

End Post Office Persecution Of 'The Militant'!

-- An Editorial --

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HOUSE PASSES VICIOUS ANTI-LABOR MEASURE

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

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

The size of the majority rolled up for this anti-labor, anti-democratic measure indicates the temper of Congress which is determined not only to shackle labor with the costs of the war but to use the war as an excuse to smash the workers' organizations.

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

THE BILL'S DANGER

It is easy to conceive of how the courts could easily interpret legitimate union activity, organizing drives, strikes, picket lines, etc., as constituting interference with interstate commerce and could on this basis imprison and fine active unionists.

The bill defines robbery as "the unlawful taking or obtaining of personal property from the person . . . against his will, by means of force, violence, or fear of injury . . . to his person or property."

Thus the property of the employer and his strike breakers become inviolate. A picket line which stopped the movement of supplies into a strike-bound plant would conceivably make the unionists "racketeers" under this bill. And remember, this is not a "war measure," it is intended for all time.

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

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

THE AMENDMENTS

To camouflage the anti-labor character of the bill, the House adopted the Summer amendment at the last moment. This amendment provides that nothing in the section dealing with extortion shall be construed to repeal,

modify or effect labor sections of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Act, the Railway Labor Act or the National Labor Relations Act.

This amendment was a meaningless gesture, as the Congressmen well knew, for it completely failed to draw the anti-labor teeth of the Hobbs bill.

The Celler amendment, which had been sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and which contained a slightly more clear-cut protection of union activity, was decisively defeated by the House in a voice vote. By this action the House clearly indicated that the broad definitions of "robbery" and "extortion" contained in the bill were placed there for the specific purpose of interfering with union activity.

SENATE PROSPECTS

The Hobbs bill now goes to the Senate. Considerable support for its passage there in the near future has already been organized. There are, however, a group of Senators who are mildly critical of the measure and believe that it "goes too far at this time."

In other words, opponents of the measure are in favor of withholding immediate approval because of its value as a club over the head of labor. They believe that further concessions can be wrung from labor under threat of its passage.

New York Meeting To Protest Jim Crow In the Armed Forces

NEW YORK—The Negro March-On-Washington Movement will hold a mass meeting on the Winifred Lynn case and against Jim Crowism in the armed forces on Thursday, April 22, 8:30 P. M., at the Golden Gate Ballroom, Lenox Ave. and 140 St., New York. The meeting is part of the Movement's campaign to gather nationwide support for Lynn, the Negro draftee whose suit alleging violation by the military authorities of the "no-discrimination" clause in the 1940 Draft Act will come up before the Supreme Court in a few months. All opponents of Jim Crow are urged to attend the meeting.

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NEW ORDER FREEZES WAGES Sets Up Strictest Wage Control In U. S. History

Keep Your Eye On The United Mine Workers



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

Kelly Postal's Appeal to Be Argued May 17

Oral argument in the Kelly Postal appeal to the Minnesota Supreme Court will be heard on Monday, May 17, the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week. Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO, faces up to five years in prison as a result of one of the most vicious frameups in American labor history.

Kelly Postal's conviction is a continuation of the persecution launched against 28 Socialist Workers Party leaders and 544-CIO members in the famous Minneapolis labor case of 1941.

POSTAL'S "CRIME"

As secretary-treasurer of the local union, Postal merely obeyed the unanimous vote of the union membership at a regular meeting to take 544's funds with them out of the AFL and into the CIO. These funds belonged to the local union, since all per-capita taxes had been paid to the International.

Postal was never accused of misusing these funds personally. In Postal's first trial on these "embezzlement" charges in Jan., 1942, Judge Hall directed the jury to discharge the case, declaring: "The membership of the union must have believed they had a right to transfer these monies by resolution, as they attempted to do. Postal, the defendant, was the agent and steward of the membership and turned over the money at their direction."

Tobin then pressed the County Attorney to bring Postal to trial for a second time on the same kind of indictment which differed from the first only in the amount of money Postal was alleged to have "embezzled." This time, on May 1, 1942, Postal was found "guilty."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is now conducting a campaign to help defray the expenses involved in Kelly Postal's appeal. This drive for funds has already met with encouraging response among liberal and labor circles interested in defending the democratic rights of labor. This week's contributors to the Kelly Postal Defense Fund include Knitgoods Workers Local 155, ILGWU, New York, and the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union of Minneapolis, Minn. All friends of labor are urged to send their contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Ave., New York.

Govt. Living Cost Index Branded As Inaccurate

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

In one community where the Labor Department showed an increase of 22%, the AFL found a 38½% rise in the cost of living.

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

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

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

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

Try To Whitewash U. S. Steel Faking Of Armor Plate Tests

War Production Board and Boss Press Combine To Place Blame On Minor Officials

The War Production Board and the capitalist press combined last week in an effort to write a hasty "finis" to the U. S. Steel scandal involving the faking of tests on steel armor plate which endangered the lives of sailors and merchant marine seamen in the armed forces of the United States and its allies.

Holding a brief closed meeting on April 8, the WPB heard Benjamin Fairless, president of U. S. Steel, report that employees alleged to be responsible for the faked tests had been discharged. According to the N. Y. Times, the production record of the steel industry was then praised by Donald Nelson and the Board adjourned. Fairless' contention that only subordinate employees were involved in the faking of tests which allowed the shipping of inferior steel to the navy merchant marine and for lend-lease use, is at variance with all the implications of the testimony taken by the

Miners Still Seek Raise In Wages

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

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

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

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

MINERS' DEMANDS

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

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

(Continued on page 2)

Cowardice Of Labor Leaders Is Responsible For New Blow

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

By Anthony Massini

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

His latest decree was described by Roosevelt as a "hold - the - line" order.

Everyone realized that what he was really holding back was the effort of the labor movement, and particularly of the mine workers who are now engaged in contract negotiations, to bring their wages into line with rising living costs.

BOSSES HAPPY

This was shown positively by the universal approval and delight with which the order was greeted by all sections of Congress and the capitalist press, both pro-Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt; and it was shown negatively by the shocked surprise and apprehension with which the national leaders of the AFL and CIO first reacted to the order.

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

WAGE PROVISIONS

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

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

The government's concept of "substandard" wages has never been clearly defined, but its attitude on this question as demonstrated in the War Labor Board's decisions during the last year has made it abundantly clear that the administration does not regard the wages of the overwhelming majority of the workers as substandard.

15% FORMULA UPHOLD

The same provision of the order reaffirms the Little Steel formula, which limits wage raises to no more than 15% above the rates of Jan., 1941 although the cost of

living has risen almost one and a half times over that figure during this period.

Only a very small proportion of the workers has not already received the 15% raise permitted by the Little Steel formula; and the leaders of every important union in the country have been compelled by pressure from their members to protest the continued application of this formula.

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

Since most workers are not promoted or reclassified for years, this obviously will affect few people. In certain cases "incentive wages" might bring higher pay checks for a time, but only through the reintroduction of the nerve-racking speedup-stretch-out-piecework system which can easily be manipulated against the interests of the workers and which the labor movement fought for decades to abolish.

"INEQUITIES" TO REMAIN

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

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

Other important aspects of the April 8 order included:

Authorization for War Manpower Commissioner McNutt to prevent workers from shifting to jobs paying higher wage rates than their former jobs "unless the change of employment would aid in the effective prosecution of the war." Thus the miners, for example, could be prevented from leaving the mines to accept higher-paying jobs elsewhere.

The granting of increased wage powers to Economic Stabilization Director Byrnes, with a corresponding decrease, for the time being at least, in the powers of the War Labor Board. The labor members of the WLB violently protested Byrnes' intervention into

(Continued on page 2)

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

William F. Warde, popular Trotskyist lecturer and writer, will speak on "Why Roosevelt Froze Jobs and Wages" at the next session of the Sunday Open Forum, to be held April 18, 8 P. M., at the New York School of Social Science hall, 116 University Place.

In his lecture Warde will analyze the reasons for Roosevelt's April 8 freezing order and the

connection between it and the coal crisis. He will also discuss the administration's relations with the CIO and AFL leaders and its failure to freeze profits and veto the repeal of the \$25,000 salary limitation.

Other questions with which he will deal are: Can Roosevelt control rising profits? Are wage increases responsible for inflation? Why is Roosevelt being driven toward a more and more open anti-labor position?

TRADE UNION NOTES

By E. R. Frank

In the wake of Kansas, Texas and Colorado, the state legislatures of Idaho and South Dakota have passed repressive anti-labor laws which prohibit picketing and other forms of labor action at all agricultural establishments, while Oregon adopted a law which limits workers' opportunities to collect back pay from chiseling employers.

An important battle is now taking place in the key industrial state of Ohio over the French Bill which would virtually outlaw unionism. The purpose of the bill in its own words is to "protect the right of employees to refrain from joining a union."

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

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

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

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

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

"Workers constitute the vast bulk of Akron's population," the editorial points out. "Still day after day, the workers are being slandered, unjustly attacked and held up to public ridicule by this giant octopus in newspaper form."

"Just whom does the *Beacon Journal* represent anyway? Certainly not the thousands of workers."

"It is the opinion of the *Summit County Labor News*," the editorial concludes, "that the best interests of Akron would be served by the immediate establishment of an-

other daily newspaper in Akron. . . . "The establishment of such a newspaper is in the realm of possibility. It can be financed through the support of Akron's labor unions and their individual members."

"It is the desire of the *Summit County Labor News* that a new publishing company be formed immediately and stock offered for sale to unions and members of organized labor. . . ."

Hats off to the Akron labor movement! If they go through with this proposal, they will receive renown all over the country as the pioneers of the coming daily labor press.

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

The *Daily Worker* was caught re-handing in its campaign of lying and misrepresentation on the "incentive pay" plan. In a letter to the *Daily Worker* printed on April 5, Percy Llewellyn, the newly-elected President of the Ford local of the UAW-CIO, stated: "One of the several errors in your story of April 5 on incentive pay plan is the inference that I advocate such a plan and did advocate it during the election just completed at Ford local 600, UAW-CIO. Such inference is untrue."

Big Business knows the truth about absenteeism. In a series of industrial studies in their own house organ *Wall Street Journal*, they point out that a survey of the Aircraft War Production Council revealed that 95% of all absences in West Coast airplane factories was found due to illness and transportation difficulties.

Fortune magazine, the organ of the million dollar corporations, reveals in its March number that the four most important causes of absenteeism in plants are sickness, bad housing, low wages and homesickness. Fortune concludes that the way to remedy this "new national malady" is to remove these causes.

With these facts in mind, it is time for the labor movement to stop apologizing and hurl the accusation about absenteeism back into the teeth of the hypocritical and blood thirsty War profiteers and their Rickenbackers.

Burch Discusses Fight To Abolish Jim Crow

NEW YORK — Jim Crow and the Second World War was the subject of a lively discussion led by Arthur Burch at the regular Sunday Open Forum of the New York School of Social Science, held on April 11 at 116 University Place.

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

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

The Negro worker, Burch pointed out, has demonstrated in action that he can become one of the most loyal and courageous allies of the white worker in class battles.

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

Trotskyists in the factories persistently combat racial prejudices of the white workers and seek to teach them, just as they do with Negro workers, that unity of Negro and white against their common oppressor is a necessary step toward the solution of the problems of both.

Roosevelt's April 8 executive order freeing wages will work its greatest hardship upon the Negro masses, especially in the South, who are already forced to subsist at dangerously sub-standard wage

levels. However, the blow is aimed at the working class as a whole, and only the united efforts of the entire class can effectively meet this latest attack on the masses' living standards.

In conclusion Burch discussed the need for carrying the struggle on to the political arena. He pointed to the fact that the bosses use their political parties to divide the ranks of the workers and to pass legislation to achieve the same end. A labor party based on the trade unions and embracing both white and colored workers would constitute a powerful weapon in the hands of the masses both in smashing Jim Crow, and in furthering all of the economic and political interests of labor.

Bulletin On New Trotsky Book Issued By Local New York

The campaign of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party to extend the sales of Leon Trotsky's latest book, "In Defense of Marxism" is gaining momentum. Reports that 144 copies have been sold indicate that the campaign goal of 200 volumes by May 1 will be reached.

An important contribution to the campaign as well as to the education of the membership is the publication of a symposium-bulletin, containing articles by a number of party members on the contents of Comrade Trotsky's book.

Milton Alvin's article of appreciation places Trotsky's book among the great classics of the Marxist movement and points out that in "In Defense of Marxism" Trotsky has not only, summed up the lessons of almost a century of Marxist struggle but forged a new weapon for revolutionary workers.

The Bulletin contains an article by Myra Ward entitled "Trotsky After the Split With the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition." She re-

Roosevelt Freezes Wages

(Continued from page 1)
the West Coast aircraft wage case last month on the ground that he had been responsible for the denial of the workers' justified wage demands.

PRICE PROMISES

Roosevelt also repeated the promise he has made so many times in the last year—that he would take steps to control prices. He added: "Some prices affecting the cost of living are already above the levels of Sept. 15, 1942," the so-called stabilization date of his previous decree. "All of these cannot be rolled back. But some of these can and should be rolled back," Roosevelt is vague here, much vaguer than in respect to wages, but he is specific enough about not returning all prices to their Sept., 1942 levels.

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

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

GREEN AND MURRAY

This blow at the workers was made possible only by the policies of capitulation of both William Green and Philip Murray, representing the top leadership of the AFL and CIO. It is obvious now that their opposition to the Little Steel formula last month was only a pretense, carried out only to save face with their ranks and to allay the suspicions of the workers that their leaders were betraying the interests of the union movement.

It is clear now, as it was last month when the top leaders of the AFL and CIO promised to remain as members of the WLB even after that body had upheld the Little Steel formula, that they had no serious intentions of putting up a fight, that they were capitulating to the pressure of the war administration. By their actions they have joined forces with the administration against the interests of the labor movement which are finding expression at the present time in the campaign of the United Mine Workers for higher wages. By their whining pleas early this month that they would not press for wage raises if only Roosevelt would do something to curb price rises, they laid the groundwork for the April 8 order.

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

THE STALINISTS

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

LEWIS' STATEMENT

The attitude of the masses was

given expression by UMW President John L. Lewis when he stated on April 10 that the real inflationary threat in the war came from the exorbitant profits of Big Business and not from the efforts of the workers and working farmers to keep up with rising living costs.

"The farmer and miner in effect are being asked to maintain their living standards on a status quo, ante-bellum basis with no consideration of wear or tear or depreciation of human plant facilities while corporate industry is given ample allowance for maintenance of plant and equipment and \$6,250,000,000 in nine months of monetary awards for luxurious living or any other consideration.

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

"The United Mine Workers and its membership will continue to make this fight. . . ."

WHAT IS NEEDED

The labor movement has been struck a powerful blow by Roosevelt's decree, the full consequences of which are yet to be felt. Recovery from this blow is difficult, and it is made still more difficult by the servile acceptance of the decree by the Murrys and the Greens. Nevertheless recovery, and even the assumption of the offensive, are fully possible.

What is required is a policy of independence and militancy, based not on the needs of the administration—or on the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, as is the case with the Stalinist policy—but on the interests of the working men and women. What is required is a leadership that boldly carries out the wishes and furthers the aspirations of its members, not one that knuckles down to the demands of the agents of Big Business.

Only with that kind of policy and leadership can the workers successfully defend their conditions and rights in time of war.

Black Market In Meat Continues To Thrive

By EDITH KANE

The meat situation nationally has assumed the proportions of an open scandal. The large cities are at the mercy of speculators and racketeers. In Albany a legislative committee on nutrition announced that "an organized gang has made New York the Eastern headquarters of their black market operations." Senator Thomas C. Desmond, chairman of the committee, estimated "that one out of every five pounds of meat now being consumed is unsupervised and health-endangering."

Not only are meat prices skyrocketing, but meat substitutes are keeping pace. Fish is scarce and high. Poultry prices have been mounting steadily. Investigations and ceiling prices were promised after complaints of the Federation of Koshier Butchers of N. Y. disclosed that they were being forced to pay from 16 to 20 cents a pound more for poultry than the prevailing price. Vegetables and fruits are 100 to 175% higher than at this time last year.

While the average housewife

was frantically struggling to resolve the higher mathematics of dividing 16 points a week per person into adequate rations of meat, fat, and cheese for her family and experimenting with starchy fillers and substitutes to make one-half pound of meat seem like two—health authorities warned of the danger of protein insufficiency in the nation's diet, particularly for those engaged in increased physical activity, as war workers are today.

WHERE IS THE MEAT?

The main reason advanced for the lessened supply for civilians is the huge demand of the Army, Navy and Lend-Lease program. Yet the N. Y. Times of April 5 carried an article headlined: "Army Has Trouble Getting Meat."

Where, one wonders, is the meat? A partial answer was given in PM of April 2. Hotel supply houses, it claims, were glutted with meat the first week that rationing began. Since the ceiling prices on meat for hotels and restaurants is higher than the retail ceiling price, these supply houses, many of whom are subsidiaries of large packers, simply held on to their huge stocks until

they could dispose of them to hotels, rather than sell to the retail trade and cut down on their profits.

While the hotel supply firms were trying to figure out how to dispose of this hoarded meat to hotels and restaurants who were restricted in their purchases by points, the OPA helped them solve their difficulties. Meat in danger of spoilage, it seems, may be sold at a lessened point value. So the big supply houses, claiming that the huge stock in their coolers was about to spoil, could sell their meat at four points a pound instead of eight, thus selling twice the amount of meat and making an extra profit.

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

GRADE MARKING OUT

When the latest dollar-and-cents ceiling price order on beef, veal, lamb and mutton was signed by Prentiss Brown on March 27, it contained a provision requiring all stores to mark the grade of the meat on each cut. It was learned last week that this provision has since been eliminated from the order. According to Charles Fleischer, head of the OPA's Food Distribution Branch and a former A. & P. official: "Grade-marking would add to the already heavy burden of the retailers without substantially easing the enforcement problem." He insisted that prices "would indicate the grade of the cut as well as the grade mark." (PM April 8.)

Without the grade of the meat clearly marked, the opportunity for price ceiling violations are obviously greater.

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

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

Higgins Yard Shut Down To Protect Competitors

Admiral Land Intervened Because It Was Producing So Rapidly That It Embarrassed Old Line Companies, AFL Report Charges

When Rear Admiral Emory S. ("shoot 'em at sunrise") Land's reappointment as head of the Maritime Commission was being considered by the U. S. Senate two weeks ago, Senator Aiken of Vermont vainly attempted to block confirmation of the appointment by reviewing Land's long record of collusion with Big Business in defrauding the government on shipbuilding and operating contracts.

One juicy item uncovered by Aiken and inserted in the *Congressional Record* of March 30, was the hitherto unpublished findings of a committee set up by the American Federation of Labor to investigate Land's cancellation of the Higgins Corporation shipyard and shipbuilding contracts. The general conclusions reached by this committee—that Land had sabotaged the Higgins contract to protect existing U. S. Steel yards and Bethlehem Steel—had been released by the AFL last November. However, many of the details of the scandal remained unpublished until Aiken inserted them in the *Congressional Record*.

The Higgins contract was for the construction of a shipbuilding yard in New Orleans which, at the peak of operation, would turn out Liberty ships at the unheard of rate of 2 per day. This was to be accomplished by a new assembly-line method worked out by Andrew Higgins, president of the company. According to the AFL report, the Higgins yard would have cut the man-hours in constructing the ships from 500,000 to 230,000 or less. Basing the average labor

costs on \$1 per hour, the report declares that "the government would have saved in labor costs alone . . . at least a quarter of a million dollars on each vessel launched," and goes on to add that the Higgins contract "would have saved the government at least \$50,000,000" on the total 200 ships called for in the initial order.

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

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

BETHELEHEM'S AGENT

Among the group which determines this policy is Joseph W. Powell, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy and dominant figure on the Bureau of Ships. He is a former vice president of the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and former president of the United Shipyards, Inc., which consolidated all the major ship-repair yards in the New York area except the Todd Company.

The AFL report points out that it was this same Powell who had represented the shipyards in World War I and had "used the Nation's desperation to force through an unfair contract, provid-

ing for exorbitant profits for his company."

The report continues, "... he (Powell) influenced the cancellation of the Higgins contracts. By eliminating the Higgins plant, Mr. Powell and the Maritime Commission succeeded in re-establishing their policy of protecting the old-line shipyards."

HOW LAND OPERATED

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

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

The fat melon of a 200 ship contract, originally awarded to Higgins, was now divided among the old-line companies at an unspecified rate of profit.

THE AFL'S CHARGES

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

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

"In asserting that a shortage of steel was the reason for the cancellation of the Higgins contracts the Maritime Commission selected an excuse that was without foundation in truth."

The AFL concluded by asking that the contracts be restored to Higgins. This, of course, was not done. Furthermore, Admiral Land who was responsible for the fraud, was renominated by President Roosevelt for another six year term as head of the Maritime Commission, and the Senate confirmed the nomination.

Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

Boston—Adelman's Newsstand
284 Tremont St.

Chicago—Socialist Bookshop,
Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.

Detroit—The Saturday Bookshop, Room 5, 3513 Woodward Ave., open Saturday evenings from 6 to 9 o'clock.

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

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

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

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

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

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

San Francisco—Duncans Smoke Shop, 1886 Sutter St. Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St. MacDonald's Book Shop, 867 Mission St. Golden Gate News Agency, 81 Third St. Fitzgerald News Agency, 21 Fourth St.

Seattle—Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

IN HARLEM

The Militant

is on sale at the southeast corner of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue

Miners Still Seek Raise In Wages

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

STEELMAN'S LINE, AND THE OPERATORS

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

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

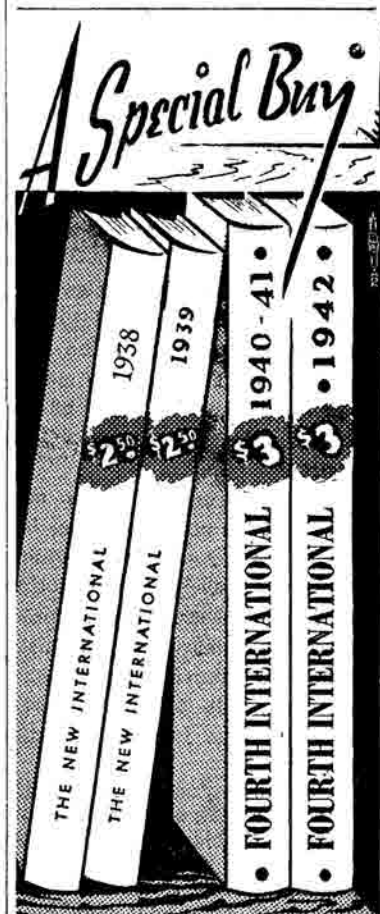
Moreover, the intransigence of the operators in the present negotiations is aimed at pressuring the government into the adjustment of coal prices to a still higher level should a compromise settlement with Lewis and the miners be supported by the administration.

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

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

The March 13 issue of *The Militant* carried a short notice calling attention to Loris' article as "an excellent contribution to the struggle against the petty-bourgeois elements who strive to show that Bolshevism was responsible for Stalinism."

A reader of *The Militant* suggests that since Loris' article was described as "an answer to Walter Held," this could be taken to mean that Held is included among such anti-Bolshevik elements. For the sake of clarification *The Militant* wishes to make it clear that this was not the intention of the short paragraph on Loris' article. The author of this paragraph was fully aware of the fact that Walter Held in an exponent of Bolshevism and had no desire to imply otherwise; he merely tried to indicate that Loris' article, aside from its differences with the viewpoint of Held on the German situation, was so written that it serves as an educational weapon against the petty-bourgeois types who link Bolshevism with Stalinism.



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The Negro Struggle

Albert Parker

Justice Department Leads With Its Chin

When two white Texans were sentenced to prison last month for keeping a Negro worker in slavery on their farm, we remarked in this column that it was good to find something for which oppressors of the Negro masses can be punished by law and added: "For even though it's almost 80 years since the abolition of chattel slavery, the Negro remains so oppressed in so many fields that it is still a novelty to find laws operating to protect any of his rights."

Apparently we were not the only ones to be struck by the fact that it is unusual to observe enforcement of laws affecting the democratic rights of the Negro people. The Department of Justice has thought it over and also seems to regard it in the light of news — so much so that they put one of their officials to work writing an article for the Negro press on its work in prosecuting violators of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which forbids slavery or involuntary servitude, "except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

So rare is the opportunity for the Department of Justice, to present itself to the Negro people as a defender of democratic and constitutional rights that no less a person than Mr. Victor W. Rotnem, head of the Department's Civil Rights Section, was assigned to this job, and he has written the article with a soberness and gravity suggesting that he too is aware of how unusual this situation is.

As might be expected, Rotnem's article (*Pittsburgh Courier*, April 10) utilizes the occasion to blow the bugles for the righteousness of the United States government's aims in the war by contrasting its attitude on the question of the thirteenth amendment with that of the Axis powers who, he notes, hold "to a contrary ideal and will, if successful in this war, subject millions not only in foreign lands but in this country as well, to compulsory labor and involuntary servitude."

But it seems to us that Rotnem rather overreaches himself in his eagerness to make this point, that he winds up leading with his chin. There is no need to convince the Negro people that fascism is their enemy and must be fought; their own experiences have taught them that. Nor will their desire for equality be satisfied by accounts of enforcements of certain sections of the Constitution. For Rotnem's point serves only to raise other points:

What about other parts of the Constitution? What about the first section of the fourteenth amendment which says "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or the immunities of the citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws?"

Lynching, to take but one example, certainly violates this amendment, and yet the government, even in the midst of the

war, refuses to take a single step to pass anti-lynching legislation. If the administration is to be praised for enforcing the thirteenth amendment, what should be said about its attitude toward the fourteenth amendment?

The first section of the fifteenth amendment reads: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Everyone knows, even Rotnem, that the poll tax laws in the South are violations of this amendment, even though so drawn up as to technically evade its meaning; and that the administration has steadfastly refused to support congressional action to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for even federal elections. If the administration's enforcement of the thirteenth amendment proves that its war aims are just, what does its disregard of the fifteenth amendment prove?

No, Mr. Rotnem, you and your boss, Biddle, will have to do better than that before you can convince the Negro masses that the administration can be depended on to protect their democratic rights and aspirations. On the basis of the record, to which you were sufficiently injudicious to call attention, the Negro people are learning that they can depend on nothing but the organized strength of the labor movement and their own militant action.

The Stalinist desertion of the Negro struggle for equality has become so barefaced that responsible Negro trade union leaders whom they have been wooing for a long time are now forced to repudiate and denounce them in no uncertain terms. The recent statement by one of these leaders, Willard S. Townsend, member of the CIO national executive board and international president of the Red Caps' union, the United Transport Service Employees, was both sharp and significant.

Writing in the March issue of his union's paper, *Bag and Baggage*, Townsend said in part: "We have no quarrel with those honest intellectuals, progressives and radicals whose sincerity of opinion and sacrifices have created many of the bright spots in the history of our movement. We do, however, emphatically question the unwholesome role being played by a completely dishonest clique of union power-politicians, the 'Communists'..."

"To us, the present 'party line' of the carpet-baggers on the Negro question in America is indistinguishable from that of many of our Southern poll-taxers or Uncle Toms. They wrap their reactionary position in a red flag and yell 'unity.' In the open they spout fire-eating but harmless phrases about 'freedom and equality of opportunity' for Negroes, but behind closed doors they are sabotaging every decent effort and impulse on the part of independent liberals and trade unionists to push for an immediate and adequate solution of these problems..."

International Notes

By BETTY KUEHN

As we reported last week, the Jean Jaures Group, composed of French "socialist" leaders who escaped to London, split recently over the question of their relation with deGaulle.

The main point of disagreement is over deGaulle's political aims. The pro-Gaullist minority states that it is "impossible to artificially separate military resistance from political resistance" and supports deGaulle in both. The majority, on the other hand, was willing to support deGaulle as long as it was a "purely military" matter. When deGaulle finally made known his political aims they broke with him.

They did not break with him for socialist reasons. They wanted assurance that there would be a "democratic" arena in France, with elections, national assembly, trade unions, in which to operate as bureaucrats as they had before the war.

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

They proceeded to expose the key men in the Gaullist organization as anti-Semitic and as agents of the large capitalist enterprises. M. Diethelm, who was appointed Minister of the Interior in the Free French Committee and who is slated for the title of "Com-

missioner of the Republic" when deGaulle debarks in France, they expose as a representative of the *Comite des Forges*, France's giant steel trust.

They state that M. Andre Meyer, who was made the treasurer of the Free French Relief Fund in New York, is a well-known intimate of Georges Bonnet and Fernand de Brinon, both openly pro-Hitlerite. "This gentleman," says the majority document, "while carrying on his functions around the Free French League, continues his relations... with Henry Haye, Vichy Ambassador to the U. S."

But whether for or against deGaulle's political program at the moment, both sections of this "socialist" group are for revenge against Germany, for the reconstruction of the French Empire with its colonies, etc.

Is this democratic or fascist propaganda?

A dispatch from Berne, Switzerland to the March 18 N. Y. Times states:

"Possibly in preparation for a reduction of all food rations next month, especially bread, the controlled press in France expatiates on the 'advantages' of short rations..."

"Medical authorities are cited to show that the present reduced diet is excellent for preventing dental decay. Another advantage claimed is that the intellectual

A Shift In C.P. Jewish Work

By A. ROLAND

The Stalinists have made a curious turn in their Jewish work, a turn that deserves more than passing attention. The Hitler-Stalin pact disillusioned many of the Jewish Stalinists, both members and sympathizers. The influence of the Communist Party in the Jewish trade unions tended toward the vanishing point in the period of Stalin's collaboration with the Nazis.

The sudden invasion of the USSR and the heroic resistance of the Red Army revived the hopes of many who had dropped away from the Stalinists. Certainly it can be said that the Jews of all classes, and especially the workers, wished ardently to see the Red Army victorious in their struggle against the vicious Nazi invaders.

STALINIST PROPAGANDA

How have the Stalinists attempted, under these circumstances, to carry on their work among the Jewish masses? It becomes evident that here as everywhere else, Stalinist propaganda has been for the benefit not of the workers or the Jewish masses, but for the sole aims of the Soviet bureaucracy. At the beginning of the year the Jewish language daily, *The Morning Freiheit*, suddenly carried through a typical Stalinist maneuver, pretending to replace or discard one false face for another. The Morning Freiheit Publishing Co. became the "Morning Freiheit Association."

A new declaration of principles was enacted which at first glance seemed to aim at a "People's Front" for all Jews. But what could such a Front be, what could its goal be? The Stalinists evidently decided that to be pro-Russian and anti-fascist was enough of a basis to re-establish their movement. Beyond this every "element" of Jewish life was

"promised" a free say in the "new" press.

The Jewish Revisionists, reflecting the most conservative bourgeois views, were to receive support in their demand for a Jewish army in Palestine. The Zionists of all shades (here is a turn indeed) were to be attracted by the promise to "aid the Jews of Palestine to build the Yishuv (community)." The Assimilationists were to be placated by a generous offer "to make a richer collective contribution to the building and progress of the American nation."

Here was a Jewish People's Unity to suit any condition of man. The new *Freiheit* was "to reflect in every possible way all the opinions and attitudes of all the anti-fascist currents in Jewish life." The Stalinists make a special effort to attract into their orbit the bourgeois Zionist politics. Not only have communist aims completely disappeared in the "new" orientation, but even common working class aims have become submerged.

STALIN'S AIMS

What is the meaning of this turn? What does Stalin wish to accomplish by gaining control over such a movement? It is not to be blinked at that the Stalinists refer again and again to the "anti-fascist currents in Jewish life." The vile, utterly cynical acts of the Stalinist bureaucracy, including most recently the doing to death of Alter and Erlich, make obvious the implication that there are currents (and in the ranks of the Jewish workers, mind you!) which are fascist.

Anyone who has studied the treacheries of Stalin will recognize that what he aims at is not unity but disunity. He wishes to attract closely enough all kinds of careerist elements so as to offer them a bargain. He will support demands at the peace conference for a Jewish Palestine—

so he implies—if those Jews who are interested in power politics will in turn aid him.

This aid can be of several kinds. First and foremost there is the aid that the Jews can give in Stalin's territorial demands, including the half of Poland occupied by him during the Hitler-Stalin pact, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia. Stalin hopes to obtain this territory with the consent of the United Nations. He is laying his plans to neutralize all those who might oppose him, or even to win in advance to his side elements who might prove unwilling. The United Nations might place the matter up to a plebiscite in the various territories. In that case Stalin would like the Jews to vote for incorporation in the Soviet Union.

THE BUND'S POSITION

There are Jewish elements however which have declared themselves utterly opposed to Stalinism. The Polish Bund for example was so much against Stalin that it would most likely prefer Sikorski to the Kremlin dictator. The Bund in fact declared itself for the war on the side of the democracies when Stalin invaded Poland, and registered itself at that time in favor of a Greater Poland. At the same time it claimed to desire independent working class action against Nazism and for socialism. Unquestionably it was because of this, and because of its opposition to Stalinism, that the Bund was persecuted by the GPU and its leaders, Erlich and Alter, were done to death. Stalin cynically disregarded Jewish and world opinion in the pursuit of his own war aims. He did not want the Jewish leaders to leave Russia to join the Polish Government in Exile in London. They might have become too great an obstacle to Stalin's plans.

No doubt Stalin would like to have a section of the Jews bolster up his frameups and fraudulent accusations against those among

the Jews whom he has called "fascist agents." Those who know the fear and demoralization of petty bourgeois and bourgeois Jews in this country, realize that there are many of them who, while not believing for one moment in the charges so despicably made against Erlich and Alter, yet wish to hush the matter up at once. They say that the "larger issue" of the war is so all-important, especially to the Jews, that Stalin must not be accused of his misdeeds. Not now, not now! This is the road that, with a little bargaining and persuasion on Stalin's part, can lead to the next logical step: Stalin got Davies to serve as his accessory to the crime after the fact, as his whitewasher of the infamous Moscow Trials. Why not a few frightened Jews? Never forget that Stalin had the *Freiheit* crowd do just that.

NO CYNICAL BARGAINS

Let Jews beware of any cynical bargains with Stalin! He knows only one loyalty, one service. That is loyalty to his own power and that of the bureaucratic clique that hopes to maintain power in the Kremlin after the war. What ever stands in the way of that one aim, Stalin will try to remove at all costs.

Especially dangerous to Stalin are those independent elements in the ranks of the working class everywhere who consciously pursue the aims of the independent international proletarian politics. Next come those who, by their opposition to Stalinism and all its works, may find their way at the next rise of the revolutionary wave, to the ranks of the revolutionists. It is these elements that Stalin aims consciously to isolate. He wishes to besmirch them in advance by calling them fascists and fascist agents. There are many such devoted types among the Jewish workers, here and abroad. Stalin seeks allies to isolate and destroy them. Let him find none among the Jews!

Stalin knows that this war cannot end without profound upheavals in Europe. He has set his course in advance—everywhere—to act in his own way as a brake on the working class movement. Let that movement gain its own independent momentum, and Stalin will be among its first victims. The Kremlin hopes to be able, from the midst of the working class, to disorient and disorganize it, as he has done over the years now, so that no harm can come to him or to the clique in power in the Soviet Union. If the workers in the other countries where revolts may occur, make their appeal for aid not to Stalin but rather against Stalin to the Soviet workers and peasants, then all the efforts of the dictator will come to naught.

New F. I. Features Article On Lewis And Roosevelt

"John L. Lewis and Roosevelt's Labor Policy" by E. R. Frank is the feature article in the April issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*, which appeared on the newsstands last week.

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

This article is sure to provide plenty of food for thought for militants concerned with the problems of the union movement today, and it deserves the widest possible circulation.

LEON TROTSKY ON EUROPE AND AMERICA

In 1926 the State Soviet Publishers issued a pamphlet containing two speeches by Leon Trotsky and bearing the title of "Europe and America." In these the founder of the Red Army subjected to detailed analysis the role of American capitalism after the first world war and its relations to Europe — a problem of tremendous importance both then and now and in the period to come, when the proper evaluation of this question will determine to a very large extent the strategy of the socialist revolution. The April issue of *Fourth International* carries the first part of Trotsky's speech with a new translation from the Russian by John G. Wright.

"Woodrow Wilson and Bolshevism" by Terence Phelan is a re-

They Do Not Care About The European Masses' Desires

By M. Morrison

At present, when the Red Army is no longer advancing as it was several months ago, the capitalists of England and the United States are breathing a little more easily. Their fears concerning Stalin's aims and course of action in case of a victorious Red Army marching into Germany have been allayed. Nevertheless they still show great anxiety with reference to the nature of Stalin's possible demands at the peace table. There is still much uneasy speculation on this subject.

It is clear that both England and the United States want Stalin to be satisfied with the borders of the Soviet Union as they existed at the time of Hitler's invasion of Poland. Should Stalin accommodate the English and American capitalist politicians on this point it would be exceedingly helpful to them. There would then be the old buffer states against the Soviet Union. (It is true, as Assistant Secretary of State Berle claims, that buffer states are not so valuable in these days of the fast-flying plane. Nevertheless they still have great value.) The Atlantic Charter would not appear to be so hollow a document and there would be no difficulties with Poland.

It is also clear that Stalin is not willing to be so accommodating. Before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union he was anxious to extend the frontiers of the Soviet Union because he feared an attack by his ally Hitler. Now he wants the same frontiers because he does not trust his present allies. Of course the Stalinist bureaucracy, like all bureaucracies, is after power, prestige and revenue. This was pointed out by Trotsky. But Stalin's primary aim is to prepare against any possible attack.

In his designs, Stalin is aided not only by the resistance and victories of the Red Army, which have greatly enhanced his prestige, but also by the conflicts between English and American capitalism and by the disagreements between sections of the American capitalists.

Recently an editorial appeared in the London *Times* which practically stated that Stalin should be his own judge as to the frontiers necessary for the defense of the Soviet Union. It also laid down the proposition that the Soviet Union and England have primary responsibility for the peace of Europe. This was not at all agreeable to the American capitalist politicians and Anthony Eden, while on a visit to the United

States, hastened to assert that the London *Times* does not represent the views of the British government. That is not so easy to believe. At any rate it can be taken for granted that the London *Times* speaks for an influential section of the British ruling class.

English imperialism, smarting under the dominance of American capitalism, must be quite anxious to keep the latter from gaining complete hegemony in Europe. With Germany out of the way some agreement with Stalin appears to be the only way by which to prevent revolutionary uprisings and to keep the United States from gaining complete control. To achieve such an alliance some of the English capitalists are willing to grant Stalin's demands.

The fact that England has an agreement with the Polish government of landlords and capitalists guaranteeing the boundaries of Poland as they existed prior to Hitler's attack, has, of course, no influence whatever with the practical politicians of London. Agreements should not be taken seriously.

Helpful to Stalin is also the fact that a powerful section of the American capitalists is willing to appease him to the extent of conceding all his demands, with reference to the territory which he wishes to annex to the Soviet Union. All elements of the capitalist class would of course prefer to have Stalin content himself with the Soviet boundaries as they existed before the war. But they do not agree on any policy should Stalin, as is clearly indicated, demand those territories which he had seized prior to Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union.

On the one hand there is Bullitt, former American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and representing the more obstinate section of the American capitalists, who proposes the "carrot and club" method. Were this policy to be followed it would mean that Stalin must commit himself now and, if he does not agree to the demands of the United States, all aid to the Soviet Union should be cut off with more serious action to be taken against the Soviet Union later.

It can be safely predicted that this policy will not be followed while the war is on. Until Hitler is defeated the interests of the capitalists of this country demand that aid be given to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand there is a group of capitalists, whose sentiments are expressed by the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, who are willing to go very far to satisfy Stalin in all his demands. This group feels that it is essential to have an agreement with Stalin in order to prevent or suppress a revolution in Europe. They are willing to pay him any price for such a service. It is also their aim to achieve control of Europe as against England, through an agreement with Stalin.

In all this bickering and planning and speculation the masses of the territories involved in the dispute are completely ignored. They are only cattle to be shifted about in the interests of this or that group of capitalists or of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Revolutionary Marxists, contrary to the capitalists and the Stalinist bureaucrats, take the interest of the masses as their point of departure.

It is of course fundamental with us that in case of any conflict between any capitalist country and the Soviet Union, a victory of the Soviet Union, even under Stalin, would best serve the historic interests of the working masses. But that does not mean that we in any way approve of Stalin's territorial demands or of his foreign policy.

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

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

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facilities develop more rapidly if the stomach is not overburdened."

Fourteen members of the Belgian Army in England were recently sentenced to imprisonment by a Belgian court martial.

Their crime, according to the March 12 British *Tribune*, was that they had asked for a reform of the Belgian army and had "threatened" to communicate their dissatisfaction to Mr. Churchill and Stafford Cripps.

The Belgian authorities stated that these men had appealed to the heads of a foreign state against their own officers. This made them guilty. In attempting to appeal to the British government, however, these Belgian soldiers were recognizing a fact that the Belgian government-in-exile does not wish to acknowledge: The Belgian government in England exists solely on the sufferance of the British government, not from any action of the Belgian masses. The fact that the court-martialed soldiers were sent to an English prison is one proof of this.

"This latest example of disaffection in the camp of an Allied Government," states the *Tribune*, "calls for a very thorough inquiry into the use made by Allied Governments of the police, judicial and military powers which have been conferred upon them."

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— LEON TROTSKY

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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.

Salary Limit

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A British Election

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

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

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

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

The Hobbs Bill

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

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

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

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

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

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

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World War II

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WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

Fight for Jobs For Negro Workers

Editor:

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

Speaker after speaker pointed out the disparity between the democratic slogans being used to rally colored people to the support of the war and the denial of democracy at home. Those at the meeting expressed their intention to fight at home for job opportunities for themselves and for those Negroes who will return from the war.

Much to the point is the fact that while the P.T.C. is frantically seeking men to operate its war-expanded lines, without much success among white workers, it has so far steadfastly refused to employ the ready supply of colored workers.

Philadelphia Reader

'Screen Guide' On The Davies' Film

Editor:

In a sampling of the poison that Warner Brothers intends to dish out in "Mission To Moscow" I refer your readers to the May issue of *Screen Guide*, one of the slickies that specialize in glamor photos and advance publicity for Hollywood. The article is entitled "Hollywood Drops A Bombshell" and contains a two page spread of stills from "Mission To Moscow."

Over the caption, "Here are three of Europe's most despicable

politicians," appear shots of actors portraying Trotsky, Laval and Ribbentrop! The accompanying note explains: "Trotsky's 'world revolution' theories were very detrimental to the Russian cause." On the opposite page appear three other shots captioned, "Mission To Moscow! Helps America Understand These Men," and the men: actors playing Stalin, Churchill and Haile Selassie, all looking positively saintly.

The article congratulates Hollywood for emerging at last from its ivory tower and repudiating the "smug critics and intellectuals" and "certain people who pay lip service to America (who) will claim that the film is 'silly propaganda' for Russia." Any of your readers who need a violent emetic should read the rest of the article.

A Reader
New Rochelle, N. Y.

Cost-Plus Contracts Breed Inefficiency

Editor:

Your readers may be interested in the following which shows how well patriotism pays the bosses.

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

Despite this situation, the supervisors and foremen tell workers, when they ask for time off or

permission to leave early, that "boys are dying on the battlefields and you want to shirk your duty."

From what I hear in the plant the company has a cost-plus contract which means that the government guarantees it a certain percentage of profits on the total cost of producing these war goods. The more labor time put in, the greater the production costs, and consequently the greater the profits.

This shows clearly the hypocrisy of the bosses. While they spout patriotism and the need for sacrifices by the workers, they lose no opportunity to make profits out of the war.

M. S.
New York City

Rationing and Price Control

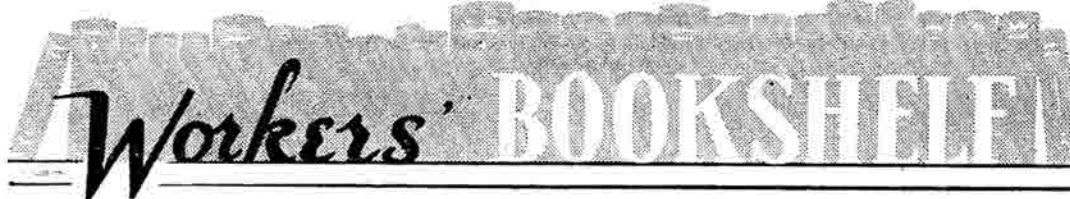
Editor:

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

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

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

H. W.
New York



ONE WORLD. By Wendell L. Willkie. 206 pp. New York: Simon & Schuster. \$2 (Cloth), \$1 (Paper Cover).

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

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

Purpose of Willkie's Mission

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Willkie's Main Proposition

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

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

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

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

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

Reviewed by M. Stein.

What Kind of Education Is Needed in Europe Now?

By RALPH JOHNSON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Party Committee in N. Y. Issues Bulletin On Women

By ARLENE WILLIAMS

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

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

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

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

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

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