

**Post Office Releases
Two Issues Of Militant**
AN EDITORIAL

The Post Office, which has been withholding from the mails all recent issues of "The Militant," has permitted the Nov. 28 and Dec. 5 issues to be dispatched and delivered.

Unquestionably this action is partially a result of the protests registered by numerous labor and liberal journals and organizations in the six-week period since the Post Office began to interfere with the mailing privileges of "The Militant."

Only a single group in the country has thus far expressed the slightest approval for the Post Office action, and that is the Communist Party which not only wants "The Militant" suppressed altogether, but also wants a witch-hunt started against all labor organizations and papers critical of the administration and opposed to reactionary Stalinist policies.

All others which have commented on the case thus far — the American Civil Liberties Union, "The Nation," the "Reading Labor Advocate," "The Call," "Labor Action," the "New Leader" — have condemned the Post Office's arbitrary action.

But it would be a great mistake to now relax pressure on the postal authorities or to cease demands that they quit interfering with the delivery of this paper. For the decision to permit two individual issues to be delivered is no guarantee that future issues will not be withheld or destroyed.

Furthermore, while the postal authorities may appear to be making some concessions to freedom of the press, their failure to permit the delivery of the paper until two weeks after the issues were first deposited in the Post Office, serves to completely cancel the practical effects of their decision.

A weekly paper detained in the Post Office for two weeks has lost 95% of its effectiveness and usefulness by the time it is finally delivered to subscribers and purchasers. Holding up a paper for two weeks is the next thing to destroying it.

The Post Office action in letting the Nov. 28 and Dec. 5 issues go through the mails is an admission that not even after poring over the paper for two weeks could its agents find any pretext for barring it. And yet "The Militant" is being punished by this two week delay for some "crime" which even the Post Office admits has not been committed.

Is this bureaucratic and thus far completely unexplained procedure to continue? Does the Post Office intend, while perhaps remaining within the letter of its technical powers, to destroy the effectiveness of a newspaper even though nothing can be charged against that paper but that it consistently defends the interests of the working class?

As long as the possibility remains that the Post Office may embark on such a course, every defender of freedom of the press must continue to raise his voice in protest. "The Militant" has become a test case for World War II. Not until its rights are fully restored can the charge be denied that the attack on "The Militant" is a first step toward the suppression of all criticism from the left.

**OPA PERMITS PRICE RISES
ON BEEF, 16 GROCERY ITEMS**

In two actions last week the Office of Price Administration approved price rises in food that will mean a drop in the workers' standard of living.

On Dec. 10 the OPA permitted a "moderate rise" in the price of beef. Three days later it authorized price rises on 16 grocery items.

The price of beef has been shooting up, regardless of price ceilings. Acute shortages of meat are being felt in numerous sections of the country.

The main cause for the shortages, high prices and circumvention of the price ceilings is the deliberate policy of the wholesalers in selling their meat only to the higher-priced retailers, and thereby securing a greater amount of profits.

Ceilings on retail beef were set for each dealer at the highest price charged by that particular store in the month of March. This has led to different levels in the ceiling prices from store to store and from region to region.

Those individual stores and those areas which were permitted to charge higher prices order all or most of the available meat, thus leaving their competitors — who cannot legally charge such high prices — with empty shelves.

The food price ceilings have become a tragic farce so far as the consumer is concerned. If one is a regular customer and can be trusted not to complain against bootleg market prices butchers and grocers may consent to sell those commodities of which there is a shortage. Otherwise the consumer meets the terse reply to their requests for food: "All out."

16 ITEMS
The decision to grant price increases on 16 grocery items involves canned apples, apple juice, apple sauce, fountain fruits, egg noodles, tamales, potato chips, raisin filled biscuits and crackers, fig bars, peanut candy and extracted honey, besides other commodities.

The action in regard to the grocery items was taken to relieve a "squeeze" on wholesalers and retailers as a result of previous OPA authorized increases in the prices which food manufacturers are allowed to charge.

HOW IT WORKS
First, the manufacturers were permitted to increase their prices. Then the wholesalers are allowed to raise their prices to the retailers so as to maintain their profits. And then the retailer in turn is permitted to charge higher prices from the consumer. Only the workers suffer from the high prices, for they are not permitted to receive higher wages to make up for the price boosts. The OPA has a consistent record of permitting the employers

—manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers—to pierce the price ceilings.
On July 24, for example, the OPA authorized the increase of from 10 to 25% on the prices of canned fruits and berries. On Oct. 10 Henderson's agency announced that permission had been granted.

**Treasury Dep't
Plans New Taxes
On the Workers**
**1943 Burden Will
Probably Exceed
That of This Year**

The forecast for 1943 is: More taxes, particularly upon the lower-paid income groups.

As 1942, the year of record taxation of the masses, draws to a close, U. S. Treasury officials are studying plans to increase taxation with the aim of "absorbing" 40 billion dollars of consumer purchasing power. As soon as the current 9 billion dollar bond drive ends, (about Christmas) it is expected that the Treasury will bring its proposals out into the open.

It is expected that income tax totals will be boosted by at least 6 billions. Other methods proposed by the Treasury are spending taxes, compulsory saving and lending, bond sales and increased social security taxes.

The plan to "absorb" 40 billions of "excess purchasing power" is aimed at draining this huge amount away from the masses, and will be levied over and above the present tax figures, according to Randolph Paul, Treasury general counsel. The congressional committees which have charge of taxation are on record for increased tax revenues to come primarily from the workers and dirt farmers, while sparing the wealthy and Big Business.

Labor is completely without representation on the committees which pass the tax laws. A strong labor party would give the workers and dirt farmers an opportunity to fight effectively against the "soak the poor and spare the rich" tax proposals.

**No-Strike Pledge
Is Debated at N. J.
CIO Convention**

**Discussion Shows
Growing Discontent
In Labor's Ranks**

NEWARK, N. J., Dec. 14.—The highlight of the fifth annual convention of the New Jersey State CIO, which concluded its sessions last night, was a spirited debate on recommendations that labor reconsider the "no-strike pledge" made a year ago by the top leaders of the union movement.

Although at the end these proposals were voted down by the convention, the discussion revealed a growing discontent in the ranks of labor.

The outbreak came on a resolution brought in by the resolutions committee calling on the CIO to reconsider the no-strike pledge unless employers ceased taking advantage of it and unless steps were taken by the War Labor Board to handle grievances. It declared that "every sacrifice American workers have made has been turned into profit by their employers who are using these sacrifices to break the unions."

The secretary of the resolutions committee emphasized that this was a compromise measure, that a resolution introduced by Brewster Local 365 of the United Auto Workers had advocated outright withdrawal of the no-strike pledge.

Delegate after delegate took the floor in the discussion, and they all told the same story. The OPA has failed to prevent price rises, every month that goes by sees a steady reduction of the workers' real wages through the rise in their living costs. The bosses are adopting a provocative attitude and turning a cold shoulder on union demands; it is almost as difficult to get a grievance settled now as it was before the CIO was organized. And the unions are getting absolutely no satisfaction from the War Labor Board, which has let cases pile up by the thousands to the point where it seems years will pass before most of them will be even brought up for consideration.

And every delegate who drew the logical conclusion from this picture, who said "the only language the bosses will understand is strike," was greeted with tremendous applause.

The resolution was opposed by the state CIO leaders, and by the Stalinists, who declared the resolution could "please only fifth columnists and appeasers." A substitute resolution introduced by President Irving Abramson, condemning the employers for taking advantage of the no-strike pledge and expressing dissatisfaction with the WLB failure to handle cases, was put to a standing vote.

Although about 100 of more than 500 delegates abstained from voting, the remainder appeared to be almost evenly divided for and against the Abramson substitute. It was declared passed. After that the resolution "committee's proposal was rejected overwhelmingly.

Other resolutions adopted by the convention included the following:

Independent political action: A denunciation of the reactionaries in both capitalist parties, and a request that the national CIO found an independent political movement based on the unions and working farmer organizations.

Racial discrimination: That Negro workers be permitted to work in all plants and on all kinds of work.

Women: That women workers receive equal pay for equal work.
Youth: That the voting age for youth be reduced to 18.

THE MILITANT

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**Detroit Job Freezing Order Aids
Corporation Drive Against Labor**

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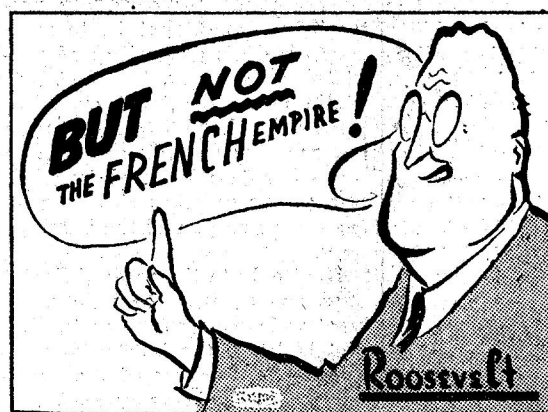
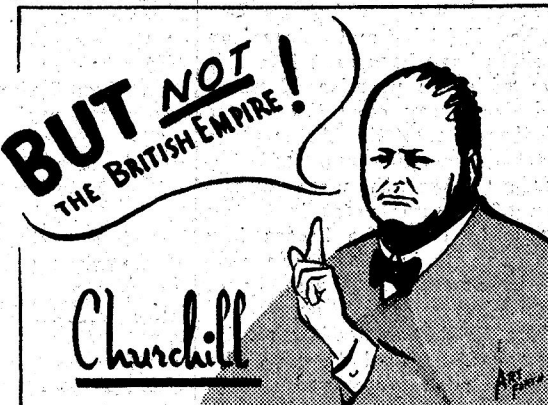
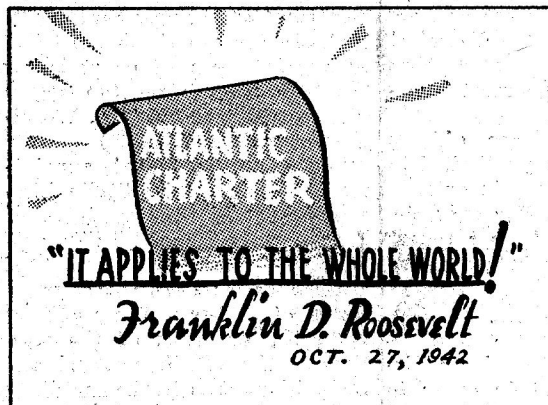
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Exceptions Noted



**"Character Of War Has
Changed"—Pearl Buck**

**"The War Has Ceased to Be a Fight for Freedom," Winner
Of Nobel Prize Tells Her Fellow Writers and Scientists**

By Felix Morrow

"The war has ceased to be a fight for freedom," declared Pearl Buck, famous novelist and Nobel Prize winner, in an address in New York last Thursday, Dec. 11, before the annual gathering of the writers and scientists whose achievements have been recognized by the award of Nobel prizes.

Appealing to her listeners to recognize the danger of domestic fascism in this country and elsewhere, she warned them that the military victories are not saving the world from fascism and reaction. "What we must foresee is that unless there is a miracle we will have to fight another war to save freedom."

"None of us in this room is safe. Our kind anywhere is not safe," she told her fellow-writers and scientists.

"All the victories now being won do not make us safe. Those of us who are Jews are not safe, here or anywhere in the world. The determination to continue rule over colonial empires endangers us, the avowed will to maintain white supremacy at all costs in our own country endangers us. All those who belong to those testing places of democracy—the minorities, the Jews, the Negroes, the women—are endangered. All who are the agents of civilization, the intellectuals, the poets

and artists and writers, the liberal in mind, the thinkers, the men and women of ideas, the idealists, are endangered.

"I am not afraid to speak to you boldly. The victory over the Axis does not mean the victory over Fascism and you and I must know this, we must acknowledge it, we must reckon with it. Only by acknowledging it and reckoning with it can we do our part to save civilization—not only the civilization of Europe, of our own country, but human civilization for all humanity."

First Outstanding Intellectual

With this speech Pearl Buck becomes the first outstanding American intellectual to admit publicly that she no longer believes that the war is a war for democracy. Since the Darlan deal in North Africa many of the pro-war intellectuals have become silent or are wailing about the possible danger of a reactionary peace. Pearl Buck is the first of them to say publicly that the war is "no longer" being fought for the progressive aims which she and the rest of the intellectuals previously read into it.

The extent to which Pearl Buck has changed her views is indicated by what she was saying and doing only a few months ago.

On February 28, 1942 she sent a "Letter to Colored Americans" to the editors of all Negro papers and magazines, in which she urged the Negroes, despite the continuance of discrimination against them, to give wholehearted support to the war. "Faulty as our democracy is, the United States must be the leader in this war for the right of peoples to be free—there is no other leader to whom we can look," she then told the Negro people. By the "United States" she meant, of course, the government.

Now, however, she admits that her appeal to the Negroes cannot be repeated: "Our own colored people are not closer to us at the end of this year than they were at the beginning. Military victory is not enough to lift their hearts."

The Colonies And The War

In a speech on April 15, 1942, after the Cripps Mission, Pearl Buck was still asserting that freedom could come to the colonies through the benevolence of the big imperialist powers. Concerning the Cripps "offer" she then said: "I believe that England acted with integrity and with true desire to do what she believed right in India."

Now, however, she has lost all faith in securing freedom for the colonies through the help of the "democracies." As she told the Nobel prize winners, the masses of China and India are correctly realizing that only their own strength will free them:

"The peoples of Asia are further from us today than they ever have been. They are realizing soberly that they must find their salvation in themselves, and not with us. Allies we are, to a certain guarded degree, for a while, but they cannot trust us. . . ."

"All of Asia now knows and acknowledges, and

**Aimed To Stop Workers From
Seeking Better Paid Jobs**

**Employers Approve Freezing Order; Army
Will Be Used to See That It Is Enforced**

By Joseph Andrews

Over 700,000 workers in the heavily industrialized Detroit area were in effect frozen to their jobs in an order issued Dec. 10 by the War Manpower Commission.

The order, designed to prevent Detroit workers from seeking better paying jobs, was the first major act of War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, under the sweeping new powers granted him by President Roosevelt in his Dec. 5 decree. The Army has threatened to enforce the order by taking over plants where the WMC order is not observed.

The order affects workers in all the major plants in the Detroit vicinity, including the Ford plants, Chrysler tank arsenal, the General Motors, Hudson Arsenal and other big military production plants. Agricultural workers, food processing workers, lumber workers, construction workers, mining workers, transportation, communication, educational and government workers are all included in the order.

MUST GET CERTIFICATE

The ruling requires workers to obtain a certificate of release from their employer before transferring their employment. The employers make the decision either to allow a worker to leave or not to leave his job. A worker may appeal a refusal by an employer to grant a certificate of release to the employment service and then to the WMC.

Detroit workers know what this means. They have appealed refusal of the employers to settle grievances to the War Labor

Board. The Board has delayed action on these grievances to the point where the whole process of collective bargaining is breaking down in the plants. There is no reason to believe the workers will get any better treatment from the "appeal processes" of the WMC.

EXPECT EFFECT

Just as the government's policy on wages is designated as a "stabilization" policy, McNutt's order is termed a "stabilization" of labor manpower. The wage "stabilization" as all workers have seen, resulted in a freezing of wages at 15% above the level prevailing on Jan. 1, 1941. It is to be expected that the net result of the Detroit order of the WMC will be to freeze the overwhelming majority of the workers in their present jobs.

Any worker who does not abide by the order, and leaves his job

(Continued on page 4)

**OFFICERS FRATERNIZE
WITH SOVIET SOLDIERS**

**Red Army's Great Tradition Is Revived in
Struggle to Defend Conquests of October**

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The official Moscow press keeps arriving in this country in dribbles and only after great delays. Available now are issues of Pravda for the month of August and the first few days in September. This was the period during which the German offensive into Northern Caucasus and against Stalingrad had not yet lost its momentum.

On picking up the official press, the first question to which every defender of the Soviet Union seeks an answer is: Just how did the Soviet masses and above all the Red Army react under the terrible series of defeats? The events on the military field have of course already testified eloquently to the fact that Red Army and the masses rallied heroically to beat back the enemy. Pravda supplies invaluable supplementary information.

The columns of Pravda contain ample evidence of the unflagging morale and indomitable will to struggle by the workers and soldiers of the USSR. One of the most significant aspects of recent Soviet developments in this connection is the growing solidarity between the rank and file of the Red Army and its officers, especially the lower ranking ones.

GROWING SOLIDARITY

Red soldiers and Red officers are seeking and finding comradeship in their joint struggle on the battle field. This is one of the greatest and proudest traditions of the Red Army. In fact, this is one of the basic conquests of the October revolution that the Kremlin bureaucracy has done its utmost to destroy through blood purges, on the one hand, and through the artificial fostering

of a privileged military hierarchy, on the other.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that the Pravda does not at all hail this growing spirit of solidarity. On the contrary there is considerable alarm expressed about it. Moreover, the ruling clique under Stalin is doing its utmost to counteract it.

On Sept. 4, Pravda carried a leading editorial fulminating against officers who fraternize with the soldiers. This editorial bears the title: "Militant Friendship at the Front." The keynote follows:

WHAT "PRAVDA" DISLIKES

"Genuine concern on the part of a friend-commander for the warrior cannot be substituted by a show of friendly politeness. There is nothing more pernicious at the front than the spirit of 'let's be pals'. A brave warrior has no need of it. A commander is a chieftain. He is always a chieftain. He is a chieftain even in friendship."

The ruling clique confronts a grave danger in the event that this comradeship between officers and soldiers extends and deepens. Officers who have genuine mass support in the ranks represent a force that can play a role independent of the Kremlin. This must be forestalled by Stalin at all costs. That is why Pravda categorically declares that nothing can be "more pernicious."

The whole point is that by August this tendency must have already assumed mass proportions. Otherwise it is incomprehensible why this news was made public, even if in carefully veiled language, or, rather, in bureaucratic double-talk.

After making clear its opposition

(Continued on page 2)

Beveridge Plan Leads To Baring Of War Aims

By MICHAEL CORT

The Beveridge plan, which provides for payment to British workers of unemployment benefits at starvation level is being viewed with increasing antagonism by an important section of the British ruling class. These capitalists and their political tools are finding that the plan is both "financially unsound" and "socially demoralizing for the workers."

While criticism of the plan is veiled because the British capitalists wish to avoid completely disillusioning the workers in the midst of the war still, the plan has already led to some frank discussions of fundamental aims and perspectives.

ARMIES AND INSURANCE

Victor Gordon Lennox, the London correspondent for the Chicago Daily News, reveals that British ruling class circles openly recognize the necessity for maintaining a large army in peace time to prevent revolutions in the colonies. They realize further that the British economy cannot support a large army of occupation and oppression, and at the same time provide unemployment insurance for the workers.

Lennox, summarizing the views of British capitalists, writes in the Dec. 3 Chicago Daily News that after the last war "the government found itself obliged to cut down its defense program if

Future of British Economy Looks Bleak Whoever Wins War

budget balance were to be maintained without placing excessive burdens on industry."

"After the present war the United Nations will be unable to cut down drastically their defense expenditures, since it is their settled policy to back up anti-aggression commitments by force."

Lennox's point is clear. The bosses intend to spend their money on armies for suppression and policing, not upon unemployment insurance for the workers.

"Level-headed Britons recognize," he continues, "that the failure to realize these conditions (big armies) would lead inevitably to the failure to realize ideals and to the bankruptcy of the British system."

In other words, the failure of the British bosses to hold India in chains, to recapture Malaya, Burma and the Crown Colonies in the far east, would result in the bankruptcy of British capitalism.

AN AMERICAN ESTIMATE

This, of course, is correct. The entire system of monopoly capitalism is based upon the exploitation of colonial peoples and once that prop is knocked out, the system crumbles.

But it so happens that the British Empire is done for as a first rate power, regardless of the outcome of the war. Such, at any rate, is the view of important spokesmen for American capitalism, who warn that the empire will not be a dominant world power after the war, but rather an adjunct to a new American imperialism.

'The Nation' Comments On 'Militant' Ban

An editorial in the Dec. 12 issue of *The Nation*, liberal weekly, comments on the suppression by the Post Office of recent issues of *The Militant*, and rejects the slander — thus far put forth openly only by the Stalinists — that *The Militant* is following a "pro-Axis" line. "The Militant, a weekly newspaper published by the disciples of the late Leon Trotsky, has been barred from the mails since November 7. So far the postal authorities have refused to explain their action but it was undoubtedly the paper's opposition to the war as 'an imperialist blood bath' that got it into trouble. It might be argued that those who approved the suppression of Social Justice should not object to the ban on the Trotskyite journal, but there are important differences. Social Justice hindered the war effort not by forthright opposition to it but by the dissemination of pro-Axis propaganda, including anti-Semitism and deliberate lies. However wrong *The Militant* may be, it stands on its own argument and is not pro-German."

N. Y. SWP Local Meets In Annual Convention

By HARRY FRANKEL

The first City Convention of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party since the entrance of America into the war, met on Sunday, Dec. 13, and heard reports of the continued growth and progress of the party in the New York area. The convention endorsed the policies of the national party which were carried out by the N. Y. City Committee.

The political report to the convention was made by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon

Encouraging Progress Noted in Trade Union And Educat'l Work

reviewed the major political events since the national convention of the SWP two months ago. The increasing effect of wartime economy on the workers' standard of living, the rise in prices, increased taxes, forced savings and the trend toward regimentation of the labor movement; the revealing deal between the United States and Admiral Darlan in Africa and the resulting confusion of the liberal supporters of Roosevelt; and the general trend of the workers toward independent political action as a result of the need to defend their elementary interests on the political field.

Cannon demonstrated how all these events have corroborated the program of the party, and have increased its influence among the advanced workers.

ORGANIZATION REPORTS

The convention then continued with reports on the many phases of party-building activity that have been carried on by the New York membership in the past year. George Grant, Local New York organizer, gave the unanimous report of the outgoing city committee. He explained that the New York Trotskyists are to be found among the workers in the mass production industries in greater volume than ever before, and were carrying on the work of the party in the trade unions.

He reported progress in every field of party work, referring to the splendid educational program devised to provide every member with a basic knowledge in Marxism, as well as a knowledge of the living events from day to day. The financial statement of the New York Local was given as testimony to the loyal support given the party by members and sympathizers, and the list of new recruits was presented as living proof of the growing strength of the party.

LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION

It was reported that 150,000 pieces of party literature were distributed in the course of the Cannon-for-Mavor campaign in the fall of 1941. The literature director further reported mass distribu-

Officers Fraternize With Red Soldiers

(Continued from page 1)

tion to fraternization between officers and men, Pravda goes on to paint a picture of what constitutes an ideal officer in its eyes. Here it is:

"PRAVDA'S" IDEAL

"We have many magnificent commanders who are strict and exacting and who appear at first sight to be somewhat stiff. They are always at attention and they always observe the necessary distance of commanding ranks. But their subordinates call them 'fathers' and are ready to go into the fire at their very first word." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1942.)

"Observe the necessary distance of commanding ranks!" In other words Pravda's order is: Preserve at all times the hierarchy of the officer caste which depends for its existence entirely on the summits in the Kremlin! And whoever transgresses these sacred boundaries is a mortal enemy of the regime.

The friction between officers and the Kremlin is not limited to editorials in Pravda. It extends to the front itself. For example, here is an extract from a report of a party nucleus in the active army.

KREMLIN PRESSURE

"The reporter (Commissar Kisilev) stressed that in order to win a battle mere audacity and bravery does not suffice. What is required in addition is the ability to wage war, and this is precisely what is frequently lacking. . . . Certain commanders are not sufficiently capable in directing a battle, and lose their heads at critical moments. To renounce these inadequacies is to make our regiment better capable of warfare." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1942.)

The report continues: "Communists criticized courageously the mistakes and lapses on the part of individual commanders and political workers. . . and introduced practical proposals."

The actions of the "commissars" and "communists" referred to here are of course directly inspired from above. These are orders carried out by the hand-picked agents of the Kremlin, or more exactly, of the GPU. The commanders singled out for "criticism" are without exception lower ranking officers. It is self-evident that whoever violates Pravda's prescription of the ideal

type of officer is placed immediately under threat of being criticized courageously," that is, of being made the scapegoat for military reverses and defeats. Under the cover of raising the fighting capacity of the army, the Kremlin can level its fire against those officers who step out of line in any way and in this manner supplements by action its editorial injunctions.

This attitude and these acts of the bureaucracy can tend only to intensify the friction between the officer corps and the Kremlin summit. Stalin is well aware of this and is obviously preparing in advance.

MORE GENERALS APPOINTED

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow tells about the promotion of 13 officers and the appointment of 130 new generals in a single day "in the longest list of appointments of generals for the Red Army since the beginning of the war." (N. Y. World-Telegram, Dec. 7, 1942.)

These unprecedented appointments — signed by Stalin himself and not by the Praesidium of the Supreme Council as is customary — come on the heels of a third series of mass appointments of higher ranking officers since the outbreak of the war. This is the fourth renewal and replenishment of the military tops. The reasons for it, like for all the preceding ones, are primarily political, that is, to safeguard Stalin's authority and control over the army. The fact that Stalin dares not trust even the previously handpicked generals but requires new figureheads in December is additional verification of the growing rift between the officer corps and the bureaucracy.

Next to the news of Soviet successes against the enemy, the most welcome news from the Soviet Union is the involuntary admission by Moscow of the growing solidarity in army ranks.

Strikes Lost In Belfast

The strike of electricians and engineers in Belfast, North Ireland, has been ended after a walkout lasting almost a month. As was reported in *The Militant* last month, the electricians' strike was called after the boss had attempted to undermine the union shop by the employment of a scab. The engineers struck for a higher rate of pay.

Neither strike was won completely, largely as a result of the treachery shown by the Stalinists who joined the trade union bureaucrats and government spokesmen in attacking the strikers. While the electricians succeeded in having the scab fired, the future employment of scabs is to be decided by a "Court of Inquiry" now sitting. The strike of the engineers was lost and the rank and file leaders fired.

According to a correspondent writing in the British New Leader the spirit of the workers was unbroken by the defeat. "The strikers showed a wonderful spirit of resolution," he says. "That they should have held out for over three weeks against the government, bosses, trade union officials, Labor Party and C. P., and that, even then, one-third should vote against a return to work, is a sign of the discontent among the rank and file."

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 (Harlem)—Newsstands north west corner of Lenox Ave. and 125th St. and at the northeast corner of Lenox Ave. and 135th St.
- 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.
- Seattle—Eckhart News, 102 Washington Street.

'Character Of War Has Changed'—Pearl Buck

(Continued from page 1)

so must we if we are honest, that the principles of human equality and human freedom may have nothing to do with our victory in this war. Certainly the peoples of Asia are now coming to believe that for them our victory will have nothing to do with freedom and equality.

"And who can give them any other hope? One hears everywhere of plans for a reconstructed Europe, of plans for feeding Europe's hungry millions, of health measures for Europe's sick and wounded. But who hears anywhere of feeding India's hungry millions, hungry not only in the brief years of this war, but always hungry?"

"Eighty per cent of India's people do not know and never have known what it is to be fed adequately. Yet there are no plans made for feeding them. Medical care is even more inadequate, always has been inadequate in Asia, but who plans to better that?"

"There are no plans, there never were any plans. A medical watchguard is kept at the gates of the East in Egypt in the Mid-east and at the western ports, lest the dread diseases of Asia creep into our countries, but who cared how many of the peoples of the East suffered and died from these diseases?"

Nor is the loss of faith in the "democracies" limited to the masses of China and India. The same thing is happening in Europe, says Pearl Buck; especially in France as a result of the cynical deal with Darlan:

"The oppressed people of France, too, are not as close to us as they were. Military victory in Africa has not won us a victory among those in France who still love liberty."

When Did The War "Change"?

Up to this point Pearl Buck speaks very cogently and convincingly. Where she is least plausible, however, is in attempting to justify her past record as a pro-war propagandist. To do so she claims that the war "began as a war for freedom," but has since changed. "When did the character of this war change?" she asks, and then attempts to answer her own question as follows:

"Somewhere in this year the step might have been taken which could have averted this Fate of the changed character of the war. Until that moment this war was being fought as a war for freedom."

She gets no further than this in her futile attempt to find a date when the war changed. Instead she goes on to say that the war could have continued to be a war for freedom, had there been "a man great enough to have declared that this war was a war for the freedom of all peoples." However, there was no such man:

"We had no man great enough to declare at the necessary moment the true meaning of this war. Let us reckon with this fact—our leaders are men of local minds. They have not been able to think in terms of the world. . . . This war has been limited in its true aims. It has become a military struggle. It has ceased to be a fight for freedom."

By a "great man," she obviously means a leader in a key post—Churchill, Roosevelt, etc. WHY these men were unable to say what Pearl Buck hoped they would say—and which she told the Negro and colonial peoples they were going to say—she is unable to explain except on the basis that they have "local minds."

Pearl Buck's explanation is nonsense. She has realized which way the war is going, but has failed to realize that it was going that way from the very beginning—from the time, indeed, that the war was being planned in the cabinets of the various governments. She fails to understand that imperialist governments can only fight imperialist

wars. She fails to understand that she and her fellow-writers and scientists have merely been putting fig-leaves on the ugly truth.

The Pearl Bucks of 1918 thought they had found such a "great man" in Woodrow Wilson and his glittering 14 points. Instead they got the Versailles Treaty which laid the basis for the next war. Why did that happen? Because Wilson was not "great enough"? Every child used to know, in the armistice between the two wars, that the imperialist victors wrote an imperialist peace as the inevitable result of an imperialist war.

What The Masses Need Today

What the masses need is not a "great man" but an understanding of the connection between capitalism and war and the necessity of putting an end to capitalism through the establishment of socialism.

Pearl Buck does not understand this and therefore cannot help the masses to avoid World War III which she fears is coming. "One can only hope at most now that there will be a breathing space between this war and the next," she says. "One cannot guarantee that there will be that space."

Pearl Buck does, however, understand the urgent necessity of free speech and criticism of the government and the war. She warned her fellow-writers and scientists that they should not be silenced:

"In the first place, we must refuse to be deceived by military victories. It is easy to be silenced when the noise of military trumpets fill the air. The clamor of hurrahs impels the unthinking to uncritical approval."

And she warned them of the danger of fascism in this country:

"This country, our own dear land, may become strange to all of us, as Germany became strange to those who have come to us as refugees. . . unless democracy wins against fascism here on our own soil as well as in Europe, until people are free in Asia as well as in France."

She concluded with an appeal to the intellectuals to stand up for democratic rights in this country regardless of any governmental threats:

"Now as never before in the history of the world we who believe in liberty of the mind and freedom of the body must speak, again and again, regardless of the danger to ourselves. If we do not make this war into a war for freedom, we shall lose freedom, without which life is worthless. If freedom must be lost, then let us lose it boldly, still speaking what we know to be true and not in the timidity of silence."

A Sign Of The Times

Pearl Buck's speech is a significant sign of the times. Neither she nor the intellectuals as a whole can play the role she thinks they can—rallying the masses to transform this war into a war for freedom. That would mean to turn the war into its opposite, from a capitalist-conducted war into a revolutionary struggle of the workers and the colonial masses against capitalism. The intellectuals are not capable of that task. The leading role can only be taken by the working class and its vanguard, the revolutionary proletarian party.

Nevertheless, Pearl Buck's speech is significant because, as a sensitive intellectual she feels the stirring of the great masses of Asia, Europe and America against all their oppressors.

Almost invariably, in periods of reaction, the intellectuals go over in a body to the side of the ruling class; then, in the transition from reaction to revolutionary struggle, some of the intellectuals sense the change and record the fact. This is the profound meaning of Pearl Buck's speech.

French Won Africa Empire By Brutal Slaughter Of Natives

By MARK BRADEN

Speaking at the grave of Marshal Lyautey, General Eisenhower stated last month: "The forces under my command bring with them a solemn assurance that his achievement—a North American empire—shall remain French." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 12.)

Eisenhower pledges to preserve the empire which Lyautey built. As past issues of *The Militant* have pointed out, the French plundered Africa in the most brutal manner. Time and again the natives rose in revolt. The famous Riff struggle of 1921-26 was eloquent proof that the African peoples do not want French domination.

The Riff revolt began against the Spanish in northern Morocco in 1921. A year later, through the efforts of Abd-el-Krim, the tribes of central Morocco were mobilized in a struggle for national independence. Here indeed was a war for national liberation.

FRENCH PREPARATIONS

Although the hostilities with the French did not begin until April, 1924, Vatin-Perignon admits that "the marshal . . . was preparing for war" from January, 1924, on. The latter tells how the reinforcements were prepared in Morocco and Algeria, and cautions: "That is a secret of general mobilization that has not and must not be revealed." Lyautey had to find a way of attacking the Riffs, and no aggression of the latter could be proved. It was necessary to make an agree-

ment with Spain; as Vatin-Perignon confidentially stated. "In agreement with other powers, we can attack his (Abd-el-Krim's) territory, and that is a very big business." (Letter published in *Official Journal*, June 1925.)

BUSINESS INTERESTS

Behind this "big business" were the big finance capitalists of France, who had 483 million francs invested in Morocco. It was in the interests of this capital investment of the big banks that Morocco was invaded and its struggle for independence relentlessly crushed.

Finally attacked by the French forces the Riff fought valiantly; even Lyautey's skill in colonial warfare could not hold them. More money and troops had to be called for. The big banks and capitalists in Paris insisted on a speedy crushing of the revolt, and Marshal Petain was despatched as an extraordinary commissioner. Another 183 million francs was voted by the Chamber of Deputies over the protests of the French revolutionists.

Against these powerful mechanized forces with the latest equipment, Abd-el-Krim's forces fought for six more months; but five steady years of war had depleted the Riff forces, and the artillery, airplanes and fresh troops swung the tide of battle to the French. Finally Abd-el-Krim was forced to surrender, and as the French press jubilantly howled, "The honor of France was saved."

What really made them happy was the saving of the capitalists. Much was written about Riff "cruelty"; but again the imperialists were patting off their own acts on the Moroccans. Mr. N. D. Harris, who was by no means partial to Abd-el-Krim, stated: "WHO WAS 'CRUEL'?" "The French and Spanish dropped hundreds of tons of high explosive bombs upon the villages of the Riffs and Jibabba. The Spanish used gas. But in my opinion the most cruel, the most wanton and the most unjustifiable act of the whole war was the bombing of the open town of Shehuan in 1925—when every male inhabitant capable of bearing arms was known to be absent. . . . A number of absolutely defenseless women and children were massacred and many others maimed and blinded." (From France, Spain and the Riff.)

When the Communist Party spokesmen in the Chamber of Deputies exposed the role of the big banks as the cause of the ruthless war against the Riffs, one capitalist politician indignantly replied: "With what can we develop the colonies if not with capital? You would bring nothing but disorder." But it is precisely the decay of capitalism with export of capital to the colonies and the ensuing oppression of the colonial peoples that has caused "nothing but disorder" for decades after decades. Only when the oppressed colonial peoples, in unity with the workers of the capitalist lands, unite for a showdown, will the disorder of imperialism be ended.

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The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

Jim Crow and the Camp Lee Situation

Last week's Militant carried a story on military Jim Crow that was revealing in very many ways.

The commanding general (reported to be a Southerner) acted immediately. Two of the Negro officers were reduced to the ranks.

As reported in last week's story, the general called a meeting of all the remaining non-commissioned officers in the regiment and told them that they would have "to stop their damn mouths, and accept the Army's policy and practice of discrimination, or be busted and shipped."

One might have thought from this reaction by the general that a revolution was taking place. Since the first story was printed, however, a copy of the recommendations has been printed in the St. Paul Recorder of Dec. 4, and it is clear that the recommendations were really very mild and very respectfully presented.

"We have received numerous complaints and expressions of discontent from our men concerning certain particularly irritating evidences of racial segregation and discrimination at Camp Lee. Our inability to adjust these grievances or offer adequate explanation for their existence on this military reservation has effected a fearful slump in the morale of our men."

For this reason, they continue, they recommend that the number of Negro Military Police be increased; that Negro M. P.'s be equipped the same as white M. P.'s while on duty; that Negro soldiers be permitted onto buses on the same basis as white soldiers and that they have the same right to take seats; that Negro soldiers have the same right as whites to camp facilities such as post exchanges, theatres, service clubs, sports centers, etc.; that the Army Air Corps and Army Glider Pilot Training School be opened on an equal basis to Negroes.

In short, these proposals asked for the elimination of certain "particularly irritating" discriminatory practices, not the abolition of the whole Jim Crow setup.

The St. Paul Pioneer Press, a capitalist daily, discussed the incident editorially after the Recorder story had attracted a certain amount of attention, and tried to show that it was not a matter of discrimination involved, but one of discipline. It said:

"Army officers and Army attitudes being what they are, a committee of top kicks self-constituted to tell the post commander what he and the War Department ought to do should not expect the friendliest of receptions. It is probable that any such body would reap exactly the consequences this one did, regardless of the justice of its complaint, no matter how reasonably stated its position, however exact its conformity to the prescribed methods of presenting such a petition — and whatever the color of its members' skin."

quences this one did, regardless of the justice of its complaint, no matter how reasonably stated its position, however exact its conformity to the prescribed methods of presenting such a petition — and whatever the color of its members' skin."

"As a matter of discipline the Army does not encourage, to put it mildly, concerted protests or reformist movements from below. Any military organization is by nature undemocratic in that it is governed from the top downward, not by majority vote of the ranks and certainly not by a delegation of eleven non-commissioned officers. It is only logic to suppose that a similar white-skinned committee would have gotten the same treatment from a Northern commander."

But all this does not change the fact that the Camp Lee incident arose because of the Jim Crow treatment of the Negroes and their justified resentment against it. It is true that white soldiers would also have been harshly disciplined for daring to make recommendations to their commanding officers, even if they made them through the proper Army channels. But the point is that white soldiers are not being Jim Crowed. And the root cause of the Camp Lee situation is military Jim Crowism.

Furthermore, it is not true that every military organization must be undemocratic. For a long time The Militant has been advocating an entirely different kind of military regime in this country. We have pointed out the effects of the present set-up and have been advocating military training under control of the trade unions, to be financed by the government. The establishment of military camps under union control, where workers could be trained, as officers, would result in a genuine democratic military organization where discipline would be maintained and where at the same time the rank and file soldiers, both Negro and white, would be encouraged to submit recommendations and complaints.

Such a military organization would welcome suggestions from the ranks and would do everything possible to adopt them, for only in this way can genuine discipline be realized and only in this way can a fighting anti-fascist force be created.

It is true that with conditions as they are now — with the brass hats ready to crack down on everyone, Negro and white who opens his mouth with a suggestion — it is very difficult for anyone in the armed forces to do anything about the Jim Crow anti-democratic regime. But that only places a greater responsibility on the workers outside of the armed forces. On the outside we can still call attention to injustices and recommend steps for correcting them. While we still have that right, which we will never voluntarily relinquish, we must use it and defend to the best of our ability the interests of our brothers in the armed forces.

The Twin Cities Branches of the NAACP have set up a "Sam Reed Committee" and decided to make the Camp Lee incident "a national issue, because it symbolizes the ill-treatment of Negroes in the armed forces of the nation." In this task all workers should cooperate. Let us fight to end both Jim Crowism and the anti-democratic regime.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By BETTY KUEHN

When Darlan, the versatile Admiral of French Africa, recently wanted to award medals to American officers, the American press recalled that no officer of the American army could be decorated by someone outside the United Nations without permission of a special act of Congress.

However, it apparently was not necessary to get this dispensation for General Edouard Welvert, one of Darlan's henchmen. The N. Y. Times of Dec. 13 shows him awarding the French Legion of Honor Medal to Colonel Edson D. Raff, U. S. Army officer stationed in Africa.

The Indian masses not only have to bear the cost of the Viceroy's 60 bathrooms in his house in New Delhi, and in general support the British colonial staff in India, but they also have to pay for the damages in the struggle against this oppression.

The Sept. 1 London News Chronicle says: "Bills for the damage done in the recent riots in India will total millions of pounds. Two hundred buildings connected with one vital government service alone were wrecked and the bill for repairing damaged town halls will run into many hundreds of thousands of pounds. Local tax rates will soar as the municipalities have to replace thousands of fire engines, trams, buses and lamp-standards."

When the Bolsheviks came to power in November, 1917, Russia was still at war with Germany. The new working class government realized that the country was in no position to conduct military warfare. It therefore announced its readiness to open negotiations for a general peace. But it realized that the only kind of peace which could serve its own interests and the interests of the workers of the world was a peace based on the revolutionary masses of Europe rising and ridding themselves of their capitalist masters.

Accordingly, the Soviet government published the secret treaties arrived at among the imperialist powers, and it called for a democratic peace, a peace with

under German capitalist rule are reported with horror by the "democrats." But the black market flourishes likewise in a "democratic" capitalist country like England, only partially eased by foodstuffs from America.

"Every fourth worker in Germany is a foreigner" is the title of an article in the Danish Listening Post, organ of the National Denmark Association, which quotes the following from the Swedish newspaper, Svenska Daebladet of Oct. 29: "As German workers are being sent to the front, foreigners take their place. These will, in case of a German breakdown, prove to be a great weakness and an enormous danger, in comparison with which the revolutions of 1918 and 1919 will turn out to be mere child's play."

DeGaulle And Darlan—Two Of A Kind

British Picked General For Same 'Expediency' Reason That U. S. Picked Admiral

By A. ROLAND

The Darlan affair has become a major issue in more ways than one. It is an issue not only as between the "principled" and the "unprincipled" liberals and democrats; but far more important it is an issue between England and America. It is becoming clear even to the least political-minded that more is present than meets the eye. The issue reaches to the heart of the war and involves the plans of the Allies for post-war Europe.

One aspect of the affair affords not a little political education for those who seek it. There seems to be a matter of seniority rights or precedence involved as between de Gaulle and Darlan-Graud. De Gaulle was on the scene first as a "leader" of the French on the side of the Allies. The issue is made to appear as though de Gaulle had a prior claim to recognition, especially since he represented the "Free French" and Darlan stood for much-hated Vichy. It is quite laughable to see Darlan attacked as an ambitious, mercenary careerist, as though de Gaulle was in the slightest degree different. The recognition by

England of de Gaulle was on exactly the same basis as that of Darlan. The English felt it was expedient to use the French General.

DE GAULLE'S CONNECTIONS

Perhaps someone should ask the English to be fair to America, to play cricket with their ally. After all, their acceptance of de Gaulle was just as unprincipled as this country's expedient relations with the Admiral. De Gaulle represented only himself. He did not even pretend to speak for any "free French." That term was found to make good propaganda at a later date.

Churchill knew all about de Gaulle's authoritarian philosophy, knew all about the great friendship between him and types like Prince Rüdiger von Starbemberg, the Austrian fascist. We must remind the "liberals" who now express a great preference for the General, that it was only a short time before the North African campaign, that de Gaulle himself was welcoming with open arms men who had been on the closest terms with Vichy and who turned coat overnight just as did Darlan. De Gaulle is neither better nor worse than Vallin or De Kerillis,

French fascists who happen to be against Hitler's domination.

We may therefore start fresh, when it comes to recognition by the Allies, with two figures whose personal interests do not concern the democratic tops except if they can be used for the purposes of the war. Darlan at the given moment had far more to offer; he was not seeking aid, he could give aid. He was for sale and the Americans bought him. Just as the English had bought de Gaulle.

WHAT IS INVOLVED

De Gaulle's pretended great indignation will hardly fool Roosevelt. It might fool the sentimental New Leader or The Nation — for a short time — but not the seasoned Washington politicians. They know better what is involved. One of the things involved is the post-war regime in France. The second is no small matter — the French Empire and its relations with the rest of the world.

The war may be fought for the democratic way of life, but the democratic way of life of the capitalist powers has never ignored the importance of colonies, raw materials, oil, empire. After all, whoever wins the war, France

has lost it. She will have at best a small army and navy in being at its finish.

Japan marched her troops into French Indo-China to "protect" that colony in view of French inability to do so. The temptation to do the same thing in the Near East and Africa will be difficult indeed to resist when the armed forces are handy on the scene, if for no other reason, there would simply have to be somebody to hand back the colonies to a reconstituted France after the war. The peoples in these colonies must be protected against the exercise of a too natural impulse to start running their own countries for themselves.

It is not too far-fetched to imagine that Washington had some reasons to distrust the commitments made by de Gaulle for aid from Churchill. There may not have been secret treaties as in the first world war, but perhaps the nearest thing to them. With Darlan, the Americans were right on the scene at the very start.

"SAFEGUARDS" AGAINST REVOLUTION

It would not be surprising to see a reconciliation rigged up between de Gaulle and Darlan. Time, it is said, heals all wounds. But one may be certain that it will not be left to time alone. The reason for this is Allied concern for the future. The leading poli-

tical analysts among the Allies have the experience of the last war before them. The greatest concern is evidenced in all that is being done to lay the ghost of working class revolution.

A ruling class divided against itself is one of the conditions necessary for such a revolution. The Allies, particularly the United States which will play the leading role more and more, will make every effort to eliminate this condition. They will attempt to polarize a sentiment for unity around some force or figure. In Austria it may be the Habsburg Otto. It is not at all excluded that in France it will be Petain, if he is still alive. That is why the road to Petain is still left open. The Allies would aid a Pe-

tain with the propaganda that he was really only the prisoner of Hitler.

Franco is quite clear that the struggle in the future will be one between communism and fascism. The Allies would perhaps prefer to put it that the choice must be between a concentrated, or strong or even a totalitarian government and communism. A growing concern with them from now on, as they gain the upper hand in the war, will be over the European ruling class and how to make it see eye to eye with Allied capitalism. This is a matter of expediency, of opportunity. But it is also a matter of bourgeois principle, the principle of the preservation of capitalist society.

The Lessons of 1918-20

Revolutionary Propaganda Was A Soviet Weapon Of War

By MIRIAM CARTER

The Soviet Union is today engaged in its second great military struggle against imperialist attack. The first took place immediately after the October Revolution which established the Soviet Union. Efforts were made to overthrow the workers' state not only by the representatives of the Russian monarchy, capitalists and landowners, but also by the German, French, British, United States, Japanese, and other capitalist governments.

Russia had been weakened by almost four years of war. Production and transportation were completely disorganized; a new army had to be created. Nevertheless, by the end of three years the young workers' state had managed to defeat the counter-revolutionary efforts of all its powerful imperialist opponents. It was able to accomplish this not by force of arms alone but also by use of weapons which only a workers' state can apply: revolutionary propaganda, political warfare designed to penetrate the ranks of the opposing armies and turn the worker-and-peasant-soldiers into conflict with their oppressors.

With the Soviet Union in great peril now, it is more important than ever to review the events of the struggles of 1918-20 and to learn from them lessons which can be applied to the defense of the workers' state in its present fight for existence.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

When the Bolsheviks came to power in November, 1917, Russia was still at war with Germany. The new working class government realized that the country was in no position to conduct military warfare. It therefore announced its readiness to open negotiations for a general peace. But it realized that the only kind of peace which could serve its own interests and the interests of the workers of the world was a peace based on the revolutionary masses of Europe rising and ridding themselves of their capitalist masters.

Accordingly, the Soviet government published the secret treaties arrived at among the imperialist powers, and it called for a democratic peace, a peace with

no annexations, no indemnities, a peace providing for the self-determination of all peoples.

The purpose of these proposals was two-fold: on the one hand to secure peace for the young workers' government so that it would have an opportunity to rebuild the shattered economy it had inherited from the Czarist and Kerensky governments; and on the other hand to place the question of a people's peace before the masses of Europe and encourage them to develop revolutionary action as the only way to achieve this kind of peace.

The governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary, faced with a restive population which desired peace, agreed to negotiate. Negotiations were opened at Brest-Litovsk with Trotsky heading the Russian delegation and General Hoffmann the German delegation.

Naturally the German government was not interested in a democratic peace. The Central Powers maintained that the self-determination of the countries they had occupied could be accomplished only with the aid of their armies!

BOLSHEVİK POLICY

The policy of the Soviet representatives at Brest-Litovsk was to appeal to the German and Austro-Hungarian masses not to support their government; and encouraged them to carry out a social revolution in Germany.

Accordingly, as Trotsky declared in his speech to Soviet workers and soldiers in Petrograd it was decided that, "Secret diplomacy shall not be tolerated for a single moment during the negotiations. Our fliers and our radio-service will keep all the nations informed of every proposition we make, and of the answers they elicit from Germany. We shall be sitting in a glass house, as it were, and the German soldier, through thousands of newspapers in German, which we shall distribute to them, will be informed of every step we take and of every German answer."

Daily newspapers were issued to the soldiers as Trotsky promised. A tabloid edition for the less advanced German soldiers was issued, showing Russian workers and soldiers tearing down the Czar's eagle from a palace, holding a meeting in one

of the palaces of the Czars, and other pictures with short captions showing the Germans that the workers ruled Russia now and suggesting that they take a similar course in Germany. Millions of leaflets were issued informing the German soldiers of what the Bolshevik program was — democratic peace, workers' control of the nation.

EFFECTS ON THE GERMAN MASSES

The sailors of the Russian Baltic fleet sent revolutionary greetings to "the heroic German Comrades (sailors) who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel." They explained how the Russian sailors had complete possession of their own fleet, how they functioned everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world.

Thousands of German prisoners came over to the cause of Soviet Russia and international socialism. Many returned to Germany to spread the message of Bolshevism among the German troops. Many joined the Red Army. The German ambassador to Russia was amazed when witnessing a parade on May Day, 1918 to see marching before him a contingent of Germans, under a red flag inscribed with revolutionary slogans in German.

John Reed reported that Bolshevik propaganda among the German prisoners was so effective and so feared by the German High Command that all prisoners returned to Germany were held in quarantine for 30 days and bombarded with anti-Bolshevik propaganda.

General Ludendorff wrote in his "Memoirs": "He (Trotsky) proclaimed his Bolshevik ideas by wireless to all the world, particularly to the German working classes. The intentions of the Bolsheviks to revolutionize Germany became more and more obvious to everyone who was not totally blind."

"The way they (the negotiations) were carried on... would undoubtedly bring about a further decrease in our fighting capacity."

HOW GERMAN PEOPLE AIDED THE USSR

The harsh terms of the German withdrawal were not withdrawn. They demanded the breaking off of Ukraine, Finland, Estonia and Livonia from Soviet Russia, anxious to weaken the workers state and as Hindenburg explained it, "to maintain a barrier" between the Bolshevik armies and their own country. The Germans declared the Armistice at an end and presented an ultimatum to the Soviet government. The Bolsheviks were forced, on March 3, 1918, to sign the treaty.

Soviet Russia had depended on the German and Austrian proletariat to come to its aid. Did they remain passive and permit their imperialist governments to impose this dastardly treaty unhampered? By no means.

In January, 1918, when the nature of the German demands were made public a tremendous strike wave broke out in Austria, involving almost a million work-

WDL Secures New Trial for Jailed Unionist

NEW YORK, Dec. 14. — Christ Popoff, trade unionist and fighter for labor's rights now serving a 15 to 25 years sentence for alleged attempted arson, will get a new trial, according to an announcement by the Workers Defense League.

The New York State Court of Appeals has reversed the decision of the Appellate Division which had affirmed the conviction of Popoff secured in the second trial of the case.

In the opinion of the WDL and many other organizations, Popoff was framed by anti-labor forces.

DEMAND RELEASE OF NEGRO TEAMSTER

The WDL also appealed to the unions this week to write to Governor Poeltel, who has replaced Lehman, asking him to pardon Carl Gilmore, Negro teamster and unionist now serving a five to ten years sentence in Attica Prison for allegedly punching a scab once. (A white union official who testified that he, and not Gilmore, had punched the scab, was sentenced to one to two years, and has already been released on parole.)

OPA Permits Rises On Beef, 16 Grocery Items

(Continued from page 1)

granted for an increase in the price of breakfast cereals, canned fish, cooking and salad oils, sugar, canned vegetables, coffee, rice, shortening, dried fruits and lard.

Besides the raising of prices, either with or without authorization, hidden price rises continue to be extorted as goods de-

For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

teriorate in quality without price changes.

The OPA and other government bodies, as again shown by its latest rulings, nearly always surrender to the demands of the profit-greedy capitalists. At the same time they firmly refuse the workers' demands for higher wages.

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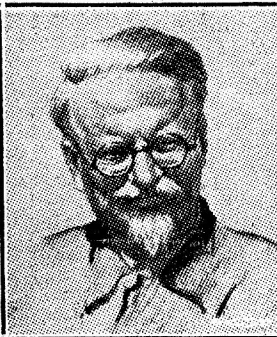
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Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Roosevelt's Appeal

On Dec. 8, three days after his executive decree establishing McNutt as manpower dictator, President Roosevelt issued an appeal to employers in civilian industries asking them to assure workers who leave their present jobs to go into war industries that their seniority rights will be protected. Some people may believe that this is merely a subtle way of emphasizing to the employers that the administration does not intend to do anything to protect the seniority rights of workers who will be affected by the manpower ruling handed down by McNutt in the exercise of his authority to transfer workers to any jobs he feels necessary. Others may see in Roosevelt's appeal a genuine desire to protect the seniority of workers because he wants to get their voluntary cooperation in increasing employment in the most strategic war industries. But whatever Roosevelt's motivation was, the

effect will be the same. The employers were no doubt gratified on reading the manpower executive decree to discover that it made no provisions for the protection of seniority. They realize that this will enable them to discriminate against the best union militants and to arbitrarily exclude them from the plants in the post-war period. These employers will see in Roosevelt's appeal only an additional proof that they have a free hand in regarding or disregarding seniority rights.

President Roosevelt has a tremendous amount of power. He does not hesitate to use this power in freezing wages, appointing manpower dictators, etc. Apparently it is only when it comes to measures such as protecting labor's rights that he foregoes the use of his powers and decides to depend on appeals to the better nature of the anti-labor employers.

The United Nations Make A Gesture

The leaders of the United Nations have finally discovered a country to which they can definitely promise the benefits of the Atlantic Charter. The lucky country is Albania.

This is big news, for although Roosevelt started as recently as Oct. 27 that the Atlantic Charter applied to the entire world, Washington and London have since been in the process of whittling down the territories eligible for the "four freedoms."

Churchill has frankly told the peoples living under the British Empire that the Charter does not apply to them. Roosevelt has exempted the colonial slaves of the French Empire when he promised the French capitalists that he would restore their overseas colonies after the war. And two weeks ago Queen Wilhelmina, speaking over the radio in London, announced plans for keeping the Dutch Empire intact in the form of a "commonwealth" with a strong centralized government.

But on Dec. 10, Secretary of State Hull boldly announced that the Charter does apply to Albania. After some pious praise of the resistance of the Albanians against the Italian armies of occupation, Hull said that the United Nations "wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

One might ask Mr. Hull to explain the difference, in this respect, between Albania and India; or Albania and North Africa; or Burma, or Malaya. Why are the Albanians entitled to self-government, but not the Indians or the Burmese?

Surely the people of French Martinique, of Dutch Guiana, of British Ceylon have been "forcibly deprived" of the right of self-government. Why aren't they entitled to the restoration of some sovereign rights?

The answer to these questions, which of course will not be given by the "democratic" leaders, is that Albania is made the exception for the simple reason that she is so poor in resources and so lacking in strategic importance that few powers would bother to fight over her.

A victory for the United Nations would give them the riches of the earth to divide—Albania is not one of the riches. They can, therefore, well afford to make this gesture to the tail-end of Mussolini's empire.

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.

British Miner Wants To Receive Paper

Editor: I am a British coal miner and a member of the Workers International League. I have had one or two copies of *The Militant* down from London and I think they are real good stuff. The workers in this district are very keen to read them, but this is difficult as the WIL office can only let me have an occasional copy, so I would appreciate it if you send me two copies direct to my home.

It was very interesting to our local comrades to see a report of our recent struggle appear in an American working class paper, *The Militant*. It gave us a real feeling of international working class solidarity.

W. B. Yorkshire, England

Discusses "Harlem Charter" Meeting

Editor: At the "Harlem Charter" meeting on Dec. 7, attended by over 5,000 Negroes, Reverend Adam C. Powell made two significant remarks. First, "Nothing since Pearl Harbor has been given to us. They (gains) have been won by our fighting. There is the secret, the key to the future." And second, a simple reference to Marcus Garvey and his slogan, "Negroes, arise!"

At each of these points in Rev. Powell's address, the audience rose to its feet, stamped, applauded and cheered. I think it is

important to analyze the reasons why this response was evoked. In war time a large proportion of the resources of society are turned toward destruction, and what constructive capital and consumer goods are left become more and more concentrated in the hands of the economic rulers of society. Negroes are hit two ways by this. Firstly, being workers they suffer along with the rest of their class. And secondly, as "second class citizens" of our society the pressure of economic, social and political oppression is even intensified.

The Negro seeks a method of struggle. He looks to the trade unions, to the March-On-Washington movement, to anything that gives promise of action. It is recognized by most Negroes and their leaders today, that the program of Marcus Garvey is not the solution to their problem; that Garveyism is narrow and limited and that this type of nationalism cannot serve to integrate the dark-skinned worker into society. Yet, the response to the name of Garvey can only be attributed to one factor, Garvey was preparing to lead his people in actual struggle, to fight until demands were satisfied. That is why Negro audiences cheer his name.

There is only one weapon that will solve the Negro question today—the program of Marxism. It will not be until the majority of workers, black, white and all intermediate shades, are united under the banner of revolutionary socialism, that humanity will once more take the path of progress.

Buddy Lenz
Harlem Branch,
Socialist Workers Party

Freedom Seems to Be Reserved for Bosses

Editor: I am sending you some clippings from my home town paper which talk about how we have freedom of the press in the country. Amusing, to say the least. It seems like the rights of "Freedom of Speech" and "Freedom of the Press" are reserved only for the ruling class and their cohorts—that is, unless you talk without saying anything. No matter what the reactionaries may do—like suppressing *The Militant*—they can't stop progress. The final victory belongs to the masses.

L. J. St. Louis

What Workers Think Of German People

Editor: I thought it significant that a recent Gallup Poll revealed that 74% of those questioned felt their enemies to be the German government rather than the German people. Only 6% felt the people to be their enemies; while 18% felt both the people and the government were enemies.

In spite of all the criminal propaganda about the "Huns," the people still seem to recognize that it is the fascists who are their enemies—not the German workers. The next step is to educate the Americans as to just who the fascists are in Germany—not merely Hitler and his party, but the German capitalists.

M. G. New York City

Workers' BOOKSHELF

SUEZ TO SINGAPORE. By Cecil Brown. Random House, 1942. \$3.50.

The stream of semi-autobiographical books written by foreign correspondents has assumed the proportions of a flood. Almost without exception, these journalistic accounts of the war on all fronts are so full of philistine politics and jingoism that it requires great patience to get at the facts which are of value.

Nevertheless, something can be gained from the reading of such books as "Suez to Singapore."

Two outstanding facts can be gleaned by those who are willing to go through the book and separate the wheat from the chaff. First, the colonial staffs of the British Empire, both military and civil, from Suez to Singapore, were totally unable to rally the native populations in the war against the Axis powers. Despite the war and its threat to their domination, the autocratic agents of British imperialism, refused to alter their aristocratic attitude and methods toward the exploited colonial peoples. Secondly, these bearers of the "white man's burden" feared above all else the possibility of an awakening of the masses of the East.

The British colonial administrators imposed a censorship upon correspondents, based on one policy: to prevent the leakage of information to the native populations on the progress of the war and the plans of the British rulers. Thus, because the Singapore administration feared that broadcasts by Cecil Brown for CBS would be picked up by a handful of native listeners, CBS

was prevented from using the radio facilities. Moreover, the British colonial policy had to be hidden from the American people. All broadcasts to America, which the radio correspondents managed to arrange, were purged of reference to conditions among the natives.

It is significant that Brown, who is an enthusiastic patriot, reports that the censorship in areas dominated by Britain were more severe than the censorship in the fascist countries.

The meaning of this censorship escapes Brown. The governments on neither side in the second world war dare allow the facts to be told—even when these facts are reported by journalists loyal to the interests of the ruling class. Both sides in the war tremble at the possibility of revolution in the colonies. Brown does not try to explain why the so-called democratic governments, which he supports, must withhold the truth, just as the fascist governments do.

The author sees in the British autocratic suppression of the colonial people, and their suppression of the facts, merely the "stupidity" of the British agents. He waged an energetic struggle against the colonial military and civil administrators in an effort to report a few facts, such as the total lack of preparation by British representatives, their failure to try to mobilize the natives, their outdated and inept military outlook and methods, etc. But the British rulers suppress precisely these things, not because of stupidity, but because of their desire to preserve the crumbling British Empire.

Reviewed by Joseph Andrews

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DETROIT JOB FREEZING ORDER AIDS CORPORATION DRIVE AGAINST LABOR

(Continued from page 1)
without a certificate of release, will be subjected to a veritable blacklist.

The order does not protect the seniority rights of a worker who may be forced against his will to leave his plant. It states that seniority rights of a worker who leaves one place of employment for another, retains the seniority accumulated at his original employment. But he does not continue to accumulate seniority, even though he is forced to leave his plant against his will.

BOSSES HAPPY

That the order was considered a blow against labor by the employers was clearly shown by the statement of the Detroit Chamber of Commerce executive vice-president, Harvey Campbell, who said: "I think it will prove to be the best thing, in the end, that could possibly have been done. Irresponsible workers brought this upon themselves."

The order was approved and signed by Victor Reuther, a CIO representative on the WMC advisory board. Previous to the order, UAW local union leaders

had roundly condemned the appointment of McNutt as manpower dictator.

LABOR OPPOSITION

Paul St. Marie, president of Ford Local 600 of the UAW-CIO, declared: "The appointment of Mr. McNutt seems to be a slap in the face that labor does not deserve."

He further stated: "Before labor will submit to any dictatorship, labor will strike all across the nation."

Emil Mazey, an international representative of the UAW, also attacked Roosevelt's appointment of McNutt as manpower czar: "He has shown himself to be opposed to organized labor by his actions as Governor of Indiana when he used militia in the Terre Haute strike."

President Frank Davis, of Local 900, the Lincoln plant local of the UAW, stated: "I and my local are entirely out of sympathy with any kind of labor program administered by Paul V. McNutt."

Thus far, none of the top leaders of the UAW have made any statements on the new order af-

fecting Detroit workers. But it is clear from the statements made previously by the local union leaders that the workers were well aware that czar McNutt would utilize his power to further curtail the rights of labor.

It is significant that Detroit was chosen as the first major area in which to put the dictatorial powers of the WMC into effect.

AN ATTEMPT TO TERRORIZE WORKERS

The order is designed to further hamstring and undermine the militancy of the Detroit union movement, which has been in the

forefront of American labor. In recent weeks the militant members of the UAW in Detroit have attempted to force action on their increasing backlog of grievances with the corporations, and to force the WLB to act on wage demands. Three strikes, in important plants, broke out. The WMC order is an attempt to terrorize the workers into accepting conditions as they are, and is backed by the threat of "work or fight" and of Army intervention.

It is well known that the employers are now refusing to settle grievances presented by the union. Thousands of cases have bogged down in the War Labor

Board. The new McNutt order forcing workers to remain at their jobs, will give the employers another advantage over the unions, and increase their arrogance and arbitrary attitude toward workers.

This situation has already reached the point where the patience of the workers is running out. Two locals of the UAW have demanded a special convention of the union to discuss and take action on this predicament.

THE UAW LEADERS

The UAW leaders have retreated in the face of this employer offensive. Beginning with the sacrifice of the strike weapon, they have given up overtime pay for week-ends and holidays, accepted the WLB rulings on wage-freezing, and now are jointly responsible with the employers and the government for a job freezing program.

The UAW Executive Board, meeting in Los Angeles this week, was forced to voice a protest against the bogging down of the WLB machinery, and the delay in settling grievances. They were also obliged to protest

against the failure of the government to enforce the so-called "equal sacrifice" program, and the failure of the OPA to stop the spiral in the cost of living. This is an indication of the extent to which the rank and file have been pressing for action.

RESISTANCE WILL GROW

The job-freezing order is one step in the campaign to freeze the whole process of independent union action. There are already indications that the UAW membership will not tolerate the destruction of the effectiveness of their union or the reduction of the labor movement to a powerless appendage of the government.

The first protests have been heard. In the coming period as the policy of the union leadership is further exposed, and as the standard of living of the workers suffers further blows as a result of rising prices, increased taxation, and the freezing of wages, the auto workers in Detroit can be expected to demand militant action to win back the conditions and rights of labor given away by their leaders.

Books Banned in Germany; Papers Banned in the U. S.

By C. CHARLES

An exhibition of books forbidden in Nazi Germany and the occupied regions is being conducted by the New York Public Library.

The exhibit, called "Books the Nazis Banned," is composed of outstanding selections from the thousands of volumes outlawed by Hitler.

Conspicuous among these volumes and on exhibition at the New York Library is Leon Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," along with works by Marx, Lenin, Bebel, Kautsky and Liebknecht.

Among the sponsors of the exhibition are prominent Stalinists and near Stalinists such as Max Bedacht, Corliss Lamont, Vito Marcantonio, Max Yeagan and others.

While the Daily Worker broadcasts the lying charge that Trotsky was an agent of German fascism and that the Trotskyist movement is pro-Hitler, while the Stalinists applaud and encourage government persecutions of the Trotskyists, certain Stalinists are compelled by their action to brand their own party as a liar.

In the booklet describing the exhibition, the scientist, Franz Boas, writes:

"Banning and burning of books is the symbol of tyranny's fear of the power of the free mind."

This is true not only in Hitler's Germany but also in the United States, as is shown by the Post Office action barring from the mails certain recent issues of *The Militant* and the December issue of the monthly magazine, *Fourth International*.

Unless the masses stand up and fight for the rights of free press, speech and assemblage, someday we may witness an exhibition entitled "Books—and Newspapers—the American Capitalists Banned!"

U. S. Labor Freezing Plan Follows Fascist Pattern

By HOWARD HOGAN

The pattern of labor regimentation in fascist Italy and Germany on the one hand, and in "democratic" America on the other, is becoming more and more similar. In proof of this, we submit the following exhibits:

The United States

"700,000 stabilized in jobs in Detroit. Fundamentally, the directive provides that no employer can hire a worker unless he has a certificate of release from his first employer."

—N. Y. Times, Dec. 11, 1942.

Italy

"The fascist state has revived the 'labor passport.' In this the authorities note whether the conduct of the bearer has been 'satisfactory from the national point of view,' and the employer sets down, when a worker is dismissed, whether the discharged is competent or incompetent, reliable or unreliable."

—Fascism and Big Business by Daniel Guerin.

Germany

"The law of February 26, 1935 introduced... a 'labor passport' in which the employer sets down his estimate of the worker when the latter leaves his employment, and which has to be presented on applying for a new job. One of Goering's ordinances provides that if a worker, 'breaking his contract,' leaves his employment before his time is up, the employer has the right to keep his labor passport until the expiration of the contract. Since a worker can work nowhere without his passport, he is thus bound to his job."

—Fascism and Big Business by Daniel Guerin.

Hollywood Must Conform to The Gov't's Foreign Policy

By JOHN BATES

Government control over the nation's principal propaganda instruments is being extended to the motion pictures. This was revealed last week in the news that the movie version of Hemingway's novel, "For Whom the Bells Toll," is being edited by the State Department to fit its policy of friendliness and cooperation with General Franco and the Spanish fascists.

According to *The Hollywood Reporter* and *Variety*, movie trade papers, the U. S. State Department forced the picture makers to submit the Hemingway movie script to Spanish representatives after Franco had expressed "concern" over the fact that the movie referred to the two sides in the Civil War as "loyalists" and "fascists."

Hemingway's story was anti-fascist but it now appears that the entire political content will be altered so as not to offend the fascists. Director Sam Wood has been directed to shoot all "controversial" scenes two ways—one which follows the original story and favors the Spanish workers, the other which would be acceptable to the Spanish fascists. The release of the picture now awaits the State Department's decision on final cuts and alterations, according to these trade papers.

This news followed by a few months the announcement that Hollywood had purchased the movie rights to "Mission to Moscow," by Joseph Davies, ex-Ambassador to the USSR. There will of course be no revision of this script for it had the O.K. of the State Department before it was published in book form. In 1937-38 Davies, like everyone else, had regarded the Moscow Trials and the Stalinist slanders against the Trotskyists as frame-ups. He whitewashed the notorious Moscow Trials, along with Stalin's innumerable crimes against the international working class.

Not until 1941, after the Hitler-Stalin pact had ended and Stalin had led the Soviet Union into an alliance with the "democracies," did Davies decide that the Moscow Trials were not frame-ups. This sudden insight coincided strangely enough with the needs and policy of the State Department. The movies are now preparing that policy for mass consumption.

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