nationalist slogans win the commendation of the N. Y. Times, but they can never arouse the latent revolutionary forces of the German working class.

Only those revolutionary forces, allied with the masses of the Soviet Union, against Nazism and against the Kremlin clique, can save the USSR.

WORKERS GET IT IN THE NECK BECAUSE OF EMPLOYER PRACTICES

Fourteen large war plants in the Philadelphia area were recently charged by Louis B. F. Raycroft, regional director of the War Manpower Commission, with falsifying reports to obtain draft deferments for certain employees.

Raycroft announced on Dec. 31 that the WMC was going to penalize the employers involved. How? By refusing from now on to heed any deferment requests they make for their employees.

But since EVERY occupational deferment request by the workers in these plants has to come through the employers, this means that the workers will be made to suffer because their employers tried to pull some fast ones.

Negro Youth Group Opposes Ban On 'The Militant'

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Support of *The Militant's* right to go through the mails was unanimously voted on Dec. 22 at the latest meeting of Modern Trends, a Negro progressive youth group.

A committee had been set up at a previous meeting to investigate the case of *The Militant* and the Post Office Department's interference with its mailing privileges. Its report to the general membership urged support of the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union on this case.

The committee's report stated that Modern Trends had long been on record in favor of freedom of speech, press and assembly. It was pointed out that the attack on *The Militant* was a dangerous precedent which could be continued and extended without limit unless challenged now. The committee stressed the fact that it had been unable to find any official statement of policy by the Post Office Department suppression of publications and that no official statement had been released concerning the ban on *The Militant*.

The resolution adopted by the members placed the group "on record as supporting the American Civil Liberties Union in its fight for preservation of a free press in the case of *The Militant*."

Modern Trends is a leading youth group in Harlem, in the forefront of activity in many social and political phases of Negro life. Its members are students, workers and writers, many of whom have played and are still playing an influential role in the local March-On-Washington Movement.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

NEW JERSEY dairies are demanding higher prices. They have already received authorization to increase the price of cream 1 cent a half-pint.

J. O. Eastlak, vice-president of the Borden Co., and secretary of the New York Metropolitan Milk Distributors, is demanding higher prices for home-delivered milk. The price of home-delivered milk in New York was not increased when store milk prices were boosted.

The baking companies are not satisfied with the hidden price rise and are demanding open price increases. The American Bakers Association stated on Dec. 30 that ceilings are entirely too low and must be raised.

President Jack Koenig of the Associated Retail Bakers announced that he had asked Food Administrator Wickard for permission "to puncture" the present price ceilings on bread and other bakery products.

Judging by the speed with which the government okayes the slightest hint of a request for price increase by any capitalist or group of capitalists, the dairy and baking companies will not ask in vain.

HOW "SQUEEZE" WORKS
The capitalists, working night and day to increase their profits, are placing pressure on the government for price increases up and down the line. The bosses assert that without such increases they are being "squeezed." Here is how it works:

First the farmers get an increase in prices. Then the processors, the packers, the dairies and the food manufacturers, claiming that their profits suffer, because of the increased prices of raw material demand higher prices.

Then the wholesalers secure authorization to increase prices. Following the wholesalers the retailer gets permission to advance prices to the consumer.

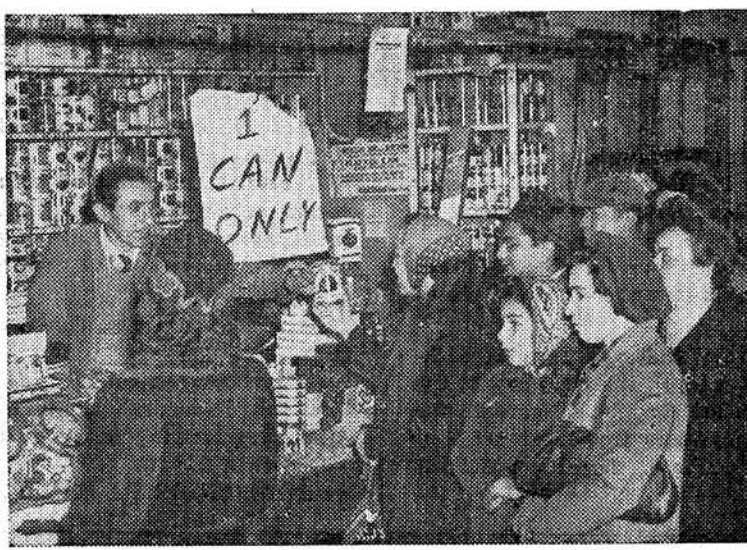
Finally the price increase is passed on to the worker consumer, whose wages are frozen so that he cannot secure higher wages to cover the increase in the cost of living.

HIGH PRICES MEAN MORE PROFITS
No worker will oppose an increase in prices to the working farmer. However, this increase in prices must come out of the profits of the capitalists, not be paid by the worker.

The wage worker and his family, by taking cuts in their living standards, maintain the profits of the capitalist class.

The capitalists are enabled to

One Can Per Customer



(Federated Picture)

The food crisis has reached the stage where many grocers limit their customers to one can each. Rationing, which is to go into effect in February, will continue to limit the standard of living of the workers, but leaves many loopholes for the rich.

OPA Continues To Raise Prices

(Continued from page 1)

live in the luxury they are accustomed to, war or no war, and receive more than their usual profits by raising the prices and thereby cutting the quantity and quality of the food, clothing and shelter the worker gets.

Cream is a luxury food. Butter is scarce and often can be bought only by paying over ceiling prices. Reports from Detroit show that butter is selling there at \$1 a pound. Evaporated milk is becoming steadily scarcer.

These shortages strike hard and mainly at the workers. In the sections of cities where the wealthy live, goods are available because ceiling prices are higher. The rich are able to go to high-priced fancy restaurants, clubs and hotel dining rooms and eat of the best foods until surfeited. The workers must do without.

The capitalist class of the country is pushing for still higher prices. With the increases in prices their appetites for even higher prices is sharpened.

BOSSSES DEMANDING MORE
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Davies Movie Almost Ready

(Continued from page 1)

aid the current U. S. foreign policy.

Details of the picture have also come from movie critic Virginia Wright who visited the set and reported in the Dec. 14 issue of the Los Angeles Daily News that the trials will occupy at least an entire reel in the finished film.

"The later Bukharin trial... revealed," she wrote, "that his Trotskyist faction and the Tukhachevsky military clique were not planning a coup d'état with the vice marshal at its head, but making deals with Germany and Japan as well."

OLD SLANDERS

There is nothing new in these slanders which are supposed to erase "antiquated convictions"—convictions, incidentally, which Davies himself held until the needs of America's foreign policy suddenly enlightened him. At the time of the trials Davies, along with all other informed people, viewed the trials as frame-ups designed by Stalin to eliminate his political opponents. Davies has now "modernized" his ideas without daring to pretend that any new evidence is available.

Davies' "modernization" was an automatic process that took place when the United States and the Soviet Union became military allies.

Even before the war Hollywood always attempted to anticipate the needs of the State Department and supply it with film propaganda. An example which comes to mind is the picture "Ninotchka"—a vicious caricature of the Soviet system. This picture was released in the early days of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

TRUTH ABOUT THE TRIALS

There can be no question but that film propaganda is extremely effective. It is vitally important, therefore, that all workers inform themselves as to the true facts concerning Stalin's slanders against Trotsky. John Dewey, outstanding American philosopher and educator, headed a commission which investigated all charges and found Trotsky innocent. The findings of the Dewey Commission are contained in two volumes, "The Case of Leon Trotsky," and "Not Guilty."

Every worker should arm himself against the employers and the Stalinists by reading these reports.

WDL PROTESTS

POST OFFICE BAN

The Workers Defense League reported last week that it had written a letter to Postmaster Frank Walker in Washington protesting the Post Office Department's interference with the mailing rights of *The Militant*, *Fourth International*, and *Labor Action*.

The WDL letter said that it feels "the right of a free labor movement to express its views is endangered by such action."

'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL' FOR JANUARY IS NOW ON SALE

The January issue of the monthly Marxist magazine, *Fourth International*, which came off the press just before New Year's Day, is up to its usual high theoretical and educational standards.

Featured articles in the current issue are *The Post-War Strategy of Food* by C. Charles and *Darlan and the Liberals* by Marc Loris.

The first is an absorbing account of how the Allied leaders used the weapon of food and relief to aid the counter-revolution in Europe after the armistice and to fight the attempts of the masses to establish and maintain workers' governments in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Finland and other countries.

The Loris article reviews the plaintive comments of the American liberals over the deals with Darlan, Otto, Franco, et al, shows that they dare not analyze the real reasons for these deals and why they are worried about them.

The magazine observes the nineteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, in three special articles:

A speech summing up Lenin's role in the labor movement, made in 1918 by his co-worker, Leon Trotsky, a few days after Lenin had been shot and almost killed.

An editorial on Lenin and the attempts of the Stalinists and the capitalist press to obscure his role and policies.

An analysis by John G. Wright

of Lenin's teachings on the problem of nationalities.

Other articles in the issue include:

A contribution to the discussion on the national question in Europe by M. Morrison.

A continuation of William F. Warde's examination of the factors that have brought American economy to the initial stages of inflation.

The concluding part of *Why the German Revolution Failed*, by Walter Held.

A review by Harry Frankel of the stand now taken by petty-bourgeois intellectuals of the Lewis Corey type, who fled from all contact with the socialist movement and its ideas as soon as the war reaction made itself felt.

The magazine sells for 20 cents a copy, \$2 for a year's subscription, and is published at 116 University Pl., New York City.

The Stalinists Are Running New 'Educational Campaign'

By PHILIP BLAKE

Those who are acquainted with the internal life and structure of the Communist Party can see from recent issues of the *Daily Worker* that the Stalinist bureaucrats are having some trouble with the CP rank and file.

It is very difficult in the Stalinist party for the members to express dissatisfaction with the policies or tactics of the leadership. To openly voice any doubts or questions about the current line is to risk speedy expulsion as a "Trotskyist fifth columnist." The only way the members can express their doubts or discontent is by quitting the organization, lapsing into inactivity, failing to carry out assignments, etc.

What generally follows such manifestations is an "educational campaign" conducted by the bureaucrats and aimed at "explaining" the questions which the members dare not raise. The latest such campaign has been under way since a national conference of CP leaders held at the beginning of December.

One cannot tell from the columns of the *Daily Worker* alone how disturbed the C. P. ranks are—and it is not our intention to exaggerate the significance of such developments, which the bureaucratic structure of the C. P. has enabled the leadership to meet and overcome dozens of times in the past. But it is easy by reading what the Stalinists are writing to discern just what questions are now troubling the rank and file.

Perhaps the most important of these is the question of trade union work, wages, strikes. Once the Soviet-German war had begun and the C. P. decided to support the war, the Stalinists became known as the most anti-militant and boss-sucking group in the unions.

But as Earl Browder admits in an article in the Jan. 3 *Worker*, "There were many misconceptions before we were able to establish the full understanding in our labor movement that strike action was no longer considered permissible by us for solving our problems. That was a difficult test. Incidentally, we made a few little mistakes on the way."

Although this line has been applied a little more "skillfully" since Browder's release from prison, it is still the same anti-militant line. Wherever it is applied, it discredits the Stalinists.

In several recent cases it has resulted in Stalinist union officials being booted out of office. This trend has become so marked that Rose Worts had to analyze the results of elections just held in three New York AFL unions and admit that at bottom "the question of wages" was responsible for the Stalinist defeats.

As she says of the vote in Local 302 of the AFL Cafeteria Employees, where the C. P. got a decisive licking, "Instead of seeing the dissatisfaction of the workers... there was a tendency to pool-pool these expressions of dissatisfaction as merely election propaganda artificially stimulated by the opposition. The opposition was quick to take advantage of this dissatisfaction. The progressive (C. P.) leadership allowed the disruptive elements to pose as champions of the interests of the workers and through their demagoguery to turn this dissatisfaction against the leadership..." (*Daily Worker*, Jan. 1.)

Browder has repeatedly stated in speeches meant primarily for CP members that "Communists everywhere are resisting... strike sentiment with all of the influence that they have" and has warned that "The Communists are holding back the working class today from strike action, but the country had better understand that the Communist Party is very small and... cannot do the job alone." (*The Worker*, Dec. 27.)

But it is not enough for Browder to yell for help, or to explain that the C. P. is carrying on in this way because some mysterious conspiracy of employers is deliberately promoting the sentiment for strike action in order to sabotage the war. He has had to be a little more positive in his approach.

It is difficult to believe that such "explanations" can satisfy whatever honest and informed militants still remain in the C. P. On the contrary, they should hasten the process by which the serious revolutionists will come to understand that the bureaucratic domination of the C. P. by the agents of the Kremlin has transformed it into one of the worst obstacles in the path of the socialist struggle.

Kenneth Crawford of PM, who writes as T.R.B. in the New Republic, has suggested that the Stalinists do a service to the war they support by voluntarily disbanding the CP. One might be surprised at the amount of space the *Daily Worker* spends in attacking Crawford for raising this idea. But not if it is recalled that many CP and YCL members themselves raised this question over a year ago because they did not see the party doing anything that couldn't be done—and more effectively—in the left wing of the Democratic Party. Evidently the CP leaders regard this question as dynamite.

The *Daily Worker* has begun a weekly column on Party Education, conducted by Sam Don, head of the National Education Department. The first column (Jan. 2) warns against the "hangover of 'thinking-as-usual'" and the need for the members to become "well informed and theoretically grounded" in the C. P. line. "Clarify, clarify and again clarify—must be our watchword," says Don.

This column, like many others by the C. P. leadership, comments on the "confusion" of those liberals who have become discouraged by recent events—the Darlan deal, the Otto deal, the bid of friendship to Franco, etc.—and tries to answer the liberals' arguments. The increasing amount of attention paid to this question suggests that the C. P. ranks too are seriously disturbed by the newest manifestations of this is not a war for "four freedoms."

Another question which we know quite definitely is worrying C. P. members concerns the attitude to be taken toward the German people. Several articles by the GPU journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, have voiced the most scurrilous kind of nationalist hatred for the German people and lumped them together with the Nazis.

On Dec. 29 the *Daily Worker* printed a carefully-written and apologetic letter from a reader suggesting that Ehrenburg is making a mistake, pointing out that Stalin has made the record against hating the German people as a nation, and asking if Ehrenburg's anti-German chauvinism does not aid Hitler in keeping a hold on the German people. In the same issue is an "answer" by Milton Howard, presented as "some ideas which I have had as I read the various views."

Howard takes care not to disagree with anything written by Stalin, and tries to take a half-way position. But the net effect of his "ideas" is that the Stalinists should encourage German-hating... in the interests of the German people themselves. There is little likelihood that the Stalinist ranks will be satisfied with this "explanation."

Space does not permit us to cite other examples, which the interested reader can find for himself in the Stalinist press—"explanations" about why Negroes must continue to regard this as a "war for democracy" even though they are denied the most elementary democratic rights, themselves and "explanations" about why C. P. leaders and sympathizers continue to be attacked by the government, despite their support of the most reactionary policies and despite the "progressive administration" in Washington—the latest case being the arrest of Michigan State Senator Stanley Nowak on charges that he had lied about his belief in "organized government" when he applied for citizenship a few years ago.

It is difficult to believe that such "explanations" can satisfy whatever honest and informed militants still remain in the C. P. On the contrary, they should hasten the process by which the serious revolutionists will come to understand that the bureaucratic domination of the C. P. by the agents of the Kremlin has transformed it into one of the worst obstacles in the path of the socialist struggle.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

THE NEGRO PRESS:

An Attack Answered and a Criticism Made

Once again the Negro press is under attack from those who want to silence its protests against Jim Crowism. The latest attack comes in the form of an article by a Negro named W. H. Brown, printed in the Dec. 19 issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and "reprinted" in the widely-read *Readers' Digest* even before the Dec. 19 *Saturday Review* appeared for sale.

Brown's article, "A Negro Looks At The Negro Press," is filled with the usual lies and slanders against the Negro newspapers — particularly the charge that the Negro press is responsible for "hate-making" because it prints stories showing how Negroes are discriminated against and segregated.

In this way Brown tries to blame the Negro press for the growing determination of the Negro masses to free themselves from Jim Crow chains. This is standing the matter on its head, as Brown must know, for the Negro press only reflects the attitude of the Negro masses, which is as a matter of fact far more militant than any of the Negro papers.

Brown is completely insignificant as an individual; his kind can be bought two for a nickel and will be found in almost any group; whether you call them Quislings or Benedict Arnolds or Uncle Toms doesn't matter. Neither is his article very important one way or another; everyone acquainted with the Negro people and the Negro press knows how easy it is to answer and annihilate it.

But what is significant is that Brown's article is getting such a buildup and such a wide circulation, mostly among people who have never seen the Negro press and may be taken in by Brown's lies. This is a most ominous sign, and we would be guilty of unpardonable light-mindedness if we regarded it as accidental.

The *Readers' Digest* is more than a magazine; it is also an important propaganda mechanism and a molder of public opinion. Its editors are well aware that Brown's article paints a false picture of the Negro press. There is every danger that the printing of that article in the *Readers' Digest* is a preparatory step toward the silencing or intimidation of the Negro press, and with it the struggle against Jim Crow. Brown ends his article by saying that he is "not advocating the muzzling of the Negro press but it should not be encouraged to run at a venomous hate-making pace." Brown may not yet dare to openly advocate muzzling the Negro press, but his article will do much to prepare public opinion for suppressions.

All this should be taken as a warning. Militant workers of all races must be on guard to prevent interference with freedom of the press for the Negro papers.

It may not appear tactful under these conditions for us to make some criticisms of the Negro press but we feel it timely nevertheless, for it is connected with the subject under discussion. Few readers of *The Militant* will misunderstand our remarks, but they well know that we have at all times defended the Negro press against reactionary attack, and criticized it only for not being more mili-

tant and outspoken. Our criticisms, now as always, are intended to strengthen the Negro struggle for equality, not to weaken it.

Two months ago *The Militant* was suddenly attacked by the postal authorities; since then the paper has either been destroyed or held up in the Post Office so that its usefulness was greatly impaired by the time it was delivered.

No reasons were given by the postal authorities for this procedure, but most informed circles understood that *The Militant* was being attacked because it was openly critical of the government's policy toward the labor movement, for one thing, and toward the struggle for Negro equality for another.

Although the Post Office ignored our protests, someone in Washington saw to it that the capitalist press did not publicize what was happening, although it was certainly an interesting story from the standpoint of pure journalism. Almost a full month passed before the daily press printed any information on the case, and then probably only because some labor papers had helped us to break through the wall of silence.

Shortly after the first step by the Post Office, we drew up a short account of what had happened, especially as it related to the struggle against Jim Crowism, and sent it to almost every leading Negro paper in the country, asking them to help us publicize the Post Office repressions. We got into touch by mail with two of the nation's leading Negro journalists, men who have earned themselves a reputation as pro-labor militants. We personally contacted some of the New York papers and got promises that they would run the story. But not a single Negro paper carried that story! Only later, when the capitalist press printed the first accounts, did two of the Negro weeklies even mention the case.

One of the Negro journalists with whom we corresponded gave us a clue to what was happening. He expressed his sympathy, and said he recognized it as the first step in an attack on all papers critical of administration policy. What was necessary now, he said, was for the Negro press "to curve like an Australian boomerang" — that is, to lay low, to be less sharp in its criticism. In other words, the Negro publishers seem to believe that by keeping quiet about the attack on *The Militant*, they might escape attack themselves.

The *Pittsburgh Courier*, to mention but one paper, has often criticized certain Jewish groups for demanding equal rights but not being willing to go to bat for Negro equality. The *Courier* is 100% correct when it says that such a policy is harmful to the Jewish struggle as well as to the Negro struggle. But so too are we correct in saying that the Negro press by refusing to defend free speech for *The Militant* is hurting its own interests and those of the Negro struggle, as well as *The Militant's*.

The ostrich puts its head in the sand, but that doesn't save him; in most cases it is the cause of his doom. The Negro publishers must defend freedom of press for all groups, or they may lose their own freedom of press.

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

At the peak of the Indian struggle for national independence during the past year, the only news concerning the peasant uprisings to leak through the censorship was that they were taking place in Bihar and the United Provinces.

Recent dispatches, however, indicate that the revolt was more widespread. The Jan. 3 N. Y. Times states:

"Fourteen persons were sentenced to death and twenty-seven to transportation for life by the Nagpur [Madras province] High Court today in two cases arising out of the recent disturbances at Chimur village."

And in a Dec. 5 dispatch: "Special courts at Bangalore and Wardha [in Central Provinces] have sentenced twenty-one persons to death as a result of the Indian disorders in August and September."

We already knew that the workers in the war industries in Bihar province, Bombay and elsewhere had been on many strikes during this period. Now we see from these dispatches that the

peasant revolts extended from Bihar and Bengal provinces in the east, the United Provinces in the Northeast, down through the Central Provinces where Bangalore and Wardha are located, to Madras in the South where we find Nagpur, and over to Bombay on the West.

This includes the majority of the 11 provinces of British India.

That fascism is just a more stringent form of protecting the interests of the capitalists is demonstrated in the following excerpt from the December 21 News Flashes published by the Czechoslovak National Council of America.

The paper quotes the official gazette of the Reichsprotektor in Bohemia and Moravia which published a ruling on September 10, 1942 that:

"The Minister of Justice may release commercial concerns from their obligation to publish financial statements. He may prohibit business firms from giving reports or information to creditors

The Economics Of Jabberwocky

By C. THOMAS

'Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;
All mimsy were the borogroves,
And the mome raths outrabe.

When Lewis Carroll wrote his tone poem, "Jabberwocky," he strung words together, in rhythmic cadence without regard to their literal meaning. Carroll's brilliant use of the art form to express the music of poetry eminently justified the liberties he took with the English language. One would hardly suppose that the science of political economy, which requires mathematical precision of expression, would lend itself to the medium employed by Carroll in his "Jabberwocky." In this assumption one reckons without the versatility of the Stalinists.

The October 16, 1942 issue of the Stalinist controlled *Labor Herald*, official organ of the CIO in California, carried the following account of a speech made by Harry Bridges to the California State CIO convention held recently in Hollywood.

"Declaring that 'money is not worth much these days,' California CIO Director Harry Bridges told the State CIO convention here that the war — and the need for winning the war — has so fundamentally altered the national economy that trade unions must switch their main emphasis from wage gains to winning the things that money formerly brought."

"We've got a lot of our unions still thinking they can make gains by getting wage increases of so much per hour, or per day, and they are fooling themselves if they only think in terms of dollars and cents," Bridges said in his annual report.

"It doesn't matter how much money you've got these days," the ILWU president asserted, "its pretty tough to buy tires for your automobile, or to get a new machine or even to repair one."

"And there are many similar examples that all point to the fact

that money in terms of dollars and cents does not represent gains for unions and workers anymore because our entire national economy has been forced to a change by the war," Bridges declared.

"Solution of the dilemma in which workers find themselves with more money to spend but less channels from which to purchase their goods," Bridges indicated, is to compel greater labor representation in various wartime government agencies that now control our war effort and our very lives. (Emphasis in the original.)

"There is a job we are slipping up on. We have our eye too much on the line of getting more money, instead of going after the things that money represents. Things that we can get these days easier than ever before, because we are talking in terms of production, of winning the war, of unity, and all the things that go into the war effort."

Epilogue

San Francisco, December 18, 1942 — Requests for wage increases presented by Harry Bridges on behalf of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union of fifteen cents per hour were rejected today by W. P. Folsie, president, on behalf of the Waterfront Employers Association of the Pacific Coast.

"Mr. Folsie informed longshore officials that the request for increased wages had been rejected," (San Francisco News—December 18, 1942).

Post Script

Harry Bridges' economic thesis that "money is not worth much these days," may be pure Jabberwocky to the workers but it looks like the bosses are completely sold on the idea.

Lessons of 1918-1920

British Masses Helped To Defeat The Interventionists

By MIRIAM CARTER

The Russian Revolution of October, 1917 was an inspiration to the war-weary masses of World War I. To the capitalist governments, however, it was something to be hated and feared. As one of the British generals active in the intervention against the Soviet Union stated, they considered it necessary "to throttle in its infancy the noisome beast of Bolshevism."

("The Murmansk Adventure," General Sir C. Maynard.)

The most militant advocate of full-scale imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union was Winston Churchill. Lloyd George, then prime minister, was no less an enemy of the Soviet Union, but he was opposed to intervention on a large scale because he feared mutiny in his own ranks. There were plenty of reasons to give substance to his fear.

The English government, mostly through the efforts of Churchill, began landing troops in North Russia. In April, 1918, marines landed in Murmansk, followed by the landing of more troops, finally swelling the number to 18,400 British troops. This was besides the munitions and supplies provided for the counter-revolutionary generals of the White Armies, Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak and Mannerheim.

THREE REASONS

1. The tremendous popularity of the Soviet Union among the English people.
2. The war weariness among soldiers and civilians alike.
3. The popularity of Bolshevik ideas among the population in territory held by the counter-revolutionary forces.

On August 1, 1918, the Sovnarkom, Council of People's Commissars, issued an appeal to the toiling masses of England, France, America, Italy and Japan, exposing the purpose of these governments, run by the bosses, in sending troops against the young workers' republic. The appeal fell on fertile ground.

Troops in Shoreham, Folkestone, Dover, Osterley Park and many

and from permitting creditors to investigate the books, correspondence and property, if this is deemed advisable for reasons of public order."

Rather convenient for the bosses, on whom the Nazi yoke rests comparatively lightly, not to be required to make known their profits in the face of the starving workers of Europe.

other places in Britain revolted against being sent back to France after the armistice. Troops in France struck, demanding demobilization. In one instance 400 men who had been ordered to train for Salonica, to fight in South Russia, simply refused to go. The *Daily Herald*, British labor paper, said on Jan. 11, 1919, "Everywhere the feeling is the same. The war is over. We won't fight in Russia, and we mean to go home."

At a Labor Party conference, in 1919, the delegates overwhelmingly passed a resolution against intervention. There were countless demonstrations against intervention, and numerous strike threats if it were continued. A "Hands Off Russia" committee was launched.

The morale among the British troops in Russia was very low. In one instance a British crew at Libau on the Baltic mutinied and had to be sent home. The British government was finally forced to order the evacuation of British troops from Northern Russia.

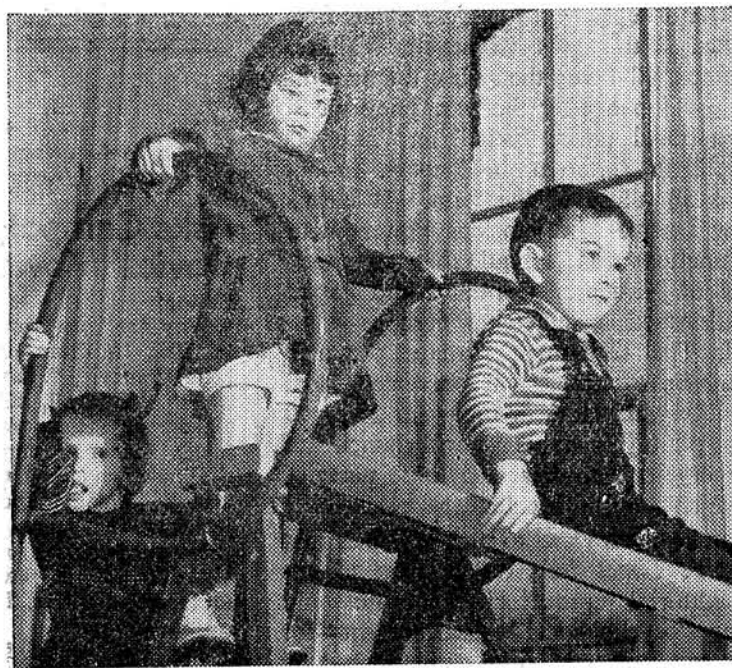
The British government, however, sought every opportunity to continue the struggle against the Soviet Union. On May 10, 1920 British dockers refused to load a vessel that was to carry munitions to Poland, then at war with Russia. The coal trimmers refused to coal the vessel. A week later the Dockers Union declared a general ban against loading any materials to be used against Russia. Refusals to load for Russia occurred at Invergordon, Portsmouth, Rosyth, Devonport and Fort Edgar. A crew, learning it was bound for Russia, refused to sail.

TREMENDOUS DEMONSTRATIONS

When the Red Army was marching toward Warsaw, the British capitalists, in a frenzy of fear threatened war if the Red Army proceeded any further. This galvanized the British labor movement into action. On Aug. 8, 1920 tremendous demonstrations against such a war were held all over the country. The Labor Party, under pressure from the rank and file, threatened a general strike if such a war was begun. The workers set up Councils of Action all over the country to take further action against such a war. The government retreated.

The policy of the Bolsheviks is exemplified in an order by Trotsky, head of the Red Army, of October 24, 1919, mourning the loss of 550 young seamen, killed by British mines: "Red Warriors! On all fronts you meet the hostile plots of the English. . . .

Child Care Problem Acute



(Federated Picture)

This is one of the WPA nursery schools which will be closed soon due to lack of funds. The lack of public nurseries throughout the country has precipitated many domestic crises as mothers have entered industry. Labor seeks a national child care program to keep nurseries open (and to create new ones) when the WPA goes out the window this year.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND 'WAR ECONOMY'

By B. STEVENS

The New York City administration finds itself confronted with a rise in juvenile delinquency which the short sighted policy of the administration itself has helped to aggravate. The social, health, recreational and educational services of the

city were put on a starvation appropriation in the last budget by the Mayor, mainly in response to the pressure of the real estate interests and in the name of "war economy."

Unmindful of the fact that war brings with it a necessity for increased health, recreational and educational services, to counteract in part the inevitable maladjustments of the civilian population, especially the youth, the Mayor launched on his penny-pinching policy of cutting these very services to the bone as his contribution to the war effort—and to the real-estate interests in the form of a lowering of the tax rate.

THE REAL CAUSE

The protests of the educational staff went unheeded until the recent murder of a teacher and a few other cases of violence in the schools made this situation a front-page newspaper sensation. These incidents have merely brought into focus of public attention a situation which has existed all year.

The underprivileged neighborhoods have long felt the result of overcrowded classes, lack of recreational facilities, lack of child welfare services, dental and health services, and even the lack of sufficient attendance officers to deal with the truant situation.

Under normal peace-time conditions, this "economy" policy would undoubtedly have resulted in a rise of juvenile delinquency. With the aggravation of war-time dislocations of the home, this "war-economy" is turning out to be a criminally expensive policy in terms of morale and human material.

Some of the teacher organizations have gone to the length of calling for police protection against delinquents. By no means a solution to the difficulty, it is an expression of the helplessness and jitteriness of the educational staff. This condition, too, can be laid at the doorstep of the Mayor and the budgetcutters.

For the past year everything has tended to demoralize the educational staff, rather than to strengthen and reassure it. Added to the extra duties, such as rationing, vacation duty, air-raid drill, etc., the fact that there was a constant threat of dismissals, cuts in staff, doubling of classes due to lack of substitutes, has done tremendous harm to the morale of the teaching staff, and caused whatever jitteriness some of them are now manifesting.

WHAT IS NEEDED

The six-point program just put forth by the school officials for meeting the problem of juvenile delinquency is entirely inadequate and only a patching-up affair. It calls for reduction of class size in the affected areas—to 30. It calls for the shifting of teachers from less-affected areas to those where juvenile delinquency is more prevalent. This would have the effect of leaving the problem unsolved in the worst areas, and only creating new areas of trouble.

What is needed is a real expansion of the recreational and educational services in all parts of the city, the reduction of class size to at most 35 pupils per class, and the appointment of at least 1000 new teachers to take care of the larger number of classes.

The Demand For A Jewish Army

By M. Morrison

There can be nothing more pathetic than the spectacle of the Jewish nationalists begging, exhorting and demanding permission to organize an independent Jewish army in Palestine to fight for democracy against Hitler. Huge advertisements appear in the large daily newspapers notifying the world that an army of 200,000 Jews could easily be mobilized and used to fight the Axis powers in Palestine. An imposing list of prominent Americans who endorse the project is appended to the advertisements. But the leaders of British imperialism, also fighting for democracy according to the official documents, are adamant and refuse to accept the aid offered on behalf of democracy in the form of an independent army of Jews fighting in Palestine.

They who have suffered most at the hands of fascist barbarism, they who, in all probability, would fight harder than any other army against Hitler, are brusquely told that the welfare of the nations fighting for democracy cannot permit the organization of an independent Jewish army in Palestine.

The campaign for a Jewish army and the refusal of the leaders of British imperialism to yield on this question are significant in that together they show the reactionary character of official Zionism as well as its complete inability to solve the Jewish problem.

In its early progressive stage, capitalism liberated the Jew from the ghetto. It utilized the training the Jew had received in the commercial world — a training which was the consequence of his being deprived, in the middle ages, of the right to own land and to be a member of the guilds — to further the development of capitalism.

In its stage of decline, capitalism has no use for the Jew except as a scapegoat for its inability to solve any of the problems confronting mankind. If capitalism continues to exist, the Jew must therefore be prepared for physical extermination or, at best, a return to the ghetto and the yellow badge. If society as a whole is faced with the historic alternative of either socialism and freedom or fascist slavery, the Jew is confronted by that alternative in a far more personal form.

Quite natural is the growth of Jewish nationalism as a reaction to the growth of anti-Semitism. Generally speaking the nationalism of an oppressed people is progressive in character and therefore deserving of support by revolutionary Marxists. It so happens, however, that the official nationalism of the Jew has a reactionary side to it and therefore cannot be supported by Marxists. This is so because it depends for the realization of its goal on either British or American imperialism. The Jewish nationalist belonging to a people which has most to lose by the continued existence of imperialism, has tied his fate not to a struggle against this imperialism but to dependence upon it. This reactionary side of official Jewish nationalism is clearly seen in the campaign for an independent Jewish army in Palestine.

What will be the main function of the Jewish army, if the British rulers should permit it to be organized? This is the essential question to be answered with reference to the campaign for such an army. The Jewish nationalists would not raise such a hue and cry for an independent army if it were only a question of fighting against Hitler. The answer of the British imperialists to a demand founded on such a motive could very well be that the Jew can fight Hitler equally well as part of the British army. And while the answer is not adequate, we can well imagine that it would satisfy those who agitate for such an army if that were their only purpose.

On our part, if the function of a Jewish army were to defend itself against violence from any source there could not possibly be any objection to it. A people has a right to defend itself against violence. There are, I presume, many enthusiastic adherents of the idea of an independent Jewish army who sincerely believe that this would be its main purpose. But it is very naive for anyone to ascribe that motive to the official leadership of the movement.

The opening of recreational centers in all districts of the city to take care of workers' children till the parents return from work, and the expansion of health and child welfare services are urgently needed to cope with the present problem of maladjustment and to prevent future delinquencies.

Essentially the purpose of such an army is to assure the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Even that purpose would be perfectly legitimate and justifiable were it not that the movement for the creation of such a state is one depending upon and allying itself with the imperialist world against the colonial world. Therein lies the reactionary character of official Zionism. Instead of appealing to the Arabs, who constitute a majority of the inhabitants of Palestine and the surrounding territory, for a joint struggle for independence against British imperialism, official Zionism, in actuality, is an instrument of British imperialism against the Arab world.

We can understand and sympathize with the desire of some Jews to escape the anti-Semitic persecution in Europe and America by settling in Palestine. This cannot solve the Jewish problem. Nevertheless, the Jew who wants to settle in Palestine either to escape anti-Semitic persecution or to create and conserve Jewish culture ought to have the right to do so. But that right, in view of the actual situation in Palestine, must be exercised with the consent and cooperation of the Arabs.

Revolutionary Arabs are in duty bound to fight for the right of the Jew to enter Palestine. But only under the condition that Jewish nationalism should not constitute itself into a prop of British imperialism. To rid itself completely of its reactionary side, Jewish nationalism must make its appeal to the Arab world assuring the Arabs that under no circumstance would it use force against them in order to establish a Jewish state.

I do not mean to say that those who are anxious to settle in Palestine in order to escape persecution or to create a Jewish culture will succeed in solving all their difficulties by an orientation of reaching an understanding with the Arabs on the basis of a joint struggle against British imperialism. All that such an orientation can do immediately is to enable revolutionary and progressive Arabs to struggle for the right of the Jews to settle in Palestine. Since an independent Jewish army will inevitably be used not only to participate in the imperialist conflict but also for the establishment of a Jewish state against the will of the Arab people and in dependence upon imperialism, Marxists cannot possibly support the campaign for such an army.

The fact that British imperialism refuses to consent to the organization of an independent Jewish army does not alter the essential character and purpose of the proposed army. British imperialists have their own reasons for opposing the creation of such an army at the present time. They do not want to set a precedent of permitting an independent army in any of their colonies. And, under the particular circumstances, they do not want to antagonize the Arabs who, together with all other Mohammedans, represent a far more important factor for British imperialism than do the Jews. The Arabs fear an independent army for the same reason that they fear an independent Jewish state: that will be used against them and not against the British.

The Jewish bourgeois nationalists have no trouble in getting the support of some influential Americans for the simple reason that American imperialism is indifferent to the problems and difficulties of British imperialism connected with the Jewish army. That official Jewish nationalism depends upon imperialism is indicated by the fact that it turns to American imperialism for aid after British imperialism has rejected its demand.

The Jewish nationalists do not think of launching a campaign amongst all colonial peoples for their right to organize independent armies. They do not think of organizing a campaign for a joint army of Arabs and Jews to defend the independence of Palestine against all invaders and imperialist exploiters.

Revolutionary socialists can never become enthusiastic about the idea of creating a new national state in this epoch of history when the productive forces demand the abolition of all national boundaries. But they will support the right of all peoples including the Jews, to have a homeland and preserve a culture which they cherish. In the last analysis this can be achieved for the Jews only with the victory of the working masses. Until then those Jews who want that right must come to an agreement with the Arabs on the basis of making common cause with the colonial world against the imperialist world.

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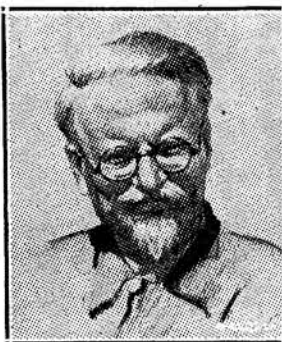
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GEORGE BREITMAN

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
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.

World Police Force Would Be Aimed At The Working Masses

By A. Roland

The first anniversary of the formal coalition of the United Nations sees the leaders of these countries far more certain of military victory than of reaping the fruits of that victory. Their speeches, one and all, reveal men who feel haunted by the ghost of the future. It is jogging their elbows, demanding solutions for the vast problems that will face them tomorrow in the post-war world. They cannot lay the ghost, for they are bankrupt of any ideas that would lead the world forward to a new and better plane of living.

It is capitalist society that gave birth to the war. Such wars are inevitable in a society in which the capitalist nations, dominated by vast monopolies, are bound to compete with each other, by every means possible, for the markets of the world. The Second World War continues the struggle of the First World War for the same major purposes. If the present society continues to exist after this war, then one can predict with assurance that a Third World War is in the offing—a war that will drag civilization down still further.

Lessons of Last 25 Years

There is one great difference, however, between this war and the last one. The events of the chaotic epoch between the wars, particularly those that acted as the immediate precipitants of the war, served as mass lessons dealing with the foundations of society. The rise of the murderous Nazis to power in Germany was seen to be connected with the treatment of Germany after the last war through the Versailles Treaty. It was seen to be connected also with the economic rivalries among the great powers. England, for example, helped both passively and actively in the rearmament of Germany under Hitler in order to balance a strong Germany against a strong France. But above all it has been made clear that Hitler rose to power in Germany as a result of the class struggle, with the big bankers and financiers giving the Nazis every assistance against the working class.

The Nazis drew the greatest sparks in their propaganda before they came to power by their

denunciations of the iniquitous Versailles Treaty that enchained the German masses for the benefit of the victorious Allies. This treaty was their greatest stock in trade. Anyone who is really concerned with making the future different from the past, would be obligated then to avoid a new Versailles. But what do the "statesmen" propose?

They propose a super-Versailles, with the iron heel quadrupled in thickness. Roosevelt, Wallace, Churchill, Cripps, all favor the police domination of Germany and Japan after the war. They speak of an "international police force," an "international" council, an "international" court. In actuality this is an abuse of the term. It means clearly a new League of Victorious Powers with far greater functions and strength than the moribund League of Nations. Germany and Japan would be disarmed completely, perhaps even dismembered. The statesman Wallace proposed that Germany be disarmed and prevented from having or building airplanes or tanks for 25 or 50 years. He says plainly he wants a world council and world machinery to keep disarmed those parts of the world which would threaten the peace.

Wallace carries these views to such extremes that even the N. Y. Times feels called upon to administer an editorial reproof! He wants not only military, but "psychological" disarmament—for the Germans and Japanese, to be accomplished by supervising the schools of the defeated countries. This goes a bit too far even for the Times. That paper shrewdly—and this time without criticism—remarks: "And familiar criticisms of the 'harshness' of the Versailles Treaty have somehow evaporated in the intensity of our determination to impose a firm peace at the end of this war."

What Do They Want?

The policing of defeated nations can hardly be called an aim of the war. What do the capitalist statesmen propose positively? The conspiracy to put off discussion of this question has not succeeded too well. The simply extraordinary attention suddenly focused on the shrinking and innocuous Beveridge plan will not serve for long to hold up the discussion. President Roosevelt gave three aims of the war in his Jan. 1 address on the occasion of the anniversary of the United Nations pact: the crushing of the "bandit assault on civilization," the organizing of relations among the nations so that the "forces of barbarism can never again break loose," cooperation so that "mankind may enjoy in peace and freedom the unprecedented blessings which Divine Providence through the progress of civilization has put within our reach."

Churchill of all the Allied leaders has been the most blunt in his expression of war aims. He says plainly he wants to hold on to what he's got. He wants the Empire to remain intact after this war. He means this not only as applied to Germany and Japan, but to the United States or any other power as well. Churchill will talk trade treaties with Hull to help alleviate trade rivalries as much as possible, but he has no illusions (nor do the others have any) that the end of the war will change the conditions that existed before the war. The English press is filled with talk of the post-war rivalry between the United States and England in the matter of air routes and trade.

It is perfectly clear that the statesmen who are conducting the war are empty of any ideas for a new world. And that means that they are bankrupt. They can only strive to restore the status quo that existed before the war—or actually to go backward historically by attempting to break up a great nation, Germany. Far from eliminating the conditions that lead to capitalist wars, they would lay the foundations for the next great world war, just as did Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George. They are bankrupt because the capitalist system is bankrupt.

The statesmen do not worry about the reaction that might spread in a defeated country due to a new and worse Versailles. They were not opposed to the Hitler who came to power in Germany by crushing the working class. They were opposed to the Hitler who wished to expand German imperialism at the expense of the other powers.

Who Will Be Policed?

The aim of salvaging capitalism and maintaining the status quo faces this contradiction. Hitler represents the capitalists of Germany, even though he is a dictator. Who will take the power in Germany after his defeat by the Allies? The logical successor would be those crushed by Hitler inside Germany; namely, the workers and toilers. But that would be a blow to world capitalism. It is this contradiction more than anything else that leads to the desire to police the defeated countries. They are to be policed not against the already defeated Hitler, not against the military clique that would disappear with him, but against the workers who might then attempt to take the power.

If the United Nations see the possibility that they may have to police Europe for a long time after the war, it is because it will take a long time indeed to impose a new dictatorship of the capitalist rulers of Germany on an unwilling German people. The war against Hitler would thus turn into a war against the workers of Germany. These workers were not the perpetrators of Nazi barbarism; they were the first victims of that barbarism. The attempt to make them responsible for Hitler will not succeed. They are least of all guilty.

It is the workers of the world who along with all the oppressed peoples can carry civilization forward to a higher plane. The solution to the problems of the future, to the elimination of capitalist wars, lies in the establishing of a socialist form of society. The German workers can aid mightily in bringing about this really new society. That is why they must not be permitted to become the victims of victorious capitalism.

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.

Asks Campaign On Davies' Movie Smear

Editor:

Why don't you run a campaign in The Militant against the Davies' movie, "Mission to Moscow"? After all, this film is a slanderous smear weapon in the hands of the employers and Stalinists and they will use it to attack Trotsky and the revolutionary movement. Trotsky was the real defender of the Soviet Union but he is now pictured as an agent of Hitler. This must not go unanswered.

J. M.
New York City

No Adequate Child Care On West Side

Editor:

I read Marie Taylor's article on children's nurseries and agree with her that something should be done—now! I have a 2 year old daughter and live on the lower west side in Manhattan. The only nursery near me is one operated by Greenwich House, a so-called settlement house for the "welfare of the underprivileged."

Upon examination I found that the House would charge me around \$16 a month to care for my child, and add on top of that a fee for lunches. This seems to me to be an exorbitant rate to charge because by the time all charges are paid it runs around \$5 per week.

But on top of this, the House only keeps the children from 9:30 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon, five days a week. What help is that to a working parent?

There must be thousands of parents living on the lower West Side who are in the same position. It is high time that the trade unions put some real pressure on for government-sponsored and financed nurseries for working mothers.

P. A.
New York City

Oil Shortage Brings Hardship to Boston

Editor:

The shortage of fuel oil in the eastern states seems most acute here in Boston. In the majority of workers' homes here heating is done by using the method of a combination cooking and heating range in the kitchen which uses oil for fuel. This is the only heat in most cases. In the sub-zero wave we had a week ago there was little or no oil at all, and as a result thousands of workers and their families were forced to stay in heatless homes for days. Housewives from one working class district organized a picket line around the State House to demand oil for their families. Small oil dealers were mobbed as they went through the streets of these districts with their trucks. The Negro section was especially hard hit, as always, because of the terrible condition of the tenements and the heating equipment.

Vested interests are responsible for this situation for they have consistently blocked the building of oil pipe lines and canals which would have operated in competition with the railroads.

There doesn't appear to be any

immediate relief for the Boston workers.

B. W.
Boston, Mass.

Union Quits Joint Speedup Committee

Editor:

The ship workers in Seattle are fed up with labor-management committees and regard them as an employer instrument for shoving through the speed-up and breaking down union conditions. Local 104 of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders and Helpers, AFL has gone officially on record against such committees and cites its own experience as a warning to other workers.

The Dec. 10 issue of the 104 Reporter, official paper of the union local, had this to say, "Abolishment of the labor-management committees in all yards and shops under 104 jurisdiction and the immediate withdrawal of all 104 members on the committees was voted practically unanimously at the 104 general meetings last week.

"The action followed charges that the committees had been set up solely to speed production and had become enmeshed in a variety of other matters."

This reference to "a variety of other matters" refers to the Stalinists in the local who tried to use the committees as a forum for "second front in Europe" agitation.

Workers should take note of the Seattle boilermakers' experience.

G. H.
Seattle, Wash.

German People No Longer Fooled By Hitler's Lies

By EDITH KANE

Each year since the beginning of the war Hitler has promised the German people victory. 1942, he said a year ago, would be decisive. As 1943 begins, he speaks of "fighting for our very existence." Though he boasts of the year's military successes, the best prospects he can offer the war-weary German people for the future are a continuation and intensification of the suffering of last year with the end nowhere in sight.

Only by enduring in the war until all other armies have collapsed, he stressed, will the German people be able to escape the consequences of a second Versailles Treaty. This constant reminder of the misery awaiting them as a conquered people is still one of Hitler's most persuasive arguments. And all the statements of post war plans made by spokesmen of the United Nations only tend to reinforce its effectiveness.

Behind the front of bragging demagoguery it is possible to discern a note of fear. Some indication of the reason for this is given in the report of a Swedish skilled worker on his return home after thirty months of work in Germany. (N.Y. Times, Dec. 28 and Jan. 1.)

The German workers, he says, are apathetic about the war. They congregate in factory washrooms and openly criticize the regime and the Nazi party.

All workers, native or foreign, work a minimum of 60 hours a week—to which is added compulsory overtime of 5 to 12 hours. The Swedish worker produced pay slips covering some of the period he worked in Germany to show what happens to wages. One-fourth of their meager pay is deducted for the Nazi Winter Help Fund, insurance, income tax, etc. Russian and Polish workers receive, in addition, sizeable deductions as "contributions to reconstruction" of their former homeland.

News of the ordeals of the soldiers and loss of life on the Russian front affects most of the German families. This and their own privations created what the reporter calls "an ugly, angry mood."

There is nothing to indicate that the next period will soften that mood. From such little groups of angry workers will emerge the mighty revolutionary movement that will sweep Hitler and his like off the face of the earth.

Small Business Men Are Being Driven to the Wall

By C. WILLIAMS

The war, which has brought a tremendous increase in profits for Big Business, has meant the end of tens of thousands of small businesses.

First hit were auto retailers, mechanics and accessory dealers, gasoline stations and electrical supply stores. The War Production Board estimated by last summer that 34,000 small businesses would be shut down by Oct., 1942.

Now thousands more are going to the wall. These will include grocers, butchers and other small food retailers. Only a fraction of the 1,770,335 small merchants in the U. S. will be in business when the war ends.

Such were the predictions of Donald M. Nelson, WPB chairman, in a statement on Dec. 31:

"In connection with our distribution system we must squarely face the fact that the entire line of some distributors will be eliminated, and major parts of the lines of others will no longer be available. . . This means the elimination of many stores."

About 75 years ago, Karl Marx, founder of the modern socialist movement, foretold the elimination of the small businessman, forced under by Big Business competition. This has been taking place ever since the beginning of capitalism. The war has only speeded up the process.

The socialist movement believes that the great masses of people must socially own the Big Business units, and operate them not for profits but for use. To return to scattered inefficient units would be reactionary. Not backward to small business, but forward to socialism is the only road for the masses.

Why Do the Employers Oppose Food Subsidies?

By C. CHARLES

The ending of the government milk subsidy in New York, Chicago and Duluth-Superior was a triumph for the capitalist class. The profits of the large dairies will now increase.

Why did the capitalist class demand an end to the subsidy? How did the subsidy work?

Do not get the idea that the capitalist class is opposed to subsidies because of high and noble principles. Nothing of the kind. The only principle of the capitalist class is profits. If subsidies help them get profits, they are for subsidies; if they can make more profits without them, they are against them.

As an example of how subsidies operated to keep prices down, let us assume the producers of a certain item have differing costs of production. (Profits are included in the costs of production.)

Let us say that one-fifth of the producers could manufacture and sell that item at 70 cents, another fifth at 80, another fifth at 90 and still another fifth at \$1.

Eighty per cent of the producers therefore could make the item at \$1 and realize profits. However, another fifth of the producers could manufacture and sell that commodity and make a profit only if the price were \$1.10.

If the government wishes to set the ceiling prices at \$1 and still keep the last group of producers in operation it can only do so by giving the \$1.10 group a 10 cent subsidy on each item.

If it does not subsidize the last group and still desires to keep it in operation, it can do so only by permitting everyone's price on the item to go up to \$1.10. In this case it means that the rate of profit for the 80% who can manufacture the item at \$1.00 will rise by 10 cents an item.

The government has up to now been making a pretense of keeping the milk prices down by subsidies. The big dairies demanded that subsidies be abolished. And the OPA hastened to obey them.

Who said anything about taking profits out of war?

Workers' BOOKSHELF

BEHEMOTH: STRUCTURE AND PRACTICE OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM by Franz Neumann. Oxford University Press, 1942. 532 pp. \$4.00.

Within the last few years we have been swamped by a flood of superficial literature attempting to classify Nazism as everything from a pagan nihilistic concept to a so-called managerial revolution. "Behemoth" by Franz Neumann is one of the few works on this subject which has tried to clarify and logically analyze the character of the Nazi state on the basis of known economic, social and political data.

The author, a German Social-Democrat, although sugar-coating the role of the Social-Democracy and whitewashing the nature of Allied imperialism, has nevertheless performed a great service in producing facts to prove his main thesis, that Nazism is the dictatorship of monopoly capitalism.

In spite of his aforementioned limitations, Neumann is forced to admit that the liberal capitalist and labor leaders were unable to halt or counteract tendency toward economic concentration and the growth of fascist groups. Under the Nazis, he shows, this process was speeded up with the result that the state and the ruling party have become fused to a hitherto unprecedented degree.

That is, whereas the state during the era of a liberal bourgeois democracy was subject to the pressures and influences of conflicting groups even among the ruling classes, the state under fascism has become entirely fused within the predominant capitalist strata. Even then the process of competitive elimination in business does not cease, for among the members of capitalist-Nazi ruling clique the struggle for economic control continues, with the weaker capitalists such as Thyssen succumbing to the stronger such as Goering.

Neumann's analyses of Nazi racial and geopolitical theories are highly commendable. He shows how the former has resulted in the accretion to the capitalists of huge profits through the confiscation of Jewish property and the elimination of the Jewish middle class, and the latter as constituting crude rationalizations and justifications for German imperialism.

Regarding the theory that Germany is a managerial state, Neumann quotes an interesting Nazi law:

"Intensified competition and the low price level resultant therefrom have brought nearer the point at which the ruin of enterprises valuable to our national economy is threatened. . . The state must receive greater power in order to prevent the closing down of plants and the slashing of prices to preserve such enterprises. . ." (Statute of July 15, 1933.) This promise — for greater monopolization, higher monopoly prices and state subsidization and loans to large producers — is one, as the author shows, which has really been kept.

The book is rich in material showing the extent to which German Big Business has profited in recent years as a result of conquest, the deterioration of wages and living standards among the workers, vertical and horizontal mon-

opolization and integration of business and the controls which the capitalists use to maintain their regime.

Reviewed by James Cadman.

A TIME FOR GREATNESS by Herbert Agar. Little, Brown, 1942. 301 pages. \$2.50.

It is always with some apprehension that one approaches books on current political and social problems that have been highly praised by the liberals. For such books are generally filled with tiresome, windy platitudes, and one puts them down with a feeling of regret for wasted time and eyesight.

But Herbert Agar's book — which has been hailed as one of the great documents of the war — had a different effect, at least on this reader. The book is so bad that it is not boring, and it is so useless as an aid to solving the serious problems imposed on the masses by the war that it is useful as an exhibit of the middle class liberals' utter bankruptcy. For this reason it can be recommended without any reservations to workers who still have illusions about the liberals.

Things are in a mess, says Agar — all kinds of things: politics, morality, racial relations, government, business, labor relations, and again morality. Why did it all happen? Agar has the answers: we were selfish, we were materialistic, we were too concerned with economic problems and not enough with moral principles. "We have diminished our lives by foolish sins, by unnecessary refusals to think straight. We can repair the wrong the minute we convince ourselves of the need for seriousness."

This is a time for greatness, he says, so let us be great. It is a time for grandeur and adventure. We must have faith and put an end to the evil of ignoring principles. What are these principles and how do they work? Agar sees them in the teachings of the Founding Fathers, of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson. Let us be great as they were, and everything will work out well. We can ignore our traditions of greatness only at the peril of losing the war or of winning the war and losing the peace.

And so for the most part the book goes, with Agar delivering sermons on the necessity for making politics "high-minded" — "The way to make the Democratic Party (or the Republican Party) a more edifying sight is to make Democrats (or Republicans) better men." On the necessity for businessmen not to be so selfish and unreasonable. On the necessity for the unions not to advocate the closed shop. On the necessity for newspaper publishers to be less irresponsible, etc.

One thing only need be added. Agar finished this book in a hurry last summer, because he was being called to duty in the Navy. At the time he was conducting a column in PM, and the Indian masses were conducting a struggle for independence against their British rulers. Agar finished off his journalistic duties with a number of particularly vile slanders against the Indian masses. So much for his appeals to the traditions of the Founding Fathers.

Reviewed by Philip Blake.