

Introducing the 6-Page 'MILITANT'

(Read our editorial, page 6, to learn why we've changed the name of the paper.)

TO OUR READERS: With this issue, we begin publication as a six-pager. Much important class-struggle news which we were unable to find room for in the four-pager will now be yours each week. In addition, we shall have room now to print more analytical articles on the war and the labor movement. And last, but at least as important as anything else, we shall now be able to print many more letters and articles from our worker-readers.

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NO WORKERS ARE HEARD ON WAR BILL

Negro Worker Lynched In Government Camp

Mob Murders Him At Camp Blanding; Tragedy Was Possible Only Because of Government-Approved "White Supremacy" System

The unpunished lynching of a Negro worker on an army construction project is reported for the first time by THE MILITANT. The story, sent to THE MILITANT by a trusted associate who is now at the scene, has been made available to all Negro and labor newspapers for publication this week. The story follows:

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 21—A Negro worker employed on a government project at Camp Blanding was murdered in cold blood by a gang of Georgia crackers on Wednesday, January 8. It happened as follows:

A white laborer lost his shovel. Each laborer is charged \$5.00 if he loses a shovel. The white "replaced" his lost shovel by taking one away from a Negro.

When the Negro laborer asked to have it back, pointing to the markings on the shovel proving that it belonged to him, the white assaulted him and was immediately joined by a gang of Georgia whites with hatchets, hammers and pinchbars.

The Negro did not have a chance. He died that same day at the hospital. He was mutilated beyond recognition and his skull was fractured.

It should be pointed out that a great number of these white workers at the camp are really farmers who have recently been recruited into the workers' ranks by the lure of war construction work.

It goes without saying that there was no mention of this cold-blooded murder anywhere in the press, nor was there any sort of investigation by the authorities.

Liberals and New Dealers point with pride to the diminishing number of lynchings in the South to show that democracy in these United States does work. This may be true if the definition of lynching is confined to the classical method of stringing the man up on a rope by his neck. But most lynchings now are not "classical." How many lynchings of this

"unclassical" kind are committed? No one knows. They are not recorded anywhere, except in the consciousness of the Negro.

I heard an eye-witness account of the murder at Camp Blanding that same day. The following day I approached a Negro laborer to find out from him the name of the murdered man and to probe his feelings in the matter.

When he found out I was from the North and a friend, he spoke frankly. I asked him what he was going to do about it.

"Sir," he said, "down here when a white man kills a colored man, he's just another dead nigger."

I suggested that a day will come when the Negro people will find their revenge. He brightened up and said, "Yes, sir, every dog has his day."

This worker spent hours trying to get for me the name of the murdered man. All he could find out is that he is a Jacksonville resident. Nobody knows names

around here. They go by numbers on the job.

The white and the Negro laborers are kept divided as a matter of policy. The whites are given the easier jobs and all the dirty work is done by the Negroes. This gives the white laborer the feeling that he is one step higher on the social ladder.

Mind you, all this occurs at a camp which is owned and administered by the federal government to train our youth to "defend democracy." The minute I saw the camp I was impressed by the total absence of Negroes among the soldiers. Only later I found out that there is a separate section under construction for the Negroes.

What will Negroes be told after they are stationed in their Jim Crow section? What will be the definition of the democracy they are supposed to defend?

BILL AIMED AT "COMMUNISTS" IS ANTI-LABOR

An American Legion-sponsored bill to abolish the Communist Party in New York State, introduced into the state legislature last week, will be vigorously combated by the Socialist Workers Party, it is announced by Murry Weiss, New York Local organizer. "We are preparing an all-out campaign to fight the passage of this bill," Comrade Weiss stated.

"It is our duty, as a party which defends the interests of the working class, to muster all our forces against passage of this anti-labor bill. Although the bill is ostensibly aimed at the Communist Party, it really paves the way for the suppression of any workers' organization which dares to oppose the schemes of the reactionaries, and, in particular, which dares to voice any opposition to the war-aims of the ruling class."

WHY WE FIGHT IT

Making clear that our opposition to this bill is not based on any belief in the Communist Party as being either a revolutionary or truly anti-war party, Comrade Weiss declared that "nevertheless we defend any workers' organization, regardless of how violently we disagree with its program and leadership, against the attacks of the boss class and its government."

"The job of exposing and destroying the Stalinist influence in the labor movement belongs only to the workers themselves. It is not a job we can entrust to the bosses, because their opposition to the Communist Party is only a pretext for striking blows at the genuine working-class militants and trade unionists."

The proposed measure for banning the Communist Party has been described by Edward N. Scheiberling, chairman of the N. Y. Legion's executive committee, as "the most important bill" on the Legion's legislative program.

Comrade Weiss concluded his announcement by stating: "A formal call is being sent to every branch of our New York local to place at the top of their agendas the fight against this vicious bill, and to take immediate organizational steps to carry out the campaign plan of action which we are preparing."

One Militant To Another!



2-Day Protest At Bethlehem Steel

BETHLEHEM, Pa., Jan. 26—The workers in the Bethlehem Steel plant here are getting steamed up for union action. The first serious stoppage in the plant here, which employs 18,000, ended today, after 5000 Bethlehem workers went on a two-day "protest demonstration" because of failure of the plant management to meet with the union committee to settle a rising flood of grievances.

The halt began January 24, at 1 P. M., when the workers in the billet yard decided to stage a one hour "protest" while their representatives sought a meeting with the management.

Word of the stoppage spread quickly through the plant. By nightfall six departments were involved, the billet yard, bridge shops, tool steel, structural steel and the power house in the Lehigh and Saucon plants.

The men agreed to return to work today after company officials promised to meet with the union representatives to discuss the grievances.

News of the stoppage spread like wild-fire through Bethlehem. It has been on the lips of everyone here, and is all one hears.

Company officials labeled the stoppages as "sit-down" strikes, but the men asserted they were merely limited "protests." When the men insisted, during the initial stoppage in the billet yard, that they were not attempting to occupy the plant, the management gave them 15 minutes to leave the plant.

A squad of company police were brought in to forcibly eject the workers. Howard T. Curtiss, Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CWO) organizer, has reported that one union man required medical treatment after being rough-housed by the company cops.

Workers from other depart-

U.S. STEEL AT WARTIME LEVEL OF PROFITS

Net profits of \$102,000,000 for 1940 were announced Tuesday by the United Steel Corporation.

If to this is added an additional seven millions of profits, earmarked for a newly-created "pension fund,"—not to mention a dozen other items similarly earmarked and thus withdrawn from the net profits column where they belong—the 1940 profits are matched only by figures during the last war. The last quarter's profits, it was announced, are the best since the World War.

The 1940 profits are a gain of 148% per cent over the profits of 1939!

The steel barons have the added pleasure of knowing that they have defeated all attempts so far to establish a tax on war profits.

GRACE CARLSON TOUR THIS WEEK

NEW YORK: Saturday Feb. 1, 8 p.m. at the farewell banquet tendered her by the New York local of the S.W.P. Germania Hall, 160 Third Avenue, N.Y.C. (Telephone reservations, Gr 7-9317).

NEWARK: Sunday, Feb. 2, 8 p.m., at Educational Club Hall, 255 Court Street, near Springfield Avenue. Subject: "The Right to Life."

TRENTON, N. J.: Tuesday, Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at the Hotel Jersey, 200 S. Broad Street. Subject: "The Right to Life."

ALLENTOWN, Pa.: Thursday, Feb. 6, 8 p.m., at the Labor Temple. Subject: "The Right to Life."

QUAKERTOWN, Pa.: Saturday, Feb. 8, 8 p.m., at Union Hall. Subject: "The Right to Life."

All Who Testify Are Handpicked

House Foreign Affairs Committee Ignores Request of S.W.P. Spokesman To Be Heard; AFL, CIO Leaders Avoid Chance To Testify

The Roosevelt Administration fears any real discussion or debate on the "Lend-Lease" War Powers Bill. That became thoroughly obvious when the "hearings" conducted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee were concluded without permitting any except hand-picked witnesses to be heard on the bill, and the parallel committee in the Senate opened "hearings" of the same fraudulent kind.

Numerous labor and other organizations vainly served notice on Chairman Sol Bloom, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, requesting to be heard. A telegram from the Socialist Workers Party to Bloom, naming Grace Carlson as our spokesman at the hearings, was simply ignored.

Why this fear of permitting opponents of the bill a hearing? The results of a Gallup poll, released Monday, indicate why. All that the Gallup poll could claim for the bill was a 54% majority. Even that, in a properly-conducted poll, would have been cut down considerably, for the report ad-

mits: "Many of those voters who favor the bill attach important qualifications to their answers: in fact, about one person in every six approving the bill wants some sort of amendment made to it. The chief qualifications are that a time limit should be set on the bill, and that the measure should specifically PROHIBIT THE PRESIDENT FROM SENDING AMERICAN TROOPS ABROAD, OR ANY PART OF THE NAVY ABROAD."

In plain English, the "some sort of amendment" turns out, in reality, to be a basic opposition to the contents of the bill!

It is clear, then, that the government does not have behind it a majority of the people for the bill.

THE ELECTION FRAUD

And no wonder! A few short months ago, when Roosevelt sought re-election, and when he certainly already had in mind this War Powers Bill, he did not permit a hint of his plans to appear in his campaign speeches. He and Willie joined in assuring the people of their agreement on a "peace policy." What they really had in mind is first revealed to the people by this war bill.

The first staggering realization of what Roosevelt's "all-out aid" policy really means has come to most people with this bill. War and dictatorship, they now realize, are Roosevelt's plans for the United States. And, despite the fact that they have gone this far down the road with Roosevelt, accepting the arms program and conscription, now they halt at the brink of the precipice. That is the meaning, despite the attempted distortion of the figures released by the Gallup poll.

OPPOSITION LEADERLESS

The mass opposition to the War Powers Bill is practically leaderless. The ultra-reactionaries, like Hanford MacNider and Hamilton Fish, who call themselves "isolationists," do not represent that opposition. Nor does Norman Thomas, who was invited by Hamilton Fish to speak at the House hearings; what he said was in no way differentiated from the arguments of MacNider, who spoke at the same time.

Those who should—as an elementary duty—represent this op-

position, first of all, are the leaders of the AFL and CIO, for undoubtedly the bulk of the opponents of the bill are the workers. Nothing, however, is further from the minds of the AFL and CIO leadership. They have studiously avoided any appearance at either the House or Senate hearings, either for or against the bill.

Why? The answer is simple. These trade union "leaders" know that the government and the capitalist class is dead-set to adopt the bill and plunge the country into all its consequences. To come out in opposition to the powerful rulers means a kind of gigantic and irreconcilable struggle which is foreign to the minds and the backbones of the AFL and CIO leaders.

On the other hand, they know, even better than we or the Gallup poll, the sentiments of the trade union membership. They know that the workers are disturbed about the full implication of Roosevelt's plans. Hence these union "leaders" fear to stand out publicly as sponsor of the War Powers Bill. They fear retribution at the hands of their members, when the full realization of the reactionary character of this war galvanizes the American workers into action.

So these union "leaders" demonstrate their utter bankruptcy in this, the most important issue that has ever confronted the American working class. They "lead" by... laying low.

STALINIST FRAUD

The fraudulence of the Stalinist activities against the War Powers Bill is indicated by the silence of the Stalinist press on the behavior of the CIO top leadership. Still hanging on desperately to their bloc with John L. Lewis, the Stalinists cover up his treacherous conduct.

Nor is there an ounce of proletarian consciousness in the Stalinist propaganda against the bill. All their activities are centered in the American Peace Mobilization, studded with sentimental preachers and college boys.

The A.P.M. program differs in nothing essential (except the call for "friendship with the Soviet Union"—i. e., a pact along the lines of the Stalin-Hitler agreement) from the "isolationist" clap-trap of Norman Thomas. Not a breath of internationalist class-struggle is there in it.

Let us, then, record the truth: great though the opposition is to the War Powers Bill, it has no leadership, its opposition, to this or anything else, will avail little.

The building of the Socialist Workers Party and the winning of the trade unions to a class-struggle leadership, these are the first steps on the road to peace and freedom.

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

Last week's explosion in Rumania mirrors the state of affairs into which capitalist society is so swiftly descending. Total war has led in Rumania to almost total anarchy. In that country we get a glimpse of what lies not very far below the surface in the other warring nations where the external controls are still held by the governments in power.

Insofar as the internal conflict in Rumania can be said to have a comprehensible pattern, it would appear to be a conflict between rival claimants to Hitler's favor.

In essence, however, the war stirred the uneasy brew of Rumanian social and political relations and has brought to the surface the foul and scummy matter now forming a scabby crust on the body politic. The peasants, the workers, the Jews of Rumania, are at the mercy of predatory animals in power or in search of it.

It is not a new phenomenon. We saw it before in Italy, in Germany, and in Spain, where the Fascist gangs took over the power on behalf of a diseased and failing capitalist class no longer able to wield the power for itself. Nor were these the first instances. Modern capitalist society had a glimpse of its future evolution as far back as the days of Louis Napoleon in France ninety years ago, when the criminal dregs of the country—organized into the "Society of December the Tenth"—were elevated to the seats of power.

Capitalist "order" is based in all cases ultimately upon the

rule of naked force. When this force can no longer be wielded in an "orderly" manner (army, courts, police) it is transmitted to the "disorderly" tools of the regime (Fascist gangs, vigilantes, the Iron Guard). The elements in particular countries or situations can vary. All the links cannot always be clearly followed—as is certainly the case in Rumania now—but the identical essence is there. Declining capitalist society is extruding the vile sores of its fatal disease.

It is interesting, therefore, to add the footnote that this was the regime fostered and nourished and held up for twenty years by French "democracy." Rumania was the keystone in the French imperialist system of alliances and ententes in Central Europe. The Rumanian army was armed and equipped by the French. The Rumanian regime was fed and supported by French money. In those dim days that ended only a little more than a year ago, Rumania was the firm friend and ally of "democratic" France, its obedient minion at Geneva, its faithful retainer at all the conference tables of that forgotten era.

What we see in Rumania today is the spawn of twentieth century "democratic" capitalism. In the Rumanian mirror we see what awaits the whole world unless the workers lead the peoples out of these dark depths into the new horizon of a new kind of order, a socialist order.

The Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Jim Crow Air Pilots

One section of Public Law No. 18 of the last Congress, adopted almost two years ago, directed the War Department to train Negro air pilots. The War Department, undoubtedly with a wink of the eye from the White House, ignored this section of the bill completely.

Last week, however, it announced that qualified Negroes would be accepted into the Army Air Corps with the formation of a squadron that will begin training this month.

This announcement has been a long time coming, and it undoubtedly would have been longer if it hadn't been that a long series of Negro protests developed. Then Yancey Williams, engineering student at Howard University, filed suit in the United States District Court, against the Secretary of War and four major-generals, for their rejection of his application to enlist in the Air Corps. Only then did the War Department move.

But anyone who concludes from this that the generals in the Army or the bureaucrats in Washington have in any way changed their basic policies toward the Negro people, because of a little law suit, is quite wrong.

For the bone that has been thrown the Negro people to shut them up is Jim Crow through and through.

The new unit, a pursuit squadron, which will receive its flying instruction at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, is for colored only, and will be the only unit for colored. This means that the policy of segregation, which has been praised as "satisfactory" by Roosevelt, remains untouched.

Creation of the new unit, said Undersecretary of War Patterson, "is in keeping with a policy of including colored persons in every branch of the Army."

To which Marjorie McKenzie, Pittsburgh Courier columnist, has aptly replied:

"According to our interpretation, this is in line with a policy of excluding colored persons from every branch of the Army, except a few Jim Crow set-ups..."

There isn't much to the bone. When the squadron is finally organized it will include only 33 pilots and 27 planes, with a ground force of about 400 enlisted men.

Immediately after the plan was announced, the National Airmen's Association, made up of Negro flyers throughout the country, passed a strong resolution condemning the plan and reaffirming its determination to win complete equality in the Air Corps. "Both the army and navy have stressed tradition in arguing against the abolition of segregated units," said C. R. Coffey, national president. "In the air corps there is no tradition, either favorable or unfavorable to complete racial integration. If we permit the establishment of a Negro unit, it will be establishing a precedent which will be hard to break down. We'd rather be excluded than to be segregated..."

The whole incident is striking proof of our contention that regardless of what Congressional or legal action is taken or decision made, the officer clique, as long as they are in control of things, will disregard them or find some way of getting around them and maintaining their segregation-discrimination policies. The way out is to take that control away from them. That is why we call for trade union control of military training.

War Industries Jim Crow

The recent report by the National Urban League, the organization most closely in touch with statistics dealing with hiring and barring of Negroes from the war industries, shows that very little progress has been made in breaking down the discriminatory practices employed by the bosses and their employment managers.

According to the report, those employers who were questioned were "practically unanimous" in claiming that they barred Negroes not because they themselves personally were opposed to them, but because they were afraid that the white workers in their plants would resent it, and "it might lead to serious labor trouble, or at least sufficient ill will to interfere with efficient production."

In this way, the bosses who are guilty of Jim Crowing the Negro try to palm off the responsibility on the white workers—who were never consulted in a single case by the bosses about what they thought about hiring Negroes. Thus the bosses accomplish two things: they bar the Negro, and then they build up antagonism among the Negroes toward the white workers. "Divide and rule" is the motto of the bosses.

A sardonic British comment on the ballyhoo about the "heroic" General Wavell, who was in official command of the British troops operating against the Italians in Africa, is the following, which appeared in the NEW LEADER (London) December 28, 1940:

One day, a week or so ago, some tens of thousands of soldiers were battling fiercely in the desert to decide the mastery of Sidi Barani. In oppressive heat, a dust storm threatening, men fought in a bath of perspiration, while Hell blazed around them. When, in the end, the British recaptured the town, the whole Press in this country gave their applause—

in the proportion of about nine parts to General Wavell for every one part to the ranks.

It is interesting, therefore, to read that General Wavell spent one afternoon during the campaign at a race meeting at Cairo, where—we are told—he was enthusiastically cheered.

Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. The battle for Sidi Barani, we presume, was won on the racetrack of Cairo!

(P.S.—Cairo is about 400 miles from Sidi Barani.)

Duranty Hints Stalin's Move

The Communist Party Will Be 'Demoted' at the Forthcoming Conference

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Mr. Walter Duranty has returned to his old occupation of scooping the *Daily Worker*. His very first dispatch, dated Moscow, January 21, contains very important, even sensational news. He is able to announce to the world what the tasks of the Eighteenth Party Conference really are: The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is no longer to hold its former position in the country. It is being re-organized along new and different lines.

Duranty's cautious formulation reads: "There is a new, more flexible and more practicable conception of the position and duties of the Communist Party... in relation to the nation in general and the national effort in particular." (*N. Y. Times*, January 22, 1941).

The call for the Eighteenth Party Conference issued by Stalin on December 20 did not breathe a single word about re-organizing the party along new, less rigid and more practical lines "in relation to the nation in general and national effort in particular." This is the first inkling that such unprecedented and drastic measures were contemplated and even applied during the so-called pre-Conference period when only discussion is supposed in order. Yet, more than three weeks before the Conference itself convenes, Duranty was permitted to refer to it as an accomplished fact, as a "conception" already realized in life. Apparently the only thing left for the Eighteenth Party Conference scheduled for February 15 is to vote—unanimously, of course.

When the December 20th call for the Conference was released, we ventured the following prognosis: "The second point on the agenda, *The Organizational Question*, implies that there are shortcomings in the existing organizational set-up which obstruct the party's work in transport and in industry—and therefore the party must be most certainly 'renovated' organizationally." And we concluded: "A major surgical operation is now in progress." (*Socialist Appeal*, December 28, 1940). It is now possible to appraise Stalin's major operation much more accurately. It goes beyond a large-scale purge, so serviceable in the past, but manifestly not adequate in the existing conditions. Directly involved is a blow at the party's position in the country and its dominant role in economy ("the national effort").

DURANTY, AGENT OF STALIN'S GPU

One may anticipate at this point a possible objection that it is, after all, impermissible to attach so much importance to a single, and somewhat vague sentence in a dispatch by Duranty. It is not at all, however, a casual passage but a central point to which Duranty elaborately and carefully leads up. The entire stress in this dispatch is placed by Duranty on the profound, well-nigh incredible changes which have transformed beyond recognition and have vastly improved (of course!) of course!—every sphere of Soviet life since 1940—when, as Duranty acknowledges in passing, "condi-

tions were admittedly difficult." ("Admittedly"!!! Where admitted? When?)

"Russia has changed enormously in the last year," announces Duranty, and with an assumed air of discovery and astonishment adds, "I never thought that twelve months could make such a difference of atmosphere, tone, and fact." Then, after meticulously listing the reorganization of the army, navy, and air force, of industry, trade, transport, finance and education, he tops it all off with the reorganization of the party.

As for Duranty himself, his role was completely exposed several years ago during the infamous Moscow Trials. At that time, although no longer the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, he happened, as is well known, to be fortuitously present at each trial; and together with the Englishman, Pritt; the German, Feuchtwanger and all the other literary scavengers, Duranty crawled out of his skin to demonstrate that no assignment in the service of the GPU paymasters was too filthy for him. If Duranty is now in the Soviet Union, it is by order of his real employer in the Kremlin, and not of the *New York Times*, or the latter's news syndicate, the North American Newspaper Alliance. Duranty's job was and is to secure for the Kremlin favorable publicity in the American press, and to prepare public opinion for Soviet domestic developments. Whatever Duranty writes is passed by the censors because it is composed under GPU supervision and bears the GPU seal of approval.

But most important of all, supplementary data corroborating Duranty's scoop is available. The party has been constantly and ever more harshly criticized in the press for its shortcomings and failures in the general "reorganization" of the country, that is, in the fulfillment of the June 26 anti-labor laws, the turning of Soviet factories into virtual prisons, the introduction of child labor, the abolition of free education, the extension of the June 26 laws to the technical staff, etc.; the purge of the trade unions, of the Komsomols, of directors and engineers, of authors and dramatists, etc. etc. "The Soviet press," Duranty casually remarks, "is far more prodigal of complaints and criticisms than might be guessed from the messages of foreign correspondents." (He plausibly refrains from mentioning that with the departure of Gedye last summer the only foreign correspondents remaining in Moscow were the Nazis and the skeleton crews of the major news services; that only the dispatches of the T.A.S.S.—Stalin's official news agency—could be transmitted to America and the T.A.S.S., as may easily be guessed, refrains from broadcasting any complaints or criticism.)

Moreover, on December 26 the news was released by Moscow that a vital section of Soviet industry, namely, the defense industry had been placed under the supervision of the Army. A week ago came a TASS dispatch to the effect that special local committees would henceforth supervise industries producing consumer's goods. These local committees are "non-party" i. e. handpicked and controlled directly by the GPU itself. Thus the economic life of

the country is in effect no longer under the party's supervision.

WHY SHOULD STALIN WEAKEN HIS PARTY?

At first glance such a development seems not only unexpected but inexplicable. Why should Stalin who has ruled all these years in the name of the completely bureaucratized party seek to undermine what appears to be one of the basic and most indispensable props of his rule? Doesn't Stalin weaken himself by weakening the position of the party? The party embraces the most privileged sections of the bureaucracy. Isn't this likewise a blow at them? Doesn't this mean a split in the bureaucracy itself? And so forth and so on. The situation is indeed complex. A formal, schematic and therefore superficial approach cannot possibly provide a correct answer.

In 1924, comrade Trotsky wrote: "The vast practical importance of a correct theoretical orientation is most strikingly manifested in a period of acute social conflict, of rapid political shifts, of abrupt changes in the situation... It is in just such periods that all sorts of transitional, intermediate situations arise, as a matter of necessity, which upset the customary patterns and doubly require a sustained theoretical attention."

What we are now witnessing in the Soviet Union is precisely a transitional, intermediate combination of developments against the background of acute social conflict, rapid political shifts and abrupt changes in the situation. We define the Stalinist regime as Bonapartist, that is, a government which raises itself above a social system—in this case, a degenerated workers' state. This government, however, is not suspended in mid-air. At all times, a Bonapartist regime rests on a buttress, or axis which becomes more and more narrow as the contradictions between the political superstructure and the economic foundation grow more and more acute.

As the true axis of the regime constricts, power becomes personalized more and more openly; it becomes associated more and more with Stalin not as the unchallenged dictator of the party who rules behind the scenes but as the undisputed dictator of the State itself. The true axis of Stalin's regime today passes through the police, the bureaucratic tops, the newly constituted military officers' caste and the GPU.

THE PARTY IS NOW AN OBSTACLE TO STALIN

Even the formality of ruling through the party—which never was a monolithic bureaucratic entity but remains very heterogeneous—not only becomes cumbersome but actually turns into a grave obstacle to stability because of the very danger of a rift between its upper and the lower tiers, because of the very threat, especially in war-time conditions, that the Bonapartist rule may be challenged within the ranks of the party itself. But this does not mean that the party must be completely and immediately eliminated, far from it. This means that the party must be relegated to such a position as to render it incapable of directly challenging Stalin's power. Hence flows the constant need of applying preventive measures to guard precisely against such a contingency. Hitherto purges sufficed. Today a "reorganization" is required. This dangerous and by no means simple operation will not and cannot be effectively accomplished with a single stroke, but requires a series of well-calculated steps, well-timed, well-prepared—in point of assault as well as possible retreat—of which the first is the Eighteenth Party Conference.

Apparently only the lower ranks, the local party units are today being shorn of their dominant position, especially in relation to industry; the status of the tops will be left unimpaired for the time being. Should it prove, however, that both the tops and the lower ranks are affected by the "reorganization," this will mean that the crisis of the regime has reached a stage far more acute than the one estimated above. It will mean that the bureaucracy is so ravaged by the crisis and so hopelessly divided that the only possible means of stabilization lies in the open assumption of power by a single individual who rules as an absolute dictator by virtue of the control of the Army and the GPU alone.

We have, of course, assumed throughout that the party as a whole is so completely degenerated, so drained of all power of resistance as to render it incapable of waging a defensive battle in self-protection. The next few weeks will bring a verification.

January 25, 1940

London Workers Form Committees In Raid 'Shelters'

Reports of organized protests by the London workers, who are provided no other shelter from air raids except the subways, have been explained away by British apologists as purely Stalinist propaganda.

The following report demonstrates that there is a genuine organized movement by the workers who are compelled to use these makeshift shelters. It is republished from the December 28th NEW LEADER, organ of the pacifist Independent Labor Party. The I.L.P., once close to the Stalinists, has now adopted a rabidly anti-Stalinist attitude, refusing to collaborate with the Communist Party even where their two lines are identical. Its testimony in this instance is, therefore, an important verification of the strength of this movement of the London workers.

LONDON—An All-London Committee of Station and Shelter Committees has been formed at a conference attended by 79 delegates representing 30 stations and shelters.

The report of the provisional committee recalled the struggle the people had to wage against the authorities to win the opening of the stations as shelters.

In many places the people broke through cordons of police and L.P.T.B. officials to get in.

In many stations there were fights between the workers during the first few days. Now, instead of fighting each other, the workers and their families are united behind their committees.

A resolution was unanimously adopted demanding official recognition of the Station and Shelter Committees.

Delegates told how the authorities had attempted to appoint shelter marshals from above, but in many stations the committees had forced the acceptance of marshals selected by the committees.

At Elephant and Castle, the Station Committee had declared "no confidence" in the local A.R.P. authority and had decided that the marshals should take instructions from the committee.

The conference opposed any policy which would result in the people being turned out of the tubes. It demanded that tickets should be issued and bunks put up under the supervision of the committees.

At some stations attempts had been made to turn people out under the pretext of "clearing the passages and stairs," but this has been resisted EN MASSE by the shelterers.

The resolution demanded the building of bomb-proof shelters for all as the only means of relieving congestion in the tubes, the stopping of all admission charges by the L.P.T.B., adequate sanitary equipment, the staffing of F.A.P.'s from 4 p.m. to 7 a.m., special sick bays for T.B. and other infectious cases, free inoculation, and free or cheap milk for children and expectant mothers.

A recommendation was made that each Station Committee should invite the workers employed by the L.P.T.B. to appoint a representative.

A deputation is being sent from the conference to Mr. Herbert Morrison to present its demands.

Green Does It Better

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States is a notoriously reactionary institution. Nevertheless, its Committee on Manufacture has just submitted for concurrence to members of the chamber a recommendation that the businessmen's organization strongly oppose all attempts at anti-strike legislation.

Before the reader rubs his eyes and concludes that Big Business has become senile and gone liberal, it is well to examine the text of the recommendation. Here are its arguments against such legislation.

1. "The chamber believes that anti-strike laws will prove ineffective..."

2. The best results will "be served by voluntary cooperation." "To this end the chamber enlists the support of its member organizations in urging all employers to develop plans with their employees designed to promote the amicable and prompt adjustment of labor disputes which may arise..."

3. "According to recent estimate, such voluntary methods will probably prove effective in 99 per cent of the defense industries."

In a word, the Chamber of Commerce thinks that William Green and his kind make better policemen than those that the state could provide.

They remember the last war, when President Wilson's "Work or Fight" edict failed to keep the workers from demanding their rights. Far more efficacious was Samuel Gompers' "voluntary" method.

But we'll wager that the Chamber of Commerce will change its mind and come out for anti-strike legislation. Bill Green isn't Samuel Gompers, and the trade union movement today isn't the AFL of 1918. The gigantic industrial unions of today did not exist then.

The employers prefer to do it the "nice way." But when that won't work, you'll see their teeth!

Minister of Labor Ernest Bevin of Great Britain declared "President Roosevelt's great idea of paying for goods by goods will not only help win the war but will take us out of the hands of the speculators at the end of the war." How will it be done after the war if it can't be done now?

A Typical British Colony

(The following article on conditions in the British colony of Northern Rhodesia was written at the beginning of December, when George Padmore learned that a Royal Commission report on the colony was not being permitted to see the light of day. Comrade Padmore, a native of the West Indies, is in England.)

By GEORGE PADMORE

Last April a strike took place among the miners in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. It resulted in the killing of 29 natives and the wounding of 73. This was the second labor disturbance to occur in that colony within recent years. In 1935, the blacks were shot down like dogs for daring to protest against increased poll tax without a corresponding increase in wages. This time they were given bullets for demanding higher wages to meet the rise in the cost of living, due to the war.

There are about 27,000 African miners and a few hundred Europeans. The whites come from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. They alone enjoy the right of collective bargaining. Blacks are rigidly excluded from their Trade Union. This is in keeping with the policy of the industrial Color-bar—widespread in Southern Africa.

It was the white workers who took the initiative in demanding more pay. At the time they were receiving between £10 and £70 per month, including provision of a house free of charge and other amenities. Being white and organized, the mining companies immediately granted their demands. For it is the policy of Colonial Administrations to avoid as much as possible conflicts between Europeans—workers and capitalists, so as to maintain white prestige among colored populations. Without the closest co-operation between European—officials, employers and employees—the Color-bar system could not function.

The officials and politicians make laws which obstruct natives

from organizing, while the white workers close the doors of their organizations against their black brothers.

It is as easy for a Negro to enter the South African and Southern Rhodesian Labor Parties as for a few Jews to join the Nazi hierarchy.

In other words, the Color-bar is a tacit United-Front among the whites to dominate the blacks.

This process enables the capitalists to exploit cheap, unorganized labor, and out of their super-profits bribe and corrupt the white colonial workers with high wages.

BETRAYING SOCIALISM

The great tragedy is that these European workers, many of them former British Trade Unionists, have done more to discredit Socialism and the Brotherhood of Man among the colonial peoples than all the ravings of Hitler and his Fascist tribesmen. In this respect they show less comradeship to the natives than the missionaries. And nobody could accuse me of being a missionary's disciple. But it is necessary to speak the truth even if it hurts.

To these European workers the slogan, "Workers of the World Unite!" means nothing, but one day these chauvinists will realize that "labor with the white skin cannot emancipate itself while labor in a black skin is branded."

Now to the role of the black workers in connection with the strike. As soon as they heard that the white workers had got an increase on their handsome wages, they too appealed for similar treatment. The average African wage was about 22s per month of 30 working days. Many received only 12s per month, as the rates vary according to whether they work underground or above.

Unlike the whites, the blacks live in compounds, and, since they are not allowed to bring their families with them, the companies supply rations at the following weekly rates: 14lb. of mealie, 28oz. dry beans, 12oz. cooking nuts, 1lb. rice, 1lb. vegetables, 1lb. fruit, 4lb. meat, 14lb. drip-

ping, 14lb. salt, 7 pints cocoa, 42ozs. bread.

The natives, who expressed great dissatisfaction with the quantity and quality of the food, asked for a minimum of 5s. per day and wished to feed themselves. They were told that the matter would have to be referred to the directors of the companies which own the mines—Roan Antelope, Ltd.; Rhokana Corporation; and the Mufullira Copper Mines; with headquarters in the City of London. After several days the local management told the men that their demands were exorbitant and could not be granted!

The Strike Committee then made the alternative offer to withdraw their demands if the companies would sell their copper to the British Imperial Government at pre-war rates. But even this gesture was rejected. The directors evidently thought the Negroes were going crazy. What? War without profits? Who ever heard of such a thing? Only "backward" Africans could be so naive!

On the companies' rejection of this offer the blacks asked to be paid and allowed to go home. That the companies refused to permit and began to organize blacklegs to break the strike.

These and other provocative means led to clashes between the strikers and strike-breakers. Finally, local police and troops from Southern Rhodesia were called in to restore "law and order." Beaten into submission at the point of the bayonet, the natives were forced back into the mines after suffering heavy casualties.

The government, having discharged its obligations to Big Business, resorted to the traditional and time-honored custom of face-saving. Mr. MacDonald, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, faced with criticism in the House of Commons, appointed a Commission to investigate.

Despite efforts to whitewash the crimes of British Imperialism, the Commissioners' report makes such shocking disclosures that the Colonial Office is striving to sup-

press it, as it did the West Indies Royal Commission's document early this year.

Let Lord Lloyd sit on the report. The time will come when the common people, sick to death of capitalists and the bloody wars, will force not only the Hitlers, the Mussolinis and Laval, but the British old-schoolie fraternity to give account of their crimes.

The colonial peoples have long had the illusion that Commissions—Royal or otherwise—are going to improve their lot. For those who claim to be the trustees of the subject races of the Empire are themselves interested in perpetuating exploitation. For example, Lord Lloyd and Mr. Amery are shareholders in Rhodesian Railway companies and African mines!

HUGE PROFITS

In the meantime, however, the colonial slave-drivers are reaping vast profits. The latest reports just announced show the following increases over the previous year and the current dividend paid.

	Profit	Dividend
Antelope	£1,865,643	20
Rhokana	£2,726,668	40
Mufullira	£1,761,002	11½

These Imperialists continue to fatten upon the flesh and blood of hundreds of millions of colored slaves in India, Africa and the West Indies. Theirs is truly a life of blood and tears and toil and sweat.

Just think of it! Millions of human beings toiling day and night, year in and year out, on a bowl of rice or mealie in order that a handful of whites may enjoy a parasitic life of luxury and ease!

And these plutocrats have the impudence to say they are fighting for Democracy and to prevent Hitler from enslaving the natives! Hitler is too late. Cecil Rhodes did this long ago.

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Trotskyists Are Arrested In Britain

Protest Is Sent To Lord Halifax

Letter to Halifax Proves Our British Comrades Are Victims of Crude Frameup

A protest against the arrest of four members of the Fourth International in London was sent to the new British ambassador, Lord Halifax, by the Socialist Workers Party this week.

No direct word has been received from those arrested, or from their organization in Britain. The first word of their arrest was learned from a small item in the London *News Chronicle* of December 17, which has just arrived here.

The Socialist Workers Party's letter to Lord Halifax points out that the charge made against the four men is plainly a frameup.

Under the heading, "Members of Fourth International Put on Trial," the *News Chronicle* story reads:

"Four men, stated to be members of the Fourth International, were charged with conspiracy at Leeds Assizes yesterday.

"They were also charged, under the Defense Regulations, with 'doing an act likely to assist an enemy.'

"This referred to the alleged removal of medical cards and other stationery from the Ministry of Labour office in Sheffield to London so that men liable for military service might secure unlawful exemption.

"Two of the prisoners worked in an engineering factory, the third was a Ministry of Labour medical orderly, and the fourth was a crane driver.

"The hearing was adjourned till today."

A CRUDE LIE

In branding this story as an obvious lie, the Socialist Workers Party called upon Lord Halifax to provide it with the names of the arrested men, and to arrange that an attorney, to be designated by the Socialist Workers Party, shall confer directly with those imprisoned.

The letter of the S.W.P. to Lord Halifax stated:

"If these men are accurately identified as members of the British section of the Fourth International, it is plain to any politically literate person that they could not have sought 'unlawful exemption' from military service.

"Our British co-thinkers, like

ourselves, disdain to conceal our true views. They, like ourselves, are not pacifists, but Marxist revolutionists, who believe that only a Workers' Government can put an end to this war. They recognize the necessity of the revolutionists to go wherever the working class goes—to the army, as well as to the factory. Hence, although they struggle for workers' control of military training and accept no political responsibility for any other system of military training, they share the fate of their fellow-workers and go with them into the army.

"That is why the May, 1940, conference of the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the Fourth International, adopted a resolution on the war which declares that attempts to seek exemption from military service are incompatible with membership in the organization.

"These facts can readily be confirmed in Britain.

"The fact that our British co-thinkers have not communicated the news of these arrests to us makes us fear that the British authorities have made it impossible for them to communicate with their arrested comrades.

"We therefore call upon you to provide us with the names of the arrested men, their place of imprisonment, and to secure permission from the appropriate authorities that an attorney designated by us confer with the men and represent them in further judicial proceedings."

Harlan Miners Freed at Last

Al Benson, one of the four Harlan County union miners serving life on murder charges in the Evansville cases of 1931, was unconditionally pardoned Jan. 22 by Acting Governor Rodes K. Myers of Kentucky on the ground that he was innocent. Sentences of the other three—W. B. Jones, Chester Moore, and Jim Reynolds—were commuted to 21 years, making them eligible for immediate paroles.

Mr. Myers, who is Lieutenant-Governor, took this step under the authority which was his in the absence of Governor Keen Johnson, who had not yet returned from President Roosevelt's inauguration.

The order for Benson's release was carried to the penitentiary at LaGrange by Edward H. Weyler, secretary of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, and Herbert Mahler of New York, secretary of the Kentucky Miners Defense. They took Benson to Louisville, where he planned to wait until his family come from Harlan County to join him.

Word of the Acting Governor's action was telephoned to the Kentucky Miners Defense headquarters here by Mahler, who has worked unceasingly in behalf of the Evansville men ever since their arrest.

"The state parole board will meet next week," Mahler explained. "Meanwhile we will endeavor to meet the board's requirements so there will be no hitch in getting Jones, Moore, and Reynolds out of prison. The main requirement is that jobs be found for them."

Benson and the others were accused of conspiring to murder three deputized coal-company gunmen who were killed in the Evansville battle May 5, 1931. But the defense had presented a mass of new evidence to show that they were framed up by anti-union forces; that there was no conspiracy; that the battle was provoked when the "deputies" and others attacked a picket-line with ma-

Trotskyist Papers Before The Six-Page MILITANT



The Militant was born on Nov. 15, 1928 (reproduced at bottom of photograph) as the organ of the Left Opposition of the Communist Party. In 1933 the Left Opposition became the Communist League of America; in 1934 it united with the American Workers Party to establish the Workers Party, and the paper was named The New Militant. The fusion of the membership of the

Workers Party with the left wing of the Socialist Party brought forward the Socialist Appeal, which with this issue returns to the name of The Militant. Each change has recorded a new stage of growth of the revolutionary forces of the American working class! (See editorial, "Why The Militant", page 6 of this issue.)

The Militant Our Teacher In China

By LO SEN

On China's war fronts today, there are young militant revolutionists who will feel a thrill of pride and recognition when they see this newspaper once more under its old masthead, *The Militant*.

For it was in the days of the old Militant most especially that the young Chinese adherents of the Fourth International were aided by this paper in unifying their ideas and coming together to form the basis of the present-day organization in China.

Only a few of our Chinese comrades, naturally, could read English. This was not permitted to act as a definitive handicap, however. Material published in *The Militant*, including all the wealth that came from Trotsky's pen, was translated and issued in Chinese. It was read, digested, and explained at meetings.

In 1929, *The Militant's* first year, Trotsky's letters on the Chinese question were first published. His letters and articles on the Spanish revolution came in 1931, and then the long and illuminating series dealing with Germany in 1931 and 1932. These and the accompanying material provided by *The Militant's* editors exercised a profound influence upon the education of our Chinese cadres.

And in 1933, in the fateful weeks of the Stalinist capitulation in Germany and the victory of Hitlerism, *The Militant* carried across ten thousand miles the rallying spirit needed to help them overcome the effects of that terrible defeat.

Our Chinese comrades have always had a sound and profound concern with international events in the working class movement and *The Militant* helped educate this concern, direct it, enlighten it, in the days when our young Chinese organization was still trying to fight its way clear of the deadening effects of the revolutionary defeat in China of 1927.

Of course there is no essential difference, whether the name on

Democracy And Churchill's Ban On the "Daily Worker"

We characterize the British government's suppression of the *Daily Worker* as a blow aimed in reality at the entire working class, and we denounce the complicity of the British Labor Party leaders in the suppression as an act of treachery against the working class.

"But you come to these conclusions," someone may perhaps say, "through your theory of the class struggle. The rest of us, proceeding from the theory of democracy, have a right to conclude that this suppression may be justified if it preserves democracy."

Let us see! We ourselves do not for a moment leave the solid ground of the class struggle. It is child's play to demonstrate, however, that the suppression of the *Daily Worker* is incompatible with the theory of democracy.

Let us begin by quoting the arguments given by Herbert Morrison, Minister of Home Security, in his speech in Parliament justifying the suppression. He begins with a hypocritical sigh: "Any step which has even the appearance of a departure from our traditional policy of allowing freedom of expression for minority opinions must be a matter for regret." The British ruling class has always been skilled at surrounding its most brutal acts of oppression with an aura of pained regret!

The justification for this "departure" has stated as follows by Morrison: "It was not for any isolated transgression that these publications were suspended but because they deliberately sought to foster a spirit of defeatism among the people and thereby were sorely trying the patience of the government which was doing its utmost to win the war."

"Last July the attention of the

not for the purpose of defending freedom and democracy but merely for the purpose of profiting from every extension of the war."

HITLER COULD HAVE SAID THE SAME THINGS!
We have quoted all this at length so that thoughtful workers can study it carefully. Observe that, apart from its tone of wistful regret and its formal obeisance to the abstraction "democracy," there is not one reason given by Morrison which might not have been employed by Hitler for the same purpose.

Through the entire explanation runs the single substantial thread: the paper was suppressed because it spoke against the war and the government. Suppression is justified of "those forces . . . which would consciously or unconsciously place impediments in the way of our war effort." In other words, any systematic criticism of the government or its conduct of the war, whether or not it is made with defeatist intent, should, the government contends, be suppressed.

THE PRINCIPLES OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY
The British government's alibi plainly violated the avowed principles of bourgeois democracy.

Voltaire formulated most precisely the democratic concept which was the flaming banner of the capitalist class in its bloody conflicts with the feudal rulers.

Voltaire said:

"I abhor everything you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

For centuries, the bourgeois democrats pronounced this principle. At first, fighting for freedom against feudalism, they pronounced it sincerely. Since then they have observed it more in the breach than in the observance.

Finally, Supreme Court Justices Holmes and Brandeis, seeking a rational basis on which to accept Voltaire's principle and yet at the same time guarantee the continuation of the bourgeois state, limited Voltaire's doctrine as follows: "The government had no power to suppress any group or utterance unless the govern-

ment was in "clear and present danger" of being immediately destroyed by the group against whom measures of suppression are taken. Short of such an extreme and immediate blow at the existing state, in which the life of the state is clearly in the balance, the government cannot abridge the rights of free speech and press of any group. Otherwise democracy cannot be said to exist. Such in brief, is the famous Holmes-Brandeis "clear and present danger" doctrine.

BY THESE PRINCIPLES THE BRITISH ACTION IS DAMNED

Within the framework of the bourgeois democratic principles laid down by Voltaire, Holmes and Brandeis, can the "democratic" British government justify the suppression of the *Daily Worker*? Obviously not. The small Communist party of Great Britain not only constitutes no "clear and present danger" to the British state, it is scarcely even a potential menace.

This act illumines the fact that British capitalism can no longer afford the luxury of "democracy." It does not fear the feeble British Communist party, or the aggregation of parsons, students, professors and petty-bourgeois pacifists

who made up the bulk of the Stalinist Peoples Convention recently held in London. What it fears is the British working class.

The *Daily Worker* was banned, not because it was a "clear and present danger," but precisely because the government struck at the weakest link in the working class. The Stalinists, smeared by the Stalin-Hitler pact, could not muster great mass support in defense of the *Daily Worker*. Therefore the government could chance this suppression with relative safety—and thereby establish a precedent for proceeding likewise in the coming months against other sections of the labor movement which it would hesitate to strike at without first creating the precedent of the *Daily Worker*.

The suppression of the *Daily Worker* is symptomatic not of the "temporary" crisis of war, but of the permanent crisis of a whole social system in its death agony. The British and American "democrats" are hurling death-blows at their own state-form, long before Hitler can get within reaching distance.

That is why the struggle of the working class for freedom has nothing in common with the Roosevelt-Churchill war for "democracy."

Notes From Latin America

CUBA:—Some time ago we reported the steps taken by the forces of the Fourth International of Cuba to transform their propaganda groups into a fighting party of the revolutionary masses. As a result of these steps, according to the latest information we have received, new contacts were established in many parts of the country where there had never been any before; among these is a new branch in one of the most important railway centers of the island. Serious efforts are also being made to stabilize the issuance of the paper, "Cuba Obrera".

BOLIVIA:—The Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the Fourth International, informs us that it now has over 100 members, and a particularly important branch, with a large following, in the mining region of Potosi. This mining branch is now trying to establish others in the mining territory. Several students' organizations, formerly quite conservative, now play under new leadership a progressive role in Bolivia.

URUGUAY:—The Bolshevik-Leninist League was able not only to consolidate its forces, but to gain new valuable comrades. It publishes "La Battalla". The GOR, which Shachtman calls the "Uruguayan Section", was originally composed of two persons (M. and L.), like Shachtman, deserted the ranks of the Fourth International; but, the so-called GOR has now been reduced to one person, M. L. having retired to private life.

The Latin-American forces of the F.I. are making a special effort to give wide circulation to the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the War. The Grupo Obrero Revolucionario of Argentina publishes this Manifesto in a pamphlet splendidly set up. The comrades of the Liga Obrera Socialista have published the manifesto in a special issue of the paper "Inicial," issued in 6000 copies. In Mexico as well a pamphlet containing the Manifesto is being prepared. Comrade Q. of Argentina has just arranged for the publication of two pamphlets by Trotsky which will contain some of his writings dealing with the problems of building the F.I. and the war question.

The reaction of some of the Latin-American workers against the GPU assassination of Trotsky is indicated by the following facts: The Fifteenth Congress of the street car workers of Buenos Aires, upon motion of Garcia Fuentes, rose for a minute of silent homage to the martyred revolutionary and expressed their indignation against Stalinism. The wood workers' union and allied trades also protested in resolutions against the assassination, overruling the objections of the Stalinite agents in the union.

"CONTINENTAL DEFENDERS"

In this period when we hear so much about the establishment of American armed angels for the "defense of democracy" on the American continents, it is worth while mentioning a few instances of the behavior of these angels in those places where they have been able to enforce their authority, namely in Porto Rico and Cuba. These "defenders of continental democracy" have reached such a point of brutality that the native population of Porto Rico, as a means of self-defense and in indignant protest, put pressure on the owners of public places to prohibit the admittance of men in U. S. army uniform. Three American Navy men, stationed at the Guantamano Station killed a Cuban native, as a result of which the whole population became so indignant that, for fear of riots against these "saviors" and "defenders," the authorities were forced to close even the local post office.

The "old deal" and "New Deal" of Wall Street are maintaining and keeping Porto Rico oppressed and suppressed as a U. S. colony; anyone who dares to fight for the national liberation of this island finds his place in the penitentiaries of the U. S. In recent times, and precisely under the administration of the New Deal "good neighbor" policy, quite a few of the nationalist leaders of Porto Rico, such as Albizu Campos, Soto Velez, Corretjar, etc., have been thrown into the jails of the U. S. for the "crime" of having fought for the liberation of their country from Wall Street domination. A good picture of the state of terror imposed by these "guardians" of "democracy" and "national respect" is found in the following case, which was reported in Bulletin No. 5, published by the Cuban Committee for the liberty of Porto Rican Patriots: Francisco Lopez Quinones, editor of the weekly *Pro Republica*, was sentenced to a year in jail for "insulting" Franklin Delano Roosevelt publicly.

Senator Smoots of New Jersey, who feels so indignant about aggression against "small" nations that he is willing to send American troops to Europe, introduced a resolution in the U. S. Senate asking the annexation of Cuba as a state of the union.

General Jorge Ubico, so-called President of Guatemala, has executed 13 conspirators who attempted to overthrow him. This member of Mr. Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" of the "new world" rules that little country as a feudal lord. Stalin and Hitler can learn from him when it comes to the suppression and oppression of any opposition group; anyone who dares to express a view against him simply disappears without trace or trial, executed behind closed doors in strict secrecy.

1200 Detroit Girls Win Neisner Strike

DETROIT, Jan. 26—1200 fighting girl strikers, employed in the 34 five-and-dime stores of Neisner Bros. here, today won the first union contract ever secured from a chain store outfit in Michigan.

After weeks of picketing in sub-zero weather and in blinding snow-storms, the girl strikers, members of the United Retail and Wholesale Employees union, CIO, forced the bosses to terms. The contract calls for a \$3 a week raise, a 48 hour week, union recognition, time and a half for over-time, seniority, paid vacations, six paid sick-leave days a year, and seven paid holidays yearly.

Before the strike, the girl clerks had been paid \$12 for a 54 hour week.

The agreement was ratified at a mass meeting of the strikers today.

The strike received the support of the entire organized labor movement in this area. Thousands of workers joined the picket lines in sympathy with the strikers.

Apart from the sizable sums which almost every local union donated to the strike, a unique feature of the strike was that many union locals "adopted" individual strikers and maintained them with regular weekly sums during the strike.

Although the strikers were very youthful, averaging between 16 to 20 years of age, they handled themselves like union veterans. This victory gives a boost to the organization of all the store clerks in this vicinity, estimated at over 100,000.

Babcock-Wilcox Strike Is Won, Get Wage Raise

BAYONNE, N. J., Jan. 26.—Following an agreement reached between union and company officials yesterday in Washington a meeting of the 150 striking workers of the Babcock-Wilcox Co. today ratified the terms of a new contract granting wage increase and improved working conditions.

The strike was called by Local 439, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, CIO, on January 3, after the company which has a virtual monopoly on the manufacture of boilers for the U. S. Navy, had refused all major demands.

The settlement included an increase of five cents an hour, raising the minimum pay from 55 cents to 60 cents hourly.

Original demands of the union were for a 10 cents minimum increase, paid vacations and 8 paid holidays yearly. The agreement did not include the latter two demands, however. The company agrees to take up these questions with the union in July.

Also included in the contract is the 40 hour week, with time and a half for over-time and for Saturdays and Sundays.

The strikers kept the plant shut completely with mass picket lines on a 24-hour a day vigil. The strike was well supported by the local unions, including several AFL locals.

The Record of the War Labor Board of 1918

The Price That Labor Paid Even After the War For Gompers' Support of the War

By MICHAEL CORT

When the workers were dragged into the carnage of 1917-18, they were promised many things by the bosses. In return for their help in "making the world safe for Democracy," in return for working long hours at little pay or crossing the ocean to kill the German workers, they were to receive from the bosses a land fit for heroes to live in. When the war ended, the bosses promised, Democracy was to bear its full fruit. It did.

Upon the signing of the armistice a great cry went up from labor for the dissolution of the National War Labor Board. The bosses refused this demand, however, for the ending of the Board would have technically ended the "no strike" pact between Wilson and AFL President Gompers. The boss strategy was to prolong anti-labor war measures into peacetime. For the next year and a half the NWLB continued to act as a strike-breaking agency in the name of "national emergency" despite the coming of peace. The only concession made by the bosses came in December, 1919 when the Board declared that it would only accept cases submitted by both parties to any dispute. However, the Board still kept in force all its wartime decisions. Not until June 25, 1920 did the Board adjourn subject to the President's call. On August 12, 1920 the bosses finally allowed the Board to dissolve.

The bosses were careful not to let the Board die until anti-strike legislation was well on its way through the Congressional mill. The AFL leadership, which had been the staunchest supporters and defenders of the repressive machinery of the NWLB during the war, was about to reap what it had sown.

The last six months of 1919 saw a rapid succession of strikes as the workers attempted to collect on the bosses' wartime promises. The most notable struggles were conducted by the railroad workers in California, the steel and mine workers in Pennsylvania, the firemen in Chicago and the police in Boston.

Gompers-Wilson Honeymoon Ends

Gompers discovered that the right to strike which he had voluntarily surrendered to the bosses in 1917, was not being returned to him in 1920. All the "patriots" who had wined and dined and toasted him for three long years suddenly turned against him. The five industrialists on the NWLB, with whom Gompers had enjoyed such unanimity of purpose during the war, led a nation-wide campaign for repressive labor legislation. L. F. Loree, a member of the Board, stumped the country in behalf of a program which em-

braced the following planks: the enactment of anti-picketing laws; organization of open-shop associations in every community; the suspension of credit in any community where a strike occurred and the placing of the entire population on a cash basis (i. e., no credit to strikers); the pledging of all business houses to boycott any publication which editorially supported "the forces of disorder."

Gompers found his wartime friends denouncing him as a menace second only to the "Huns." Moorfield Storey, American Bar Association president, embarked on a propaganda tour in which he said:

"Reason (no strikes) must apply now as during the war. This association will soon try to frame a law to make strikes a criminal offense. These men who control the labor organizations threaten us with calamities hardly second to those which happened through the acts of Germany."

Charles Evans Hughes, now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, also launched a speaking tour to impress the bosses with the necessity of extending wartime anti-labor measures into peacetime. In Pittsburgh on Nov. 15, 1919, he said:

"We need a permanent solution to these problems (strikes). War legislation is not permanent and war remedies merely attest a need which may survive them. The time is at hand when we must establish suitable machinery for industrial justice... to be followed by the refusal to allow the workers to hold a club over the head of the community."

The Fruit of Gompers' Policy

Yet Gompers continued to place trust in the "great humanitarian in the White House." In November, 1919 the United Mine Workers issued a strike call, only to have the bosses obtain a court injunction against them. The miners threatened to go through with the strike in spite of the injunction, whereupon Wilson's notorious Attorney General, Palmer, moved on the scene to crack down with the full weight of the Federal government. Palmer gave the workers a deadline to rescind the strike call, upon threat of use of troops. Gompers was "shocked." Plaintively he whined: "We believe that because of conditions prevailing in this country and by reason of the fact that the President of our beloved republic suffered from a severe stroke, the full measure of American labor's concept of freedom has not reached him."

There is little doubt that "labor's concept of freedom" did reach Wilson, for he immediately supported Palmer in the controversy. Gompers

and John L. Lewis then cancelled the strike call just before the government's deadline expired.

The bosses' first piece of anti-strike legislation was contained in the Cummins Railroad Bill, introduced in Congress about the time the NWLB was allowed to die. This bill, which provided for the return of the railroads to their private owners and guaranteed the stockholders 5½ percent return on their investment, included a clause that outlawed any strike on the railroads. In introducing the bill, Senator Albert Cummins said:

"...when we advance to the point where the Government undertakes to fix his (worker's) wages in event of a dispute, when we advance to the point where we authorize a Governmental tribunal to enter a decree with regard to the justice of a particular matter, there is no longer room for a strike."

Gompers Offers Anti-Strike Services

Gompers took the stump against this bill. He campaigned not so much as champion of labor's right to strike, but rather as a "reasonable man" pointing out to the bosses the best method of preventing strikes. In a speech before the National Lecturers Association in Washington, D. C., he said:

"...the aim of the American workers is to continue work without interruption except as rest and recuperation may be necessary. Thus far we have done wonderfully well. Thus far the good influences of the representative men and women in the labor movement... have been effective, but once take away the voluntary influence which... we exert... and you have taken away every instrument which we have been able to employ in order to gain the good will and voluntary continued service of the workers of America."

In spite of Gompers' plea that he would be a better strike-breaker than the government, the bosses rallied to the Cummins bill and it passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority. The bill experienced difficulties in the House, however, and after several months a compromise bill was passed which did not contain the anti-strike clause. And what was substituted? Why an arbitration board, of course; a board composed of ten members, five appointed by the bosses and five by labor. If this board failed to agree, there was an appeal board of five appointed by the President. Shades of 1917—By now the pattern was familiar to the workers. Gompers protested, but it was the parent disowning the child. The Frankenstein was largely of his own creation.

Not the least of the crimes committed by the

AFL leaders during the war had been their complete refusal to defend the interests of the soldiers. Gompers made no move to improve conditions of the workers within the army. This criminal negligence returned to plague the AFL when the soldiers were demobilized. The end of war production had plunged the country into a depression, and the demobilized soldiers glutted the labor market. These returning men were disillusioned, unorganized, hungry and embittered. They needed jobs and they needed them quick, and to get them many of them scabbed. Mob violence against union and workingclass political parties found no little support among these returning soldiers. The labor movement had done nothing for the soldiers during the war and the soldiers, therefore, felt no ties of loyalty to organized labor.

Will It Happen Again?

This, then, is the history of the National War Labor Board which served the bosses so well during the last imperialist conflict. And what of today? The voices have changed but the tune is the same. Green, Hillman, Murray, are the "reasonable men," the "patriots" in place of Gompers. The stage is set for another NWLB.

And yet, there is a difference. Capitalism is 21 years older today and its death paroxysms are more violent. Starvation in a land of plenty spawned after 1933 the great industrial unions which did not exist in 1918, and these unions have taught the workers how to fight.

Green, Hillman, Murray, will certainly try to do what Gompers did. But they do not and cannot control the labor movement of today as Gompers controlled the AFL of 1918. Then the trade unions were primarily craft organizations of the aristocrats of labor. Today the great industrial unions of the masses are predominant. Symbolic of the new situation is the workers' organization in the key war industry—the United Auto Workers. Desperately as they have tried, Murray and John L. Lewis have failed to curb this mettlesome steel! Still less can that be done by the bosses and their government.

That is why we await the future with confidence in the American workers. The terrible story of the hamstringing of the labor movement during the last war will not be repeated in this war. The obvious lessons of Gompers' betrayal in 1917-1918 will not be lost upon the workers of 1941.

(This is the final article in a series of four, telling the history of the National War Labor Board during the last war).

UAW Opens Chicago Drive

Two Hundred Thousand Chicago Members Is Slogan At First UAW Mass Meeting

CHICAGO, Jan. 26—With the slogan "200,000 Workers in the UAW-CIO in Chicago," the United Automobile Workers today held its first UAW mass meeting in the Windy City.

Over 800 workers, 20 percent of them Negroes, braved the rigors of a typical Great Lakes blizzard to attend the meeting at the Amalgamated Center, which was addressed by George Addes, international UAW secretary-treasurer, R. J. Thomas, international president, and Ed Hall, sub-regional director for the union.

Addes stated: "This country finds itself in what is termed a 'defense emergency.' We know from history and experience that certain interests regard it as a God-given opportunity to crack down on organized labor. We also know that in such a time the union must be more ready to protect its members and the public from these profiteers than in any other period."

"FULL PAY FOR DRAFTEES"

Addes pointed out that the General Motors corporation averages \$500,000 net profit every day, and that it realizes 50 cents clear profit on every \$1 paid out in wages to its workers. The speaker condemned the G.M. policy of offering only 80 hours pay to draftees, and declared that draftees should be paid the entire difference between their civilian pay and army pay by the company from a fund set up out of the huge profits made on war orders.

Above all, the speaker concluded, the workers must not give up their strongest weapon, their right to strike.

THOMAS LAYS DOWN

The speech of R. J. Thomas was the weakest note of the evening. His words reflected his complete capitulation to the pro-war forces and the Roosevelt administration. He urged the workers to join the union with the statement, "Union organization is a vital part of national defense," instead of pointing out that the workers need the union precisely because the employers are chiseling on the workers rights under the pretext of "national defense."

To show where the sentiments of the workers really stood on the war question, when Thomas stated, without any connection with the rest of his talk, "We want no involvement in the European conflict," he was greeted with a salvo of applause. When he followed this by "We must be prepared by falling in line with the defense program" he was met by stony silence.

In reference to the Ford union drive, Thomas was compelled to admit that his protest to the gov-

ernment on the awarding of war orders to the labor-law violator, Henry Ford, had secured "no results."

A stimulating report was given by Ed Hall, who announced the signing of the first three UAW contracts in the Chicago area. The Electro-Motive Corp., at La Grange, a G.M. subsidiary with 3000 workers, signed the first contract. At Clearing, an important industrial suburb with a notorious open-shop tradition, the first contract in its history was won at the plant of the A. C. Spark Plug Co. The third victory was at the Illinois Malleable Iron Co. in Chicago, which was unionized in seven weeks.

One of the most inspiring and rousing portions of the program was the singing of the "Ford Song" by a girl trio. The workers showed by their cheers and applause where they stand on the Ford drive.

The first and last verses of the song, which should be sung in every union hall in America are:

"In River Rouge the hammers ring, the wheels go round, the motors sing.

And white-haired Henry rules as King.

He counts his countless millions there, and through the smoky, filthy air, He watches the Fords go by, by, by, by."

"The workers there are getting wise, they won't be licked by Henry's spies. They know they've got to organize

To seize the opportunity and join in working unity. They won't let this chance go by, by, by, by."

If the Ford workers do this, the song ends: "On every highway reath the sun, they'll watch the Fords go by, by, by, by—WITH A UNION LABEL!"

Strike Deadline At Whelan Drug

Whelan's big New York drug store chain is to be struck at midnight Feb. 1, unless the company meet the demands of Local 1199 of the Retail Clerks (CIO).

Backed by an overwhelming strike vote of the membership, the union demands a 15 per cent wage scale, and a four-hour cut in the hours worked.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

JAMAICA NEGRO GROUP STARTS ON RIGHT TRACK

JAMAICA, New York City.—At an inaugural meeting of the Jamaica Council of the National Negro Congress, Jan. 10, a call was issued to all "sympathetic organizations" to help protest discrimination against Negroes in the "defense" program.

Stalinist peripheral organizations attended in the main, including the American Peace Congress, a Stalinist controlled union local, the Brooklyn section of the National Negro Congress, and several church groups. One of the local issues was a "cultural" exhibit on the Negro people displayed prominently in Grants' Department store on Jamaica Avenue. A delegation convinced the owner that the display should be removed. The theme of the display was the life of the colored people in the South. The management apparently had no idea there had been a Civil War in the United States which ended with legal emancipation of the Negro people. The delegation intends to continue its work and press the management to hire some Negroes. None of the department stores employ Negro sales girls although there is a large Negro population in Jamaica.

Other speakers at the inaugural meeting outlined how the Negroes found it impossible to obtain jobs in the war industries of Queens such as the Ford Instrument Company, subsidiary of The Sperry Gyroscope Co. Which manufactures bomb sights and other airplane instruments; the Brewster Aircraft Co.; the Fairchild Instrument Co.; the Republic Aircraft, etc. Brooklyn, of which Jamaica is a part, has a large share of war orders.

STALINISTS TRYING COMEBACK

It is obvious that the Stalinists, discredited by their wholehearted support of the Roosevelt Jim Crow administration in the days before the Hitler-Stalin pact, are now making an attempt to stage a comeback bid for the support of the Negro people.

The Stalinists at the meeting evaded discussion on a policy to fight discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces, for the Stalinists have no policy on this key problem. Not once did they advocate equal rights for those Negroes now in the Navy and Army. Not once did they say one word for those desiring to enter

AFL Food Workers Convention Plans Include Jim Crow!

The AFL Hotel & Restaurant Workers International is scheduled to hold its national convention from April 21 to 26 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The convention was originally planned for Toledo, but was moved because Toledo hotels were insufficiently unionized to merit the patronage of a union convention. But there's something also wrong with Cincinnati. You can see what's wrong by turning to page 18 in the current issue of "The Catering Industry Employee," organ of the international union, and reading the list and description of the hotels reserved for the delegates. If you read carefully, you will be hit by this:

MANSE HOTEL
"At 1004 Chapel Street (Colored delegates). They have available accommodations for 150 delegates," etc.

In plain English, this is the hotel assigned to Negro delegates, while white delegates are assigned to their choice of seven other hotels. In plainer English, the Negro delegates are to be Jim Crowed!

Food workers! Let your international office hear in no uncertain terms that the progressive food workers won't stand for Jim Crow practices in their union!

the armed forces who face the restrictions of the local draft boards. Not once did they utter a word about the exclusion of Negroes from the air corps, tank corps, signal corps. The bankruptcy of the Communist Party was proved by their silence on these sorely pressing problems.

As in the past, the Stalinists merely wish to use the Negro people as a pawn in furthering Stalin's foreign policy. Once they have gained their ends, they will let the Negroes down as they have done before.

The Jamaica Council of the Negro Congress is starting out along the right path. Its fight locally and nationally for jobs and the right of Negroes to enter all departments of the Army and Navy must be supported. All those who join in this struggle must unite ranks against the government's Jim Crow policy, and at the same time continue unrelenting opposition to the Stalinists who have betrayed this struggle before and will do so again.

Birth Control Is No Panacea, But It Deserves Labor's Aid Against Reaction

By ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW, M. D.

The achievements of the birth control movement in this country are scarcely secure. The movement in the past has been successful in almost all states. The first clinic was opened in 1923 in New York. Today there are reported to be 529 clinics in the United States. But birth control has been declared illegal in two states—Massachusetts and Connecticut—and can be undermined elsewhere as well.

A brief history of the legal status of birth control in this country may be helpful. The Comstock law of 1873 which prohibited the trade and circulation of obscene literature and articles of immoral use specifically included birth control and articles of obscene literature and articles in operation. 24 states passed similar laws. Eight states—New York, Ohio, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Nevada and Wyoming added provisions which exempt from prosecution by this law physicians using, applying or prescribing an instrument or article for the cure or prevention of disease. However, in other states the need for birth control information was so apparent everywhere and public opinion so much in its favor that the laws against it have not been enforced.

In several instances where arrests were made of lecturers on birth control (myself, for example) or authors of books dealing with sex problems the cases were quashed and some even won by the defendant.

DANGERS CONFRONTING BIRTH CONTROL ADVOCATES

But this was at the discretion of the courts which at that period chose thus to interpret the state or federal laws. At any time, however, the law may be enforced as it is today in Massachusetts and Connecticut, without any provision allowing physicians to prescribe birth control methods even for the protection of health (except in the above mentioned eight states). In 24 states where there is no law applicable to birth control, among which are Illinois, Michigan, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, the Federal Comstock bill can be utilized.

Many attempts to exclude birth control from the anti-obscenity law were made. In 1924 two senators were found progressive enough to introduce such a bill but it met with defeat. In 1934 a bill exempting physicians, hospitals and licensed clinics from the provisions of the Comstock law was heard by both Senate and House and actually passed by the Senate in the closing days of

the session, only to be hurriedly reconsidered and killed.

Massachusetts and Connecticut may well signify the beginning of a reactionary wave which may attempt to destroy progress made in this field all over the country.

CATHOLIC OPPOSITION AND ITS INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

One of the strongest opponents of birth control is the Catholic Church, which wields considerable influence in Massachusetts where 41% of the population is Catholic. In Holyoke, Mass., a lecture by Margaret Sanger was arranged to be held in the First Congregational Church. Catholic influence prevailed upon the church committee to withdraw permission to hold the meeting. Upon transference to the Holyoke Turnverein similar pressure was exerted and the hall broke its contract. The meeting was held, nevertheless, because the CIO Textile Workers offered their headquarters to the Birth Control Committee. It is very gratifying to note that a workers' organization displayed independence of action and an interest in birth control.

The strong trend in favor of birth control is evidenced by the fact that even the Catholic Church had to accept a compromise. While it vigorously opposes the scientific method accepted by physicians, it approves a form of birth control described in Dr. Latz's book "Rhythm." The physiological theory upon which this system is based has been proven false by qualified research work. It is obvious, however, that the Catholic church has been forced to abandon its austere opposition to all forms of birth control. Catholic women are demanding the right to birth control information.

The Ladies' Home Journal, in a poll in 1938 on birth control, reported 51% of Catholic women voting for it. 83% of them explained that they favor it because of limited family income. If 51%

of Catholic women in 1938 are in favor of birth control, usually inspired by the remark, "Oh! you are a Malthusian," I had long discussions with leading people, among them Clara Zetkin, on

that subject. To them birth control meant Malthusianism.

What is the main significance of birth control for the workers and their families? It provides for planned parenthood and spacing of their family, which permits the working woman to combine work and the joy of motherhood without exhausting her health or the well-being of her child. It makes possible a slightly better standard of living for the average family. The working woman has more leisure to develop politically and participate in labor organizations. The worker, not overburdened with family responsibilities and worries, can participate more fully in his union or party.

Birth control is by no means a panacea for the evils of capitalism, but does offer some respite to workers during the period of bondage under capitalism. Workers, and particularly politically developed workers, should therefore protect against the onslaught of reactionaries, whatever progress has been made toward permitting the spread of birth control information. Unions with health centers should provide for birth control clinics administered by efficient physicians. Birth control often serves as a means of introducing into working women's organizations the basic ideas of class struggle. I have recruited numbers of women to the cause of socialism by approaching them first with lectures on this problem.

No doubt under socialism there will be an increase of population, for the fear of insecurity will have disappeared. However, women will not agree to be merely child-bearing machines. The family will be limited for reasons of health or to provide more time for the attainment of education and culture. Under socialism, great strides will be made in the scientific research on this subject and the education and instruction of all on planned parenthood. There need be no fear that population will decrease for if, even under conditions today, parents still want children even though it means extra privation and suffering, how much more will that desire be manifested when society will have everything to offer children—health, education and the opportunity to develop into happy, useful people. What parent would ask for more?

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FIGHT WITH THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
3. Confiscation of all war profits—all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—Down with Jim Crowism.
7. An end to secret diplomacy.
8. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.

AT HOME:

For:

1. A job and decent living for every worker.
2. Thirty-thirty—\$30 weekly minimum wage—30 hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Why 'The Militant'

With this first edition of our enlarged paper, the banner on our masthead is changed from the *Socialist Appeal* to *THE MILITANT*.

This "new" name is, in reality, old and dear to us. It was the name of the first publication issued by our movement, almost thirteen years ago.

By returning to this name, we symbolize before the workers of America and the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world that our party proclaims today that program of uncompromising international class struggle which we inscribed on our banner from the first moment of our existence.

The Socialist Workers Party has been compelled by a reactionary federal law, the Voorhis Act, to discontinue its organizational affiliation with the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.

But by this banner, *THE MILITANT*, we make known to the revolutionary vanguard everywhere that we remain loyal to our common goal and principles.

Our original name was never more appropriate than now. "Militant" implies proletarian activists in the very midst of the class struggle. Our party is today made up of such proletarian activists, and every sign testifies to a new stage of the class struggle in America, of far greater intensity and significance than anything that the American working class has ever known.

Thirteen years ago the name of our paper seemed to many to be a misnomer. Our movement began its separate existence in 1928 as the Communist Left Opposition, defending our program of international socialist revolution against Stalin's reactionary doctrine of "socialism in one country." The question of "socialism in one country" seemed then, to most workers, even to most revolutionists, the height of abstraction. We appeared to be concerned with issues far removed from the fields of militant class combat.

The name which we chose thirteen years ago proved only too well justified. The "abstruse" issue over which we first unfurled our banner has determined the fate of the world during these momentous years.

The strangulation of the October revolution by Stalinism; the slaughter in the GPU execution chambers of the entire generation that made the October revolution; the revolutionary upsurge of the workers in Germany, Spain, France, China, smothered by the traitorous embrace of Stalinism; the parties of the Third International, once flourishing on the European continent and now ground into dust; Stalin's support, first of the "holy" war of the bourgeois "democracies" and, then, of the invasions of the Axis powers—all this has come to pass. Cain-Stalin has slaughtered our militants, not by the tens or hundreds, but by the tens of thousands.

Yet the counter-revolutionary services rendered by the Stalinist bureaucracy to the capitalist world

has not availed either Stalin or the capitalists. Through all the horrors of this epoch, our program has made its way. Stalin could murder Trotsky, but not the party of Trotskyism. Our party has grown, for only our program illumines what has happened and shows the road out of this epoch of the death agony of capitalism.

That is why we have survived and grown, while others who seemed far stronger thirteen years ago have disappeared. The Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 by the Lovestone leadership; for years the favorite slur of the Lovestoneites was that we were "Three generals without an army." When the Lovestone group first found itself outside the Communist Party, it could still call itself "Communist Party (Majority Group)." Now it has disappeared without a trace. The Socialist Party used to refer to us contemptuously as a "splinter group." It has since splintered unrecognizably, and both its right-splinter, the Social Democratic Federation, and its pacifist-splinter, Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, (now just split in twain again) are fading from the scene.

The working class political arena is clearing! The revolutionary worker is contested for by only two parties now: ours, and that of the Stalinists.

We welcome the combat. Unwavering in our course for thirteen years, we enter this struggle for the leadership of the American working class with boundless confidence in our final victory. Then shall come the gigantic struggle between proletarian and oppressor to determine the fate of mankind! As the herald of our future triumph, the triumph of the socialist future of mankind, we unfurl the banner of our first battles, *THE MILITANT*.

A Touchstone

Ask any man how he feels about the Churchill government's decision that workers may be forced to labor wherever the government so decrees, may not leave their places of employment, etc. Examine any man's answer to that question very carefully; for his answer tells you what he will do when similar anti-labor proposals are made in this country.

Examine, for instance, William Green's few words on this subject (reported in the *New York Times*, January 22). Green is quoted as saying:

"We cannot consider such a thing here because there is a different situation in this country. There is plenty of man-power available here and we have not yet reached the desperate state of Great Britain."

Green's words mean:

1. He is not against such forced labor in principle. He is for it in Britain because of its desperate state.
2. That "desperate state" is determined to exist on the say-so of Britain's rulers. In other words, Green is only for slave labor when the ruling class says it "needs" it.

So much for Green and the AFL leadership. And the CIO chieftains? Not a murmur out of them so far.

Yet it should be as plain as Philip Murray's brogue or John L. Lewis' paunch that this anti-labor move in Britain is the direct consequence of Roosevelt's "all-out" aid program. The powerful backing of Washington produces reactionary fruits everywhere. The forced labor decree and the suppression of the *Daily Worker* in London are the latest British examples. Washington's loan to Chiang-Kai-Shek has been followed by new blows against the Chinese labor movement. The Latin-American dictators in Roosevelt's "democratic bloc" are now more arrogant and cruel to the peoples they oppress than ever before.

We repeat: The British events are a touchstone. One's stand on those events indicate one's program for labor in this country. Trade unionists: find out where your officials stand on this key question.

McReynolds Retires

If Justice McReynolds had announced his retirement two years ago, great clamor would have shaken the land. Dire portents and prophecies would have flooded forth from Republican headquarters. The news and editorial columns of the press would have pealed forth like the trumpets of the Last Judgment. Usually strong, silent men in silk hats and cutaways would have halted perfect strangers on the corners of Wall and Nassau Streets to blubber on their shoulders, "This is the end, the very end."

Those were the days when the court-packing issue had the Sir Galahads of the press sharpening their editorial lances to tilt at the fire-breathing dragon of "Dictatorship," and "Bolshevism." The idea of a Roosevelt majority on the Supreme Court brought the flag on the Stock Exchange Building to half-mast.

Today the retirement of McReynolds and the fact that Roosevelt now commands an undisputed majority of 5-3 on the highest judicial body—soon to be 6-3—evokes not the slightest stirrings of wrath.

Why do the spokesmen of Wall Street remain silent?

Today there is a difference. The petty and artificial strife of yesterday has vanished. Today all capitalists are rallying around the flag, are merging their differences for the common good of their class. Today American imperialism girds for a life and death struggle with its imperialist rivals. And the Roosevelt of social reform, of the New Deal and the "radical" Brain Trust is already gathering cob-webs in the attic of ancient history. Wall Street knows its man.

Today if a stranger should accost any strong, silent man in silk hat and cutaway on the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets and cry, "McReynolds has quit!", he would be met with a cold stare and the words, "McReynolds? Never heard of the gentleman. Who's his broker?"

Teachers Union's Fight To Protect Its Members

All Unions Should Have Supported Its Struggle To Keep Its Membership Lists Away From the Rapp-Coudert Committee

One of the most dangerous anti-labor precedents created by judge-made law was established when the New York State Court of Appeals last week ordered the New York Teachers Union (Local 5) to hand over its membership lists to the red-baiting Rapp-Coudert Committee.

That committee, set up by the state legislature ostensibly to investigate subversive activity in the schools—actually its aim is to pave the way for slashing the school budget—had been balked previously by the union in numerous attempts to seize the union's membership lists. The Court of Appeals was acting on an appeal by the union from a contempt order of a lower court.

Perhaps the foulest aspect of this situation was the refusal of AFL officials to come to the aid of Local 5 in this important struggle.

Local 5's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers, adopted a perfunctory resolution supporting the local's contention that union membership lists are the property of the labor movement. But, while the decision of the Court of Appeals was still pending, the executive board of the Teachers Federation instituted proceedings to lift the charter of Local 5. The list of charges are a thinly-veiled attack on the "communism" of Local 5's leadership.

One charge, for example, blames the local for the fact that the ultra-reactionary leadership of the Central Trades & Labor Council suspended the local from membership!

These opening moves to lift the Local 5 charter, coming when they did, were a treacherous blow to the moral authority of the local in its fight to protect its membership lists.

COWARDS DESERT

A similar treacherous blow was dealt by the withdrawal from Local 5, in the midst of the fight with the Rapp-Coudert Committee, of a group of so-called progressives, including Norman Thomas Socialists, Lovestoneites and "Workers Party" elements.

Blinded by their vulgar anti-Stalinism, which cannot in practice be differentiated from the anti-Communism of the reactionary war-mongers, these pseudo-progressives deserted the union while it was under fire.

They, together with the right-wing group which calls itself the

admit that Local 544 was absolved on all the basic charges.

That victory was not won in court. The judge merely recorded, as it were, the victory already won by the Local 544 leadership when it succeeded in mobilizing the entire labor movement to support its fight to protect the union's membership lists and records.

In order to help other unions in similar struggles, the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council has published a huge edition of a pamphlet telling the whole story of the fight. It can be obtained by writing to the Council, at 257 Plymouth Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Just as 544's victory was won outside the courtroom, so Teachers Local 5 lost its battle outside the courtroom. The failure of Local 5 to secure widespread labor backing must be analysed by the Local 5 membership. Those treacherous elements who refused to defend Local 5 must be condemned as disloyal to their class. But after that, one must place due responsibility upon the Local 5 leadership for the false policies it pursued which made it impossible to secure widespread support.

PRICE OF FACTIONALISM

Arrogant, factional, utterly unscrupulous in the vicious methods it employed to destroy honest dissenters in the union, the Local 5 leadership has never itself operated in terms of loyalty to the broader interests of the labor movement.

Typical of its narrow factionalism is the very fact that not once has it referred to the inspiring example of Minneapolis Drivers Local 544, although that example is the most recent, and most directly similar, to that of the Teachers Union. The Minneapolis example could have been a powerful weapon in the campaign to line up AFL unions to support Local 5's fight. But Charles Hendley and the other Local 5 leaders preferred to give up that weapon, rather than admit that the militant and anti-Stalinist Minneapolis drivers union leaders had played such a progressive role.

Conscientious Objectors Cannot Stop Jim Crow

By ALBERT PARKER

When Ernest Calloway told a Chicago draft board last month that he wants exemption from military service because he is a conscientious objector against the Jim Crow treatment of the Negroes in the armed forces, he opened up a very important question for all those who are serious about the fight for equal rights in the Army.

That question is: Should other Negroes follow Calloway's example? Should they declare that they are against being trained how to fight, and refuse military training? Can such a course of action have a decisive effect on the shameful treatment of the Negro soldiers by the officer clique in charge of conscription?

There can be no doubt here, of course, of our attitude toward the attacks that the draft officials are going to make on Calloway. Already his local board has turned down his request for exemption, and although he is appealing their decision with the aid of the N.A.A.C.P., it is pretty certain that they will prosecute and attempt to jail him if he persists in his determination not to be drafted. When the draft officials and the army bureaucrats launch their attack against him, they will do it because he has opposed their draft and has given publicity to the Jim Crow regime in the Army. All workers must defend Calloway against such attacks even if they don't agree with Calloway's method.

But it is one thing to oppose Jim Crowism in the army and another thing to oppose it correctly and successfully.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH CALLOWAY'S METHOD

We are certain that actions such as Calloway's will not have any decisive effect on the fight for equal rights in the armed forces. It can't, because it leaves untouched the power of the officer caste to do exactly what it pleases. As long as the labor-hating, Negro-hating officers have the power to do what they want with the rank-and-file soldiers, there will be Jim Crowism in the

army. Not until their complete and all-powerful control over military training is taken from them can the fight for equal rights be won.

What is wrong with Calloway's method, even if it were followed by ten other men, or 1000, or 10,000, is that it does not touch this main problem at all. Whether Calloway is sent to jail or whether he will be set free will not in any way affect or diminish the powers of the officer caste. They'll still have the power to Jim Crow Negroes and treat them as second-class citizens.

The second major weakness in Calloway's method (which was conceived of and proposed by a Chicago organization known as "Conscientious Objectors Against Jim Crow," headed by St. Clair Drake, who is also executive secretary of the local branch of the Stalinist-controlled National Negro Congress) is that it does not take into consideration at all the need of the Negro people to learn the military arts.

This is a world of war and revolution today. Every important question is being decided by military means. The Negro people too will be able to solve their problems only by struggle against their armed and trained enemies. Whoever denies that the Negro people must master the other military arts is misleading and disarming the Negroes in the face

of their enemies. Whoever says that the Negro people in this country will win their freedom in any way other than by fighting for it is misleading and confusing the Negro people.

NEGROES MUST JOIN FIGHT FOR MILITARY TRAINING

It is correct and necessary to maintain our opposition to conscription by the boss caste, but it is useless to do so unless at the same time we present some other proposal which, while it will eliminate military Jim Crowism and anti-labor practices, will also provide for training the workers in the military arts.

Since the Calloway-Drake proposals ignore both the question of control of military training and the necessity for such training, they cannot be accepted as a program for Negro workers.

Since the Socialist Workers Party program for trade union control of military training has the answer to both these questions, it must be pushed by Negroes as the only real and practical solution of discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

To push this program requires not an arms-folded policy of individual abstention, which by itself can never win anything, but militant activity to mobilize the Negroes and the trade unions to struggle against the bosses for its realization.

Chicago Readers!

ALBERT GOLDMAN

has just returned from Mexico, where he represented Natalia Trotsky in establishing the guilt of the GPU murder-machine. His first public appearance on his return will be a speech on

"Proofs That Stalin Killed Trotsky"

TIME: Friday, February 7 8 p.m. PLACE: MIDLAND HOTEL 172 W. Adams St. Chicago, Ill.

The Split In The Socialist Party On Aid To Britain

By ART PREIS

A deep split in the ranks of the Socialist Party became public in connection with the appearance of Norman Thomas last week before the House committee hearings on the Lease-Lend bill.

Coincident with Thomas' testimony, a group of leading figures in the Socialist Party issued a statement to the press, repudiating Thomas' opinions on the bill and declaring that he did not represent the true sentiments of the majority of the Socialist Party members.

The press statement accompanied a petition to Representative Bloom, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, requesting that a spokesman of the petitioning group be afforded an opportunity to speak at the hearing in full support of the bill granting unlimited war powers to the president.

Thomas Loses His Chief Lieutenants

The extent of the cleavage in the Socialist Party and the strength of the opposition to the Thomas faction is indicated by the fact that the petition signers included Thomas' chief lieutenants. Among them were Jack Altman, former secretary of the New York local; Professor Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary; Frank Crosswaith, general organizer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Alfred Baker Lew's, former Massachusetts party secretary; Murray Gross, former chairman of the National Labor Committee of the Socialist Party; Lazar Becker, of the New York state committee; and Gus Tyler, former editor of the *Call*.

Those of us who were in the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1937 may be forgiven if we laugh in glee at the sight of this roster of denouncers of Thomas. For these were the gentlemen who upheld Thomas' right arm as he smote the left wing of the party in 1937. With their backing Thomas resorted to the desperate venture of expelling the left wing, without daring to wait for the verdict of an honestly-elected party convention. The interested reader—particularly any worker of revolutionary spirit who may have wandered by accident into the Socialist Party since 1937—should read the story of the 1937 split in the issues of the *Socialist Appeal* (now *The Militant*) of that period. He will find that we predicted the degeneration of the Socialist Party into a chauvinistic sect like the Social Democratic Federation, once the left wing was not there to prevent it. The left wing is now in the Socialist Workers Party.

Jack Altman, next to Thomas the most important figure in engineering the split in 1937, predicted in a press statement last week that the Norman Thomas group will be repudiated at the S. P. national committee meeting next month. Altman claimed—and the next issue of Thomas' *Call* has not denied it—that the two largest units of the party, Illinois and Wisconsin, support the Altman group.

Although his name was not attached to this statement, Daniel Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee, has already gone completely over to the pro-war Roosevelt camp. He is now a member of one of Roosevelt's "national defense" boards.

What the Split Is About

The Altman group has adopted a completely pro-war position, indistinguishable from that of the Roosevelt administration, whose policies it now accords full support.

The split in the Socialist Party ranks is not a fight between an anti-war proletarian wing and petty-bourgeois capitalists. It merely mirrors faithfully the differences that exist within the capitalist camp, the "isolationists" versus the interventionists. At no point does the conflict in the Socialist Party take on the aspect of a struggle between two opposing class tendencies.

The basis of Thomas' opposition to the Lease-Lend bill was identical with that of Hanford MacNider, former national commander of the American Legion, who spoke at the same session of the hearings as Thomas and represented that section of the Republican party and Wall Street who disagree with the administration only on the tactics to be pursued leading up to the war.

Thomas, like MacNider, based his principal objection to the bill as it now stands solely on the fact that it is "undemocratic" and gives the President too much individual power.

In the same breath that he condemned Churchill as "an imperialist to the core," Thomas declared that he was for aid to Britain and a British victory. Even in his opposition to the powers given Roosevelt in the bill, he hastened to make clear that he recognized the "excellence" of Roosevelt's "normal intentions."

It is true that Thomas qualified his support of aid to imperialist Britain by stating that he is for only such aid as will help "to repel the Nazi invasion" but will not assist Churchill in his plans for a "reconquest of Europe."

At what point aid to Britain ceases to be for the purpose of repulsing a Nazi invasion and become an aid to British imperialist ambitions, Thomas failed to make clear.

How little principled difference there is between the two Socialist Party factions is indicated by Thomas' recent endorsement of Mathew Woll's committee to aid Britain. The program and sponsors of this committee are completely pro-war and in entire accord with Roosevelt's foreign policies.

During a battle in the War, a soldier was beating a retreat to the rear as fast as his legs would carry him, when he was halted by an officer.

"Don't delay me," said the soldier, "I'm on my way."

"Don't you know who I am?" the officer replied, "I'm a general."

"Go on, you ain't no general."

"I certainly am," insisted the officer.

"Oh, my lord," exclaimed the soldier, as he took a good look at the officer. "You are. I knew I'd traveled back a long way, but I didn't think it was this far!"