

CIO, AFL, Railroad Unions Unite Against Anti-Labor Bills

An Editorial

Welcome news indeed was the statement by CIO President Philip Murray on Feb. 4 that the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods and the National Farmers Union, representing approximately 13,000,000 organized workers and working farmers, have decided to join forces in a fight against anti-labor legislation.

Plans for the fight have not yet been completed, but meanwhile the CIO called on all its locals to create legislative committees in preparation for joint activities against reactionary Congressional bills.

The CIO Executive Board explained the need for intensified legislative activity in a statement which declared: "Our national economic problems are problems which go far

beyond any question of mere negotiations with employers and the statement of grievances with employers.

"Today the War Labor Board in Washington must pass upon all wage matters. The Office of Price Administration and the Department of Agriculture and other Washington agencies make policies which will decide whether we will have a really effective price control or whether prices will skyrocket upward so that wage adjustments will become meaningless.

"These same agencies in Washington decide whether we will have a fair distribution of food and other necessities of life through overall rationing or whether those with the most money will get the largest share of our limited supply. Congress passes on all of these matters and also decides whether through tax cuts there will be taken out of pay checks of our members taxes to such an extent as to cut down their food budgets and their health.

"All of this has placed on the shoulders of CIO and its members an increased responsibility which goes far beyond wage negotiations and grievance adjustments. Our members paying a victory tax out of their pay envelopes each week have realized that THE REAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO THEIR EVERYDAY WORKING LIFE ARE BEING DECIDED IN LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL FIELDS."

All this is true. Unless the labor movement enters with its full strength into the fight on the political field, it will be undermined by the representatives of Big Business in Washington.

While wholeheartedly supporting the plan for united legislative action, every worker should ponder the question: Why is the labor movement in such danger today? The trade union leaders failed to effectively mobilize the masses to prevent the election of the reactionary politicians who now threaten the labor

movement. The trade union leaders were content to leave political power in the hands of the Democratic and Republican Parties, whose members now control Congress and are in position to hamstring the unions. The trade union leaders failed to create an INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY running labor's own candidates in opposition to the candidates of Big Business. These are the reasons why labor is in such danger today.

The labor movement is forced to fight on the defensive on both the economic and political fields today because it failed to take the offensive on the political field last year. This must not happen again.

All of labor's strength must be summoned now to defeat the plans of the anti-labor forces in Congress. And in the process the united action necessary for that task must be transformed into a stable political organization of labor, a nationwide INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

THE MILITANT

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BYRNES REJECTS WAGE RAISE DEMANDS

Govt. Reports Prove That 'Militant' Tells Truth

Meanwhile Postmaster General Walker's Decision On Biddle's Move to Suppress This Paper Is Still Pending

By Felix Morrow

This week we offer two new government witnesses whose testimony establishes the irrefutable truth of statements made by *The Militant* which Attorney General Francis Biddle has pronounced "objectionable."

As our readers know, Postmaster General (and Democratic Party Chairman) Walker now has before him for final decision a proposal by Biddle that the mailing rights of *The Militant* be revoked. To justify this suppression Biddle cited 105 "objectionable" excerpts from *The Militant*.

In previous issues we have reprinted excerpts and indicated how often the evidence for our statements came from government reports. Last week two additional government reports became available which offer supporting evidence to our statements:

1. Excerpt No. 5 cited by Biddle was a sentence from an editorial in our June 27, 1942 issue as follows: "While the bosses demand that the workers sacrifice everything, including life itself, for the war, they themselves have but one aim—to safeguard and increase their profits."

TRUMAN COMMITTEE REPORT ON STEEL

As the latest evidence for the truth of our statements we refer our readers to last week's report of the Senate Truman Committee.

On Feb. 4 this Senate investigating committee charged the big steel companies with deliberately preventing expansion of steel production, despite war needs, because of their "desire to prevent any expansion that might react unfavorably against their control of the steel industry after the

'New Republic' Condemns the Biddle Attack On 'Militant'

Because *The Militant* is an anti-fascist paper, and because the Post Office hearing to consider banning *The Militant* from the mails failed to show that anything is involved but this paper's right to criticize, the latest issue of the *New Republic* associates itself with American Civil Liberties Union Attorney Osmond K. Fraenkel's statement that the attack on *The Militant* is "the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in this war."

An editorial, "The Militant and Free Speech," printed in the Feb. 8 issue of the *New Republic*, reads as follows:

Having held up successive issues of *The Militant* without explanation, the Post Office Department has now moved for permanent revocation of that paper's second-class mailing privilege on the ground that it has violated the Espionage Act. . . .

That *The Militant*, which is the weekly newspaper of the American

followers of Leon Trotsky, has made statements which cannot fail to be distasteful to the great majority of Americans is not to be denied. But there is a vast gulf between criticism of the government and the war and willful violation of the Espionage Act. We agree with little that *The Militant* has printed—indeed we deeply regret and deplore its seeing in the war only a conflict between rival groups of imperialist nations. But we remember too well what happened to the free press of America under Postmaster General Burleson and Attorney General Palmer in the last war to feel at all comfortable about the present attempt to muzzle *The Militant*. If this paper were an organ of enemy propaganda, we should welcome its suppression. But because it is an anti-fascist paper we agree with Osmond Fraenkel, ACLU attorney in the case, that the attempt to suppress it is "the gravest threat to freedom of the press that has thus far arisen in this war."

Truman Report Blames Steel Shortage On Monopoly Greed

By ELOISE BLACK

With the entire production program requiring an expanding supply of steel, the Senate Truman Investigating Committee on Feb. 4 charged the big steel companies with full responsibility for a dangerous shortage.

According to the Committee, the supply of steel will barely fill the estimated needs of the armed forces for 1943, with nothing left over for vital civilian industries.

The big steel producers are accused, in the Truman Committee report, of a "desire to prevent any expansion that might react unfavorably against their control of the industry after the war."

The eight principal steel corporations have been able to prevent such expansion by virtue of their control of the governmental agencies which are supposed to supervise them. The Truman Committee states "that representatives and employees of the

big companies dominated the iron and steel branch of the War Production Board. They first failed to direct or even to allow expansion. Finally, they concentrated practically all the belated expansion into the hands of the eight largest companies."

The situation brought to light by the Truman report in connection with steel production is not an isolated case.

An investigation of the Alcoa Corporation in 1941 revealed that similar practices by the aluminum trust had seriously curtailed production of airplanes.

The automobile barons were exposed as having resisted conversion to war production until passenger-car production was legally stopped in 1942 and the government made arrangement to subsidize conversion and expansion of the industry according to the specifications set down by the companies.

The leading producers of copper were able to delay the realization of an expansion program in their

field until 1943, altho the OPM, predecessor of the WPB, was aware of an approaching critical shortage in 1941.

BOSSSES BLOCK PRODUCTION
The present war is accelerating the growth of monopoly in this country at the expense of tens of thousands of small producers who are being eliminated permanently from industry.

The real delays in production have been caused not by the strikes of labor but by policies of Big Business, intent on increasing its profits, extending its grip on production and eliminating its competitors.

While workers who strike in war plants under the pressure of intolerable conditions are heavily penalized and threatened with being drafted or blacklisted, corporations found guilty of blocking production are merely "exposed" by investigating committees—and not until after they have succeeded in getting the lion's share of the government contracts for their own plants.

USSR Widens Offensive



Soviet armored cars are shown rolling into the fortress city of Schluesselberg as the Red Army broke the 17-month siege of Leningrad. As long as the German forces held Schluesselberg, they were able to keep Leningrad in siege.

Report OPA Plans To Use Volunteer Price Wardens

The Office of Price Administration expects to recruit approximately 75,000 volunteer price wardens to help enforce price ceilings in retail food stores, according to stories by Gordon H. Cole in *PM* on Feb. 4 and 5.

The volunteer price wardens will be selected and trained by price panels to be set up in each local Price and Rationing Board, and will begin work around April 1, Cole reports. "Each panel will have a staff of from six to 10 outside price checkers, each of whom is to handle about 10 stores." The panels will have "the job of inquiring into and attempting to adjust apparent violations reported by the volunteers or by consumers," but only the regional OPA authorities will be able to prosecute price violators.

Around April 1 the OPA will also institute its new system of ceiling prices, under which dollars-and-cents ceiling prices will be put on meats and soaps and regional OPA offices will be authorized to issue dollars-and-cents ceilings for certain other commodities in their areas.

PRESENT SETUP

Cole estimates that at the present time the OPA has at most 600 inspectors assigned to price enforcement. There are almost 2,000,000 retail stores under OPA control, of which 600,000 are food stores. If the 600 were assigned to check on food stores alone, each inspector would have to cover 1,000 stores.

Criticism of this situation has led to the issuance of a memorandum from the national OPA office, signed by Deputy Administrator John E. Hamm, which says:

"It is apparent that OPA cannot hope to educate retailers to new (Continued on page 2)

Soviet Leaflets Contain No Revolutionary Propaganda

By MICHAEL CORT

Soviet propaganda leaflets which were showered upon Hitler's soldiers at Stalingrad have been reprinted in this country by the Stalinists. Devoting a half page to the reproduction of these leaflets on Feb. 7, *The Worker* headlines its story, "Soviet's Political Warfare Is One Reason Why 91,000 Nazi Troops Surrendered at Stalingrad." In the text of the story the Stalinists say that the reason for German surrenders "lies in Soviet propaganda to German soldiers, a brilliant political warfare which has been going on for the past year."

An examination of the leaflets reveals that they are anything but "brilliant political warfare." [Not a word of class solidarity with the German workers is expressed.]

The entire emphasis of the leaflets is upon the horror of war and the military reverses that Hitler has suffered. The cover of one consists of a photograph of two German soldiers horribly mangled by an explosion, and the superimposed picture of a German child crying, "Papa ist tot" (Father is dead).

HORROR PROPAGANDA

Such horror propaganda can have an effect upon an army in which demoralization has already appeared, but it is only the limited propaganda weapon used by any imperialist army against its faltering rival. Stalin refuses to use the greatest propaganda weapon in the world, the weapon that only the Soviet Union could use, that of revolutionary appeal to the worker-soldier in the opposing army.

Such was the propaganda successfully used by Lenin and Trotsky against the armies of intervention in 1917-20 when the alignment of forces was by no means as favorable as they are today. Such was the propaganda that disintegrated the German interventionist and White Guard armies hurled against the young Soviet Union. Lenin and Trotsky pointed out the imperialist nature of the war and showed these soldiers that their interests lay

Giraud On Democracy

When Generals Giraud and de Gaulle failed to reach an understanding for full collaboration between their respective followers, the British and American officials who had brought them together at the time of the Roosevelt-Churchill conferences in Casablanca, urged as "helpful" the issuance of a joint communique. The two French generals even had difficulty in agreeing on this meaningless gesture.

According to the *N. Y. Times*' London correspondent, Raymond Daniell, writing on Feb. 6, de Gaulle wished to pay lip service to "democracy." Giraud did not.

The first draft of the communique, written by de Gaulle, described as their joint aim "the triumph of democratic principles." "But before General Giraud signed the joint statement he crossed out 'democratic principles' and substituted 'human liberties.'"

Reaffirms WLB Wage Policy Condemned By Many Unions

Key Unions Had Asked for Wage Increases To Meet Constantly Rising Cost of Living

Feb. 10.—Economic Director James F. Byrnes last night flatly rejected the demand for wage increases raised by several important unions representing the great majority of the organized labor movement.

"There must be no further increases in wages beyond the Little Steel formula except in limited and special cases to correct patently gross inequities and to rectify plainly substandard wages," Byrnes declared in his radio address. Since the War Labor Board has all along had the power under the Little Steel formula to "correct gross inequities," this means no change at all in the present wage policy against which the unions have objected.

(See editorial on Page 4 for comment on Byrnes' statement.)

Feb. 9. New demands for wage increases to equal rising living costs were voiced last week by a number of important union bodies including the National Executive Board of the CIO, the AFL Executive Council as represented by William Green, the policy committee of the United Mine Workers, and the AFL Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City.

The growing pressure for wage raises is based on opposition to the administration wage policy embodied in the Little Steel formula of the War Labor Board, which bans increases of more than 15% over Jan., 1941 wage levels, although living costs have risen almost twice the 15% figure during this two-year period.

CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President Green visited the White House on Feb. 3 to express to President Roosevelt the dissatisfaction of their organizations with the Little Steel formula, which they declared is no longer valid as a wage criterion in view of rises in the cost of living since it was adopted.

Murray and Green added that while Roosevelt "showed deep interest, he made no specific commitments of any kind." (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 4.)

HARRY BRIDGES' LINE
The *N. Y. Times* of Feb. 7 reports members of the CIO Board as saying that Harry Bridges "supported the current government wage policy and had urged that the CIO put its emphasis on demands for stricter price control enforcement and universal rationing of essential commodities. Mr. Bridges was answered sharply by Mr. Murray, who contended that some upward revision of the government wage policy was essential to maintain the support of workers whose living costs, especially for food, have been going up sharply in recent months."

Other unions which have called in recent weeks for abandonment of the Little Steel formula include the railroad workers representing a million members, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Auto Workers, the Allied Printing Trades Council of New York, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and the State, County and Municipal Workers.

UMW DEMANDS
On the same day John L. Lewis announced that the United Mine Workers policy committee had decided to request \$2 a day wage increases for their 450,000 bituminous coal workers. It is expected that the union will ask for a similar raise for its 88,000 anthracite miners. Negotiations with the mine owners are scheduled to begin March 14.

The head of the UMW policy committee pointed out that "an increase of 42% on the wholesale prices of articles essential to family maintenance cannot be ignored. This increase has occurred despite government price controls and will continue despite such controls." Lewis pointed out at a press conference that if the UMW were to be restricted by the Little Steel formula, the bituminous miners would have to "give back" 2% of their present wages, and the anthracite miners would be entitled to only 5% more.

AFL RESOLUTION
The New York AFL Council, representing 750,000 workers, passed a resolution on Feb. 4 noting that "the cost of living has increased out of all proportion and far above the 15% quoted as a basis for wage increases of January, 1941," and

Jacson's trial for murder of Leon Trotsky has begun. See Page 2.

'Jacson' Trial In Final Stage

Sentence Will Be Imposed On Trotsky's Murderer Within the Next Few Weeks

By WALTER ROURKE

MEXICO CITY, Jan. 28 (By Mail). — On Thursday, Feb. 4th, the trial of "Frank Jacson" — GPU murderer of Leon Trotsky — will come before the Sixth Penal Court for summation and sentence. At this time, each of the parties concerned may present his own interpretation of the evidence that has been gathered during the last two years and his conclusions arrived at from this evidence.

Naturally, the course of this hearing depends in the main on the tactic of Octavio Medellin Ostos, the assassin's lawyer. Although a written set of conclusions and arguments is usually presented before the hearing, Medellin Ostos has limited himself to a short list of conclusions without basing them on any sort of interpretation of the evidence contained in the court record. He intends to present his reasoning at the hearing—perhaps orally in the hope that it will be more difficult for the prosecution and the representatives of Natalia Trotsky to answer his "arguments."

All that can be gleaned from the list of conclusions presented by the defense is that aside from raising some technical questions as to whether one can be accused of dangerous assault and of murder for the same act, the defense will pretend that this is a case of "simple homicide."

In Mexico there is a very light penalty for simple homicide—one which occurred during an argument, etc., without premeditation, betrayal of confidence or advantage over the victim. Just how the defense hopes to prove this interpretation is unimaginable—for not one, but all of the qualifications of premeditation, betrayal and advantage are against the murderer. The defense also has the right to change its story at the hearing and present a "legitimate defense" version, or some other. This appears unlikely, however.

One thing is almost certain: The defense will undertake once again to obstruct the trial and drag it out by protests, appeals and similar legal tricks. It is reported that Medellin Ostos jokingly said that he was going to ask that the entire court record of five volumes, plus the 2,000 page psychiatric report, be read at the beginning of the hearing. He has the legal right to do this, but it seems doubtful that he would pull such an obvious maneuver. He would lose more than he would gain, since the tactic would be clear to all, from the judges to the newspaper reporters.

On the other hand, he will undoubtedly repeat all his accusations about partiality, illegal

procedure, etc. It will be remembered that Jacson, in his new "version" of the assassination presented in October of 1941, pretended that all his previous statements to the police and court were in great part false since they were made when he was not conscious as a result of the beating he received from Trotsky's guards, or because of so-called "injections" that the police gave him or because they were not translated into French for him.

It is understandable that he would want to explain away these statements for in them he admitted the careful preparation of the crime; at the time his only worry was in not implicating the GPU. He will not be able to do so, however, for he ratified the statements many times over a period of many months.

Natalia Trotsky will present a written document to the court, dealing with the political background and motives of Leon Trotsky's murder. It will be shown that motivation in the murder is political, that the GPU acting under Stalin's orders made two attempts on Trotsky's life in 1940, the second being successful. At the same time, "Frank Jacson" is shown to be a killer without a political interest in his crime—a miserable tool, clever and calculating, whose profession is that of a GPU assassin.

Comrade Natalia will also be represented by a very able lawyer at the hearing—Carlos Franco Sodi. He will undertake to answer orally, on the spot, whatever new legal interpretation the defense attempts to present.

The hearing may last anywhere from a couple of days to several weeks, depending on the tactics of the defense. After its conclusion the three judges who decide the case will probably need another month to arrive at their decision and to pass sentence.

TIMES' ACCOUNT OF FEB. 4 SESSION

NEW YORK, Feb. 5.—The N. Y. Times today printed a dispatch from Mexico City giving a short report of the proceedings of yesterday's session of the trial of "Frank Jacson," murderer of Leon Trotsky.

The Times story says that the session opened "with the Prosecuting Attorney reading his conclusions and with the attorney for the defense submitting last-minute proof. The Prosecuting Attorney asked the presiding judge, Manuel Rivera Vazquez, to find Mornard (one of Jacson's many aliases) guilty of homicide and of illegal bearing of arms. The defense read a statement written by Mornard in which the latter rejects declarations that he asserted the police obtained from him under duress."

The Civil War in Yugoslavia

The Contending Camps And The Foreign Alignments

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

A civil war has been raging in Yugoslavia since early in the summer of 1941. The clashes have been steadily growing in intensity and scope. Writing last December on the basis of "confidential information," Louis Adamic stated that there is "now material for a full scale civil war in Yugoslavia." (Sat. Eve. Post, Dec. 19, 1942.) In his dispatches from London, Cyrus Sulzberger broadly hints that not all the news about this "savagely civil war" is being made public, for the extent of it, he says "is little realized by the Western world." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 6.)

Up to now the two main opposing forces have been represented on the one hand by the Partisan and Volunteer Army of the so-called "National Liberation Front," and on the other, by General Drazha Mihailovich's armed detachments.

LONDON SUPPORT FOR MIKHAILOVICH

On this point there is no longer any disagreement whatever in the otherwise conflicting reports, misinformation, and inspired dispatches coming from London, Moscow, Washington, Ankara, Cairo, Istanbul, Geneva and other centers of secret diplomacy and international intrigue.

Among the questions still in violent dispute is the size of the opposing forces, and their relative role in fighting the German and Italian occupying forces. English sources estimate Mihailovich's army at from 30,000 to 100,000. The Partisans claim an army of 200,000; and insist that Mihailovich's army is disintegrating and, further, that the latter fights primarily against them in collaboration with the foreign and native fascists.

Mihailovich has the backing of London, while the Kremlin supports the "National Liberation Front." Harold Callender, writing from Washington, flatly states that General Mihailovich has "the backing of the British Foreign Office, while the partisans

have the backing of Moscow." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 21, 1942.) London censors permitted Sulzberger to cable that:

"CLOSELY CONNECTED"

"There is no doubt that the partisans are in every way closely connected with Moscow and the Chetniks (that is, Mihailovich's troops) with Cairo and London."

"The Chetniks," continues Sulzberger "closely are aligned with London. Their radio equipment is British. It is no longer a secret that few British officers are with them. Some British officers were sent to them last year by secret means but were caught and shot by the partisans—a fact admitted by both sides." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 31.)

The Kremlin, however, refuses, even through its foreign agencies abroad, to admit any such rift with London or its direct alignment with the Partisans. Thus, the Stalinist, Joseph Starobin greets Sulzberger's articles as of "some real value," and goes on immediately to announce:

"Sulzberger's pieces help us refute the prevalent ideas that Great Britain is backing Mihailovich whereas the Soviet Union (read: Stalin) is backing the partisans. . . . No evidence appears in these articles that the Soviet Union is backing the partisans except in the sense that the Soviet Union is naturally supporting—and by achievements inspiring—all the national liberation movements of Europe." (Daily Worker, Feb. 9.)

This piece of cheap sophistry is intended to cover up the fact that the Kremlin is as deeply involved in the Yugoslav situation as it was in the Spanish Civil War. In point of fact, many of the figures who played a part in the Stalinist apparatus in Spain now occupy leading positions in the "National Liberation Front" of Yugoslavia. As we shall see, there is sufficient proof that the Kremlin is playing its customary behind-the-scenes role in the case of civil war in Yugoslavia.

Let us begin with a brief review. Hitler invaded Yugoslavia on April 5, 1941 and overran the

country in a few days. Almost immediately came news of popular resistance to the armies of occupation. Colonel Drazha Mihailovich and "his chetniks" were widely publicized and given sole credit for the resistance. The Yugoslav Government-in-Exile promoted Mihailovich to General and appointed him War Minister.

It was in mid-summer of 1941, that is, shortly after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union that news began to be released by the pro-Mihailovich agencies abroad through the so-called informal channels that Mihailovich was having trouble with partisan detachments variously labeled as "communist guerrilla groups," "bandits and hoodlums," etc. But the Kremlin maintained silence both in its domestic publications as well as in its agencies abroad, in particular, the Daily Worker in this country.

STALINISTS HELPED

The Stalinists in America as elsewhere not only helped to build up the legend of Drazha Mihailovich—which they are now working so hard to dispel—but

they also denied and denounced for a long time the rift in Yugoslavia just as they now deny and denounce the rift with London over Yugoslavia.

For instance, as late as June 2, 1942 the Daily Worker featured Mihailovich's picture on the front page alongside of a dispatch reporting a broadcast from "Free Yugoslavia," the short wave radio station of the "National Liberation Front." Yet the Daily Worker itself now places the time for major armed clashes between the partisans and Mihailovich as long ago as October, 1941 and even earlier. (Daily Worker, Dec. 16, 1942.) Official documents of the "National Liberation Front" point to an even earlier rift.

The Daily Worker continued its line of covering up Mihailovich for almost two more months after the instance cited above.

It was only on July 26, 1942—after the Germans had unleashed their offensive against Stalingrad and the Northern Caucasus—that the readers of the Daily Worker suddenly learned that on June 16, "outstanding cultural leaders" from Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak had met in a Conference

and passed a resolution accusing Mihailovich of collaborating with German, Italian and native fascists and further that a "fratricidal war has been provoked and conducted on our territory under the leadership of Drazha Mihailovich about whose treachery there is official evidence." (Daily Worker, July 26, 1942.)

The delay in publicizing the break with Mihailovich on June 16 may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that on June 11, 1942 the news was published of the signing of the 20 year pact of mutual aid between Britain and the USSR. On the next day Moscow released the news of the alleged agreement on the opening of the second front. To have announced four days later the rift with Mihailovich was not diplomatically expedient, just as Moscow finds it inexpedient today to admit the rift with London.

The Kremlin's alignment with the Partisans and the rift with London over Mihailovich are facts, all the denunciations, twists and turns of the Daily Worker to the contrary notwithstanding.

Women In Industry

By MARIE TAYLOR

The enrollment of women in trade unions has increased in the past year and a half from 1,000,000 to 3,500,000, according to a recent statement by Miss Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor. Of these, about 1,500,000 women workers are members of the CIO; 1,125,000 are in AFL unions; and the remainder are scattered throughout independent unions.

Probably the single most important factor which can account for this phenomenal success in recruiting women into the trade unions is the firm stand taken by the unions on the question of equal pay for women.

Many unions had already translated this principle into action long before the recent influx of women into industry. On the other hand there are still many women not receiving equal pay for equal work, which means that the job is far from completed.

The policy of guaranteeing women workers equal pay for equal work, in addition to achieving wage security for women, has two important advantages for the unions.

First, it proves to the women that the unions are fighting and helping to protect their working conditions, the effect of which is to make the women good union members.

Secondly, it proves to the men in the plants that the employment of women will not undermine their own working conditions. Some unions at first made the mistake of refusing to admit women as members. The resistance came mainly from AFL craft unions where many skilled workers feared that women would threaten their job security by accepting less pay. But as soon as it was established that women doing the same work as men would be paid the same rate as men, these fears disappeared.

Take as an example the case of the AFL Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders in California. At first women were allowed to work in the shipyards only under a permit system, and were not accepted by the union. This meant that they were denied not only the union wages, but also the rights and protection which the union members working all around them could enjoy.

After some militant demonstrations by the women, a referendum vote was taken and the union executive council later ruled that they could be admitted to regular membership. These women are now attending union meetings in increasing numbers and taking part in discussions of shop problems.

It is an encouraging sign that women are so rapidly becoming a part of the organized labor movement. It is encouraging to know that in some large industrial centers union councils have opened schools to train women for leadership. The entire working class will be greatly strengthened by the experience and training of women in the arena of the union struggle.

Coffee Shortage

Don't let your grocer tell you that you have to do without your favorite cup of coffee these mornings because the supply is going to the boys at the front. Your morning java is missing because of War Production Board bungling, or, and, the presence in Washington of a strong tea lobby.

According to Ray Tucker, Washington correspondent for the Boothe Syndicate (Michigan newspaper chain), South American ports are jammed with coffee beans while ships return to this country empty or loaded with ballast.

"... vessels were returning to the USA light or in ballast," wrote Tucker in the "Flint Journal," Dec. 21. "Instead of filling hatches with coffee jamming the docks, they wasted time, coal and oil plying from country to country in search of pay loads on the homeward voyage."

The WPB knew all this, according to Tucker, but refused to issue licenses for increased imports. "It looks as if somebody in the Nelson organization prefers tea or cocoa. . . ." Tucker said.

Next Week's Class

of the New York School of Social Science
February 17, 8:15 P. M.
THE DIALECTICAL METHOD
William Warde, instructor
116 University Pl. New York

Report OPA Plans To Utilize Price Wardens

(Continued from page 1)

regulations and obtain compliance with its provision solely through use of its regular paid staff."

SHORTCOMINGS

While the proposed price warden plan represents a concession to the complaints of trade union and consumer organizations and a partial abandonment by the OPA of its original policy of checking on prices only through its own paid staff, it is by no means the answer to the problem of ever-rising living costs. Among its obvious weaknesses and shortcomings are the following:

The determination of price control policies will still be in the hands of people who have no serious intention of preventing further price rises. The basic policies of the OPA will still be along the lines of the statement made on Jan. 20 by Prentiss Brown, new head of the OPA:

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

Even ten times 75,000 price wardens will be useless if the people in charge of price control continue to give legal permission for price rises, as the OPA has consistently done in response to Big Business pressure.

The more difficult it will become for local storekeepers to violate price ceilings, the greater the tendency will be for the real profiteers—the big businessmen, corporations, etc.—to encourage black market operations; the diversion of scarce commodities for illegal sale at higher prices outside of the regular sales channels.

The proposed price warden

plan, which has no provisions for greater control and supervision over the distribution of scarce commodities from the point of production, can therefore under the best circumstances be only partially effective in checking real prices.

COINCIDENCE?

It should also be noted that the announcement of the OPA price warden plan coincides with the labor movement's growing demand for wage increases because the administration has failed to keep prices from rising. This may be a pure coincidence, but it may also be a sign that the OPA is only trying to counteract the demands for higher wages by creating the impression of a more serious approach to the price problem.

Whatever the intentions of the OPA, it should be clear to advanced workers that the price warden plan is no substitute for the program advanced by The Militant: the creation of mass consumers' committees—representing the unions, working farmers' organizations, housewives and small retailers—with the power to regulate and control prices, rationing and the distribution of necessary commodities.

Stricter supervision of prices in the local retail stores is a necessary step in the fight against the rising living costs, but a far more important step in that fight is the transfer to mass consumers' committees of control over the entire price and rationing programs.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

Anti-Labor 'Equal Rights' Bill Opposed By AFL Leader

By LARISSA REED

The vigorous opposition to the "Equal Rights" amendment voiced this week by William Green, president of the AFL, demonstrates that the trade union movement is becoming alert to the menace against labor concealed in this fraudulently-named bill. "This bill would put in jeopardy all laws protecting women in industry," declared Green on Feb. 7. "The validity of existing laws limiting the hours of work for women and otherwise protecting women in industry would be subject to judicial assault."

The so-called "Equal Rights" bill is now before both houses of Congress and anti-labor elements are pressing for its quick adoption. For years the Women's Trade Union League an AFL affiliate, has fought against the "Equal Rights" bill, and today hundreds of CIO and AFL organizations throughout the country are registering their protests.

The National Woman's Party, an organization composed of wealthy women and wives of bosses, has brought this bill before each new Congress for more than 20 years. The real anti-labor aims of the bill are revealed in documents released by this organization. Stating that protective legislation for women in industry are nothing but "nuisance laws," this organization wants to abolish forever the meager safeguards that have been achieved for women after decades of bitter

struggle. They want to give the bosses the right to exploit women as fully as men.

"Under guise of protection," states a leaflet of the Woman's National Party, "laws have been passed . . . forbidding adult women from working more than a certain number of hours a day, before or after certain hours, providing a minimum wage, prohibiting night work, etc." To these women, who have never worked a day in their lives, protective legislation for women especially prohibitions against night work and other kinds of work, is nothing but a "hoary hoax."

On the flimsy basis of "medical findings" by one Prof. S. J. Homes of the Department of Zoology of the University of California, the National Woman's Party declares: "Women have more resistance to disease . . . withstand starvation, loss of food and loss of sleep better than men." With extreme hypocrisy they add: "It is not desirable for industry to place unreasonable strain on the worker. BUT IN CASE IT DOES, WOMEN ARE BETTER ABLE TO STAND IT THAN MEN."

With this go-ahead signal, the employers, who have never concerned themselves about "unreasonable" strains on their men workers, can now proceed to place an even greater burden upon women, with the full approval of a professor of apes, and a viciously reactionary body of idle women.

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Rent Profiteering Hits New High In California War Boom Center

By JOAN WAKEFIELD

SAN FRANCISCO. — Merciless rent gouging in war-booming Vallejo, home of the Mare Island Navy Yard which has drawn workers from all over the country, tripling the population of the city in the last year and a half, have been reported in a recent series of articles in the San Francisco Chronicle.

These workers and Navy men waiting for ships are learning what it is like to live in a city with an unparalleled record of profiteering—3,000 cases of rent-gouging reported since federal rent control began.

About half of the complaints received here involve illegally-increased rents.

A quarter of them charge the landlord has failed to register his maximum rates, or has registered fraudulently.

Ten percent charge illegal eviction. Nearly 10% claim the landlord is now charging extra for water, heat, electricity or other services that once were included with the rent.

Additional complaints are coming into the local OPA rent control office at the rate of 750 to 1000 a month—and more this month than last.

As further revelations were made in the rent scandal, the National Authority, which admits that 40,000 war workers, some with families, are expected in the Bay Area in the next months, presented the following as its partial program:
1. Encouragement of property owners to convert their structures into additional living quarters.
2. Encouragement of property owners to lease their structures, residential or buildings, to the government to be converted with federal funds into additional living quarters for use by war workers.

Such measures can take care of only a fraction of the needs where conditions are such that 17,000 workers at Mare Island must com-

mute as much as 60 miles a day. San Francisco is about 30 miles from the Vallejo yard and a good many of the workers must drive the distance in heavy traffic every day or stand in over-crowded buses.

A FEW EXAMPLES

Conditions are such that in one auto court \$65 was charged for two dilapidated rooms each 9 feet square.

In a section known as Tobacco Road, \$52 was charged for a makeshift one-room shack with cheap worn-out furniture, no heat and no bath or toilet facilities. Government authorities have ordered the rent cut to \$13 a month.

Barracks, housing 1,500 workers unable to find apartments in Vallejo for their families, and sections where the workers camp out in trailers are usual means of housing in the war swollen center.

The situation had become so drastic last week that the OPA was forced to institute injunction proceedings against several hotels and about 60 other rental units.

Mothers' Class To Start Feb. 17

Frederick Engel's classic, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, will form the basis for a class to be held each Wednesday afternoon from 3:30 to 4:30 at 116 University Place, in New York City.

The class, which will be conducted by W. Walters, will begin on Feb. 17, 1943. Admission is free to members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, and arrangements have been completed to care for the children of attending mothers during the sessions.

Registrations should be made in advance on the fourth floor of 116 University Place.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS ANNOUNCES

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Why Hastie Quit His War Department Post

Every time the Uncle Toms, including the Stalinists, talk about the Negro and the armed forces, they admit that discrimination still exists, but insist, "On the other hand, look at all the progress that has been made in the last few years."

"The truth about how much 'progress' has been made in this field was graphically indicated last week in a widely-printed statement made by a man who ought to know, William H. Hastie.

Hastie, former federal judge and dean of the Howard University Law School, was appointed as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War in Oct., 1940, when conscription went into effect. Last month he announced his resignation from this post as of Feb. 1 and now he has explained why.

"Reactionary policies and discriminatory practices of the Army Air Forces in matters affecting Negroes were the immediate cause of my resignation," the statement begins. "The Army Air Forces are growing in importance and independence. In the post-war period they may become the greatest single component of the armed services. Biased and harmful practices in this branch of the Army can all too easily infect other branches as well."

When Hastie took office, the Secretary of War directed that all questions of policy relating to Negroes should be referred to his office for comment or approval before final action. Two months later the Air Forces showed Hastie a plan for a segregated training center for Negro pilots at Tuskegee. "I expressed my entire disagreement with the plan, giving my reasons in detail. My views were disregarded. Since then, the Air Command has never on its own initiative submitted any plan or project to me for comment or recommendation."

"Moreover, even now the Air Command views the use of the Negro as an 'experiment' designed to determine whether he can do this or that in the field of aviation. This attitude is the result of wholly unscientific notions that race somehow controls a man's capacity and attitudes. . . . The Negro program of the Air Forces began some two years ago with the organization of several so-called 'Aviation Squadrons (Separate)'. These units,

now greatly increased in number, were organized to serve no specific military need. . . . The characteristic assignment of the 'Aviation Squadron (Separate)' has been the performance of odd jobs of common labor which arise from time to time at air fields. . . .

"The Air Forces also are rejecting Negro applicants who wish to become weather officers or officers in other highly specialized technical fields" although large number of such officers are needed "so badly that white volunteers are being solicited and accepted, despite a general policy against voluntary enlistments in the Army. . . . The same situation exists in armament and engineering, both ground specialties for which the Air Forces have been accepting cadets generally, but refusing Negroes."

"To date, all Negro applicants, a number of them well and fully qualified, for appointment as Army service pilots have been rejected. . . . The simple fact is that the Air Command does not want Negro pilots flying in and out of various fields, eating, sleeping and mingling with other personnel, as a service pilot must do in carrying out his various missions. . . ."

Lack of space prevents us from quoting further, although Hastie gives plenty of more material along the same line. But the picture is clear enough from what we have shown.

It is not the Negroes who have made "progress" in the armed forces, but the pattern of segregation. Some Negroes are now admitted into branches of the service from which they were formerly excluded, but Hastie's statement and similar facts which are not hard to discover about other branches of the service make it clear that these are "token" admissions, used to answer criticism but not to change the fundamental policy, which is still to regard Negroes as "inferior" (that is, "inferior") solely because they may have a slightly different colored skin.

There can be no real progress against Jim Crow until the policy of segregation is abandoned. The Republicans never abandoned it when they were in power in Washington; the Democrats show no intention of abandoning it now. Only when the workers are in power, only when a Workers' and Farmers' Government is established, will the Negro people be able to win real equality.

NAACP Raises Some Questions

Shortly after his return from North Africa, President Roosevelt announced that he had asked Paul V. McNutt to call "a conference of leaders of those groups opposing discrimination in war employment to consider a revision and strengthening of the (Fair Employment Practices) Committees scope and powers."

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last week expressed its approval for the idea that the FEPC be given more power and larger personnel, but raised the following interesting questions in a telegram to the White House:

"It is not clear, however, why a conference of organizations, such as you propose Mr. McNutt should call, is necessary to accomplish these ends. The NAACP and other organizations have already stated their position to you. The war is not waiting for conferences. Workers are needed in industry now. The NAACP there-

fore urges you as president to give the Fair Employment Practice Committee without further delay such powers and personnel as are necessary for the accomplishment of its vital task.

"The minimum program which would make the committee effective is first, immediate rescheduling of railroad hearings; second, establishment of committee in independent office of president and its removal from War Manpower Commission or any other subsidiary governmental body; third, sanctions for committee in form of public hearings, power to impose money and other penalties and all additional authority necessary to accomplish the gargantuan task of eliminating discrimination in government and war industries; fourth, selection of a committee strong enough to resist anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, sectional or other political pressures; fifth, adequate staff and budget for committee."

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

The U. S. members of the joint Bolivian commission "to study working conditions in Bolivia" (whose formation was reported in this column last week) arrived in La Paz on Feb. 3.

On the same day the Bolivian government, trying to give a better face to the situation arising from the recent tin miners' strike at the Patino mines, revoked the stringent press censorship. This censorship was decreed on Dec. 14 shortly after the strike broke out.

However, in Cochabamba, the following day, the building of the periodical El Dia, organ of the Left Revolutionary Party, was partially destroyed by a bomb, according to the Feb. 5 New York La Prensa. Leaders of the tin strike are members and officials of this party.

American Jews contributed \$74,885,285 during the past ten years for the rescue of the victims of Nazi oppression, the United Jewish

Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine announced on the tenth anniversary of Hitler's accession to power.

It also reported that during the past ten years 305,000 Jews had found a home in Palestine, 208,000 had emigrated to the United States, and 125,000 had found refuge in South America.

All this is very good, but what about the millions of Jews who have been persecuted and murdered in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and all the other European countries? The 75 million dollars of privately raised funds has not been able to touch the problem of the millions who could not afford to buy some sort of freedom outside of Europe. They have had to stay, to fight and die.

They have had to learn that the only freedom to be won for their children will be in a society free from racial persecution, a society free from the capitalist evils which must find a scapegoat in racial persecution.

Leon Sedov, Heroic Builder Of The 4th International

By R. SPIRIGIN

An entire epoch of the movement is receding into the past: gone are its great leaders, its creators of theory, its heroes of action in the greatest liberationist upsurge of mankind. They have become symbols, beacons, teachers and founders, and ever fewer contemporaries remain for whom they were living beings with strong passions, capable of laughter, joy and sorrow and the anger and fury of great revolutionists. This is a sad loss: human traits do not lower but raise the stature of titans.

February 15 marks five years since the tragic death of Leon Sedov who was not only Trotsky's son but his comrade-in-arms, his assistant and truest friend. Leon Sedov was not an uncritical and blind follower of an inherited doctrine but possessed all the qualifications of a leader in his own right. At the time of his tragic death — he was only 32 years old — he had already developed into a figure whose importance was recognized not only by friends but by the enemies in Moscow who divided their hatred between the father and the son.

CHILD OF THE REVOLUTION

Leon Sedov was a child of the October revolution. When the revolution broke out, he was eleven years of age; he spent the next decade—the period when a man's character is formed and his political future determined—in the Soviet Union. In his closest environment were Lenin, Krupskaya, Zinoviev, Bukharin and the rest of those who with Leon Trotsky represented the concentrated expression of the victorious revolution.

Next came the splits and the intrigues against Trotsky: then exile to Alma-Ata. When, finally, it became necessary to leave the borders of the USSR, Sedov was already a fully formed, profoundly convinced and fervent Bolshevik-Leninist. He was only 23 years old: but people mature more quickly in the hot climate of the revolution.

Nine years of emigration followed. Sedov who in Alma-Ata



Leon Sedov, 1906-1938

was, in the words of Trotsky, his "minister of foreign affairs, minister of police and minister of posts and telegraph," assumed a more and more independent stature.

"ORGANIZATIONAL BUREAU"

In Prinkipo, then in Berlin and finally in Paris he came more and more to the forefront as a central figure of the entire revolutionary left wing. His father was watched,

guarded, isolated, driven from one country to another and for this reason had to restrict himself more and more to the role of ideological leader, theoretician and publicist.

The "organizational bureau" of the movement fell on Sedov's shoulders: it was he who kept in his hands all the threads tying the groupings, parties and organizations in Europe and America. It was he who called conferences and congresses; collected

the funds for the necessary expenses; and, finally, published one of the main organs of the new Fourth International, the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. But even then he did not confine himself to that aspect of activity which the Russians call "technical." He wrote much, read and studied a great deal.

EXPOSED THE FRAMEUPS

He rose to his full stature and showed his full powers during those fatal 18 months which began with the Zinoviev-Kameney Trial in August, 1936 and ended with his own death. No sooner did the first news of the frameup trials reach Paris than he seemed to be transformed. He knew rest and peace no longer. He worked day and night. To the blows of Moscow he replied with counter-blows, exposing systematically, persistently and effectively the slanders of the GPU. The dumbfounded journalists of the press turned to him for clarification. Socialists of all shades besieged him. He wrote articles, pamphlets and gave interviews.

We remember how he proved that the "Hotel Bristol" — which played so important a role in the Zinoviev-Kameney Trial — did not exist at all! Likewise the story of "Pyatakov's flight to Trotsky" at the second Moscow Trial and the official proof from Norway that no such flight could have possibly taken place.

HIS PLACE IN OUR MOVEMENT

It was a difficult task to fight against slander prepared and circulated by a colossal state machine. In accomplishing his work Sedov was made happy by the thought that he was cleansing the memory of Lenin's comrades-in-arms and upholding the honor of the Fourth International against vile and desperately stupid slander.

New times pose new questions and the new epoch brings new people to the fore. But periods of birth leave us with immortal heroes. The formation of Bolshevik-Leninism in the twenties and thirties was such a period of birth. If Trotskyism emerged victorious from these first major encounters, it was because we had a Leon Sedov as well as a Leon Trotsky.

Dewey Commission Gave Answer To Lies About Frameup Trial

Although the motion picture, "Mission to Moscow," based on the book by ex-Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, is in the final stage of production and will be released in the next month or so, it is still impossible to find out precisely what picture it will give of the Moscow Trials, to which a full reel of the film will be devoted.

Generally, Hollywood producers are more than willing to give advance information, in detail, about pictures they are filming. In the case of "Mission to Moscow," however, Warner Brothers is as silent as the tomb, refusing to release any official information.

It is impossible to tell, for example, whether one of the two outstanding leaders of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky, will be portrayed in the picture. One columnist reported a few weeks ago that an actor who had been approached to play the part of Trotsky had turned it down. Other sources insist that Trotsky will not be shown in the picture.

SLANDERS RETAINED

But there is no reason to doubt that even if Trotsky will not be shown in the picture, it will nevertheless contain the same kind of slanders directed against Trotsky and other of Lenin's co-workers at the Moscow Trials and subsequently in Davies' book. In Hollywood last month Davies stated that the picture would dispel "all antiquated convictions about the Moscow Trials."

By "antiquated convictions," Davies means the widespread knowledge that the trials were frameups arranged by the Stalinist bureaucracy for the purpose of removing their political opponents in the USSR and slandering their working class opponents outside the borders of the Soviet Union. (Davies himself shared this "conviction" until Germany attacked the USSR, and he admits that he abandoned it without finding any new evidence about the trials.)

Thus, while exact information about the Davies motion picture cannot be obtained at the present time, it is nevertheless necessary to counteract the lies which it will present by giving the widest possible circulation to the truth about the frameup trials.

Fortunately, the truth is available in two books issued by the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, "The Case of Leon Trotsky" (1937) and "Not Guilty" (1938) published by Harper & Brothers.

THE DEWEY COMMISSION

In the Moscow Trials of August, 1936 and January, 1937, Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov, were accused of serious crimes against the Soviet Union. In the absence of an opportunity to answer these slanders before any legally constituted court, Trotsky called for the formation of an international commission of inquiry to take his testimony, consider his documentary proofs, and then render a verdict of either guilty or not guilty.

Sentiment for an unbiased investigation of the trials quickly spread through the labor and liberal movements in all parts of the world, and the Dewey Commission was organized. It consisted of John Dewey, Chairman, John Chamberlain, Alfred Rosmer, Edward Alsworth Ross, Otto Ruehle, Benjamin Stolberg, Wendelin Thomas, Carlo Tresca, Francisco Zamora, Suzanne La Follette, with the noted labor attorney, John F. Finerty as counsel for the Commission.

The Dewey Commission hearings ran from April 10 to July 27, 1937, and were led in Coahuacan, Mexico, Paris and New York City. The Stalinists were invited to participate in the proceedings, but rejected the offer. After receiving hundreds of thousands of words of testimony from dozens of witnesses on three continents, after investigating scores of documents directly bearing upon the charges, the Commission reported its findings in the book, "Not guilty," which stated in part:

"We are convinced that the alleged letters in which Trotsky conveyed alleged conspiratorial instructions to the various defendants in the Moscow trials never existed; and that the testimony concerning them is sheer fabrication.

"We find that Trotsky throughout his whole career has always been a consistent opponent of individual terror. The Commission further finds that Trotsky never instructed any of the defendants

or witnesses in the Moscow trials to assassinate any political opponent.

"We find that Trotsky never instructed the defendants or witnesses in the Moscow trials to engage in sabotage, wrecking, and diversion. On the contrary, he has always been a consistent advocate of the building up of socialist industry and agriculture in the Soviet Union and has criticized the present regime on the basis that its activities were harmful to the building up of the socialist economy in Russia. He is not in favor of sabotage as a method of opposition to any political regime.

"ALWAYS AN OPPONENT OF FASCISM"

"We find that Trotsky never instructed any of the accused or witnesses in the Moscow trials to enter into agreements with foreign powers against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly advocated the defense of the USSR. He has also been a most forth-

right ideological opponent of the fascism represented by the foreign powers with which he is accused of having conspired. "On the basis of all the evidence we find that Trotsky never recommended, plotted, or attempted the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. On the contrary, he has always uncompromisingly opposed the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its existence anywhere else.

"We find that the Prosecutor (in the Moscow trials) fantastically falsified Trotsky's role before, during and after the October Revolution.

"We therefore find the Moscow trials to be frameups.

"We therefore find Trotsky and Sedov not guilty."

No one has successfully attacked the integrity of this Commission or the impartiality of its inquiry. Its painstaking research and conclusions should be read by every worker who wishes to know the real truth about the Moscow Trials and the Stalinist lies about Trotskyism.

Hate-German Propaganda And The Stalinists

By M. MORRISON

When the recent article of the Stalinist journalist, Ilya Ehrenburg, appeared in the N. Y. Times, explaining to the American public that the hearts of the people in the Soviet Union are filled with hatred towards the German people and that the Red Army is not fighting for internationalism but for the Russian motherland, many a rank and file member of the Communist Party must have been greatly shocked. Such a flagrant violation of the spirit of internationalism could not help but create some uneasiness and arouse some questioning in the minds of those Stalinist adherents who are naive enough to believe that Stalinism has something to do with internationalism.

So extensive was the uneasiness aroused by Ehrenburg's article that the American Stalinist leaders were compelled to make an attempt to calm the ranks by some explanation. Of the many letters that must have been sent to the Daily Worker expressing doubt and amazement at Ehrenburg's thesis, one was printed and Milton Howard, one of the C.P. hacks, was designated to reply (Daily Worker, Dec. 15). So confusing and inadequate was the explanation offered by Howard that a second article by him was necessary (Dec. 29). Even that was insufficient and so William Z. Foster had to intervene with a series of three articles (Daily Worker, Jan. 26-28) trying to interpret and explain away Ehrenburg's article.

An interesting aspect of the Ehrenburg hate-campaign is the fact that a gushing journalist without any political authority writes some nonsense and the Stalinist bureaucrats in this country dare not state that he is wrong and does not express the sentiments of their party. Even when they have a statement of Stalin upon which they could rely to reject Ehrenburg's proposition of hating the German people, the bureaucrats will not do so because they correctly assume that Stalin in all probability has given silent consent to this idea of hating the German people. Otherwise it would not occur to anyone in the Soviet Union to express such an idea.

A Marxist does not assume that because the inhabitants of one country are putting up a struggle against an oppressor, those of a different country will also be able to struggle against the same oppressor. A Marxist explains why people of one country struggle while those of another country do not. It is necessary to analyze conditions prevailing in the various countries to explain the different attitudes assumed by the workers of those countries. All this is a mystery as far as Howard is concerned.

Why are not the German workers offering greater resistance to Hitler? The answer lies in the events of the past 25 years. The German workers built huge and powerful organizations and were ready to struggle for power if called upon by the leadership of these organizations. The Social-Democratic leadership betrayed the German workers in 1918 and subsequently. The Stalinist leadership confused and demoralized them. Taking advantage of these weaknesses, Hitler smashed the working class organizations, killed tens of thousands of the most militant workers, created a dreadful terror-regime. It would indeed be a miracle if the German workers, bleeding from the many wounds inflicted upon them, were able to offer resistance before the Hitler machine was weakened by military blows.

The war is only another factor serving to explain the failure of the German workers to rise against the Nazis. Between enslavement by foreign powers and by a native oppressor they choose the latter.

If responsibility is to be placed on the mass of workers, the English, the American and the Soviet workers must also assume part of that responsibility. What have they done to assure the German workers that they will not be enslaved by a foreign power? What have the Soviet workers done to assure the German workers that on the part of the Soviet Union this is a war for socialism and equality of all peoples? Where the workers of other countries do nothing to give the German workers a sense of security in their future, it will take a military defeat of Hitler to set them into motion against the Nazis.

The very fact that an ignoramus like Ehrenburg is permitted to preach hate against the German people leads the German workers to believe that there is no hope for them even in a victory of the Soviet Union.

It is just as absurd to blame the German workers as it would be to blame the English and American workers for their failure to establish socialist governments or to blame the Soviet workers for their failure to overthrow Stalin.

Whereas Howard simply blames the German workers, Foster, older and more experienced, tries to explain their failure to struggle against Hitler. He naturally omits the one factor that constitutes an indictment of the Stalinist leadership. He says nothing about the manner in which Stalin is conducting the war. But he too must not delude too sharply from Ehrenburg. So he writes that a "heavy share of the responsibility for their (Nazis) crimes rests upon the German people as a whole."

A dishonest ignoramus like Howard can even distort a quotation from Marx to justify placing responsibility on the German people. When Marx said that a nation is not forgiven the unguarded hour in which the first adventurer that comes along could violate it, he was not dealing with the question of responsibility. Yes, the workers cannot escape the consequences for permitting Hitler to gain power. Nor can the workers escape the consequences for permitting Stalin and Churchill and Roosevelt to rule. But that does not mean the workers are to be held responsible for Hitler or any of the other rulers.

War naturally engenders the fiercest hatreds. Even under socialist leadership it is possible that the soldier masses give way to these hatreds. When the Petrograd workers, during the Civil War, were defending their city against Yudenich, the struggle was so bitter that there was danger of cruel retribution being taken by the soldiers of the Red Army against those fighting on the side of the White Guards. Trotsky issued an order warning against laying a hand on any prisoner. In the midst of the most bitter fighting, Trotsky deemed it necessary to continue the education of the Red Army soldiers in a socialist spirit which is completely alien to any hatred against the masses of any people.

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

— LEON TROTSKY

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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.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. Defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

The Latest Victories Of the Soviet Union

The Red Army's capture of Kursk is in all probability a much greater victory than Stalingrad. It is a major breach in what was the Bryansk-Orel-Kursk-Kharkov-Voroshilovgrad-Rostov line and permits us to hope that the continuation of the offensive may force the Nazis to abandon the entire line and fall back to the Dnieper.

We can be sure that the Soviet victories are not only shaking the strength of the Nazi forces, but are also inspiring the peoples of occupied Europe to free themselves from the Nazi yoke. And, as the example of Yugoslavia indicates — see John G. Wright's article in this issue — the European masses in freeing themselves from the Nazi yoke want real freedom and not the yoke of their former rulers.

Both the Soviet victories and their effects on the occupied countries are being estimated with mixed feelings in certain quarters. This fact is brought out by the very well informed head of the London Bureau of the *Chicago Sun*, Frederick Kuh, in a dispatch dated Feb. 4, which says:

“The Allied governments in London and the British people are increasingly discussing the consequences of the current Soviet victories and their possible culmination in Russian supremacy in Europe.

“... A front page editorial in the Liberal weekly, the *New Statesman*, states:

“The Russians fear that when the continent is invaded by Allied armies the blow may be so delivered as to be indirectly aimed at the Soviet Union as well as against Nazi Germany. To many such suspicions may sound exaggerated, but let us not forget what no Russian ever forgets — that the last war ended with Allied intervention not in Berlin but at Archangel.”

Another passage in the *New Statesman* editorial which Kuh quotes in his dispatch states:

“There is grave danger reflected in the absence of Soviet representation at Casablanca, that Stalin would see in Allied intervention in the Balkans an intention to build a barrier against Soviet influence in an area where in any case the population will look rather to Russia than to the western democracies.”

Kuh himself adds to this the following: “Polish premier Silorski is known to favor

strongly the earliest possible Allied expedition into the Balkans so that American, British and Polish troops could reach Eastern or Central Europe at least as soon as the Red Army. These tendencies are certainly heightening Russian suspicions.”

Kuh is not the first to touch on this question. Indeed, as early as November 8, 1942 Edwin L. James, the managing editor of the *N. Y. Times*, wrote:

“There are reasons, well known in diplomatic circles, to believe that the second front Stalin desires is a second front in Western Europe. . . In fact, the question arises as to whether if from Africa a second front could be established in the Balkan States it would meet in full the desires of the Russian chief.”

Certainly there are many reactionaries who do not look with unalloyed joy at the continuation of Soviet victories. On this point we recall the story reported by Walter Reuther to the last CIO convention. He had heard a discussion between two big auto executives connected with the WPB. They were rejoicing, said Reuther, “because the Nazis had pushed the Communists back on the Stalingrad front. One of them said: ‘All we have to do is just give the Russians enough so they can hang on and they will destroy one another.’” Men who felt that way in October certainly are not welcoming the capture of Kursk.

We defend the workers' state, despite its degeneration under Stalin, against all forms of imperialist attack. We defended the Soviet Union when its later “friends” were howling for intervention on behalf of Finland against the USSR. We shall defend the Soviet Union when such “friends” will again unmask.

Wages, Prices And Taxes

Prices have been going up steadily and OPA Administrator-Prentiss Brown says that they will continue to rise by one-half of one per cent each month “under the most favorable circumstances.”

The 1942 tax bill placed the heaviest tax burden on the masses in the history of this country and the government announces that even higher taxes will have to be paid for this year.

Meanwhile wage rises have been limited by the War Labor Board's Little Steel formula to no more than 15% above the levels of Jan., 1941. The effect has been to drive the workers' living standards lower than they were two years ago.

As a result of all these factors labor discontent has forced the leaders of several prominent unions to attack the WLB wage formula and to demand wage raises.

Economic Director Byrnes gave the answer of the administration to these demands in his radio broadcast of Feb. 9. He gave it a little more cleverly, he wrapped it up in more patriotic utterances, but his answer was substantially the same as that expressed in Oregon last week by Wayne L. Morse, member of the WLB and author of several of its most important rulings, who said:

“We do not favor any attempt to make wages constantly match the rising cost of living, because these are the sacrifices labor must make in this war to protect our domestic economy.”

Byrnes' emphatic rejection of the demands for wage raises clears the atmosphere — it demonstrates that labor's fight to protect its living standards must be waged not only against the reactionary Republicans and the poll tax Democrats, but also against the administration wing of the Democratic Party — and puts the next step up to the labor movement.

There are unquestionably many union leaders who will want to back down at this point just as they have previously when Roosevelt demanded it of them. But they will have to reckon with the growing dissatisfaction of the rank and file union members who have no taste for sacrifices at the expense of their families' health while Big Business profits continue to reach new heights.

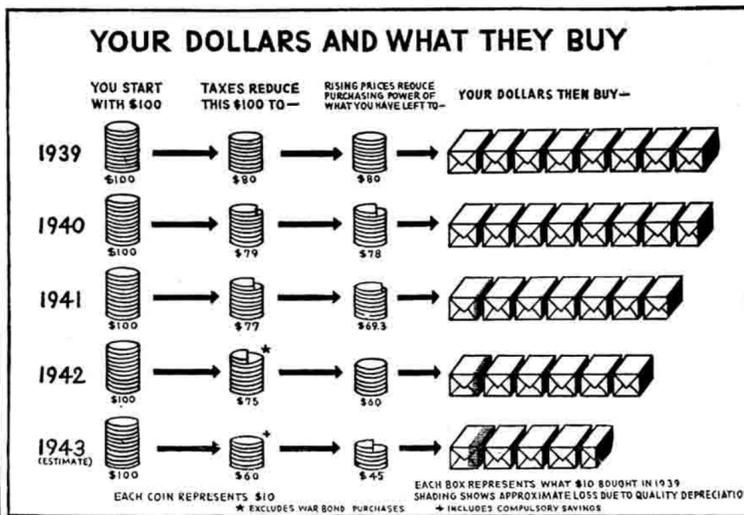
If the union movement retreats on this issue, the employers and reactionary politicians will feel encouraged to launch new attacks against it. What is required therefore is a bold policy:

The renunciation of the no-strike pledge — to serve notice that the workers mean business.

The resignation from the War Labor Board of all union members — to halt labor coloration and sanction for a body openly committed to freezing wages while living costs keep rising.

The launching of a struggle for the rising scale of wages to meet rising living costs — to concretize the demand which every union man and woman wants realized.

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The above chart, prepared by Consumers' Union, shows that the buying power of your dollar is due for another big slump. If Big Business succeeds in its campaign to force through additional price rises, the cut will be far greater. The 1942 figures are based on the most recent available government reports. The prediction for 1943 is based on the best available information. It's time to fight for a rising scale of wages to meet increased living costs!

Govt. Reports Prove That 'Militant' Tells Truth

(Continued from page 1)

Moreover, the big steel companies were able to do so because, said the committee, “The representatives and employees of big steel companies dominated the iron and steel branch of the War Production Board.”

As the many previous reports on other industries by the Truman Committee showed, the steel magnates are typical of all the big bosses.

We characterized this kind of thing by its right name. We said: “The bosses themselves have but one aim—to safeguard and increase their profits.” Biddle cites our words as justification for suppressing us. But aren't our words true? And aren't they proved once again by the latest report of the Truman Committee?

2. Biddle Excerpt No. 11 was our comment on a *N. Y. Times* dispatch reporting that American, British and German businessmen are still collaborating financially in the Bank for International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland. We said in our Oct. 11, 1942 issue: “In spite of their cynical patriotic fervor, the capitalist classes always continue to maintain profitable contacts with one another across the battle lines while millions of workers of the contending countries die.”

Further proof of this obvious fact was provided by the U.S.-Nazi patent pools. Not once but dozens of times government agencies had to initiate or threaten court action in order to

force General Electric, Standard Oil, Alcoa, etc., etc. to halt the operation of the patent pools they maintained jointly with German, Italian and Japanese corporations.

The latest evidence on this question was provided last week by one of Biddle's own men, Assistant Attorney General Thurman W. Arnold. Addressing businessmen he stated, according to the Feb. 3 *N. Y. Times*, that:

“Cartels are preparing to pick up their old arrangements now that victory is assured. . . .”

“The cartel leaders are gathering from all parts of the world to protect the system of high prices and low turnover, restricted production and controlled markets. . . .”

Nobody knows better than Arnold what the “old arrangements” were. They were primarily arrangements of American and English, German, Japanese and Italian monopolies working together as world cartels. If “the cartel leaders are gathering from all parts of the world” to “pick up their old arrangements,” it means, in plain English, that even before the war is over they are preparing, in the words of our original editorial, “to maintain profitable contacts with one another across the battle lines while millions of workers of the contending countries die.”

Here, then, within two days of each other, are two further proofs of our original contentions. What we said was true and remains

true, despite all Biddle's demands for our suppression.

The fact is that neither Biddle nor Post Office Attorney W. C. O'Brien, who made the argument for revocation of our mailing rights at the January 21 postal hearing in Washington, has attempted to refute the truth of *The Militant* statements to which they object. On the contrary, O'Brien put their case in all its crudity when he said at the hearing:

“We are not concerned here with questions of truth or falsity. It does not make any difference if everything *The Militant* said is true.”

WE TELL THE TRUTH

Instead, Biddle and O'Brien argued that what we were saying “discouraged enlistments”—an argument which could be applied to the latest exponents of such unpleasant truths, Assistant Attorney General Arnold and the Truman Committee.

It is of course not to be wondered that Biddle wants to duck the question of truth, at a time when every week brings new confirmation of our statements. But the truth IS important to the workers and farmers of this country, on whose behalf we publish our paper. We are first and foremost interested in telling the truth to the working people of America.

We present our case before the bar of the public opinion of the workers and farmers for support against the truth-suppressors. “THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE.”

Big Business Pushes for Adoption Of Ruml Plan

Big Business, which reaped 25% more war profits in 1942 than in the boom year of 1940, is now attempting to organize things so that taxes and salary limitations will make the smallest possible cut in its income.

The maneuvers in protection of these profits are now centered around the Ruml tax plan and a repeal of the \$25,000 ceiling on salaries, both of which the capitalist class is trying to push through Congress.

The Jan. 2 issue of *Labor*, official organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, estimates that the so-called “pay-as-you-go” Ruml plan would cost the treasury “at least 15 billion dollars,” most of which would stay in the pocket of the big capitalists.

Philip Murray, President of the CIO, said in the CIO News of Feb. 1, “They (the workers) will oppose any program which couples. . . a series of windfalls to large incomes at the expense of the national treasury. It (the Ruml plan) would mean in future years heavy gains for the highest income brackets — particularly those which have benefited most from the swollen war profits of 1942.”

The effect of the Ruml plan would be to transfer to the shoulders of the workers an even greater share of the cost of the war than they already carry — which is the reason why so many Big Business spokesmen and newspapers are howling for its adoption. What the big income group would be able to pocket from this plan would be added to the government debt to be paid

off in the future by the working class.

As for the \$25,000 salary limitation, the employer class is attempting to scuttle it by attaching a repeal rider to important legislation in Congress. The \$25,000 salary limit, imposed by

presidential decree, has so many loopholes that it does not seriously affect the income of the capitalists. But Big Business is determined to oppose the principle that ceilings can be legally placed upon salaries, regardless how high they run.

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The Socialist Workers Party
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VALENTINE PARTY
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15 Labor and Liberal Leaders Ask Freedom For Poles Jailed in USSR

Fifteen prominent American labor leaders and liberal spokesmen last week signed a telegram to Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov requesting the release of Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, leading Polish socialists who have been confined to prison in the Soviet Union for several years, who were released last year and then re-arrested without explanation.

The telegram read: “It is now more than a year that Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, two prominent leaders of Jewish masses in Poland, were re-arrested in Kuibyshev. Most prominent representatives of freedom-loving people throughout the world and of British and American labor movements repeatedly requested their release in vain. Today, when universal public opinion unites in condemnation of Nazi criminals who are murdering in cold blood the entire Jewish population of Poland, we renew in the name of justice and humanity our request for the release of these outstanding and courageous fighters against fascism and Nazism, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter.”

Signers of the telegram were Philip Murray, CIO president; William Green, AFL president; David Dubinsky, ILGWU president; Clinton S. Golden, assistant to president of the United Steelworkers of America; Adolph Held, Jewish Labor Committee chairman; J. B. S. Hardman, Amalgamated Clothing Workers newspaper editor; Leo Krzycki, American Slav Congress president; Albert Einstein, noted scientist; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union Theological Seminary; Joseph Weinberg, Workmen's Circle president; Raymond Gram Swing, commentator; Rev. Henry Smith Leiper of the Universal Christian Council; Dr. Frank Kingdon of the Union for Democratic Action; Dr. Alvin Johnson, New School for Social Research director; Dr. B. Hoffman, Jewish Writers Union president.

Erlich, a member of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, and Alter were leaders of the Polish resistance to the Nazis after the Beck government had fled. They were arrested by the Stalinist authorities after the fall of Poland and not released until after the German attack on the USSR and the signing of a pact between the USSR and the Polish government-in-exile. It was reported that they were preparing to join a Polish army being raised in the Soviet Union when they were suddenly arrested once again.

Blue Network Rules Out Criticism of Government Officials Over the Radio

By JOHN BATES

The present trend toward suppression of free speech and a free press was first emphasized by the Post Office Department's attack upon *The Militant*.

This week the drive toward fascist-like censorship appeared to be gaining momentum as the National Broadcasting Company moved to muzzle radio commentators who have been critical of various Congressmen and governmental departments.

According to PM's Washington correspondent, Kenneth Crawford, the Blue Network drastically censored the scripts used last Sunday night by Walter Winchell and Dew Pearson, both commercially-sponsored network commentators.

Crawford reported on Feb. 9 that the following rules will henceforth apply to news comments read over the Blue Network:

“No remarks shall be made which are derogatory of any member of either House of Congress, member of the President's cabinet or any other person holding any public office.

“No derogatory or insulting remarks about either House of Congress or any groups of members in either House or any Federal Agency or employee thereof.

“No remarks which might impute guilt to individuals or organizations not already convicted or suppressed or outlawed by the Government.”

Under such rules commentators would be prohibited from criticizing any act of any government official or bureau and would be forced to maintain silence about such reactionary groups as the Dies Committee, the poll-tax bloc, etc.

Last Sunday radio officials forced Dew Pearson to eliminate from his talk a passage disclosing that Wendell Willkie is writing a book on foreign affairs in which he will criticize the State Department for “selling democracy short in North Africa.” Pearson also was forbidden to say that Beardsley Ruml, author of the Ruml plan, was “an innocent instrument” of the war profiteers.

While Crawford says that the network promulgated these rules without receiving specific orders from the government, it appears most likely that radio officials were unquestionably “advised” to take these steps. For radio stations continue in business only through the permission of the Federal Communications Commission, a government body appointed by the president.

The Trotskyists were the first to feel the whip of censorship because they are the most uncompromising opponents of reaction everywhere. But that the Trotskyists will not be the last victims is shown both by the attempt of Biddle in *The Militant* case to establish a Post Office precedent which could be used to gag all papers, and by the present attempt to stifle all criticism of government officials and policies over the radio.

The entire labor movement must enter the struggle to preserve free speech and free press, for in the final analysis it is the existence of the labor movement itself which is at stake in this fight.

Equal Pay for Equal Work by Women