

THE MILITANT

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267

FIVE (5) CENTS

POST OFFICE WANTS TO SUPPRESS US BECAUSE WE DEFEND LABOR'S RIGHTS

Carlo Tresca Assassinated

Believed To Be Political Murder

By Felix Morrow

For years the friends of Carlo Tresca, internationally famous Italian anti-fascist, had feared that his political enemies would assassinate him. He was urged to take precautions, and did so. But on Monday night, at 9:45 o'clock, as the 64-year old editor left his office, a killer put two bullets into him and Carlo died on the spot.

The crime was evidently well-planned and appears to have involved others beside the assassin.

Tresca's office — that of his weekly anti-fascist paper *Il Martello* — was in a building with two entrances on different streets, one at 96 Fifth Avenue and one at 2 W. 15th St. and he was in the habit of using either one.

The murderer could not have alone kept watch over both entrances. Tresca had scarcely left

The assassination of Carlo Tresca occurred as this issue of *The Militant* was being prepared for the press. Next week's issue will contain a number of appreciative articles on Carlo Tresca, the man and his work. — Ed.

cross over and become "democrats." One of the most recent cases of this kind was Generoso Pope, wealthy owner of two Italian-language dailies in New York, *Il Corriere* and *Il Progresso*.

Notorious as one of Mussolini's principal agents in this country, Pope sought protective coloration in 1941 as the United States moved toward war. Mayor LaGuardia obligingly named Pope as a member of the New York committee to arrange celebrations for "I Am an American Day." To this day Pope and his fascist associates are at large while lesser fry are interned as agents of Mussolini.

Tresca blasted this situation wide open, both in his press and speeches. *Il Martello* of May 14, 1941, for example, exposed the fraud of naming Pope on the New York committee and charged that a New York City police memorandum on fascist activities had been doctored to cut out all references to Generoso Pope.

"I know of at least five references to Pope in the memorandum that were taken out," wrote Tresca, and neither LaGuardia nor anyone else ever dared contradict him.

Tresca charged that Generoso Pope's two dailies were "the main source of fascist propaganda in the United States," and gave

(Continued on page 4)

CRDC Statement on Murder of Tresca

NEW YORK, Jan. 12.—The following telegram of condolences was today sent to Margaret de Silver, widow of Carlo Tresca, by James T. Farrell, noted novelist and chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, on which Carlo Tresca served as vice-chairman:

Dear Friend and Comrade: Words can but poorly express one's indignation on learning the news of the brutal murder of Carlo Tresca. In this hour, we wish to say to you, in grief and in an anger that will never cool, that our thoughts are with you. We who knew Carlo Tresca, as a friend, as a comrade, as a collaborator in struggles to defend civil liberties—we loved him. Now that he is no more, we live in a world that has been robbed of one of its noblest fighting spirits. We will never forget Carlo Tresca. To us, the spot where he was so ruthlessly destroyed will always be a shrine.

We mourn with you the loss of the martyred Carlo Tresca.

JAMES T. FARRELL,
Chairman.



CARLO TRESCA

by the 15th Street entrance and crossed to the north side of the street when the killer cut him down, ran to an automobile—evidently with the motor running—and the car was immediately gone westward on 15th Street. Found later, the car proved to be registered under a false name and address.

All this indicates careful planning, and by more than one individual. The overwhelming probability is that it was a political assassination.

WHO WERE HIS ENEMIES?

Who stood to gain by having Carlo Tresca out of the way? Several attempts or plans on his life in previous years he himself had attributed to Italian fascists, either Mussolini's direct agents or fascist gangs residing here, whom Tresca—both through his own *Il Martello* Group and through his general leadership of anti-fascists—had pursued relentlessly.

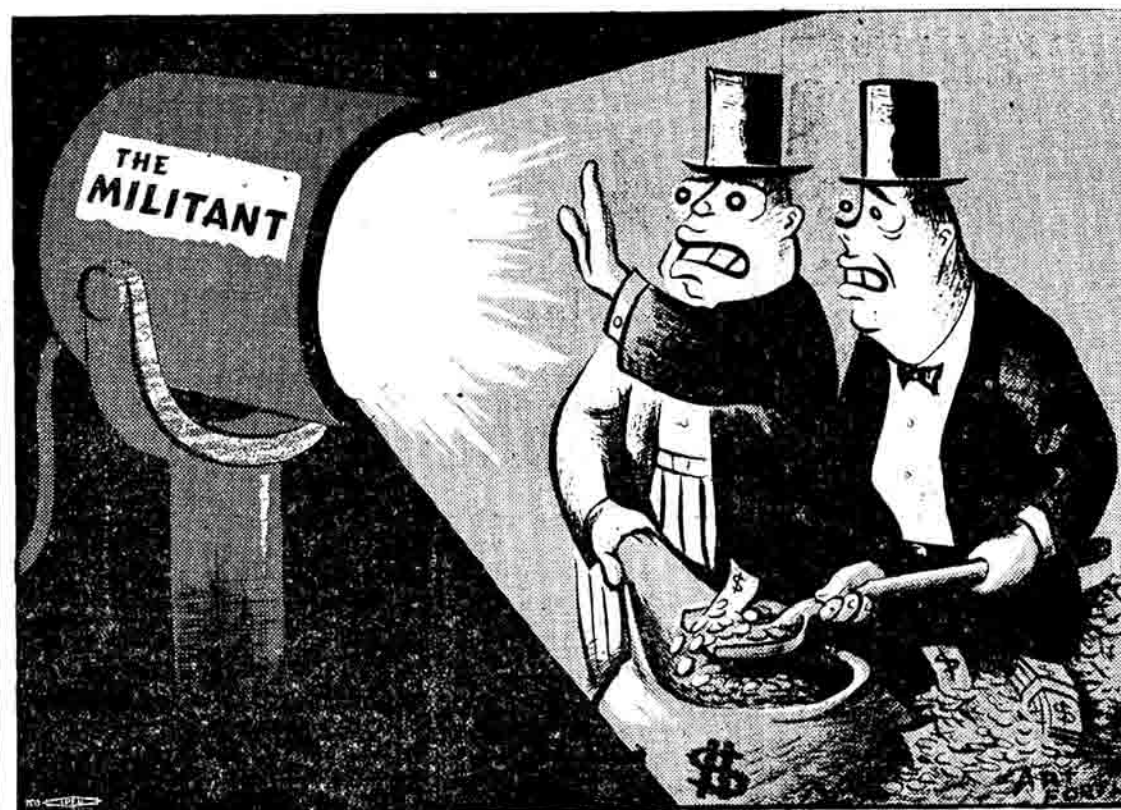
Tresca was particularly effective in his struggle against the fascists because he believed that workers' organizations should organize their own protection against fascist gangsters. For more than twenty years he boldly preached and practiced workers' self-defense against fascists. The forces he led clashed more than once in physical combat with their fascist enemies.

Such methods brought results that were not to be gotten by vain pleas to the authorities for help against the fascists. And because he got results Tresca was looked to for leadership by thousands of Italian anti-fascists who did not share his syndicalist views.

HIS RECENT BATTLES

Nor did Tresca silently stand by and permit leading fascists, when expediency dictated it to them, to

They Want To Put It Out



For Services Not Rendered

The Militant was notified by Post Office officials in New York last week that it would have to pay at the regular mailing rate for all issues of the paper deposited in the Post Office since the beginning of November, 1942, including the issues which had been delivered after delays ranging from one to two weeks AND THE ISSUES WHICH HAD BEEN DESTROYED.

Since failure to pay as demanded would provide a technical pretext for revoking the paper's second class rights on the spot, The Militant had to pay.

But the feeling was definitely one of insult added to injury.

Roosevelt's Opening Speech To Congress

When Roosevelt stood before Congress on January 7 and delivered his address on the state of the nation, he was confronted by a body a majority of which consisted of reactionary Republicans and reactionary Democrats determined to wipe out the gains labor had made since 1933.

The November election gave the Republicans a large increase in their representation in Congress. Ever since then it has been accepted as a foregone conclusion that an alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats would control the Congress and utilize that control to strike at the living standards of the masses.

WHAT HE STRESSED

Roosevelt chose to ignore the composition of the Congress and the danger that it holds for the masses of this country. He chose to concentrate on the subject of war concerning which there could be no serious difference of opinion and thus avoid raising the issues that mean so much to the workers and farmers.

He spoke about the improved outlook as far as the war is concerned. He proudly mentioned the huge increase in production of armaments. He uttered confident assurances of victory.

The Republicans from the North, anxious to destroy every democratic right of the workers, the Democrats from the South and white masses in complete subjection, could nod in cynical approval when the President said that everything must be done to win this war for democracy.

When Roosevelt said that "the men in our armed forces want a lasting peace and equally they want permanent employment..." when they are mustered out at the end of the war," not even the most reactionary of the representatives listening could object. So long as Roosevelt offered no specific measures to guarantee a job to every soldier and every worker for the post-war period, no objection need be raised.

Verboten In the U.S.

The Post Office would soon have on its neck, trying to revoke its 2nd-class mailing privileges.

NO CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

The President deliberately avoided all controversial issues.



FDR

means no adequate control of the prices of goods consumed by the masses. It means legislation to make the masses work harder and get less.

We of course never considered Roosevelt as the champion of the masses and consequently never expected him to rise to their defense in a critical moment. Let the workers consider the significance of Roosevelt's deliberate avoidance of the issues that face them by virtue of the reactionary character of the Congress.

GAVE NO ANSWER TO LABOR'S PROBLEMS

Roosevelt's speech on the state of the nation gave courage to all the reactionaries. It has increased the number of workers who have lost faith in Roosevelt and his New Deal as the defender of the workers' interests.

The workers must consider this one outstanding fact. There are no Labor Party representatives in Congress with a program for the protection of the interests of the masses. Only a Labor Party with a militant program can raise the issues close to the hearts of the workers and defend their interests. The workers must proceed to build such a Labor Party.

Government's Citations Show Anti-Labor Bias

A Statement by the Editorial Board

Government officials want to suppress *The Militant* because we print the truth about the role of Big Business in the war; because we criticize the domestic and foreign policies of the administration; because we urge the workers to defend their living standards and democratic rights; because we advocate a Workers' and Farmers' Government and the socialist program as the only solution to the problems of war, fascism, unemployment and racial discrimination.

This was made crystal-clear last week when the Post Office Department in Washington listed 27 "objectionable" excerpts taken from articles and editorials printed in this paper since Dec. 7, 1941, and notified us to show cause, at a hearing to be held on Jan. 21, why our second-class mailing privileges should not be revoked.

This move to ban our paper from the mails comes after ten weeks during which the authorities interfered with the mail delivery of *The Militant*, destroying four issues and holding the others up for weeks.

The Post Office authorities are proceeding against *The Militant* under war-time powers which, according to their interpretation, authorize the Postmaster-General, without recourse to judicial process, to ban from the mails any periodical which he believes violates the "Espion-

See Page 2 for text of Post Office Excerpts

age Act." The Act prohibits willfully making or conveying false reports or statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the armed forces or to promote the success of its enemies; or willfully causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the armed forces; or willfully obstructing the recruitment or enlistment service of the U. S.

Excerpts Reveal Real Motive

To charge *The Militant* with violating the Espionage Act is, however, nothing less than a frameup, as will be seen by an examination of the excerpts selected by the postal authorities and their Department of Justice collaborators. We urge all workers, all sections of the labor movement, to examine carefully these excerpts. We defy anyone to show how a single one of them violates any part of the Espionage Act!

'No Barrier to Free Expression,' Says Byron Price

Questioned about the report that government censorship was preventing news about Negro and white relations in this country from being sent abroad, Byron Price, director of U.S. censorship, admitted last week that censorship authorities have "sometimes suppressed inflammatory utterances regarding racial and religious conflict simply because of a desire to withhold this material from the enemy."

"Here at home," he continued, "we understand the situation and there is no barrier to free expression."

Unless you would call suppressing labor papers a "barrier to free expression."

Lack of space makes it necessary for *The Militant* to postpone the publication of a number of informative articles describing the food shortages and price situation in different parts of the country. These articles will be published in an early issue. — Ed.

These excerpts — obviously carefully chosen by government agents after many months of study to find the "best" for the Post Office's purposes — in no way bear out the slanderous charges against *The Militant*. But they do show very clearly the real reasons for the Post Office's repressive measures against this paper.

The excerpts can be divided roughly into three separate categories: 1. Our attacks on the program and aims of Big Business. 2. Our criticisms of domestic and foreign policies of the administration. 3. Our analyses of the character of the war.

1. Our Attack On Big Business

What does the Post Office object to in our articles dealing with the role of Big Business? Here is one example:

"While the bosses demand that the workers sacrifice everything, including life itself, for the war, they themselves have but one aim — to safeguard and increase their profits." (Excerpt 5, June 27, 1942.)

Is that true, or is it false? *The Militant* not only maintains that it is true, but it has presented evidence time and again to show that it is true. The very article from which this sentence was taken contained quotations from two government bodies — the House Military Affairs Committee and the Truman Senate Committee Investigating the National Defense Program — showing that Big Business subordinates everything, including the needs of the war program, to its greed for profits.

Another excerpt cited by the government was based on reports in the N. Y. Times that German and British and American businessmen are still collaborating in the Switzerland Bank for

(Continued on page 3)

ANTI-NEGRO FORCES WIN ANOTHER VICTORY

McNutt Calls Off FEPC Hearings On Jim Crow Policies in Railroad Industry

By ALBERT PARKER

Jim Crow won another victory this week as War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt ordered the "indefinite" postponement of an open hearing on discriminatory employment policies of the railroads industry, which has been scheduled to open in Washington Jan. 25 under the auspices of the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

The railroad hearings, for which FEPC attorneys have been preparing for months, were regarded by Negro leaders as a "key test" of McNutt's attitude toward the FEPC and the whole question of Negro discrimination in industry. McNutt's decision is such a flagrant violation of the administration's public declarations on this question, that members of the FEPC refused to assume the responsibility of announcing the postponement of the hearings.

The usefulness of the FEPC, created by Roosevelt in June, 1941 in an effort to call off a projected Negro March on Washington, was always extremely limited. It had no real power to compel employers to discontinue Jim Crow policies. It helped to publicize certain cases of discrimination, and to that extent aided the fight against them. But now the tendency will be to

for employers to disregard the FEPC altogether. For they know now that if they put a little pressure on Washington, it gets results. And they will not be fooled, any more than the enemies of Jim Crow are, by McNutt's vague promise to do something about railroad Jim Crow in some way other than holding hearings.

Last summer Roosevelt transferred the FEPC to the jurisdiction of McNutt. In reply to protests he stated in December that the FEPC would continue to enjoy "free and unhampered operation" even under McNutt, and that McNutt would rely "strongly on the decisions and recommendations" of the FEPC. McNutt's action in calling off the railroad hearings, in opposition to the expressed wishes of the FEPC members, indicates how well this promise has been kept.

27 Excerpts Which The Authorities Dislike

They Propose To Revoke Our Second-Class Mailing Privileges On The Basis Of These Statements

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following series of excerpts from The Militant has been sent to us by the Post Office Department as its "Exhibit A" for the hearing to consider revoking The Militant's second-class mailing rights, to be held in Washington on Jan. 21, 1943.

(1)

AN ADDRESS by Albert Goldman Dec. 27, 1941, P. 4.

"When we state that this is an imperialist war, it follows that we cannot possibly support the administration in its war effort."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above sentence was taken from our reprint of the court record of Albert Goldman's final argument to the jury in the Minneapolis "conspiracy" trial of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO.

(2)

WHERE WE STAND by Albert Goldman Jan. 3, 1942, P. 4.

"When we characterize the war as imperialist . . . we . . . indicate that it is impermissible for us as revolutionists to support either side . . .

"Our task in this war is different from the tasks of the imperialists. They want to defeat their rival to protect their imperialist interests. We cannot and must not support them in such a task. Our task is to organize the working class for the purpose of taking over power and transforming this war into a real war for democracy."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article was a reprint from the March 29, 1941 Militant. We reprinted it for the information of our readers because it was a principal document in the Minneapolis trial.

Prevent Black Market

(3)

BLACK MARKET DIVERTS RATIONS FROM WORKERS by Don Dore March 14, 1942, P. 3.

"American workers are getting the first taste of government rationing when sugar rationing goes into effect within the next few weeks. This is the beginning of a policy which will certainly be extended to other necessities as the war goes on.

"Ostensibly, this rationing will be undertaken to insure an equitable distribution of scarce commodities and to prevent price extortion. The lesson of Britain shows, however, that rationing under government and capitalist control limits the amount of goods which the masses may secure but does not prevent those with large incomes from obtaining all they want of both necessities and luxuries."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The article then continued with several quotations from London correspondents of the N. Y. Times, to show the effects of rationing and the Black Market in Britain, and concluded with the declaration that only the establishment of consumers' committees controlling prices and supplies could insure "against the rise of the Black Market in this country."

(4)

FREEZES WAGES, BUT LETS BOSSES OFF EASY May 2, 1942, P. 1.

"President Roosevelt's long-awaited war economy program, revealed in his message to Congress last Monday and elaborated in his Tuesday night radio address, is not an 'equality of sacrifice' program. On the contrary, it is a program to keep the burden of the war on the masses, enabling the bankers and industrialists to continue to profit from the war and live in luxury . . ."

Big Business Aims

(5)

THEIR ONE AIM, an editorial June 27, 1942, P. 4.

"While the bosses demand that the workers sacrifice everything, including life itself, for the war, they themselves have but one aim — to safeguard and increase their profits . . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This opening sentence was followed by quotations from a June 23 report of the House Military Affairs Committee, which stated it found "a sordid picture of excessive commissions by brokers, profits by vendors, exorbitant salaries, bonuses and huge fees for management and related services in many War Department contracts." The editorial also quoted a report by the Truman Senate Investigating Committee of the same date, accusing steel firms of dismantling plants in order, stated the Committee, "to maintain their safety and security after the war for monopolistic control."

(6)

THE 1942 ELECTION PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN NEW JERSEY Sept. 12, 1942, P. 2.

"The real quarrel between the capitalists of the Axis Powers and those of the United Nations is solely over which group shall have first place in exploiting the peoples and the resources of the world. The British and American capitalists want to continue playing first fiddle. The German capitalists and their satellites believe they are now strong enough to replace their rivals. That is why armies of millions of poor farmers and workers have been set at each other's throats . . ."

How Roosevelt Acts

(7)

ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH: STUDY IN CONTRASTS, an editorial Sept. 19, 1942, P. 4.

" . . . The president's determination, energy, vigor and dispatch are reserved for use in favor of the capitalist class and against the masses."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above was the concluding paragraph in an editorial commenting on Roosevelt's Labor Day ultimatum that if Congress didn't give him power to set farm price ceilings at parity within 23 days, he would take the power himself. We contrasted this with Roosevelt's failure to demand speedy action on

a \$25,000 limit on annual salaries, the child labor bill, mine safety bills, anti-lynching bill, etc.

Against Wage Freezing

(8)

WAGES FROZEN, ECONOMIC CZAR NAMED, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RESTRICTED by Joseph Andrews Oct. 11, 1942, P. 2.

"This order is only the first step by Roosevelt in his attempt to unload the heavy burdens of the war onto the backs of the masses of workers and exploited dirt farmers . . .

"The decree powers of the president have thus far been used primarily against labor. This is part and parcel of the war program. Roosevelt, as the wartime representative of Big Business, is leading Wall Street's war, not only against Germany and Japan, but against the masses of workers and dirt farmers . . .

"The workers cannot depend on the capitalist government to control prices and to insure the democratic rationing of goods. The capitalist government, like the class it represents, is interested only in protecting the profits and privileges of Big Business."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The sentence which followed this said: "Only committees chosen from the workers and farmers' organizations, and including representatives of housewives, can prevent profiteering and administer a price control program in the interests of the masses."

(9)

ROOSEVELT COVERS ANTI-LABOR MOVES WITH 'LIBERAL' VENEER by A. Roland Oct. 11, 1942, P. 2.

"The fixing of wages is therefore intended to prevent earnings from rising with costs. In this way Roosevelt proposes to place the entire burden of the war on the backs of the working class. All the talk about keeping down the cost of living was for the purpose of making wage fixing look a little more palatable . . .

"The workers in general have not yet understood the true meaning of wage fixing. They tend to accept Roosevelt's demagoguery and apparent promises as good coin. Only as the war develops further will they begin to see how they have been duped . . ."

The Negro Struggle

(10)

THE NEGRO STRUGGLE by Albert Parker Oct. 11, 1942, P. 3.

"The fact that the capitalist class does not intend to grant equality to the Negroes is only one reason why advanced Negroes should join the revolutionary movement. There is another reason which is just as valid and just as important as the one I discussed last week, and I intend to raise it here.

"The Negro must fight for more than equality with the white worker. For let us suppose for the sake of argument that the Negro could win and did win this equality while the white worker's conditions remain the same as they are now, that is, under capitalism. What would the Negro worker have then?

"He would have what the white worker has. Like the white worker, he would still suffer periodical depressions and unemployment and go hungry much of the time.

"Like the white worker, he would still be threatened by the oppression and brutality of fascism.

"Like the white worker, he would still be driven to fight and die for imperialist wars that benefit only the bosses.

"Like the white worker, he would still be kicked around by the officers in the armed forces — probably not as much as at present — but still plenty.

"Like the white worker, he would still get low wages — undoubtedly a little higher than he gets now — but still too low for decency and comfort, as the worker does . . ."

(11)

INTERNATIONAL TIES IN THE MIDST OF WAR, an editorial Oct. 11, 1942, P. 4.

" . . . In spite of their cynical patriotic fervor, the capitalist classes always continue to maintain profitable contacts with one another across the battle lines while millions of workers of the contending countries die.

"The maintenance of numerous international connections on the part of the capitalists of all countries offers a lesson and an example to the workers of the world. They too must become so class conscious that they will find ways, especially in war time to establish and extend their own international ties, and build their own international organization . . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The excerpt quoted by the Post Office does not explain the "international ties" referred to in the title of the editorial, but the editorial did, quoting from N. Y. Times dispatches show that American, British and German businessmen are still collaborating financially in the Bank for International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland.

Convention Resolution

(12)

THE IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE ROAD TO WORLD SOCIALISM Oct. 17, 1942, PP. 1, 2, 3.

" . . . The claim that this is a war of democracy against fascism is a fraud. Like the first world war, the second is being fought for seizure of colonies, markets, sources of raw material and spheres of influence, except that this time the stakes are even greater, encompassing the entire world. This objective historical meaning of the war, and not the propaganda of the governments, determines our stand.

"All these considerations apply in full force to the United States. Long before its advent we warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war and stated that such a war could only be an imperialist war. The actual entry of the United States into the conflict has not altered our position, but confirmed it. We do not and cannot give any support to this reactionary war undertaken on behalf of America's monopolists to ensure their world domination of markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war, not ours . . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The excerpt quoted above, and Excerpts 13 through 17, are all taken from a resolution adopted by the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

(13)

" . . . That China is compelled by practical considerations to enter into alliances with imperialist allies can present grave dangers for the future but does not alter the fundamental character of China's struggle today. The designs of Anglo-American imperialism to subordinate great China to their own predatory struggle are a long way from realization . . ."

" . . . In December, 1941 Japan, in answer to Roosevelt's ultimatum, smashed at Pearl Harbor and gave Roosevelt the looked-for occasion to enter the war. By January 1942 all the imperialist powers and all peoples had been drawn into the war arena . . ."

(14)

" . . . The 'democratic' imperialist gangsters are interested only in recovering the property which has been taken away from them by the fascist gangsters."

War Perspectives

(15)

"Since the outbreak of the war, Latin America has more than ever become the private preserve of American imperialism. The blockade against the Axis powers and the growing weakness of Great Britain has enabled the United States to climb to a virtually unchallenged position. The United States has dragged with it into the war, either as actual participants or as non-belligerent allies, its retinue of vassals among the ruling classes of Latin America. Through Export-Import Bank and private loans the Yankee imperialists have succeeded in buying the support they could not secure through diplomatic pressure. Their hand has been strengthened by the fact that the United States is today the main market and chief source of machinery and manufactured goods for many Latin American nations . . ."

(16)

"In order to camouflage its imperialist policies and objectives, the Roosevelt regime claims that the war is being waged to defend democracy at home and extend the Four Freedoms throughout the world. Roosevelt's slogan of the Four Freedoms is as false as Wilson's slogan in the last war 'Make the World Safe for Democracy.' While Roosevelt spouts phrases about democracy, he seeks to set aside even the forms of the democratic process in favor of government by decree. This effort to substitute dictatorial rule by decree on the part of the executive head of the capitalist government has paved the way for the total destruction of democracy and the rise to power of fascism or Bonapartism in Germany, Italy and France . . ."

(17)

"The imperialist rulers of both camps are fighting tenaciously to maintain the existing system which has brought about the prevailing slaughter, misery, chaos and hopelessness. The rival monopolist cliques want to reconstruct the world for their selfish ends. They have not the slightest concern for the welfare of their own peoples or the oppressed in other lands. Each strives to conquer the world or a larger share of it for their own enrichment and power. Both imperialist blocs have the same predatory aims, although they employ different terms and slogans to justify their role in the war. Hitler's 'New Order' is simply German capitalism's reedition of the old capitalist anarchy and oppression. The Anglo-American combine has no more radiant prospect to offer than a new and more monstrous Versailles treaty that can only lay the groundwork for a Third World War.

"Imperialism holds out the perspectives of interminable war, deepening reaction, impoverishment and misery for the masses at home, enslavement for the conquered and colonial peoples. The capitalist system has become so decadent, so bankrupt, so retrogressive that it can no longer give the most meagre reforms or improvements. This malignant tumor must be removed before it completely ravages and destroys humanity. . ."

Tremendous Profits

(18)

AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR LABOR IN WARTIME by George Breitman Oct. 24, 1942, P. 2.

"Point 2 of the Big Business program is to place the burden of the war costs on the backs of the working people, that is, to make the workers pay the costs of the war from which Big Business is making the hugest profits in history.

"To do this requires the reduction of the masses' living standards to the lowest possible point . . .

"Big Business and its government agents have unleashed a wave of propaganda about 'necessity for sacrifice' and 'equality of sacrifice,' calculated to persuade the working people to give up their social and economic gains won in the last ten years of struggle. How fraudulent this talk about 'equality of sacrifice' is can be shown by the fact that the employers want the workers to get along on the starvation standards of 1932 while Big Business makes profits bigger than it made in 1929. . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above excerpt is part of an election radio address given by the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U. S. Senate from New Jersey over Station WPAT in Paterson, N. J., on Oct. 17, 1942.

(19)

FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD by Grace Carlson Oct. 24, 1942, P. 2.

"After only a short interval of twenty-five years, American workers and farmers again find themselves involved in another world-wide holocaust of suffering and death. Against their will; against their interest, they have been plunged into World War II.

"Socialists long ago predicted this war. Basing ourselves upon the teachings of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, we maintained that modern imperialism war was the inevitable result of the commercial rivalries of capitalist nations. As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from Minnesota in 1940, I said, 'The imperialist government of the United States cannot fail to drag this country into war. This will not be a war of defense, or a war for democracy or liberation; it can only be a war for markets, foreign concessions, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence.'

"This prediction has been tragically fulfilled! The present war, in which hundreds of thousands of young American workers and farmers will have to lay down their lives; this war for which other countless millions of men and women of the American working class will be asked to suffer daily hardship and suffering, is not a

real war AGAINST FASCISM. It is an imperialist war, which can never serve the interests of the working masses of this or any other imperialist country.

"Continuous and urgent attempts are being made by capitalist politicians on both the state and the national scene to dress up the present, bloody, imperialist war as a holy struggle for a 'free world.' Republicans and Democrats, Farmer-Laborites and Stalinists, are united in their efforts to convince American workers and farmers, disillusioned by the useless slaughter of World War I and the misery and suffering of the long period of depression which followed it, that World War II is being fought in the interests of the common man.

"But international socialists know—and now only the Trotskyists are worthy of the name—that neither the oppressed masses of Europe and the Americas nor the exploited colonial peoples of China, India and Africa, can be emancipated until the decaying capitalist system which breeds war, fascism and colonial tyranny is brought to an end. . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The above was part of an election statement issued by Grace Carlson as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the U. S. Senate from Minnesota in the 1942 election campaign.

(20)

YES, PUNISH THE WAR CRIMINALS an editorial Oct. 24, 1942, P. 4.

" . . . The English imperialists are not waging a war to destroy fascism. In order to preserve their smallest colony they would readily destroy every democratic right at home. They are sending the masses into the slaughter only in order to preserve their empire. America's Sixty Families pursue aims no less predatory, reactionary and imperialist than do the Krupps, the Kirdorfs and Boersigs of Germany.

"They all bear the real responsibility for the war. They are all equally guilty. They, together with their political representatives, are the war criminals.

"We are wholeheartedly in agreement with the idea of bringing all these criminals and their respective Hesses to trial without delay. When the workers of all countries have said their final say, this is precisely what they will do. . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This excerpt makes it appear that The Militant referred only to the capitalists in Britain and the United States, but earlier paragraphs in the same editorial referred to the "war criminals in Germany, the German ruling capitalist class."

Adm. Land's Statement

(21)

TWO WARS, an editorial Oct. 24, 1942, P. 4.

" . . . The statement is significant because, as something which could be done by a part of the administration itself, it indicates the general direction in which the administration is moving. In this sense, such statements are even helpful in educating the workers to understand the real nature of this war: not a war against fascism, but a war against rival business men for profits abroad AND a war against American workers for profits here at home.

"The day isn't so far off when the American workers will be saying to hell with the phoney Admirals and the parasites they represent. When that day comes, the Admirals will be singing another tune because that will be the day when the real war against fascism begins—where it should begin, at home."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This excerpt does not give the meaning of the editorial from which it is taken. "The statement" mentioned in the first line of the excerpt referred to the speech made on Oct. 19, 1942, by Admiral Emory S. Land of the Maritime Commission, who told a convention of the Investment Bankers Association that he believed union "organizers ought to be shot at sunrise." The "Admirals" mentioned in the excerpt referred to Land and Admiral Ben Moreell, chief of the U. S. Bureau of Yards and Docks, who told an AFL gathering in Toronto that the country could "damn well live without" trade unions. Both these statements attracted widespread opposition in labor circles; several unions called for the dismissal of Admiral Land.

Labor Party Needed

(22)

IT IS TIME TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY, an editorial Oct. 31, 1942, P. 1.

" . . . The Democrats and Republicans are campaigning on practically identical platforms. Both parties are supporting Wall Street's war of world conquest; both are in favor of Roosevelt's program of unloading the costs of the war onto the backs of the working class, both stand for taxing the poor and sparing the rich; both defend the right of the corporations to make tremendous profits; both are for hamstringing the union movement. . ."

(23)

WORKERS AND THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR by James P. Cannon Oct. 31, 1942, P. 2-3.

" . . . When the United States entered the war it certainly was no surprise to us. It was no surprise to any grown-up person. Our position on the war, as I have remarked before and as our resolution says, was stated in the Minneapolis trial on the basis of the programmatic documents that we had previously adopted. Our position today is the same. Not only are we opposed to American imperialism and consequently to its war; we are also opposed to the theory that American imperialism is invincible and will conquer the world and live a thousand years. We see the United States driven by contradictions. It is caught in the hopeless decay of capitalism as a world system and is going down with it. The formal entry of U. S. imperialism into the war is not an expression of its strength, but of its incurable malady.

"They have day-dreams in Washington of America replacing Britain as master of the world, of policing the whole of this vast globe with its teeming millions of people, of becoming the center of tribute and plunder to be extracted from the toil of all the peoples of the world. They dream, as this mad-man Hitler dreams, of a thousand years of world mastery. They will never realize their dream, and we will do our part to see that their disillusionment does not come too late. . ."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is an excerpt from the stenographic record of National Secretary James P. Cannon.

(Continued on page 3)

The 27 Excerpts

(Continued from page 2)

non's report to the Socialist Workers Party Tenth National Convention, Oct. 2, 1942.

(24)

HOW TO DETROY FASCISM ABROAD AND PREVENT IT AT HOME by George Breitman Oct. 31, 1942, P. 4.

"... There are numerous other policies which prove to us that this is not a genuine war to destroy fascism or extend democracy. To mention but a few:

"What kind of war to destroy fascism is it when President Roosevelt openly extends a hand of friendship to the fascist butcher of Spain, Franco, and offers to help put the Spanish fascist regime 'on its feet economically'? What kind of war for democracy is it that is led by Vargas, the brutal dictator of Brazil, whose record is just as bloody as Hitler's? Are fascists cleansed of their crimes when they are neutral or allied to the United States?"

"What kind of war for democracy is it when the Negro people are Jim Crowed in industry and in the government's armed forces? The world is revolted by Hitler's vicious persecution of minority groups, but how much better is the ruling class's treatment of the Negro minority in this country? How much better is the theory of 'white supremacy' than the theory of 'Aryan superiority'? Is discrimination against color any better than discrimination against religion?"

"What kind of war for democracy is it that denies the Indian people the democratic right to rule themselves, a right the American people fought a revolution to obtain in 1776? If it is criminal for Hitler to subject the people of Europe to his rule, is it not equally criminal for British imperialism to subject India to its rule or for United States imperialism to subject Puerto Rico to its rule?"

EDITOR'S NOTE: This was from a radio address by the New Jersey candidate for the U. S. Senate, given over Station WPAT on Oct. 24, 1942.

Cannon's Radio Speech

(25)

HOW TO PUT AN END TO IMPERIALIST WAR by James P. Cannon Nov. 7, 1942, P. 2.

"... Not until the casualties are listed, and the maimed, the mutilated, the shell-shocked and the blind come back home to finish their lives in wheel chairs and hospitals—not until millions upon millions of young men discharged from the armed forces start hunting for jobs—will we feel the full impact of this war.

"... Not until Big Business has bankrupted the nation, ruined the economy, plunged the people into mourning and despair and commenced organizing and financing gangs of American fascists to put an American Hitler in power—not until then will we realize the full horror of the imperialist war that has been thrust upon us."

EDITOR'S NOTE: This was the third address in the New Jersey election series and was delivered over Station WPAT on Oct. 31, 1942. The issue of The Militant containing this address was the first to be withheld from the mails by the Post Office, and was subsequently ordered destroyed.

(26)

TALKING ABOUT STABS IN THE BACK an editorial Nov. 14, 1942, P. 4.

"... We have often said that the character of a war cannot be determined by who strikes the first blow or by diplomatic maneuvers employed to prepare the first blow or by the indignant complaints of the nation that gets struck the first blow. For these are methods and arguments used interchangeably by all the imperialists to serve their own reactionary interests.

"We hope that the latest events will open the eyes of the workers and lead them to an examination of the real causes of imperialist war—the capitalist system and the continuous struggle for profits which it breeds among all capitalist nations."

(27)

THE FOUR FREEDOMS IN ALGERIA, an editorial Nov. 21, 1942, P. 4.

"Before conquering a territory, the propagandists of the 'United Nations' assure the people that they will drive out the fascist oppressors and bring the blessings of the Four Freedoms. After conquering a territory, however, the application of the Four Freedoms is not only shelved, but in the case of African and Darlan, the fascists aren't even driven out."

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

Representing nearly 100 newspapers throughout India, a standing committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference decided on Jan. 6 to suspend publication for one day, according to the Jan. 7 N. Y. Times. The action was "in protest over the suppression of certain developments connected with internal politics."

* * *

Somebody is wrong:

On Dec. 17, Lin Yutang, Chinese publicist and unofficial spokesman for Chungking, protested that China was not being sent the supplies promised by Washington, that "the monthly supplies now going in are probably 1% of the carriage of the Burma road at its peak."

On Jan. 8, Roosevelt told Congress: "Even today we are flying as much lend-lease material as ever traversed the Burma road."

And Brooks Atkinson, N. Y. Times correspondent in China, speaking of the effect of the President's speech stated in a Jan. 9 dispatch from Chungking: "The tonnage of war materials now being flown over the hump is declared here to be only a fraction of the lend-lease stuff delivered over the Burma road when it was operating at its maximum."

During the intermission of the Metropolitan Opera Company broadcast on Jan. 9, C. J. Hambro, president of the Norwegian Parliament-in-Exile, expressed the uneasiness of the small nations over their fate in the coming peace settlement. He declared:

"The small nations fear that the longer the war is going to last, the greater the risk of the moral issue being overshadowed by military and political issues, and considerations of immediate expediency."

"They cannot be blind to the danger that the propaganda machinery of big countries easily can call forth just those currents of imperialism and national prejudice which constitute the gravest menace to a just and durable peace."

"They are not passing through this furnace of suffering to be told by other governments what their fate shall be."

* * *

The Soviet radio station, Slobozna, Yugoslavia, transmitting from Tiflis, has ceased its attacks on General Mikhailovitch, according to an Ankara dispatch in the Jan. 9 N. Y. Times. Are the Stalinists, who denounced Mikhailovitch as a Nazi agent, changing their line again?

Post Office Wants To Ban 'Militant'

(Continued from page 1)

International Settlements. Commenting on this, we said:

"In spite of their cynical patriotic fervor, the capitalist classes always continue to maintain profitable contacts with one another across the battle lines while millions of workers of the contending countries die..." (Excerpt 11, Oct. 11, 1942.)

Can the Post Office Department deny the truth of this statement? Didn't the Department of Justice find international capitalist business relationships so widespread and so damaging to the U. S. war program that it had to bring several of the biggest corporations (Standard Oil, General Electric, etc.) to court in order to get them to discontinue some of their U. S.-Nazi patent pools?

Plain and Simple Facts

Another excerpt stated:

"Big Business and its government agents have unleashed a wave of government propaganda about 'necessity for sacrifice' and 'equality of sacrifice,' calculated to persuade the working people to give up their social and economic gains won in the last ten years of struggle. How fraudulent this talk about 'equality of sacrifice' can be shown by the

fact that the employers want the workers to get along on the starvation standards of 1932 while Big Business makes profits bigger than it made in 1929." (Excerpt 18, Oct. 24, 1942.)

Is that true or false? Does the Post Office claim that there is "equality of sacrifice" in this country today when workers' wages are frozen and Big Business profits are higher than in the boom year of 1929? Didn't Leon Henderson himself say that living standards must and would be reduced to the 1932 levels by 1943?

As a paper trying to win the masses to support of the socialist program, The Militant has consistently exposed the true role of Big Business. But no paper can hope to convince anyone of the correctness of its views unless it proves the truth of whatever charges it makes. The Militant has therefore on thousands of occasions backed up its charges with uncontestable facts, quotations from government spokesmen and documents, capitalist and liberal papers, etc. Neither the Post Office nor anyone else has attempted to demonstrate the falsity of a single one of our charges against Big Business.

THE CONCLUSION IS INESCAPABLE: THE POST OFFICE IS SUPPRESSING US NOT BECAUSE WE PRINT FALSE REPORTS, BUT BECAUSE WE TELL THE TRUTH!

2. Our Criticisms Of Administration Policies

The second of the three categories of excerpts cited by the Post Office deals with our criticisms of the administration's policies at home and abroad.

The Militant has always held the socialist view that all capitalist governments function as protectors of what they consider the best interests of Big Business, and that their legislation and administration generally favor the economic interests of Big Business as against the economic interests of the masses. We have been able to PROVE the truth of this view in our articles about the government's economic policies.

The Post Office evidently objects to our criticisms on this score, for it cites several excerpts dealing with this question as reasons why The Militant should be suppressed. (Excerpts 3, 4, 8, 9, etc.)

These articles—not merely the excerpts from them—showed that wage freezing benefits the employers and penalizes the workers; that the new tax legislation cuts down the living standards of the workers but leaves Big Business with tremendous profits; that price ceilings are punctured by government officials in the interests of maintaining private profits; that rationing can not insure a just and equitable distribution of food and other necessities unless it is administered by mass committees of unions, working farmers, housewives and small retailers.

IF ANY OTHER EVIDENCE WERE NEEDED TO SHOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES FUNCTION IN THE INTERESTS OF BIG BUSINESS, WE NOW HAVE THE FACT THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WANT TO SUPPRESS THIS PAPER FOR TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ROLE OF BIG BUSINESS AND URGING THE MASSES TO ORGANIZE TO PUT AN END TO WAR PROFITEERING.

What Kind of War for Democracy?

Being a consistent defender of democratic rights at home and abroad, The Militant has also severely criticized the difference between the administration's many fine-sounding speeches on this question and its actual practices. This is another "crime" adduced against us by the Post Office. Here are some examples cited by authorities.

Before the invasion of North Africa, an article in The Militant—noted the title: "How to Destroy Fascism Abroad and Prevent It at Home"—raised the following questions:

"What kind of war to destroy fascism is it when President Roosevelt openly extends a hand of friendship to the fascist butcher of Spain, Franco, and offers to help put the Spanish fascist regime 'on its feet economically'? What kind of war for democracy is it that is led by Vargas, the brutal dictator of Brazil, whose record is just as bloody as Hitler's? Are fascists cleansed of their crimes when they are neutral or allied to the United States?"

"What kind of war for democracy is it when the Negro people are Jim Crowed in industry and in the government's armed forces? The world is revolted by Hitler's vicious persecution of minority groups, but how much better is the ruling class's treatment of the Negro minority in this country? How much better is the theory of 'white supremacy' than the theory of 'Aryan superiority'? Is discrimination against color any better than discrimination against religion?"

"What kind of war for democracy is it that denies the Indian people the democratic right to rule themselves, a right the American people fought a revolution to obtain in 1776? If it is criminal for Hitler to subject the people of Europe to his rule, is it not equally criminal for British imperialism to subject India to its rule or for United States imperialism to subject Puerto Rico to its rule?" (Excerpt 24, Oct. 31, 1942.)

And three weeks later The Militant commented as follows on the deal with Darlan that aroused so much resentment in the U. S. and Britain:

"Before conquering a territory, the propagandists of the 'United Nations' assure the people that they will drive out the fascist oppressors and bring the blessings of the Four Freedoms. After conquering a territory, however, the application of the Four Freedoms is not only shelved, but in the case of Africa and Darlan, the fascists aren't even driven out." (Excerpt 27, Nov. 21, 1942.)

Similarly The Militant has called attention to Admiral Land's statement that union "organizers ought to be shot at sunrise" (Excerpt 21, Oct. 24, 1942) and other anti-labor statements of government officials.

WHAT KIND OF WAR FOR DEMOCRACY IS THIS? THE MILITANT ASKS. AND WASHINGTON REPLIES: WE'LL SHOW YOU WHAT KIND OF WAR FOR DEMOCRACY IT IS—BY SUPPRESSING YOU FOR ASKING!

3. Our Analysis Of The Character Of The War

Discussions of the character of the war make up the third category of excerpts considered objectionable by the Post Office. The most important of these are Excerpt 2, an article by Albert Goldman, and Excerpts 12-17, from the main resolution adopted by the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, printed in the Oct. 17, 1942 Militant.

The article by Goldman, which by now is quite famous, was originally printed in the March 29, 1941 issue of The Militant, at a time when Goldman was one of the editors of this paper. The purpose of the article, written in question-and-answer form, was to clear up a number of misconceptions concerning the Marxist attitude to imperialist war. It later played an important part in the famous Minneapolis trial of the 28 Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO leaders. In response to numerous requests of new readers about the trial, The Militant reprinted it on Jan. 3, 1942.

Because it gives a very clear answer to the question of The Militant's attitude to the war, and because the postal authorities have very deliberately excerpted only those sections which might be useful as "proof" that the article violates the Espionage Act, we here quote the first part of the article, printing the parts quoted by the Post Office in capitals:

Questions: When you say that this is an imperialist war both on the side of Britain and Germany do you mean to say that you don't care who wins and that you contemplate the victory of Hitler without being disturbed by it?

"Answer: It means nothing of the kind.

as to the character of the war and what to do to win the war against all the capitalists. Both our members and the workers whom we influence must go to war and do what they are told by the rulers of this country. So long as we do not have a majority behind us we are in no position to do anything except obey orders. It is true that we do not assume responsibility for this war in any way whatever, but to draw from that fact the conclusion that we thereby help Hitler win, lacks logic and common sense."

...The Socialist Workers Party convention resolution (very small sections of which are used for Excerpts 12-17) refers to another document, printed in full in The Militant of Feb. 7, 1942. Entitled "A Statement on the War," by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the S.W.P., it declared in part:

"Our program against Hitlerism and for a Workers' and Farmers' Government is today the program of only a small minority. The

great majority actively or passively supports the war program of the Roosevelt administration. As a minority we must submit to that majority in action. We do not sabotage the war or obstruct the military forces in any way. The Trotskyists go with their generation into the armed forces. We abide by the decisions of the majority. But we retain our opinions and insist on our right to express them."

WHEN THE POST OFFICE AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SEARCHED THROUGH OUR PAPER FOR "SUICIDABLE" EXCERPTS, THEY UNDOUBTEDLY CAME ACROSS THESE KEY QUOTATIONS WHICH THEY "IGNORED." THAT IS WHY WE CAN ONLY DESIGNATE AS FRAMEUPS ALL ATTEMPTS TO ACCUSE US OF TRYING TO INTERFERE WITH THE ARMED FORCES OR TO CAUSE INSUBORDINATION OR TO VIOLATE THE ESPIONAGE ACT IN ANY OTHER WAY.

The Reason For The Suppression

But—some people may ask— if The Militant is guilty of nothing but telling the truth and expressing its opinions, and if the administration knows this, why does it want to suppress this paper? Is it not true that other papers, in no way sharing the views of the Trotskyist movement, also tell the truth on occasion? Haven't many liberals, shocked and disillusioned by the recent deals with Darlan and Otto von Hapsburg, also expressed some opinions that sound a great deal like those of The Militant?

Yes, but there are certain differences. The Militant follows a consistent and aggressive line; it is not taken in, as the liberals are, by deceptive promises. Furthermore, The Militant does not confine itself to analysis and criticism—it follows up that analysis by presenting and advocating the Trotskyist program. It takes its own words seriously, and it calls on the masses to organize to improve their conditions and safeguard their rights.

The Militant not only disagrees with the government's methods for price fixing and rationing, but it proposes methods which can really solve these problems in the interests of the masses. We not only demonstrate that the Democratic and Republican Parties are indistinguishable on all major questions, but we advocate that the union movement create an Independent Labor Party to oppose them. We not only fight vigorously against all forms of Jim Crowism wherever they exist, but we call on the advanced Negroes to join the revolutionary movement because "the capitalist class does not intend to grant equality to the Negroes." (Excerpt 10.) For these reasons reaction strikes first at The Militant.

A New Wave of Reaction

But that does not mean that only The Militant will be affected by a Post Office gag. Already the delivery of two other papers, Fourth International and Labor Action, is being interfered with on orders from Washington. Numerous other labor and liberal journals—the New Leader, the New Republic, the Nation, the Reading Labor Advocate, the Call, etc.—have expressed the fear that the attack on The Militant is only the first step toward the repetition of the kind of Post Office suppressions that destroyed scores of papers in the First World War. And the Postal authorities themselves would probably be the first to admit that they intend to go after all papers that carry the kind of material considered "objectionable" in The Militant.

The fact is that a new wave of reaction got under way in the "democracies" simultaneously with the launching of the North African invasion.

In Britain, for example, this was expressed immediately in Churchill's statement to the world that he does not intend to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, that is, he does not intend to grant freedom to India and the other colonies. In the United States it was expressed by the opening of an attack on the freedom of the press.

The liberals used to tell us that war necessarily brings restrictions on the people's democratic rights, but that we needn't worry because the closer the United States got to victory in the war, the more of these restrictions would be withdrawn. The very opposite is now taking place. The closer the administration gets to victory, the more arrogant it becomes toward the labor movement. Moreover, after the war capitalism will prove at least as bankrupt as it was before the war to solve the problems facing humanity. Unable to solve these problems themselves, the reactionaries hope to keep the masses from taking the road to socialism by suppressing and eliminating or intimidating into silence all papers and groups whose program might meet a response from the war-weary, capitalist-weary masses.

A Threat to All Labor

If The Militant can be suppressed for telling the truth about Big Business, so can other papers. If The Militant can be suppressed for criticizing domestic and foreign policies of the administration, no other non-administration group is safe. If The Militant can be suppressed for scientifically analyzing the character of the war and for presenting a working class program, then fascism in the United States will have won a new victory.

For these reasons we say: The fight to preserve The Militant's second-class mailing rights is the fight of the whole labor movement, of all who really want to fight fascism. The Post Office letter notifying us of the Jan. 21 hearing concluded with a paragraph kindly informing us that if we did not wish to appear, it would be quite all right and the Postmaster-General would proceed with the revocation of our second-class rights.

The Post Office has already been informed that The Militant will be represented at the hearing by Albert Goldman, its attorney. Those who are acquainted with The Militant's policies already know that we will fight vigorously in defense of our rights. Our readers and subscribers can help us in this fight by extending financial support and by giving the widest possible publicity to the issues involved in this case.

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

The Facts On China

One part of the resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party national convention last October read as follows:

"The war of China for national independence against the Japanese imperialists must likewise be ardently supported by every honest worker, above all by the workers of China whose fate is bound up with the struggle for the independence of the country. That China is compelled by practical considerations to enter into alliances with imperialist allies can present grave dangers for the future but does not alter the fundamental character of China's struggle today. The designs of Anglo-American imperialism to subordinate great China to their own predatory struggle are a long way from realization. . ."

Omitting the first sentence in that paragraph, the Post Office adduces the rest as one of its excerpts to justify the suppression of *The Militant*.

Three days after *The Militant* was notified that this excerpt was considered "objectionable," the *Chicago Daily News*, a paper controlled by Secretary of the Navy Knox, ran a column by Howard Vincent O'Brien discussing the U. S. government's attitude toward China. After citing two technical reasons why the administration has failed "to give adequate support to the Chinese," O'Brien declares:

"There is a third reason — shadowy and explosive: so delicate that it is dangerous to explore it. This reason is best expressed by a question, namely: How victorious do we want China to be?"

"Mr. Churchill has declared that he has no intention of liquidating the British Empire. And Queen Wilhelmina has certainly not suggested any liquidation of the Dutch Empire. But if China conquers Japan, is it likely that Hong Kong and Singapore and the East Indies will be restored to their former owners? Is it likely that India will continue resigned to having its destiny determined on Downing Street; or that Indo-China will continue to take orders from the Quai d'Orsay?"

"The simple fact is that a victorious China, like a victorious Russia, will present imperialisms — including ours — with some embarrassing problems."

"From our standpoint, it is a nice thing to have China help us to quell Japanese imperialism. It is probable, however, that the Chinese have no intention of freeing themselves from one yoke, only to assume another. . ."

The difference between *The Militant* and the *Chicago Daily News* is that we urge the masses to organize to do something about these questions. But that doesn't alter the fact that the Post Office wants to suppress *The Militant* for printing FACTS which even Navy Secretary Knox's paper has to print.

Carlo Tresca Assassinated

(Continued from page 1)

detailed biographies showing the fascist connections of Pope's various editors and associates. "He is a fascist to the core and LaGuardia knows it," declared Tresca.

Such fascists masquerading as turncoats and being accepted as such by U. S. authorities interested in Tresca in the last year more than the obvious agents of Mussolini who, once the country entered the war, belatedly became the objects of attention by the State Department and the Department of Justice.

LABOR HONORS HIM

On his sixtieth birthday and the fortieth anniversary of his work in the labor movement, Carlo Tresca was tendered a banquet on April 14, 1939, by a committee of sponsors whose names indicate how universally loved he was in the labor movement and by liberals.

The committee included trade union leaders like Luigi Antonini, Socialists like Norman Thomas and Adolph Held, Trotskyists like Albert Goldman, anarchists, authors and editors like John Dewey, John Dos Passos and Oswald Garrison Villard — all tendencies indeed, except one: the Stalinists.

ANTI-STALINIST BATTLES

Carlo Tresca's heroic struggles against the Stalinist-GPU frame-ups and assassinations constitute perhaps the most glorious page in his biography. It was relatively easy and popular to fight against Mussolini's open and masked agents. It took far more courage to stand up against the GPU.

Tresca was one of the first in this country to expose the Stalinist murder gangs who assassinated anarchist, Trotskyist and Socialist leaders in Spain. One of the more notable cases which Tresca publicized was that of the murder in Barcelona of his friend and comrade, the noted Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri. Tresca charged that the GPU agent, the American George Mink, had led that murder gang.

The American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky found in Tresca one of its leading and most active figures. He was tireless in its great work of exposing the Moscow Trials as frameups. When Trotsky was assassinated in August 1940, Tresca branded Stalin as the murderer.

Perhaps the hardest blow that Tresca dealt the GPU was in the abortive Robinson-Rubens trial of 1938-1939.

This couple, "arrested" in Moscow at the end of 1937, were obviously being groomed for still another Moscow Trial directed especially at this country: it was to "prove" connections between American Trotskyists and Nazis and serve to whip up a war spirit — the Kremlin was then still with the "democracies."

EXPOSED POYNTZ KIDNAPPING

Fortunately Tresca knew one of the key figures who was being prepared in Moscow for this trial: Juliet Stuart Poyntz, formerly a leader of the Communist Party, who in 1934 was withdrawn from public work and transferred to the GPU. In May 1937 she had confided in Tresca — a friend of twenty years — that she was disgusted with Stalinism. Sometime after that she disappeared and Tresca became suspicious and investigated.

He made his conclusions public in a statement to the press on February 14, 1938 charging that Miss Poyntz had been abducted to Russia by the GPU.

By that time it had already come out that Robinson-Rubens had gone to Russia on forged passports. Tresca feared that the minor detail of the passports would be the sole one investigated and that the far more significant aspects of the Poyntz-Robinson-Rubens situation would be glossed over. Hence he declared in his statement:

"We are not dealing with a petty passport fraud, but with a conspiracy originating in Moscow, in which that passport fraud is a mere link. The object is the staging of a Moscow frame-up trial designed to stimulate war fever here through a spy scare and thus drive this country toward war for Stalin's benefit. "We are going to get to the bottom of the Robinson-Rubens-Poyntz-GPU case and expose the war-mongering conspirators and their master in the Kremlin."

STALINISTS CALLED HIM SPY

Panic-stricken by Tresca's revelations, the Stalinist *Daily Worker* denounced him as a Japanese-Fascist spy.

In the subsequent federal grand jury investigation of the passport fraud, Tresca was subpoenaed and was reported to have pressed for

a wider investigation, including the Poyntz kidnapping. He was reported to have named 15 witnesses whom the grand jury could question on this score.

Shortly afterward, three men — Ossip Garber, Arthur Sharf and Edward Blatt — were indicted for having secured the false passports for Robinson-Rubens.

Tresca joined with others in establishing publicly that the three men indicted had Stalinist connections, and this exposure was undoubtedly the final blow which forced the Kremlin to abandon the preparations for the Robinson - Rubens - Poyntz trial.

Those indicted for the passport fraud were tried and convicted in New York in 1939 in a trial in which — this was still before the Stalin-Hitler pact — no mention was made of the Stalinist connections of those convicted.

STILL FOUGHT STALINISTS

Tresca never made his peace with the Stalinists. His personal influence was the main cause responsible for keeping the Stalinists from gaining ascendancy in the Mazzini Society and other Italian anti-fascist organizations after Pearl Harbor.

In practically all other fields the Stalinists were able to establish "unity" or close collaboration with trade union officials and liberals who had fought the Stalinists during the Stalin-Hitler pact. But in the Italian-American organizations and trade unions — notably the Italian locals of the Ladies Garment Workers Union — Tresca's influence was successful in keeping them from the treacherous embrace of the Stalinists.

His latest clashes with the Stalinists came in connection with the Minneapolis "sedition" trial and the actions of the Post Office Department against *The Militant* and *Fourth International*. As always, Tresca stood with the workers against the capitalist repression, and excoriated the Stalinists for their support of the prosecution.

In all his battles, Tresca fought with implacable courage, no less so in the last twenty years of the sedentary life of an editor than in earlier years, as the great strike leader of the Ladies-Speaking Workers in the Paterson and Lawrence textile mills and the iron miners of the Mesabi range in Minnesota.

GOVERNMENT FRAMEUP

If he might still have had any illusions that the "democratic" government would help the workers against fascists, he was taught better in 1923 when he was arrested and imprisoned by the federal government. Ostensibly he was found guilty of publishing a two-line advertisement for birth control.

Tresca charged, however, that he had been prosecuted at the instigation of the Italian Ambassador for his anti-fascist activities.

A defense movement, organized by trade unions and liberals, fought Tresca's conviction and created such a public outcry that President Coolidge felt it necessary to intervene and release Tresca after he had served four months.

Subsequently Maxwell S. Muttuck, the federal prosecutor, admitted that the case had been initiated at the instigation of Mussolini's Ambassador. That was the 36th time that Carlo had been arrested, on charges including sedition and incitement to riot.

(Next week we shall publish several articles dealing with the life of Carlo Tresca.)

Chicago Area Hit By High Prices, Less Food

By JOSEPH KELLER

CHICAGO, Jan. 11—"Hog-Butcher of the World!"—that was how the poet, Carl Sandburg, once described this tremendous meat-packing center. But today, tens of thousands of packinghouse workers — working a 12-hour day, 72-hour week — and hundreds of thousands in the other booming war industries, find it increasingly difficult to get any decent meat at all, except at phenomenal prices.

Butter is scarcely obtainable in the poorer working class districts. They will sell you a quarter or a half pound of adulterated bulk butter, the poorest grade, for 60 to 70 cents a pound. "When I took it home and squeezed the water out of it, my half pound shrank to about a quarter pound," one Buick worker's wife told me.

MILK PRICE RISES—CREAM DIMINISHES

Milk, formerly two quarts for 25 cents, was boosted last week to 15 cents a quart by OPA order — and it keeps getting thinner and thinner as more of the precious butter fat and cream is skimmed off. In one neighborhood, where there is an over-supply of babies, canned milk is unobtainable, as one young mother complained to me: "I could get it all right, but they won't sell it to you unless you buy a big order at the same time. The prices keep going up on everything. Even after the ceiling. My grocer claimed he had

But the Wealthy Still Manage to Get What They Want

the stuff on sale before the ceiling went in and it wasn't the right ceiling price. You pay the price or you do without. You can go see city hall for all they care."

There's no boost in bread prices — yet — but they'll stick you for a stale loaf at the regular price, or you can go without, if you get to the store late. And a 10 cent loaf of Silvercup, or one of the other standard brands, is still 10 cents, although a 1 1/4 pound loaf is now just a pound.

In personal interviews with working class housewives from every section of this sprawling city of more than 3,500,000, from talks with retail butchers and grocery clerks, from observation of food stores with gutted shelves and growing lines of short-tempered women, I obtained a first-hand picture of the food situation here in Chicago.

PRICE CEILINGS "BUSTED"

"Price ceilings!" exclaimed a butcher in one of the near North Side National Tea Company chain stores. "That's a joke! There ain't no price ceiling. They busted long ago." And he went on blandly to ask a harassed-looking woman 45 cents a pound for the remnants of some sick-looking soup meat in a big, near-empty showcase.

It's not the same scarcity everywhere. In the "upper-crust" neighborhoods, the "fancy goods" groceries and the "prime cuts" butcher shops are plentifully stocked. Available food stocks are being siphoned off into the highest — price — neighborhoods, where the well-to-do can afford to pay to "get theirs."

But a Studebaker worker's wife from over in the Englewood area told me there are long lines in the Jewel Store — a low priced chain outfit — where she buys. She has had to wait in line an hour to put in her order, and it's getting worse every day. She couldn't get tea or cocoa, and many other staples. Her companion told of a little store where they would sell a 10-cent can of cocoa "for 15 cents, provided you take a big order of other things."

ALL GRADES ARE "BEST" NOW

Canned vegetables and fruits have disappeared from the shelves in the working class neighborhoods, except for some small independents who will sell to you at three times the price you might expect to pay in a chain store — except that you can't get the stuff in a chain store.

As one Negro woman, a school teacher, explained, "Canned goods used to come in three grades, and the poor people used to buy second and third grade. Now it's all labeled 'fancy' and you can only buy 'first grade' stuff at top prices."

Another Negro housewife reported that a friend of her husband who works in one of the big canning companies here, has been doing nothing for weeks but tearing old labels off stocked cans of food and pasting new

labels on — creating a "new product" at higher prices.

An auto worker — now making aircraft engines — told me he went to his butcher shop but was told they were all sold out. A woman entered and asked the butcher if he had "any meat for my dog."

"Yes," the butcher answered glumly, "that's all I have got."

I learned of a case where a woman brought in a doctor's prescription in order to get eggs and butter — nice, if you happen to have a doctor for a relative and he doesn't charge for the prescription. Anyway, eggs aren't always eggs, as I found out, when I innocently asked if some pullet eggs — priced at 57 cents a dozen in a "low price" chain store — were "pigeon eggs." Chicken eggs sell according to size.

IT'S DIFFERENT FOR THE BOSSES

But don't think that all are "sacrificing" alike here.

In the small and less expensive restaurants, where a worker might expect to go occasionally to get a meal, butter and coffee are strictly rationed, and many restaurants are serving coffee substitutes and explaining they cannot get any butter. But in the high-priced restaurants you can get all the butter you want, and real coffee.

This even applies in the plant cafeterias, such as Buick and Electro-Motive. These plants each have two cafeterias, one for the workers and one for the bosses. The workers, in their cafeterias, get one cup of coffee and one slim pat of butter. But the bosses, in their cafeterias, are getting unlimited amounts of butter and coffee.

LEW BROWNSTEIN

NEWARK, N. J., Jan. 10 — Newark members of the Socialist Workers Party today mourned the death of Comrade Lew Brownstein, who succumbed to a heart attack yesterday at the age of 36. Comrade Lew first came into contact with the Trotskyist movement and its ideas as a member of the Socialist Party in the spring of 1936. The following year, when the Trotskyists were expelled from the S. P., he left with them and helped to found the Socialist Workers Party in Newark.

Although he was physically handicapped and always in great pain when he moved about, he played an active part in the New Jersey unemployed movement, functioning as a grievance committeeman in the relief stations. Many times his pain was so great that he had to drop out of picket lines, but after a few minutes' rest, he would always insist on getting back on the line.

Finally in 1941 he was unable to even walk up a flight of stairs, and had to drop out of activity altogether. I think this hurt him more than anything else.

The last time I visited him in 1942 he expressed the greatest confidence about the coming revolutionary upsurge. "I probably won't live to see it," he said, "but I know I won't miss it by many years. That's the main thing I'm sorry about."

Like all the other fighters in our ranks who fall before the final victory, we will honor Lew by building the kind of society they struggled to create.

—G. B.

The Nineteenth Anniversary Of Lenin's Death

By MICHAEL CORT

Lenin died 19 years ago this week, on January 21, 1924. This year the anniversary will be courteously alluded to in the capitalist press. The Soviet Union is a military ally of the United States; Stalin poses as the disciple of Lenin, hence the necessity for such diplomatic courtesies on the part of the American ruling class.

The capitalists will help the Stalinists to picture him as a harmless ikon having no relationship to the problems facing society today.

What will be ignored in both the capitalist press and the Stalinist memorial meetings is the fact that Lenin was a proletarian revolutionist, a world revolutionist.

The real story of Lenin is that of a lifelong revolutionist who led the Russian workers to victory over their exploiters, and left behind a heritage of revolutionary theory and practice which today alone provide the key to the liberation of mankind.

Lenin was born in Russia in 1870. At the age of 25 he organized the "Union for the Liberation of the Working Class." For this he was jailed and sent into Siberian exile by the Czar.

Up to that time the socialist movement in Russia remained loosely knit and ineffective in struggle. Lenin studied this problem and when he left Siberia in 1900 he devised the most efficient instrument of working class struggle, the centralized yet democratic revolutionary party which was to serve as the vanguard in the class struggle. Lenin taught that the working class could achieve socialism only through political struggle. And that for this a party was necessary — a cadre of politically advanced workers who would furnish leadership to their class. He said further that, until such a party was created, the workers would be incapable of winning liberation from their exploiters.

Lenin founded just such a political party in Russia, the Bolshevik party. This party won the leadership of the Russian workers. Within 14 years from the date of its appearance in 1903 as an independent political tendency, Bolshevism led the workers to victory over the capitalists and Czarism.

He did not stop with victory in Russia. In the spring of 1919 Lenin took the lead in calling a congress of revolutionists from all the countries of the world. This congress welded these various groups and parties into the Communist (third) International. This too was a proletarian organization on a world scale and was aimed at the abolition of world capitalism. For Lenin knew that a workers' government in a single country could not achieve socialism or remain secure as long as the capitalist enemy was capable of attack.

From 1918 until 1920 the Soviet Union defended itself against the counter-revolution and the British, French, Japanese and American armies of intervention which attempted to drown the Soviet Union in blood and thus remove this revolutionary example and inspiration to their own workers.

The imperialist armies were defeated, however, for Lenin's revolutionary propaganda convinced the invading worker-soldier that his own master was his enemy and that his welfare was inseparably tied to the fate of the Soviet worker and peasant.

Victory in the Soviet Union was not followed, however, by workers' victories in other countries. After Lenin died in 1924 the Soviet Union, isolated in a capitalist world, with the masses worn out by their great efforts, fell into the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Bolshevik Party of Lenin was destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy which now clings to the workers' state as a huge parasite. The Soviets, the trade unions and all the other mass organizations of the workers exist today in name only.

But Lenin built so well that in spite of the degeneration of the state, the greatest conquest still remains — nationalized property. It is this nationalized property which the Russian workers defend today with a heroism and self-sacrifice unparalleled in history.

Trotsky summed up Lenin's outstanding gifts in the following words: "To fix his revolutionary sight upon the future, to grasp and point out the most important, the fundamental, the most urgently needed — that was the gift peculiar to Lenin in the highest degree."

The Trotskyist movement is based upon Lenin's teachings and continues his struggle. Only Trotskyists really honor the memory of Lenin for only they follow his teachings.



LENIN

Steel Workers Strike for Equal Pay for Women

Discrimination in wages between men and women workers by the H. K. Porter Company's locomotive plant at Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, and failure of the management in several conferences to agree to adjust wages, led on Jan. 5 to a strike by 800 members of the United Steel Workers, CIO. The company was paying women 17 1/2 cents under the scale called for in the union contract for their category of work.

The significant part of the strike was the fact that the principle of equal pay was demanded not only by the women, but was vigorously supported by the men. Less than 100 of the employees were women but the entire plant was shut down by the walk out of the 800 members of the local.

The women had been employed for over 4 months on the sub-standard scale, in spite of repeated promises by the management to increase their pay "once their work was satisfactory."

Action of the men workers indicates that they accept the women as equals and recognize that discrimination is an employer trick to divide the workers and reduce their bargaining power.

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING

FEATURING

'TSAR TO LENIN'
Documentary Film of the Russian Revolution

SPEAKER:

JOHN G. WRIGHT

TRANSLATOR OF TROTSKY'S WORKS

Sunday, January 24, 8 p. m.

IRVING PLAZA

Irving Place and 15th Street, New York

Admission 50c

AUSPICES:

New York Local

Socialist Workers Party

See

LENIN
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CZAR NICOLAS II
KAISER WILHELM
KERENSKY
ZINOVIEV
KAMENEV
WILSON
CLEMENCEAU
STALIN
KOLCHAK
BUCHARIN
BALABANOV

'Lenin on Women' Pamphlet Put Out By N. Y. Local

"Lenin on the Women Question" by Clara Zetkin has been re-issued by the Women's Committee of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

With women playing an increasingly important part in society today, and especially in the mass industries, it is important that all workers acquaint themselves with the views of Lenin on this question.

The pamphlet contains two parts: an account of two interesting discussions held between author and Lenin, and excerpts from a speech made by the leader of the Russian Revolution to a conference of working women in 1919.

The pamphlet sells for 10 cents, and may be obtained from the Women's Committee at 116 University Pl., New York City.

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs