# **End Post Office Persecution Of** 'The Militant'!

-- An Editorial --

.The Post Office-Biddle attack on The Militant was not terminated by the March 7 order revoking the the second-class mailing privileges of this paper. Although The Militant was informed at that time that it could go through the third-class and fourthclass mails, the postal authorities have since then continued to persecute and harass this paper and to interfere in the most highhanded manner with its delivery to subscribers.

The New York Post Office has received orders to withhold all copies of The Militant from delivery until after they have been examined and released in Washington. The result has been to delay the delivery of the paper for as long as two weeks after

In reply to our protest against this procedure, Post Office Solicitor Vincent M. Miles wrote on March 29 that it would not be discontinued but that a decision concerning the "mailability" of each issue would be made in time for the paper to be dispatched on the Saturday of each week, two days after deposit at the Post Office. Here is how his promise was kept with the very next issue, dated April 3 and deposited on April 1:

To date, April 14, nothing further has been heard about this issue, despite numerous inquiries; it has not been found "objectionable" in Washington and it has not been released for deliv-

The Militant is the only paper in the country being subjected to political censorship and threatened issue by issue with non-delivery if its contents do not satisfy the bureaucrats in Washington. The reason is that The Militant is the nation's most consistent and hard-hitting defender of the rights of the labor movement, working farmers and Negroes, that it is the most merciless opponent of Big Business profiteering and fraud, that it is the most unsparing and honest working class critic of reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the administration.

So many labor and liberal organizations and journals have condemned the Post Office's attack on The Militant as a flagrant violation of freedom of the press that the authorities appear to have postponed their drive to completely silence this paper. But their continued and deliberate interference and delay in the delivery of this paper, even when they cannot find a pretext for not dispatching it, are evidence that they are determined to destroy its effectiveness, which is the next best thing, for their purposes, to outright suppression.

The interests of the struggle to preserve freedom of the press in wartime require mass protest as much against the Post Office's week-by-week infringement on The Militant's right to go through the third-class mails as against its cancellation of this paper's second-class privileges. Send your protests to the Solicitor, Post Office Department, Washington, D. C.

# **HOUSE PASSES VICIOUS** ANTI-LABOR MEASURE

#### Hobbs Bill to Jail and Fine Unionists Wins Big Majority; Now Before Senate

On the heels of President Roosevelt's wage freezing order last week the House of Representatives intensified its war on labor by passing the Hobbs so-called "anti-racketeering bill." This bill, ostensibly aimed against racketeers but actually a vicious Argued May 17 attack on trade unionism, passed the House on April 9 by the overwhelming vote of 270 to 107.

The size of the majority rolled up for this anti-labor, antidemocratic measure indicates the

Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction

This amendment was a mean-

The Celler amendment, which

tivity, was decisively defeated by

the House in a voice vote. By this

interfering with union activity.

Senate. Considerable support for

future has already been organized:

There are, powever, a group of

In other words, opponents of the

To Protest Jim Crow

In the Armed Forces

NEW YORK-The Negro March-

On-Washington Movement' will

hold a mass meeting on the

Winfred Lynn case and against

on Thursday, April 22, 8:30 P. M.

at the Golden Gate Ballroom

Lenox Ave. and 140 St., New York.

nation-wide support for Lynn, the

The meeting is part of the

of its passage.

National Labor Relations Act.

of the Hobbs bill.

temper of Congress which is modify or effect labor sections of determined not only to shackle the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the labor with the costs of the war to smash the workers' organiza-

The Hobbs bill amends a 1934 anti-racketeering act by providing penalties of up to 20 years' imprisonment and up to \$10,000 fine for interference with interstate commerce by robbery or extortion.

#### THE BILL'S DANGER

It is easy to conceive of how the courts could easily interpret legitimate union activity, organizing drives, strikes, picket lines, tained in the bill were placed etc., as constituting interference there for the specific purpose of with interstate commerce and could on this basis imprison and SENATE PROSPECTS fine active unionists.

The bill defines robbery as "the unlawful taking or obtaining of its passage there in the near personal property from the person . . . against his will, by means of force, violence, or fear of in- of the measure and believe that to discharge the case, declaring: jury . . . to his person or it "goes too far at this time." property."

Thus the property of the employer and his strike breakers become involate. A picket line which the head of labor. They believe agent and steward of the memstopped the movement of supplies that further concessions can be bership and turned over the money into a strike-bound plant would wrung from labor under threat at their direction." conceivably make the unionists "racketeers" under this bill. And remember, this is not a "war New York Meeting measure," it is intended for al

Extortion is defined by the bill as "the obtaining of property from another with his consent induced by wrongful use of actual or threatened force, violence, or fear under color of official right."

Here again the employment by Jim Crowism in the armed forces the workers of their economic strength through union organization and action could be interpreted as "actual or threatened use of force, violence, or fear."

#### THE AMENDMENTS

character of the bill, the House thorities of the "no-discrimina-

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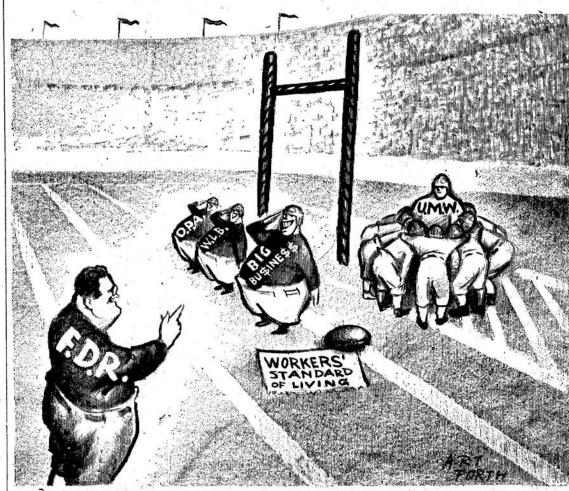


FIVE (5) CENTS

# NEW ORDER FREEZES WAGES

Sets Up Strictest Wage Control In U. S. History

Keep Your Eye On The United Mine Workers



"The executive order I have signed today is a hold-the-line order."-Franklin Roosevelt, Apr. 8, 1943

# **Kelly Postal's** Appeal to Be

Oral argument in the Kelly Supreme Court will be heard on Monday, May 17, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week. Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapo-Act, the Railway Labor Act or the lis Teamsters Local 544-CIO. faces up to five years in prison ingless gesture, as the Congressas a result of one of the most men well knew, for it completely vicious frameups in American failed to draw the anti-labor teeth labor history.

Kelly Postal's conviction is a continuation of the persecution had been sponsored by the Amerlaunched against 28 Socialist ican Federation of Labor and Workers Party leaders and 544which contained a slightly more CIO members in the famous clear-cut protection of union ac-Minneapolis labor case of 1941.

#### POSTAL'S "CRIME"

action the House clearly indicated As secretary-treasurer of the that the broad definitions of local union, Postal merely obeyed "robbery" and "extortion" con- the unanimous vote of the union membership at a regular meeting to take 544's funds with them out of the AFL and into the CIO. These funds belonged to the local union, since all per-capita taxes The Hobbs bill now goes to the had been paid to the International. Postal was never accused of misusing these funds personally.

In Postal's first trial on these 'embezzlement" charges in Jan., Senators who are mildly critical 1942, Judge Hall directed the jury must have believed they had holding immediate approval be- resolution, as they attempted to

Tobin then pressed the County Attorney to bring Postal to trial bined last week in an effort to for a second time on the same kind of indictment which differed Steel scandal involving the fakfrom the first only in the amount of money Postal was, alleged to nave "embezzled." This time, on May 1, 1942, Postal was found 'guilty."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is now conducting a caminvolved in Kelly Postal's appeal. met with encouraging response interested in defending the demo-Movement's campaign to gather Defense Fund include Knitgoods Nelson and the Board adjourned, and used as an excuse to close the Negro draftee whose suit alleging Workers Local 155, ILGWU, New To camouflage the anti-labor violation by the military au- York, and the Wood, Wire and subordinate employees were in-Metal Lathers International Union volved in the faking of tests which Steel has made millions of dol- now fighting U. S. Steel-conadopted the Sumner amendment tion" clause in the 1940 Draft Act of Minneapolis, Minn. All friends allowed the shipping of inferior lars in profits by selling steel to trolled coal mine operators for a at the last moment. This amend- will come up before the Supreme of labor are urged to send their steel to the navy merchant marine the armed forces. There is no decent wage, but they have joined- versity Place. ment provides that nothing in the Court in a few months. All op- contributions to the Civil Rights and for lend-lease use, is at way of knowing just what per- almost unanimously in the cam-

# **Govt. Living Cost Index Branded As Inaccurate**

The Department of Labor's cost-of-living index is branded as grossly inaccurate and unreliable in the April issue of The American Federationist by the AFL's chief economist, Boris Shishkin, who cites figures from an AFL survey to show that prices have gone up far above the figures shown in the Labor

In one community where the Labor Department showed an increase of 22%, the AFL found a 381/2% rise in the cost of

In another community where the Labor Department reported a rise of 23.7%, the AFL survey discovered a rise of 32%.

The Labor Department index shows a living cost rise of approximately 23% since August, 1939. But Shishkin insists: "It would be a conservative assumption that since August, 1939, the cost of living has gone up at least 33%. . . This means that the consumer dollar today is worth only 67 cents. . ."

And Shishkin's estimate of how the consumers' dollar has shrunk does not include greatly increased tax burdens placed on most of the workers since 1939, nor the fact that the value of many commodities has been lowered while prices remained stationary or even rose.

The labor movement cannot depend on the administration's cost-of-living index any more than it can depend on the administration's promises to halt the rise in living costs. The trade unions today must fight for a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living; in addition they must work out their own cost-of-living index on which to base the rising wage scales.

# In Wages

Bolstered by President Roosevelt's order freezing wages, the southern coal operators have again taken the offensive in an effort to break up the current negotiations with the United Mine Workers over their demands for wage increases to compensate for the rising cost of living.

On April 12 Edward R. Burke president of the Southern Coal Producers Association, sent telegram to the president inform ing him that his "hold-the-line" order ruled out the granting of the miners' demands. Burke' telegram gave extravagant praise to Roosevelt's wage-freezing order and then requested, for the second time within a week, that the coal controversy be immediately cer ified to the War Labor Board.

The miners, despite the blows eveled at them by the operators and the Roosevelt wage-freezing policy, are sticking to their guns and are demanding relief from the squeeze of high prices and low pay. Despite the betrayals of the AFL and CIO officials, the miners are relying on the support of rank and file union members through-

out the country. This was made clear by UMW's President John L. Lewis in a special press conference held last Sunday: "The United Mine Workers," he said, "and its membership will continue to make this fight for the millions of our population represented by their membership and their dependence on the farm and labor population of the country who are so obviously and understandingly in sympathy with our efforts.'

#### MINERS' DEMANDS

The miners are continuing to carry their story to the people in advertisements in 60 of the country's largest newspapers. A five column advertisment appeared on April 12 which dealt with the question of portal-to-portal payment. "Do you know that coal miners who are paid for a 'seven' hour day' actually spend an average of at least eight and a WAGE PROVISIONS half hours below the ground?" the advertisement asked.

This advertisment refers to UMW demands that the workers receive pay from the time they appear for work on company property until the time they check out. Lewis has indicated a willingness to modify the union's demand for a \$2 daily wage increase and offered to accept a 6 day week with the sixth day's pay at time and a

(Continued on page 2)

# Miners Still Cowardice Of Labor Leaders Seek Raise Is Responsible For New Blow

Roosevelt Reaffirms Little Steel Formula, Gives McNutt Full Job-Freezing Authority

By Anthony Massini

President Roosevelt's executive order of April 8 places wages under the most drastic and sweeping controls in United States history. Completely freezing the incomes of the great majority of the wage earners while merely repeating the often-made promises about controlling prices, the effect of the new order will be to speed up the reduction of the masses' living standards to a level lower than that which prevailed in the worst years of the last depression.

His latest decree was described by Roosevelt as a living has risen almost one and "hold - the - line" order. ing this period. Everyone realized that Only a very small proportion of the workers has not already what he was really hold- received the 15% raise permitted ing back was the effort of by the Little Steel formula, and the leaders of every important the labor movement, and union in the country have been particularly of the mine workers who are now engaged in contract negotiations, to bring their wages into line with rising living costs.

This was shown positively by he universal approval and delight with which the order was greeted by all sections of Conress and the capitalist press, pro-Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt; and it was shown negatively by the shocked surprise few people. In certain cases "inand apprehension with which the centive wages" might bring highnational leaders of the AFL and er pay checks for a time, but only CIO first reacted to the order.

lever moment for the issuance of his order. His veto of the Bankhead bill to raise farm price ceilings gave him the appearance of impartiality and the opportunity for decades to abolish. to pose as a fighter against rising living costs while he undertook measures which cannot halt rising costs but which will further tie the hands of the workers and make it exceedingly difficult for them to successfully combat the mounting cost of living.

The provisions of the new decree concerning wages went far beyond all of Roosevelt's previous decrees. It was possible for Roose. velt's lieutenants to pretend that some of his 1942 wage orders were "stabilization, and not freezing"-but his new decree is so "clear and specific," to use his own words, that no one can cover up its meaning and intent.

The government agencies are directed by the order "to authorize no further increase in wages or salaries except such as are clearly ecessary to correct substandards

The government's concept of that the administration does not regard the wages of the overwhelming majority of the workers as substandard.

#### 15% FORMULA UPHELD

The same provision of the order which limits wage raises to no protested Byrnes' intervention into of Jan., 1941 although the cost of

a half times over that figure dur-

compelled by pressure from their members to protest the continued application of this formula.

The only permissible exceptions to the stringent wage provisions of the new decree are "reasonable adjustments of wages and salaries in case of promotions, reclassifications, merit increases, incentive wages or the like. . .'

Since most workers are not promoted or reclassified for years, this obviously will affect through the reintroduction of the Roosevelt chose a strategically nerve-wracking speedup-stretcheasily be manipulated against the interests of the workers and which the labor movement fought

### "INEQUITIES" TO REMAIN

The labor leaders noted with consternation and dismay that Roosevelt's April 8 order made no mention of wage raises to eliminate "inequities," a provision in all of Roosevelt's previous wage decrees under which the unions were able on occasion to wring a few cents' raise from the War Labor Board.

The provision in itself was unimportant and used by the WLB seldom and only as an escape clause to appease angry workers denied wage raises under the Little Steel formula. But the fact that Roosevelt now omits this provision is a sign of the direction in which the wind is blowing. Other important aspects the

April 8 order included: Authorization for War Man-

power Commissioner McNutt to prevent workers from shifting to jobs paying higher wage rates 'substandard" wages has never than their former jobs "unless the been clearly defined, but its at- change of employment would aid on this question as dem- in the effective prosecution of the onstrated in the War Labor war." Thus the miners, for ex-Board's decisions during the last ample, could be prevented from year has made it abundantly clear leaving the mines to accept higherpaying jobs elsewhere.

The granting of increased wage powers to Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes, with a coresponding decrease, for the time being at least, in the powers of the War Labor Board. The labor reaffirms the Little Steel formula, members of the WLB violently

(Continued on page 2)

## Roosevelt's Freezing Order to Be Discussed At New York Open Forum

William F. Warde, popular | connection between it and the coal Trotskyist lecturer and writer, crisis. He will also discuss the Forum, to be held April 18, 8 limitation. P. M., at the New York School will deal are: Can Roosevelt

will speak on "Why Roosevelt the CIO and AFL leaders and its administration's relations with Froze Jobs and Wages" at the failure to freeze profits and veto next session of the Sunday Open the repeal of the \$25,000 salary Other questions with which he

of Social Science hall, 116 Uni- control rising profits? Are wage increases responsible for infla-In his lecture Warde will tion? Why is Roosevelt being section dealing with extortion ponents of Jim Crow are urged Defense Committee, 160 Fifth variance with all the implications centage of the steel is sub-April 8 freezing order and the open anti-labor position?

# Try To Whitewash U.S. Steel to discharge the case, declaring: "The membership of the union Tests

measure are in favor of with- right to transfer these monies by War Production Board and Boss Press Combine cause of its value as a club over do. Postal, the defendant, was the To Place Blame On Minor Officials

> and the capitalist press comwrite a hasty "finis" to the U.S. ing of tests on steel armor plate seamen in the armed forces of

he United States and its allies. Holding a brief closed meeting paign to help defray the expenses on April 8, the WPB heard Benjamin Fairless, president of U. S. This drive for funds has already Steel, report that employes alleged to be responsible for the faked

Fairless' contention that only issue.

The War Production Board | Truman Senate Committee which | be jeopardizing the lives of solfirst uncovered the scandal last diers or sailors. It is known that

Testimony given by officials and dard plates, the S.S. Schenectady, inspection supervisors at the Car- snapped in half on its trial run negie-Illinois Steel Corporation, last January. No one will ever U. S. Steel subsidiary caught in know how many men will die bethe scandal rested with top management circles. Truman pointed PRESS WHITEWASH out that the president of Carnegie

of the testimony taken by the standard and may, at this moment, in this fraud.

which endangered the lives of passing the sub-standard steel, in- cause of faulty equipment turned more than 15% above the rates sailors and merchant marine dicated that the responsibility for out by a profit-hungry steel trust. In spite of the startling nature Hlinois had "not given very strong of this case, the press has distorted cooperation" in uncovering the some of the facts and suppressed others. Many papers failed to ever

one ship built with these sub-stan-

In spite of this, no open moves report the scandal, while others, among liberal and labor circles tests had been discharged. Accord- have been made to bring such such as the N. Y. Times, "angled" ing to the N. Y. Times, the product officials to justice, and the Fair. the story to whitewash U. S. Steel cratic rights of labor. This week's tion record of the steel industry less denial of any responsibility by loading their report with alibis contributors to the Kelly Postal was then praised by Donald is blandly accepted by the press for the corporation's top officials These capitalist propagandists

can not find charges vile enough The bald facts are that U. S. to hurl at the miners who are

By E. R. Frank

In the wake of Kansas, Texas other daily newspaper in Akron. and Colorado, the state legislatures of Idaho and South Dakota have passed repressive anti-labor laws which prohibit picketing and agricultural establishments, while Oregon adopted a law which limits workers' opportunities to collect back pay from chiseling em- publishing company be formed the so-called stabilization date of

taking place in the key industrial state of Ohio over the French Bill which would virtually outlaw unionism. The purpose of the bill the right of employes to refrain from joining a union.'

500 representatives of all sections of the Ohio labor movement attended the Judiciary Committee hearing on the bill demanding its defeat. Phil Hannah. AFL spokesman, stated: "This bill is closer to absolute totalitarianism than any measure that has ever been submitted to an American legislature-it belongs in Nazi Ger-

Ted Silvey, CIO State Secretary, predicted that if the French Bill passed, all of Ohio labor leaders would be in jail "except those who would desert the interests of their members."

On April 12, the notorious Rickenbacker appeared before the Ohio State Legislature and called for the virtual outlawing of unionism. "You won't be the first state to do it." he said. "Others already have had the courage to do so."

Ohio is a good place to start the campaign to roll back the anti-labor offensive. The labor movement if it fights is more powerful than all the money bags, the corporation lawyers and the lackeys in the state legislatures.

The Summit County Labor News, official publication of the Akron & Summit County labor movement, states in a front page editorial that the labor movement is "incensed by unjust attacks" of the Akron Beacon Journal, the city's only daily newspaper.

"Workers constitute the vast

Journal represent anyway? Cer- these causes. tainly not the thousands of work-

immediate establishment of an- and their Rickenbackers.

"The establishment of such a newspaper is in the realm of possibility. It can be financed through the support of Akron's times in the last year-that he other forms of labor action at all labor unions and their individual would take steps to control prices. members.

organized labor. . .'

movement! If they go through much vaguer than in respect to with this proposal, they will re- wages, but he is specific enough in its own words is to "protect ceive renown all over the coun- about not returning all prices to try as the pioneers of the coming their Sept., 1942 levels. daily labor press.

> Eric Peterson, Vice President of Machinists, has denied that negotiations were under way for a merger of the IAM and the UAW-CIO. He stated that the price control of several com-Machinists Union will, however, soon conduct a referendum on withdrawing from the AFL.

> The Daily Worker was caught red-handed in its campaign of lying and misrepresentation or the "incentive pay" plan. In a letter to the Daily Worker printed on April 9, Percy Llewelyn, the newlyelected President of the Ford provisions concerning their wages local of the UAW-CIO, stated: "One of the several errors in your GREEN AND MURRAY story of April 5 on incentive pay plan is the inference that I ad-UAW-CIO. Such inference is un-

about absenteeism. In a series of face with their ranks and to allay a leadership that boldly carries Liberty ships at the unheard of industrial studies in their own the suspicions of the workers that house organ Wall Street Journal, their leaders were betraying the they point out that a survey of interests of the union movement. the Aircraft War Production Council revealed that 95% of all month when the top leaders of the absences in West Coast airplane AFL and CIO promised to remain factories was found due to illness as members of the WLB even and transportation difficulties.

Fortune magazine, the organ Little Steel formula, that they had of the million dollar corporations, no serious intentions of putting bulk of Akron's population," the reveals in its March number that up a fight, that they were capi editorial points out. "Still day the four most important causes tulating to the pressure of the after day, the workers are being of absenteeism in plants are sick- war administration. By their ac slandered, unjustly attacked and ness, bad housing, low wages and tions they have joined forces with held up to public ridicule by this homesickness. Fortune concludes the administration against the in giant octopus in newspaper form." that the way to remedy this "new terests of the labor movement "Just whom does the Beacon national malady" is to remove which are finding expression at

time for the labor movement to higher wages. By their whining "It is the opinion of the Summit stop apologizing and hurl the pleas early this month that they County Labor News," the editorial accusation about absenteeism back concludes, "that the best interests into the teeth of the hypocritical if only Roosevelt would do someof Akron would be served by the and blood thirsty War profiteers thing to curb price rises, they laid

# **Burch Discusses Fight** To Abolish Jim Crow

and the Second World War was at the working class as a whole, and only the united efforts of the the subject of a lively discus- entire class can effectively meet sion led by Arthur Burch at this latest attack on the masses the regular Sunday Open Forum living standards. of the New York School of Social Science, held on April 11 at 116 University Place.

Burch showed how the continuation of discriminatory practices the ranks of the workers and to against the Negro workers in industry and in the armed forces today belies the claims of capitalist propagandists that the present war is being waged to preserve the democratic liberties of the

He traced Jim Crow to its source as one of the foulest weapons employed by the ruling class to prevent the natural unity and solidarity of white and colored workers. His account of how white and Negro workers have success fully battered down this cleverly erected barrier in the course of numerous strikes and jointly brought the corporations to their knees formed one of the most inspiring parts of the lecture.

The Negro worker, Burch pointed out, has demonstrated in the most loyal and courageous book, "In Defense of Marxism" description of Trotsky's infinite bership of the New York Local

The speaker also described the programs of various Negro organizations and subjected them to a thorough going Marxist analysis. He explained that despite their wholehearted support to the that Negroes be granted their rightful place in the industrial expansion now taking place in the

Trotskyists in the factories persistently combat racial pre judices of the white workers and seek to teach them, just as they do with Negro workers, that unity of Negro and white against their that in "In Defense of Marxism" shows that those who did not go common oppressor is a necessary step toward the solution of the the lessons of almost a century revisionists can nevertheless abproblems of both.

Roosevelt's April 8 executive order freezing wages will work its workers. greatest hardship upon the Negro masses, especially in the South,

NEW YORK - Jim Crow levels. However, the blow is aimed

the need for carrying the strugpointed to the fact that the bosses pass legislation to achieve the same end. A labor party based on the trade unions and embracing both white and colored workers would constitute a powerful weapon in the hands of the masses both in smashing Jim Crow, and in furthering all of the economic LEWIS' STATEMENT and political interests of labor.

In conclusion Burch discussed in sidetracking the wage demands gle on to the political arena. He of dependence on the administrause their political parties to divide Daily Worker and in the unions

The attitude of the masses was | While the average housewife

# TRADE UNION Roosevelt Freezes Wages (Continued from page 1) given expression by IMW Page 1

the West Coast aircraft wage case last month on the ground that he had been responsible for the denial of the workers' justified wage from the exorbitant profits of Big of the workers' justified wage from the exorbitant profits of Big

PRICE PROMISES

Roosevelt also repeated the promise he has made so many He added: "Some prices affecting "It is the desire of the Summit the cost of living are already County Labor News that a new above the levels of Sept. 15, 1942, immediately and stock offered for his previous decree. "All of these An important battle is now sale to unions and members of cannot be rolled back. But some of these can and should be rolled Hats off to the Akron labor back." Roosevelt is vague here

Beyond repeating the same old generalities about the need for price control, Roosevelt did little of the International Association to assure the masses that living costs could be controlled. He said nothing at all, for example, about black markets by means of which modities is evaded today.

> The big manufacturers and distributors can and do resort to black market sales when they feel their profits are limited to any important degree by the half-way measures of the administration. But the workers do not have any similar means, legal or

This blow at the workers was made possible only by the policies vocate such a plan and did ad- of capitulation of both William vocate it during the election just Green and Philip Murray, reprecompleted at Ford local 600, senting the top leaderships of the AFL and CIO. It is obvious now that their opposition to the Little Steel formula last month was only Big Business knows the truth a pretense, carried out only to save It is clear now, as it was last after that body had upheld the the present time in the campaign With these facts in mind, it is of the United Mine Workers for would not press for wage raises the groundwork for the April 8

> And now, in openly or tacitly approving the April 8 decree, they have stabbed in the back not only the miners and John L. Lewis but also the rank and file members of their own unions.

THE STALINISTS

Everything that can be said about the treachery and cowardice of the official labor leaders applies with equal force to the Stalinists, who have been the advance guard of the workers into the blind alley tion to control prices. Both in the they dominate they have hailed the April 8 order and are trying to utilize the workers' demand for wage increases to put over the return of the speedup and piecework to "increase production for a second front."

Business and not from the efforts of the workers and working farmers to keep up with rising living costs.

To Protect Competitors

"The farmer and miner in efno consideration of wear or tear or depreciation of human plant facilities while corporate industry s given ample allowance for maintenance of plant and equipment and \$6.250,000,000 in nine months of monetary awards for luxurious living or any other con-

"It is beside the point that other AFL and CIO, through their leaders, have adopted a policy of cringing toadyism to the administration coupled with a blind worship of the astoundingly unsound economic policies of the administration.

its membership will continue to gressional Record of March 30, make this fight. . .

WHAT IS NEEDED

The labor movement has been struck a powerful blow by Roosevelt's decree, the full consequences and shipbuilding contracts. The of which are yet to be felt. Recovery from this blow is dif-this committee—that Land had illegal, of evading the restrictive ficult, and it is made still more sabotaged the Higgins contract to difficult by the servile acceptance protect existing U.S. Steel yards of the decree by the Murrays and and Bethlehem Steel—had been the Greens. Nevertheless recovery, released by the AFL last Novemand even the assumption of the of- ber. However, many of the details fensive, are fully possible.

not on the needs of the administration-or on the needs of the THE PROFIT ANGLE Soviet bureaucracy, as is the case with the Stalinist policy-but on the construction of a shipbuilding Ships. He is a former vice presithe interests of the working men yard in New Orleans which, at the and women. What is required is peak of operation, would turn out out the wishes and furthers the rate of 2 per day. This was to be aspirations of its members, not accomplished by a new assemblyone that knuckles down to the line method worked out by Andrew demands of the agents of Big Higgins, president of the company.

fect are being asked to maintain their living standards on a stand tus quo, ante-bellum basis with That It Embarrassed Old Line Companies, AFL Report Charges When Rear Admiral Emory costs on \$1 per hour, the report ing for exorbitant profits for his S. ("shoot 'em at sunrise") declares that "the government company." Land's reappointment as head would have saved in labor costs

abor organizations such as the ation of the appointment by re- ships called for in the initial ing the old-line shipyards. viewing Land's long record of order. collusion with Big Business in defrauding the government on shipbuilding and operating con-

One juicy item uncovered by "The United Mine Workers and Aiken and inserted in the Conwas the hitherto unpublished findings of a committee set up by the American Federation of Labor to investigate Land's cancellation of the Higgins Corporation shipyard general conclusions reached by of the scandal remained un What is required is a policy of published until Aiken inserted independence and militancy, based them in the Congressional Record.

The Higgins contract was for According to the AFL report,

Black Market In Meat

of the Maritime Commission was being considered by the Was U. S. Senate two weeks ago, that the Higgins contract "would Mr. Powell and the Maritime Senator Aiken of Vermont vain- have saved the government at Commission succeeded in re-esly attempted to block confirm- least \$50,000,000" on the total 200 tablishing their policy of protect-

> But it was this very efficiency that alarmed Land and his advisors, for had Higgins been allowed to build ships at the speed and low costs foreseen, those interests which dominated the Maritime Commission and control the existing shipyards, (U. S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, etc.), would have had difficulty competing with Higgins and maintaining their high rate of profit.

> "Both the Bureau of Ships and the Maritime Commission." says the AFL report, "have for years openly pursued a policy of protecting existing shipyards, by opposing construction of new yards by independent firms."

BETHLEHEM'S AGENT Among the group which deter-

mines this policy is Joseph W. Powell, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy and THE AFL'S CHARGES dominant figure on the Bureau of dent of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and former president of the United Shipyards, Inc., which consolidated all the major ship-repair yards in the New York area except the Todd Company.

The AFL report points out that it was this same Powell who had Only with that kind of policy the Higgins yard would have cut represented the shipyards in and leadership can the workers the man-hours in constructing the World War I and had "used the successfully defend their condi-ships from 500,000 to 230,000 or Nation's desperation to force tions and rights in time of war. less. Basing the average labor through an unfair contract, provid-

The report continues. ". . . he

HOW LAND OPERATED

The Maritime Commission set about cancelling the Higgins contracts by first of all instructing its public relations department to "soft pedal on Higgins, soft pedal on Kaiser, and build up Bethlehem Steel.'

Admiral Land then began to artificially create a shortage of steel plates and informed Nelson that it was necessary to cancel the the Higgins contract. The AFL make an example of the miners. report says of this. "Not only was this deception practiced on the public, but factual misrepresentations and concealment of material facts were resorted to by Admiral

contract, originally awarded to ing the government into the ad-Higgins, was now divided among the old-line companies at an unspecified rate of profit.

After this review of Admiral Land's actions, and those of his big business dominated Maritime Commission, the American Federation of Labor summed up: "There has been waste of government funds, much-needed materials, and manpower through the gross negligence of those respon-

"Decisions vital to the war effort age influenced by certain men in high places who are protecting private interests.

of steel was the reason for the the magazine. cancellation of the Higgins con- The March 13 issue of The Militracts the Maritime Commission selected an excuse that was with- attention to Loris' article as "an out foundation in truth."

done. Furthermore, Admiral Land | Stalinism."

## Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston-Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.

Chicago - Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St. Detroit-The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock.

Minneapolis - Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.

Newark (Downtown) - Newsstand, 11 Springfield Ave., near Court House.

New Haven - Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St., near Chapel.

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

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

Rochester - Newsstand, Main St. and Clinton Ave., southeast corner.

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Seattle - Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

21 Fourth St.

# IN HARLEM

is on sale at the southeast corner of 125th Street

## Miners Still Seek Raise In Wages

(Continued from page 1) half, and the guarantee of 52 weeks work in the year at the present wage scale. The operators have rejected both the portal-toportal demand and the 6 day week, 52 week year compromise.

STEELMAN'S LINE, AND THE OPERATORS

Meanwhile the negotiations continued this week with Dr. John R. Steelman, Roosevelt's personal representative, attempting to bring about some sort of a settlement. It is obvious from Steelman's conduct that the administration, despite its sweeping wage regulations, is seeking to reach a compromise settlement and thus dispose of the highly inflammable situation in the coal fields. It is for this reason that Steelman has been opposing the southern operators in their efforts to throw the entire controversy into the lap of the War Labor Board.

As Lewis has pointed out, the coal operators have already received enough coal price concessions from the government in order to grant the union's demands and still turn a nice profit. But the operators, controlled by U.S. Steel and Wall Street, want to They want to so decisivly defeat them that the workers in other industries will hesitate to challenge their exploiters.

Moreover, the intransigence of the operators in the present The fat melon of a 200 ship negotiations is aimed at pressurjustment of coal prices to a still higher level should a compromise settlement with Lewis and the miners be supported by the administration.

#### Clarification On '4th Intl.' Article And Walter Held

The March issue of the magazine, Fourth International, printed an article by Marc Loris, "The German Revolution in the Leninist Period." an answer to an interpretation of the German events after the first world war which had been written by Walter Held "In asserting that a shortage and printed in previous issues of

tant carried a short notice calling excellent contribution to the strug-The AFL concluded by asking gle against the petty-bourgeois that the contracts be restored to elements who strive to show that Higgins. This, of course, was not Bolshevism was responsible for

A reader of The Militant sugterm as head of the Maritime Held," this could be taken to such anti-Bolshevik elements. For the sake of clarification The Militant wishes to make it clear that this was not the intention of the short paragraph on Loris' article.

The author of this paragraph was fully aware of the fact that Walter Held in an exponent of Bolshevism and had no desire to imply otherwise; he merely tried to indicate that Loris' article. aside from its differences with the viewpoint of Held on the German situation, was so written that it serves as an educational weapon against the petty-bourgeois types who link Bolshevism with Stalin-

# FOURTH INTERNATIONAL INTERNATIONAL INTERNATIONAL THE

All volumes contain an index by subjects and authors

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### Bulletin On New Trotsky Book Issued By Local New York The campaign of the New counts numerous discussions held ing for every advanced worke

Workers Party to extend the Workers Party and the Fourth the most loyal and courageous book, "In Defense of Marxism" patience in explaining the comand is now being made available plex problems of the class strugindicate that the campaign and his impatience with pettywill be reached.

An important contribution to short comings the Trotskyists give the campaign as well as to the education of the membership is Harry Frankel on dialectical demand of these organizations the publication of a symposiumbulletin, containing articles by a number of party niembers on the between dialectics and the procontents of Comrade Trotsky's

> preciation places Trotsky's book ings on the subject. among the great classics of the Marxist movement and points out Trotsky has not only, summed up through the struggle against the of Marxist struggle but forged a sorb the lessons of the struggle new weapon for revolutionary by a careful study of this new

The Bulletin contains an article by Myra Ward entitled "Trotsky Defense of Marxism" illuminates who are already forced to subsist After the Split With the Petty- the fundamental concepts of our at dangerously sub-standard wage Bourgeois Opposition." She re-movement make it required read-

York Local of the Socialist by Trotsky with members and sympathizers of the Socialist sales of Leon Trotsky's latest International. Myra Ward's that 144 copies have been sold gle to serious minded individuals goal of 200 volumes by May 1 bourgeois dilettantes will be of interest to old timers as well as newcomers in the revolutionary movement. The articles of Dan Shelton and

materialism demonstrate that the understanding of the relationship gram of the party has been greatly Milton Alvin's article of ap- by their study of Trotsky's writ-

Duncan Conway's comment is especially instructive since it Marxist classic. The clarity with which "In

seeking a Marxist education. The bulletin has been received

of every five pounds of meat

now being consumed is uninspec-

Not only are meat prices

skyrocketing, but meat substitutes

and high. Poultry prices have been

ted and health-endangering."

than at this time last year.

with appreciation by the memtry by the national office.

PLACEMENTS IN LIBRARIES The New York Local wants to place "In Defense of Marxism" in

all branch libraries in New York City. Party members and sympathizers are asked to place requests for the book with their librarians as well as with book dealers. Readers of The Militant advanced among the membership and Fourth International, who have not already purchased Trotsky's new book can get it through Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Place, N. Y. C.

> For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

#### Continues To Thrive The meat situation national- was frantically struggling to they could dispose of them to who was responsible for the fraud, y has assumed the proportions of dividing 16 points a week per retail trade and cut down on their Roosevelt for another six year described as "an answer to Walter of an open scandal. The large person into adequate rations of profits. cities are at the mercy of specu- meat, fat, and cheese for her While the hotel supply firms Commission, and the Senate con- mean that Held is included among family and experimenting with were trying to figure out how to firmed the nomination.

lators and racketeers. In Altions." Senator Thomas C. workers are today. Desmond, chairman of the committee, estimated "that one out

WHERE IS THE MEAT? The main reason advanced for is the huge demand of the Army, Navy and Lend-Lease program. Yet the N. Y. Times of April 5 are keeping pace. Fish is scarce carried an article headlined: Has Trouble Army

mounting steadily. Investigations | Meat." and ceiling prices were promised Where, one wonders, is the after complaints of the Federation meat? A partial answer was given of Kosher Butchers of N. Y. in PM of April 2. Hotel supply disclosed that they were being houses, it claims, were glutted forced to pay from 16 to 20 cents with meat the first week that a pound more for poultry than rationing began. Since the ceiling the prevailing price. Vegetables prices on meat for hotels and and fruits are 100 to 177% higher restaurants is higher than the retail ceiling price, these supply houses, many of whom are subsidiaries of large packers, simply



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starchy fillers and substitutes to dispose of this hoarded meat to

bany a legislative committee on make one-half pound of meat seem hotels and restaurants who were nutrition announced that "an like two-health authorities warn- restricted in their purchases by organized gang has made New ed of the danger of protein in- points, the OPA helped them solve York the Eastern headquarters sufficiency in the nation's diet, their difficulties. Meat in danger of their black market opera- particularly for those engaged in of spoilage, it seems, may be sold increased physical activity, as war at a lessened point value. So the big supply houses, claiming that the huge stock in their coolers was about to spoil, could sell their meat at four points a pound inthe lessened supply for civilians stead of eight, thus selling twice the amount of meat and making

an extra profit. None of this meat, however, will find its way to the table of the average family. Only those who an pay fancy prices at hotels and restaurants will have a variety of meat to choose from. The diet of the wealthy will not be deficient in protein or anything else, rationing or no rationing, war or no war.

GRADE MARKING OUT

When the latest dollar-and-cents celling price order on beef veal lamb and mutton was signed by Prentiss Brown on March 27, it contained a provision requiring all stores to mark the grade of he meat on each cut. It was earned last week that this provision has since been eliminated rom the order. According to Charles Fleischer, head of the OPA's Food Distribution Branch and a former A. & P. official:

"Grade-marking would add to the already heavy burden of the retailers without substantially easing the enforcement problem.' He insisted that prices "would indicate the grade of the cut as well as the grade mark." (PM April 8.) Without the grade of the meat clearly marked, the opportunity for price ceiling violations are

Spokesmen for the OPA contend that the problem is one mainly of distribution. Meat distributors, they say, have to realize that while "lax" methods were good enough for peacetime, they cannot function during war. We agree in part with the

obviously greater.

spokesmen of the OPA. We would like to see the most efficient handling of the production and distribution of meat and all foodstuffs at all times and that is why we believe the control of such necessities of life should be taken out of the hands of private individuals. When the workers control the production and distribution of food-there will be no shortages, no black markets and no profiteers.

# The Militant

and Lenox Avenue

pears to be the only way by

which to prevent revolutionary

uprisings and to keep the United

States from gaining complete

control. To achieve such an al-

liance some of the English capi-

talists are willing to grant Sta-

The fact that England has an

agreement with the Polish govern-

ment of landlords and capitalists

guaranteeing the boundaries of

Poland as they existed prior to

Hitler's attack, has, of course, no

influence whatever with the prac-

tical politicians of London. Agree-

ments should not be taken seri-

Helpful to Stalin is also the fact

that a powerful section of the

American capitalists is willing to

appease him to the extent of con-

ceding all his demands with

reference to the territory which

he wishes to annex to the Soviet

Union. All elements of the capi-

talist class would of course prefer

they existed before the war. But

should Stalin, as is clearly in-

dicated, demand those territories

which he had seized prior to Hit-

Bullitt. former American Am-

representing the more obstinate

cut off with more serious action

to be taken against the Soviet

It can be safely predicted that

this policy will not be followed

while the war is on. Until Hitler

is defeated the interests of the

capitalists of this country demand

that aid be given to the Soviet

On the other hand there is a

to go very far to satisfy Stalin in

all his demands. This group feels

that it is essential to have an

agreement with Stalin in order to

prevent or suppress a revolution

in Europe. They are willing to

vice. It is also their aim to

achieve control of Europe as

against England, through an

In all this bickering and plan-

agreement with Stalin.

pay him any price for such a ser-

Union later.

On the one hand there is

ler's attack on the Soviet Union.

lin's demands.

ously.

# The "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF, WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS ERANDED" — KARL MARX.

# Negro Struggle

Albert Parker -

#### Justice Department Leads With Its Chin

oppressors of the Negro masses the fourteenth amendment?

Apparently we were not the tary servitude, "except as a pun- ment prove? ishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly con-

the Department of Justice to administration can be depended present itself to the Negro people on to protect their democratic as a defender of democratic and rights and aspirations. On the constitutional rights that no less basis of the record, to which you a person than Mr. Victor W. were sufficiently injudicious to Rotnem, head of the Department's call attention, the Negro people Civil Rights Section, was assigned are learning that they can depend to this job, and he has written on nothing but the organized the article with a soberness and strength of the labor movement gravity suggesting that he too is and their own militant action. aware of how unusual this situa-

article (Pittsburgh Courier, April become so barefaced that respon-10) utilizes the occasion to blow sible Negro trade union leaders the bugles for the righteousness of whom they have been wooing for the United States government's a long time are now forced to aims in the war by contrasting its repudiate and denounce them in attitude on the question of the no uncertain terms. The recent thirteenth amendment with that statement by one of these leaders, of the Axis powers who, he notes. Willard S. Townsend, member of hold "to a contrary ideal and will. if successful in this war, subject and international president of the millions not only in foreign lands Red Caps' union, the United but in this country as well, to Transport Service Employes, was compulsory labor and involuntary

But it seems to us that Rotnem eagerness to make this point, that point serves only to raise other

Constitution? What about the first gro question in America is indissection of the fourteenth amend- tinguishable from that of many and persecuted peoples" and proment which says "No state shall of our Southern poll-taxers or posing an "exploratory conference" make or enforce any law which Uncle Toms. They wrap their reshall abridge the privileges or the actionary position in a red flag cynicism and shameless disregard deprive any person of life, liberty, phrases about 'freedom and or property, without due process equality of opportunity' for Neof law; nor deny to any person groes, but behind closed doors within its judisdiction the equal they are sabotaging every decent protection of the laws"?

ample, certainly violates this unionists to push for an immeamendment, and yet the govern- diate and adequate solution of ment, even in the midst of the these problems. . .

When two white Texans were | war, refuses to take a single step sentenced to prison last month to pass anti-lynching legislation. for keeping a Negro worker in If the administration is to be slavery on their farm, we re- praised for enforcing the thirmarked in this column that it was teenth amendment, what should good to find something for which be said about its attitude toward

can be punished by law and The first section of the fifteenth added: "For even though it's al- amendment reads: "The right of most 80 years since the abolition citizens of the United States to of chattel slavery, the Negro vote shall not be denied or remains so oppressed in so many abridged by the United States or fields that it is still a novelty to by any State, on account of race, find laws operating to protect any color, or previous condition of servitude.

Everyone knows, even Rotnem, only ones to be struck by the fact that the poll tax laws in the that it is unusual to observe en- South are violations of this forcement of laws affecting the amendment, even though so democratic rights of the Negro drawn up as to technically evade people. The Department of Jus- its meaning; and that the admintice has thought it over and also istration has steadfastly refused seems to regard it in the light to support congressional action of news - so much so that they to abolish the poll tax as a reput one of their officials to work quirement for even federal elecwriting an article for the Negro tions. If the administration's enpress on its work in prosecuting forcement of the thirteenth violators of the thirteenth amendment proves that its war amendment to the Constitution, aims are just, what does its diswhich forbids slavery or involun- regard of the fifteenth amend-

No, Mr. Rotnem, you and your boss, Biddle, will have to do better than that before you can con-So rare is the opportunity for vince the Negro masses that the

The Stalinist desertion of the As might be expected, Rotnem's Negro struggle for equality has the CIO national executive board both sharp and significant.

Writing in the March issue of his union's paper. Bag and rather overreaches himself in his Baggage, Townsend said in part: "We have no quarrel with those he winds up leading with his chin. honest intellectuals, progressives There is no need to convince the and radicals whose sincerity of Negro people that fascism is their opinion and sacrifices have created enemy and must be fought; their many of the bright spots in the own experiences have taught them history of our movement. We do, that. Nor will their desire for however, emphatically question equality be satisfied by accounts the unwholesome role being played of enforcements of certain sections by a completely dishonest clique of the Constitution. For Rotnem's of union power-politicians, the 'Communists.'. . .

"To us, the present 'party line' What about other parts of the of the carpet-baggers on the Neimmunities of the citizens of the and yell 'unity.' In the open they United States; nor shall any state spout fire-eating but harmless effort and impulse on the part of Lynching, to take but one ex- independent liberals and trade

# International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

As we reported last week, the missioner of the Republic" when Jean Jaures Group, composed of deGaulle debarks in France, they French "socialist" leaders who expose as a representative of the faculties develop more rapidly if escaped to London, split recently | Comite des Forges, France's giant | the stomach is not overburdened." over the question of their relation steel trust. with deGaulle.

The main point of disagreement is over deGaulle's political aims. Free French Relief Fund in New The pro-Gaullist minority states that it is "impossible to artificially Georges Bonnet and Fernand de separate military resistance from political resistance" and supports deGaulle in both. The majority, on the other hand, was willing to ing on his functions around the "threatened" to communicate their support deGaulle as long as it Free French League, continues his dissatisfaction to Mr. Churchill was a "purely military" matter. relations . . . with Henry Haye, and Stafford Cripps. When deGaulle finally made known Vichy Ambassador to the U. S." his political aims they broke with

for socialist reasons. They want- | "socialist" group are for revenge ed assurance that there would be against Germany, for the recona "democratic" arena in France, with elections, national assembly, with its colonies, etc. trade unions, in which to operate as bureaucrats as they had before

Although deGaulle, as a concession to these critics, addressed himself to his "dear trade unions" in France, and spoke of a "national | Times states: assembly elected by universal suffrage," the majority of the Jaures group did not believe him.

tion as anti-Semitic and as agents rations. . of the large capitalist enterprises. M. Diethelme, who was appointed to show that the present reduced into the use made by Allied Gov-Minister of the Interior in the diet is excellent for preventing ernments of the police, judicial Free French Committee and who dental decay. Another advantage and military powers which have

They state that M. Andre Meyer, who was made the treasurer of the York, is a well-known intimate of Brinon, both openly pro-Hitlerite.

"This gentleman," says the that they had asked for a reform majority document, "while carry- of the Belgian army and had

But whether for or against that these men had appealed to deGaulle's political program at the heads of a foreign state They did not break with him the moment, both sections of this against their own officers. This made them guilty. In attempting stitution of the French Empire ment, however, these Belgian sol-

> Is this democratic or fascist propaganda?

A dispatch 'from Berne, ferance of the British government, Switzerland to the March 18 N. Y.

"Possibly in preparation for a martialled soldiers were sent to reduction of all food rations next an English prison is one proof month, especially bread, the con- of this. They proceeded to expose the trolled press in France expatiates key men in the Gaullist organiza- on the 'advantages' of short fection in the camp of an Allied

"Medical authorities are cited "calls for a very thorough inquiry is slated for the title of "Com- claimed is that the intellectual been conferred upon them."

"new" press. The Stalinists have made a curious turn in their Jewish work, a turn that deserves more bourgeois views, were to receive First and foremost there is the there are many of them who, The Jewish Revisionists, re- will in turn aid him. than passing attention. The support in their demand for a aid that the Jews can give in there are many of them who, Hitler-Stalin pact disillusioned Jewish army in Palestine. The Stalin's territorial demands, in while not believing for one many of the Jewish Stalinists, Zionists of all shades (here is a cluding the half of Poland oc. moment in the charges so despiboth members and sympathiz- turn indeed) were to be attracted cupied by him during the Hitler- cably made against Erlich and ers. The influence of the Com- by the promise to "aid the Jews Stalin pact, Lithuania, Latvia, Alter, yet wish to hush the matter munist Party in the Jewish of Palestine to build the Yishuv Esthonia. Stalin hopes to obtain up at once. They say that the trade unions tended toward the vanishing point in the period of Stalin's collaboration with the The sudden invasion of the ican nation.' USSR and the heroic resistance of

the Red Army revived the hopes classes ,and especially the work- the opinions and attitudes of all Soviet Union. ers, wished ardently to see the the anti-fascist currents in Jewish Red Army victorious in their life." The Stalinists make a struggle against the vicious Nazi special effort to attract into their orbit the bourgeois Zionist politicos. Not only have communist selves utterly opposed to Stalinism. aims completely disappeared in How have the Stalinists atthe "new" orientation, but even so much against Stalin that it tempted, under these circumcommon working class aims have stances, to carry on their work become submerged.

STALINIST PROPAGANDA

among the Jewish masses? It be-

comes evident that here as every-

glance seemed to aim at a "Peo-

Madison Square Garden, New

directed supplications to the

Ambassador in this country stat-

ing that the United States "has

been and is making every en-

on the refugee problem. For brazen

people it will rank high in

The Secretary of State said that

228,964 visas were issued in the

war years 1939-1942 and that

from the advent of the Hitler

regime in 1933 until June 30, 1942,

547,775 visas were issued." He em-

phasized that the U.S. govern-

ment "is and must be bound by

But the quota ration-miserable

legislation enacted by Congress."

as it is and calculated as it was

to keep out immigrants in the

first post-war period-stipulated

that 153,774 immigrants could

Fourteen members of the Belgian

Army in England were recently

sentenced to imprisonment by a

Their crime, according to the

The Belgian authorities stated

to appeal to the British govern

diers were recognizing a fact that

the Belgian government-in-exile

does not wish to acknowledge:

The Belgian government in Eng-

land exists solely on the suf-

not from any action of the Belgian

masses. The fact that the court-

"This latest example of disaf-

Government," states the Tribune.

March 12 British Tribune, was

Belgian court martial.

RECORD OF STATE DEPT.

from Secretary Hull to the British in 1942.

of tortured lewry.

diplomatic documents.

STALIN'S AIMS where else, Stalinist propaganda has been for the benefit not of the turn? What does Stalin wish to registered itself at that time in workers or the Jewish masses, but accomplish by gaining control favor of a Greater Poland. At the for the sole aims of the Soviet over such a movement? It is not same time it claimed to desire bureaucracy. At the beginning of to be blinked at that the Stalin- independent working class action the year the Jewish language ists refer again and again to the against Nazism and for socialism. daily, The Morning Freiheit, sud- "ani-fascist currents in Jewish Unquestionably it was because of denly carried through a typical life." The vile, utterly joynical this, and because of its opposition everywhere who consciously purthere would be no difficulties with Stalinist maneuver, pretending to acts of the Stalinist bureaucracy, to Stalinism, that the Bund was replace or discard one false face including most recently the doing persecuted by the GPU and its international proletarian policies. for another. The Morning Frei- to death of Alter and Erlich, heit Publishing Co. became the make obvious the implication done to death. Stalin cynically opposition to Stalinism and all its not willing to be so accommodating. "Morning Freiheit Association." that there are currents (and in disregarded Jewish and A new declaration of prin- the ranks of the Jewish workers, opinion in the pursuit of his own next rise of the revolutionary Union he was anxious to extend

ciples was enacted which at first mind you!) which are fascist. ple's Front" for all Jews. But treacheries of Stalin will recogwhat could such a Front be, what nize that what he aims at is not Exile in London. They might have He wishes to besmirch them in same frontiers because he does could its goal be? The Stalinists evidently decided that to be pro- attract closely enough all kinds Stalin's plans. Russian and anti-fascist was of careerist elements so as to No doubt Stalin would like to many such devoted types among enough of a basis to re-establish offer them a bargain. He will sup- have a section of the Jews bolster the Jewish workers, here and power, prestige and revenue. This their movement. Beyond this port demands at the peace con- up his frameups and fraudulent abroad. Stalin seeks allies to iso-

Recently huge memorial-pro- | enter the country annually, while | every endeavor to relieve the op-

test meetings were held in only 51,776 (that is a third of the pressed and persecuted peoples."

quota) were allowed to come in

during the year 1940, and no more

President, Congress and the lengths, through its Visa Division, where the Jews had lived for long situation, but it even went to the

something to save the remnants the quota set by Congress to the when transports of deportees were

point of practically stopping all

Its immediate result was a note immigration to the United States French internment camps and

erastination, delay and obstruc-

that they might have a living

Hitler's dungeons were denied ad-

workers desperately needed in this

country, such as the diamond

cutters of Antwerp, were left to

so on and so forth.

rot in concentration camps in

Visa Division succeeded in shut-

ment "has been and is making pressed.

Every device of red tape, pro- Lublin.

Why Doesn't State Department Permit

Full Use Of Immigration Quota?

York City and in other large than 28,781 came in during the

clergy and Jewish bourgeois or- Thus, the State Department not

ganizations prayed for the mil- only failed to request Congress to

lions of dead and martyred and set aside the quota restrictions to

United Nations to undertake of arbitrarily and wilfully cutting

of the plight of the unfortunate man-occupied provinces. Orphaned

centers. Representatives of the critical years of 1941-1942!

THE BUND'S POSITION

There are Jewish elements however which have declared them-The Polish Bund for example was in fact declared itself for the war What is the meaning of this when Stalin invaded Poland, and leaders, Erlich and Alter, were war aims. He did not want the

DIPLOMATIC CYNICISM

generations were emptied and

later to the waste lands around

And when in the summer of last

starved, disease-racked inmates

orphan asylums were not spared

their parents-even then the

its self-imposed procedure of keep-

tinues. . . Millions are beyond

Poland who can still be saved.

working men and women of Amer-

Meanwhile the slaughter con-

ing refugees out.

meet the needs of the present being wiped out by Hitler, when

tion was used to this end. Entry year, on Hitler's orders, a

was flatly denied to German Jews manhunt began in France, when

(applying for visas from French the French internment camps

internment camps) on the ground began to deport their emaciated,

relative in Germany or in Ger- "to unknown destination," when

children whose parents died in and children were torn away from

mission as "enemy aliens." Finally, State Department did not relax

Morocco; experienced physicians rescue but there are still tens

were kept out on the grounds that of thousands in internment camps

they could not be of service and in Spain, Rumania, Bulgaria and

By these means and others the Their fate lies in the hands of the

ting the door to the unfortunates ica. Through their labor organiza-

clamoring for entry. The figures tions they can place strong pres-

of the number of refugees actually sure on the administration and

assertion that the U.S. govern- tion to open the doors to the op-

(community)." The Assimilation- this territory with the consent of ists were to be placated by a gen- the United Nations. He is laying erous offer "to make a richer col- his plans to neutralize all those lective contribution to the build- who might oppose him, or even to accused of his misdeeds. Not now, ing and progress of the Amer- win in advance to his side not now! This is the road that, elements who might prove un-Here was a Jewish People's place the matter up to a plebiscite of many who had dropped away Unity to suit any condition of in the various territories. In that from the Stalinists. Certainly it man. The new Freiheit was "to case Stalin would like the Jews can be said that the Jews of all reflect in every possible way all to vote for incorporation in the

would most likely prefer Sikorski to the Kremlin dictator. The Bund on the side of the democracies world

are interested in power politics "fascist agents." Those who know the fear and demoralization of 'larger issue" of the war is so all-important, especially to the Jews, that Stalin must not be with a little bargaining and perwilling. The United Nations might suasion on Stalin's part, can lead to the next logical step! Stalin got Davies to serve as his accessory to the crime after the fact, as his whitewasher of the infamous Moscow Trials. Why not a few frightened Jews? Never forget that Stalin had the Freiheit crowd to be satisfied with the borders of

NO CYNICAL BARGAINS bargains with Stalin! He knows capitalist politicians on this point only one loyalty, one service. That it would be exceedingly helpful is loyalty to his own power and to them. There would then be the that of the bureaucratic clique old buffer states against the Soviet that hopes to maintain power in Union. (It is true, as Assistant the Kremlin after the war. What- Secretary of State Berle claims, ever stands in the way of that that buffer states are not so one aim, Stalin will try to remove valuable in these days of the fastat all costs.

sue the aims of the independent Poland. Next come those who, by their every 'element' of Jewish life was ference for a Jewish Palestine accusations against those among late and destroy them. Let him find none among the Jews!

Stalin knows that this war cannot end without profound upheavals in Europe. He has set his course in advance-everywhere—to act in his own way as a brake on the working class movement. Let that movement gain its own independent momentum, and Stalin will be among its first victims. The Kremlin hopes to be able, from the midst of the working class, to disorient and Inured as we are to diplomatic the years now, so that no harm to a system at a time when the entire German cities and villages come to naught.

subject.

Let Jews beware of any cynical modate the English and American

disorganize it, as he has done over tically stated that Stalin should double-dealing and cynicism, the can come to him or to the clique tiers necessary for the defense of record is shocking. For this in nower in the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union. It also laid down in power in the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union. It also laid down procedure was deliberately raised the workers in the other countries the proposition that the Soviet where revolts may occur, make Union and England have primary German and Polish Jews were their appeal for aid not to Stalin responsibility for the peace of Union. but rather against Stalin to the Europe. This was not at all Soviet workers and peasants, then agreeable to the American capital- group of capitalists, whose senti-

# A Shift In C.P. Jewish Work They Do Not Care About The **European Masses' Desires** By M. Morrison

At present, when the Red States, hastened to assert that the Army is no longer advancing as London Times does not represent it was several months ago, the the views of the British governcapitalists of England and the ment. That is not so easy to be-United States are breathing a lit- lieve. At any rate it can be taken tle more easily. Their fears con- for granted that the London Timescerning Stalin's aims and course speaks for an influential section of action in case of a victorious of the British ruling class. Red Army marching into Ger-English imperialism, smarting many have been allayed. Neverunder the dominance of American theless they still show great anxi- capitalism, must be quite anxious to keep the latter from gaining ety with reference to the nature of Stalin's possible demands at complete hegemony in Europe. the peace table. There is still With Germany out of the way much uneasy speculation on this some agreement with Stalin ap-

It is clear that both England and the United States want Stalin the Soviet Union as they existed at the time of Hitler's invasion of Poland. Should Stalin accom flying plane. Nevertheless they Especially dangerous to Stalin still have great value.) The Atare those independent elements in lantic Charter would not appear the ranks of the working class to be so hollow a document and

It is also clear that Stalin is works, may find their way at the Before Hitler attacked the Soviet wave, to the ranks of the revolu- the frontiers of the Soviet Union to have Stalin content himself Anyone who has studied the Jewish leaders to leave Russia to tionists. It is these elements that because he feared an atack by his join the Polish Government in Stalin aims consciously to isolate. ally Hitler. Now he wants the with the Soviet boundaries as they do not agree on any policy unity but disunity. He wishes to become too great an obstacle to advance by calling them fascists not trust his present allies. Of and fascist agents. There are course the Stalinist bureaucracy, like all bureaucracies, is after was pointed out by Trotsky. But Stalin's primary aim is to prepare against any possible attack.

In his designs, Stalin is aided bassador to the Soviet Union, and not only by the resistance and vicsection of the American capitaltories of the Red Army, which ists, who proposes the "carrot and have greatly enhanced his presclub" method. Were this policy to tige, but also by the conflicts bebe followed it would mean that tween English and American Stalin must commit himself now capitalism and by the disagreeand, if he does not agree to the ments between sections of the demands of the United States, all American capitalists. aid to the Soviet Union should be

Recently an editorial appeared in the London Times which pracbe his own judge as to the fronall the efforts of the dictator will ist politicians and Anthony Eden, ments are expressed by the N. Y. while on a visit to the United Herald Tribune, who are willing

# New F. I. FeaturesArticle On Lewis And Roosevelt

velt's Labor Policy" by E. R. the Democratic administration of Frank is the feature article in falsity of the often-repeated arguthe April issue of the monthly | ment that if the United States had magazine, Fourth International, which appeared on the newsstands last week.

Frank's article demonstrates that in all important respects the Union. Roosevelt administration has been following the British model of labor relations, which is designed to help create a hardened labor bureaucracy that can hold the admitted give the lie to the brazen compel it to take immediate ac- ranks in check and to effect a coalition with it. Roosevelt's coalition policy is threatened by the opposition of a significant section of the capitalist class, which prefers an open and violent attack on the labor movement. It is against this background that Frank examines the role and aims of Lewis from the beginning of the New Deal up to the present mine wage negotiations.

This article is sure to provide "The Month in Review," editorial plenty of food for thought for notes on the anti-Soviet offensive militants concerned with the in the "democracies"; Churchill's problems of the union movement today, and it deserves the widest Giraud and the Jews; soldiers' possible circulation.

LEON TROTSKY ON EUROPE AND AMERICA

In 1926 the State Soviet Publishers issued a pamphlet containing two speeches by Leon Trotsky and bearing the title of "Europe and America." In these the founder of the Red Army sub- drowned in blood by British imjected to detailed analysis the role of American capitalism after the first world war and its relations to Europe — a problem of tremendous importance both then terpretation of the Stalinist propaand now and in the period to ganda play, "The Front," differing come, when the proper evaluation from that made by Olga Petrova of this question will determine to in a recent issue of the magazine. a very large extent the strategy of the socialist revolution. The ing a letter from Ulster by the tional carries the first part of and a letter from Britain. Trotsky's speech with a new translation from the Russian by a copy, \$2 for a yearly subscrip-John G. Wright.

"Woodrow Wilson and Bolshe- ager at 116 University Pl., New vism" by Terence Phelan is a re- York City.

"John L. Lewis and Roose- view of the policies pursued by ning and speculation the masses of the territories involved in the the first world war, showing the dispute are completely ignored. They are only cattle to be shifted about in the interests of this or joined the League of Nations the that group of capitalists or of the second world war could have been Stalinist bureaucracy. Revoluaverted, and analyzing the attitionary Marxists, contrary to the tude of the victorious powers in World War I toward the Soviet capitalists and the Stalinist bureaucrats, take the interest of the

Another interesting article is ture, John G. Wright's "The Civil War in Yugoslavia." In it the author, who recently wrote a factual series of articles on the Yugoslav situation in The Militant, draws Soviet Union, even under Stalin, a number of political conclusions concerning the Mikhailovich-Partisan struggles and indicates the But that does not mean that we policy to be followed by revolutionists in such a situation, which territorial demands or of his formay soon spread to a large part of Eastern Europe.

Other articles in the April is sue include:

EDITORIAL NOTES

speech on the post-war world: poetry and the views of the intellectuals in the armed forces; the fight to restore The Militant's mailing privileges.

"The Easter Rebellion" by Oscar Williams, a review of the Irish uprising of 1916 led by the revolutionary James Connolly and perialism.

"The Kremlin Bureaucracy and the War" by A. Roland, an in-

"International Notes," includ-April issue of Fourth Interna- Irish Trotskyist, Bob Armstrong,

The magazine sells for 20 cents tion. Order from Business Man-

masses as their point of depar-It is of course fundamental with us that in case of any conflict between any capitalist country and the Soviet Union, a victory of the would best serve the historic interests of the working masses. in any way approve of Stalin's

eign policy. Leaving aside the question of an actual conflict between a capitalist state and the Soviet Union the attitude of revolutionary Marxists is clear. We are for the right of the masses to determine their own fate. We are against their being mere pawns of powerpolitics.

Neither the rule of Stalin nor of any capitalist group will solve the problems of the Balkan, Baltic or European masses. Only as Soviet Republics joined in one socialist union will the countries of Europe, small and large, be able to solve their problems.

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# THE MILITANT

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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 very class-conscious

- LEON TROTSKY

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- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
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- 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' Govern-
- ment.
- 9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

### Salary Limit

The \$25,000 salary limitation was revoked on April 10 when President Roosevelt refused to veto the Public Debt Expansion Bill, which carried a Congressional rider repealing the salary limit.

The dispute over this measure demonstrated that the capitalist class is divided into two groups on the question of how to finance the war.

The group headed by Roosevelt — which took a setback when he let the salary limit be repealed without a struggle - believes that the masses will be persuaded to accept a greatly reduced standard of living if "equality of sacrifice" is given the appearance, and that is all they ask, of reality. For this reason the Roosevelt group believes the bosses should openly sacrifice some luxury and get along on \$25,000 a year per person, besides additional income from bonds, stocks, rents, profits,

The majority of Congress, however, takes the hard-boiled and cynical stand that the best way to deal with the workers is by not temporizing with them but by unceremoniously shoving down their throats a diet of high taxes, wage freezing, job freezing, longer work week, increased prices. They don't want to make even symbolic gestures such as the salary limit. They openly proclaim their

However the differences between these two capitalist groups are slight when compared to the important issues on which they agree: the need for reducing the workers' living standards, the need for higher taxes on low income groups, opposition to the miners' demands for wage raises to meet the rising cost of living, support of Roosevelt's April 8 wage freezing order, etc.

Against the workers and the lower income groups the president is bold and unwavering, as he showed in his wage freezing order. Toward the hard-boiled capitalist class he is vacillating and timid, as he showed by failing to veto the salary limit repeal. In the final analysis he is in essential agreement with them for he represents a capitalist party and a capitalist system.

The limitation of capitalist income is an excellent idea. The Militant is for it and for the confiscation of all war profits. But only the workers themselves, through their own political party, can carry through such a program.

### A British Election

In a significant parliamentary by-election held in war-torn England in Eddisbury, Cheshire constituency, on April 8 RAF pilot John Loverseed, candidate of the newly-formed Common Wealth party, scored an unexpected victory over his opponent who was endorsed by the Conservative, Liberal and Labor party coalition. Loverseed ran on a platform of abolishing the "big capitalists" and obtaining "common wealth" through common ownership of the great resources of the country as well as of securing immediate reforms under the Beveridge plan.

What adds to the significance of this victory is the fact that the Common Wealth party was formed only eight months ago. Pitted against its candidate were the combined machines of the three biggest parties together with that of the Stalinists, aligned with the entire governmental apparatus. The leftward moving masses of England, disillusioned with the policies of Churchill's government and ground down by the war-time economy of Big Business, finally broke through the straitjacket of the government-labor coalition and served notice that they were ready to embark upon a bold and revolutionary policy to end monopoly rule. But they have yet to find the correct path to their emancipation.

The Common Wealth party and its candidate Loverseed had no clear-cut program to eliminate the "big capitalists" from control of the economy or to bring about the transfer of the country's resources into the hands of the real producers. Without such a platform the Common Wealth party was in effect demagogically exploiting the present suffering of the masses and their genuine desire for a revolutionary change from the anarchy of capitalist production to the planned economy of socialism. Sir Richard T. D. Acland, founder of the Common Wealth group, Loverseed and other party leaders represent the English middle class which like its counterparts in the U.S. A. and throughout the world, is in process of being wiped out by the monopolists.

Had the British Labor Party broken with its policy of capitulation to the Tory party, had its leaders resigned from their governmental posts and taken the course of independent labor action against the rule of Big Business, it would by now have rallied to its banner not only the entire British working class but also the sadly disillusioned middle class whose support is needed for the abolition of capitalist exploitation. The treacherous and cowardly policies of these labor lackeys, their subservient role in bolstering up the Tory government have forced the middle class as well as the workers to look elsewhere for leadership. Under these conditions they can become easy prey to utopian proposals, and demagogic appeals on which fascism is nourished.

## The Hobbs Bill

The vicious Hobbs bill which would imprison workers up to 20 years and fine them up to \$10,000 for union activity, has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate.

Labor's "friends" in the Senate are now making a few mild criticisms of the measure. Typical of such "friends" is Senator Truman, chairman of the Senate War Investigating Committee, who stated this week, "I think the bill has some bad features, but at the same time I think that labor has got to display some statesmanship in this critical war period or it is going to feel the effects of some stringent regulations."

When Senator Truman demands "statesmanship" from labor he is really calling for more retreats. by the workers before their enemies. He asks that they make more sacrifices while the employers not only profit from this war but shackle the workers with its costs. And should labor refuse this suicidal role, then it is threatened with ever more "stringent regulations."

Such are labor's "friends" in Congress. In payment for a vote against such a flagrantly antidemocratic measure as the Hobbs bill, these Senators demand that the workers passively accept measures which would not only further undermine their living standards but would place the very existence of their unions in jeopardy.

Labor is reduced to legislative dependency upon such "friends" as Truman because it has failed to place its own representatives in Congress. Not a single union voice is heard in the Senate because no labor party exists to elect genuine workers' representatives to that body.

The principal lesson which labor must learn from the Hobbs bill and the other anti-labor legislation in Washington is that an Independent Labor Party provides the only effective means of defense on the political front. Without such a party the workers are reduced to making deals and compromises with "friends" which will progressively weaken the labor movement at best and result in its total destruction at worst.

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# ORKERS'

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.

#### Fight for Jobs For Negro Workers

More than 2000 Negro and white people cheered the announcement of a fighting campaign to end discrimination in the employment of Negro workers by the Philadelphia Transit Co. at a mass meeting sponsored by the N.A.A. C.P., the Civil Liberties Committee of the Negro Elks, and the Negro

Speaker after speaker pointed out the disparity between the democratic slogans being used to meeting expressed their intention to fight at home for job opportunities for themselves and for hose Negroes who will return rom the war.

Much to the point is the fact hat while the PTC is frantically seeking men to operate its warexpanded lines, without much success among white workers, it has so far stead-fastly refused to employ the ready supply of colored workers.

Philadelphia Reader Editor:

#### 'Screen Guide' On The Davies' Film

Editor:

In a sampling of the poison hat Warner Brothers intends to dish out in "Mission To Moscow" refer your readers to the May issue of Screen Guide, one of the slickies that specialize in glamor jobs." Before government inphotos and advance publicity for spectors come to the department, Hollywood. The article is entitled "Hollywood Drops A Bombshell" and contains a two page spread of stills from "Mission To Mos-

Over the caption, "Here are

politicians," appear shots of actors | permission to leave early, that portraying Trotsky, Laval and "boys are dying on the battlefields Ribbentrop! To Moscow' Helps America Un- cost of producing these war goods derstand These Men," and the The more labor time put in, the men: actors playing Stalin, greater the production costs, and Churchill and Haile Selassie, all looking positively saintly.

The article congratulates Hollywood for emerging at last from the "smug critics and intellectuals" and "certain people who lose no opportunity to make prorally colored people to the sup- pay lip service to America (who) fits out of the war. port of the war and the denial of will claim that the film is 'sly lemocracy at home. Those at the propaganda' for Russia." Any of your readers who need a violent emetic should read the rest of the article.

A Reader

#### Cost-Plus Contracts **Breed Inefficiency**

Your readers may be interested

in the following which shows how well patriotism pays the bosses. I work for the Horni Signal Manufacturing Corporation which is doing 100% war work. The workers in the plant are often forced to stand around idle, although this is not of their own choosing. There is sometimes so little work that our foreman invents a lot of unnecessary small tasks which we call "killing time word is passed around telling us to "look busy" and put some work before us, even though it is already finished.

Despite this situation, the supervisors and foremen tell workers, three of Europe's most despicable when they ask for time off or

The accompanying and you want to shirk your duty.' note explains: "Trotsky's 'world From what I hear in the plant revolution' theories were very de- the company has a cost-plus con trimental to the Russian cause." tract which means that the gov On the opposite page appear three ernment guarantees it a certain other shots captioned, "'Mission percentage of profits on the total

profits. This shows clearly the hypocrisy of the bosses. While they spout its ivory tower and repudiating patriotism and the need for sacrifices by the workers, they

consequently the greater the

M. S. New York City

#### Rationing and New Rochelle, N. Y. Price Control

Editor:

Rationing and price control is a farce in its present form. Your paper and your friends are quite correct in pointing out the evils in the way it is being handled.

Not only distribution must be planned and controlled but the production of food stuffs must be immediately put on a planned basis. The vicious blackmail against controls as they are being practised now will prevail as long as this most important sphere of production remains in private hands.

Let the food industry be immediately expropriated, national ized without compensation and managed by government agencies It is true that this will only par tially solve the problem; workers control would be better, but the crisis in food is urgent and steps must be immediately taken

> H. W. New York

ONE WORLD. By Wendell L. Willkie. 206 pp. this war now going on in the far reaches of the New York: Simon & Schuster. \$2 (Cloth), \$1

This war has produced virtually a library of books by Americans who discovered the world. Most of these books have been written by foreign correspondents, professional newspapermen whoare capitalizing on the great interest in international affairs awakened by the war. "One World" by Wendell L. Willkie is a book written by an aspirant to the highest office in the country and should be viewed as a significant contribution to the campaign literature of the 1944 elections. But it is also more than that: It is a key to the mind of a significant section of the ruling class.

Mr. Willkie, who in the 1940 presidential elections campaigned so vigorously against the "New Deal" at home, presents himself now in his book as a crusader for a new deal abroad; now the bare-foot Hoosier of 1940 makes his bow as the cosmopolitan man about the world. The transformation of Mr. Willkie is symbolic of the death of isolationism. It is also symbolic not only of the role America is destined to play on the world arena, but also of the role the world is destined to play in American political life.

#### Purpose of Willkie's Mission

Warriors of the ancient Roman Empire had to go outside their country for long periods of arduous fighting in order to cover themselves with the glory of foreign conquest before they could seek positions of power at home. Mr. Willkie was gone abroad for only 49 days (in the fall of 1942). But in this brief period he covered 31 thousand miles, circling the entire globe, which is indeed a tribute to the great advance of mod-

Then too it was not Mr. Willkie's task to cross swords with any foreign foe. His mission carried him only to the "friendly" countries, his task was to arm himself with the necessary weapon for the presidential election: a chance to speak of foreign policy on the basis of first hand observation: a chance to be photographed with foreign rulers and to speak of them with intimacy.

Mr. Willkie's itinerary carried him first to the Middle East and a portion of the British Empire. He presents us with the picture of poverty, squalor and disease that prevail there. He very boldly blames British colonial policy for the sorry plight of the natives. From the very beginning he comes to the conclusion that a change is required. He tried "to draw out" the British colonial administration to learn "what they saw in the future, and especially in the future of the colonial system and our joint relations with the many peoples of the East."

"What I got," continues Willkie, "was Rudyard Kipling, untainted even with the liberalism of Cecil Rhodes. . . That evening started in my mind a conviction which was to grow strong in the days that followed it in the Middle East: that brilliant victories in the field will not win for us

world, that only new men and new ideas in the machinery of our relations with the peoples of the East can win the victory without which any peace will be only another armistice" (P. 15, our emphasis). "New men and new ideas". In other words, a new deal all the way down the line.

What is this new deal to be like? Willkie is no man to advocate a social revolution which would liberate the millions of colonial slaves. He is no rabble-rouser! On the contrary, he asserts that even the radical natives are weighing both the course of social revolution and another

". . . In every city I found a group - usually a small group - of restless, energetic, intellectual young people who knew the techniques of the mass movement that had brought about the revolution in Russia and talked about them. They knew also the history of our own democratic development. In their talk with me they seemed to be weighing in their minds the course through which their own intense, almost fanatical, aspirations should be achieved" (P. 22).

#### Willkie's Main Proposition

In reporting these conversations, Willkie, by the way, overlooks a small detail: that American "democratic development" required a violent revolution and a civil war. As Willkie goes on with the book, whatever else may remain blurred, one course stands out, stripped of all extravagant phrase-slinging. It is reducible to the simple proposition: America must reorganize the world.

Here is how Willkie puts it in his own words in the concluding paragraph of his book:

"Our allies in the East know that we intend to pour out our resources in this war. But they expect us now - not after the war - to use the enormous power of our giving to promote liberty and justice. Other peoples, not yet fighting, are waiting no less eagerly for us to accept the most challenging opportunity of all history the chance to help create a new society in which men and women the world around can live and grow invigorated by independence and freedom."

'Independence,' 'liberty,' 'freedom,' 'justice. These words are used very freely by Willkie throughout the book. It so happens that the British Empire rules one-fourth of mankind, and on the lips of the spokesmen of Wall Street, these words represent an instrument with which to yank the colonies out of the grasp of the British lion. Wall Street would indeed like to see the colonies independent - of British rule, that is, This is the necessary preliminary for its own penetration of these colonies. This is why Willkie can outdo himself in the profession of seemingly liberal ideas, running a close competition with Vice President Wallace.

We shall deal subsequently with that section of Willkie's book which treats with his visit to the USSR, Turkey and China.

Reviewed by M. Stein.

# What Kind of Education Is Needed in Europe Now?

The season of post-war planning is upon us. Washington is busy night and day sprouting plans: Plans for post-war trade, post-war disarmament, post-war political organization, post-war monetary system, post-war feeding of European peoples, etc., etc. Apparently not a single field of economic, cultural and social life in the post-war world will be allowed to escape the intervention of U. S. capitalism. The latest is a plan to "re-educate Europe."

At New York University, under the auspices of the United States Committee of Educational Reconstruction, a two day session (April 8) was devoted to the educational "decontamination"-not of American colleges but of Europe. The State Department sent an

The gist of this plan as expounded by one of the experts is "to provide some temporary supervision of education as assurance of mental and moral disarmament" (N. Y. Times, Apr. 8.) It is proposed to exercise this supervision through "specially trained teachers for an 'educational expeditionary force" who will of course be supplemented by the run-of-the-mill armies of occupation. The "education of the common man in Europe" is thus guaranteed: For should the teacher's textbook fail to implant conviction, the bayonet surely

Capitalist educators, from America or elsewhere, have already taught the masses in Europe and throughout the world what they need to know. Seared deep into minds and bodies of men and women are the lessons of the first world war and of the ensuing quarter of a century with its depressions, crises, unemployment, misery and hunger. The unprecedented torture and suffering of the four years of the second world war have driven in deeper the import of these. lessons. The hammer blows of events are teaching more and more millions that decaying capitalism spawns economic, political and cultural reaction. That it breeds war and fascism. That another road is needed

The only thing any capitalist "educative" expeditionary force has to teach is: SUBMISSION - and this, under savage oppression - to the perpetuation of the outlived capitalist system.

We agree, however, on one point: There is a real deficiency in the education of the masses both at home and abroad-a deficiency in Socialist education. The real task is to educate all peoples to think, feel and act in the spirit of socialism in order to struggle against brutality and injustice, and especially the most abhorrent injustice of all from which all the others flow: The exploitation of man by man.

Once this deficiency in the education of the masses is overcome, and they begin moving to abolish capitalism, expeditionary forces from the U.S. A. or elsewhere will avail nothing.

## Party Committee in N. Y. Issues Bulletin On Women

By ARLENE WILLIAMS

The first number of the "Bulletin of the Women's Committee" of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, issued last week, contains ten articles of special interest to women in all fields of work housewives, mothers and women in industry.

The Bulletin opens with an editorial stating the reasons for the formation of the Local New York's Committee at the present time when women are streaming into industry and when they are playing an ever more important role in the unions and the revolutionary party. The editorial quotes from an article by Clara Zetkin reporting her discussion with Lenin on exactly this question. A reprint of this discussion is also printed in the Bulletin.

Included among the other articles are "Facts For Women Workers" By Reba Aubrey; "Women In Industry" by Marie Taylor; two articles on the lack of nurseries in New York and nationally by Rose Karsner; "How We Won Equal Pay In Our Department" by Rose Young; "Suggested Slogans For Propaganda," etc.

The Women's Committee has been functioning since October, 1942. Regular meetings have been held; A research department has been set up to gather pertinent newspaper clippings, books and pamphlets; a study class in Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" was organized for a group of mothers who cannot attend the night sessions of the Party

The Bulletin, which will appear monthly, sells for ten cents a copy. Contributions to it by women throughout the country, in the form of letters or articles, will be gratefully accepted by the Committee.

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