

## WLB THROWS OUT ILLINOIS MINE PACT

### Pardon To Kelly Postal Denied By State Board

On October 20 the Minnesota State Pardon Board rejected the request for pardon made by Kelly Postal, secretary-treasurer of Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Union Local 544-CIO. Since June 21 Postal has been serving a term of up to five years in the Stillwater penitentiary on a framed-up charge of "embezzlement of union funds."

In denying Postal's petition the Pardon Board refused to rectify the flagrant injustice committed against him, thus prolonging the vengeful campaign of persecution initiated against this militant union leader over two years ago by the AFL Teamsters president, Daniel J. Tobin, in connivance with the federal and state authorities.

#### FIGHT TO CONTINUE

The board ignored the large number of resolutions, petitions and letters protesting Postal's frameup and urging his liberation which came from scores of unions, thousands of workers and

hundreds of liberals all over the country.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee which is directing Postal's case has announced that Postal will reapply for pardon at the next possible opportunity and that it plans to continue without letup its energetic efforts to secure Postal's freedom.

This week the Greater Flint (Michigan) Industrial Union Council of the CIO adopted a resolution condemning Postal's imprisonment and voted a contribution to the CRDC's Postal Pardon Fund. The Workmen's Circle, labor fraternal order, through Joseph Baskin, its general secretary, has urged all its local branches to give unqualified support to Postal's case.

#### PARDON DENIED



KELLY POSTAL

### Big Business Wants Federal Sales Tax Now

Big Business is conducting an all-out drive to impose a huge federal sales tax on the American people, and thus take another deep slash into their living standards. Spearheading this drive is the National Association of Manufacturers who not so long ago demanded and obtained from a subservient Congress a windfall of 8-billion dollars in taxes through the modified Ruml plan; and who are now demanding: 1) no more new taxes on profits, and 2) a federal sales levy.

The first part of this program has already been fulfilled by the House Ways and Means Committee which has rejected the Administration's proposed ten and one-half billion dollar tax program, even though the latter called only for a little more than one billion additional in taxes on corporations whose profits have soared to record-breaking levels.

#### SUBSTITUTE PROVISIONS

The House Committee has approved in its executive sessions, from which Treasury officials and experts were excluded, substitute tax provisions which retain in a different form, the previous levies on low-income groups, while rejecting all of the Treasury's proposals with regard to the high-income brackets.

At the same time the Committee's bill provides only a few billions in additional taxes, a sum obviously inadequate for the administration's needs. This maneuver is transparent enough: If the administration wants more funds it will have to agree to a sales tax. The N. Y. Times reported gleefully on October 26 that the mere prospect of less than two-billions in taxes "has renewed talk of a sales tax." It then goes on to add:

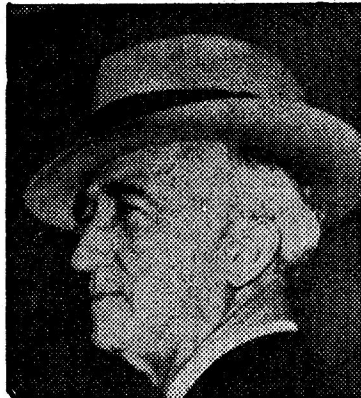
"It has been suggested that, before the bill is voted out of committee, the administration be advised that the only way to raise any substantial amount in new taxes is through a sales levy."

#### PASSING THE BUCK

Both the Democrats and the Republicans fear the resentment of the masses over the passage of a sales tax. Each side wants to pass the buck to the other. Spokesmen of the administration furthermore fear that the imposition of such a tax would make it impossible to keep the wages frozen.

As Randolph E. Paul, general counsel for the Treasury, put it the sales tax by the burden it imposes "would produce an irresistible drive for higher wages..." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 19.) Big Business has a ready enough answer for this, and that is, to crack down still more on organized labor. For political considerations Roosevelt would prefer not to take this course as yet. That is the only reason the Administration still hesitates to sponsor the measure.

### Roosevelt's Hatchmen



James F. Byrnes (left), director of the Office of War Mobilization, and William H. Davis (right), chairman of the War Labor Board, two of the administration agents who are doing the dirty work for Roosevelt in blocking the wage demands of almost 2,000,000 coal miners and railroad workers. Economic Stabilization Director Fred M. Vinson, who is swinging the axe against the railroad workers, takes his orders direct from Byrnes, who in turn carries out Roosevelt's policies.

### ALLIES GIVE SANCTION TO BADOGGIO'S CURBS ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

By Anthony Massini

Italian fascists are still being sheltered, defended and kept in office by Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel. As Badoglio put it in an interview on Oct. 20, he makes "a distinction between fascists and fascists." Count Carlo Sforza, who has returned to Italy, says he is "saddened" by "the vestiges of fascism that cling to official life in Allied-occupied Italy and the machinations of the court circle" which, he reports, is trying "to set the stage for a general acquittal of fascists."

And all this is going on with the apparent approval and permission of the Allied Military Mission, which acts as the liaison between Badoglio and Allied headquarters in Algiers, and which has the authority to tell Badoglio what he can and cannot do.

The Allied Military Mission, which has in many respects replaced the Allied Military Government (AMG) of the political arm of the Allied leaders in Italy, has been operating right beside Badoglio ever since he decided to surrender. Last week the press was permitted to print the first accounts of the AMM's powers and policies.

An Oct. 20 dispatch from Southern Italy, printed in the

#### Badoglio Sighs for the Good Old Days

"Those were better times for Italy," sighed Marshal Badoglio in an interview on Oct. 20 when he was reminded of his activities in the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935-36. Those were the "good old days" for the Italian ruling class, when Badoglio in charge of the fascist troops ordered the use of mustard gas against defenseless natives, and when Badoglio's boss, Mussolini, still held the Italian masses in subjugation.

This latest recruit to the banner of the four freedoms hardly permits a day to go by without a speech about the glorious future of democracy. But his yearning for the fascist past shows where his heart really is and what his real policies are.

N. Y. Times of Oct. 24, explicitly asserts that Badoglio and the King "cannot act without authority from the Allied mission." The AMM is supposed to be strictly a military agency, the article continues, but that has not prevented it "from getting involved in problems of high politics." Furthermore:

"Victor Emmanuel is king, but the power behind his throne is the Allied Mission, and as things are now shaping up it is still going to be behind the throne when Victor Emmanuel is again king of Italy in Rome."

Thus a portion if not the greater portion of the blame for protecting fascist officials lies with the Allied leaders' representatives in Italy.

#### FREE PRESS BARRED

And although the Allied Military Mission is the power behind the throne, the Italian masses are still not permitted to exercise the most elementary rights of free speech in the territories held by the Allies.

"Three prominent anti-fascist liberals of Apulia are in jail for printing and disseminating an unauthorized newspaper," Herbert L. Matthews reports from Southern Italy. (N. Y. Times, Oct. 23.) Here is Matthews' account: "Only one newspaper — the Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno — is authorized in Apulia. A group of important liberals who had suffered imprisonment under fascism say that they tried to get their ideas published in the Gazzetta but failed. Anyway, they decided to put out their own sheet called the Italia Libera."

"According to a decree Premier Badoglio issued in Rome [before surrendering to the Allies], this was a misdemeanor punishable by fine but not by imprisonment."

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### Nation-Wide Strike Vote Is Started By All Rail Unions

Miners and Railway Workers Are Revolting Against Roosevelt's Wage-Freezing Policy

With thousands of rank and file coal miners again on strike against the wage-freezing policies of the Roosevelt war government, the War Labor Board on Oct. 26 rejected the second agreement negotiated between the Illinois Coal Operators Association and the United Mine Workers Union. As the miners battle to defend their standard of living, demands are growing for a general strike among the 1,450,000 railroad workers who are now preparing to take a strike vote in order to enforce their demands for wage increases which Roosevelt has so long denied them.

#### Coal Administrator

Harold L. Ickes returned the remaining 1700 mines to the owners on October 13. Immediately 22,000 coal miners in Alabama walked out of the pits. Within one day, additional thousands of miners were on strike in Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

Thus the rank and file coal miners are trying to enforce the program enunciated by Lewis and the United Mine Workers leaders on June 22, when the Union Policy Committee in its statement calling off the third coal strike stated: "This arrangement is predicated upon operation of the mines... by the United States government and will automatically terminate if government control is vacated prior to the above mentioned date."

#### DEAD LINE NEARS

According to the June 22 decision of the UMW policy Committee, the "truce" in the coal mines is effective only up to October 31. The crisis is bound to become more acute at the expiration of the deadline, regardless of what action Lewis and the other top officers decide to take. The old tradition of "No contract—no work" is still very much alive in the coal fields.

The miners are devising many new ingenious methods of struggle in order to avoid outright violation of the Smith-Connelly "slave labor" Act. According to reports from the striking areas, the miners have not called any local union "strike" meetings but have reached "silent understandings" among themselves to stay out of the mines. Ostensibly, the miners are simply acting as individuals, singly seeking redress for their grievances.

#### STARK REACTION

The arrogant and high-handed anti-labor actions of the WLB are reaching unheard of proportions. Their record in the coal case is one of unrestrained, unvarnished stark reactionary labor baiting.

#### Byrnes Thinks Low Wages Are Good Enough

A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen wrote to James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization that his union membership believes that "labor is being betrayed by those in authority in Washington."

Byrnes replied: "There have always been wage inequities and when you and I are called to another world there will still be such inequities."

For those who are not informed, Byrnes is Roosevelt's right hand man in the fight for the "Four Freedoms."

The board has rejected every single agreement thus far reached by the miners union and the coal operators.

They turned down the agreement reached by the union and the independent bituminous operators of Pennsylvania. Later in the summer, they turned down the union agreement with the Illinois mine operators. Now they have rejected the second Illinois agreement.

The coal miners are utterly contemptuous of the WLB and all its works. They have no more confidence in the WLB than in a rattlesnake. On October 25, nine days after the WLB directive to return to work "forthwith," 19,000 coal miners remained on strike in Alabama, while strikes continued in the bituminous coal fields of eight states.

Apparently Lewis and the other UMW officials have forgotten their own clearly written statement, because on October 16, Lewis and the other top officers wired the Alabama miners, ordering them to comply with the instructions of the War Labor Board to return to work.

Concurrently with the coal strikes, a tense labor situation is developing among 1,450,000 railroad workers. The importance of the crisis of railway labor can be better understood when it is recalled that the railroad workers are accounted as one of the most conservative sections of the trade union movement. Today, however, the rank and file of the rail unions are fighting mad. They are thoroughly and completely aroused. They are demanding action and are proceeding to build some red hot fires underneath the ample posteriors of their "labor executives."

The "Big Five," represented by the four major railway brotherhoods and the Switchmen's Union, speaking for 350,000 operating

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### Red Army Gains Victories In Biggest Battles of The War

By John C. Wright

The Red Army is scoring the greatest victories of the war in its uninterrupted offensive now entering the fifth month. With the fall of Melitopol the Nazis lost the southern anchor of the Dnieper line which Hitler had only a few days ago ordered held at all costs. The trap around the German armies in Crimea is already half-closed.

The Soviet troops have not only established firm bridgeheads across the Dnieper at a dozen points but have at the same time achieved a breakthrough along its best fortified sector. The capture of Dnepropetrovsk, the impending encirclement of Kiev, Krivoi Rog and other vital centers scores of miles behind the present German front lines threaten to crumple the entire southern front.

The battles now in progress along the Dnieper bend and behind it are admitted even by the German high command to be unprecedented in scope. The Red Armies are winning these biggest battles of the war. Further successes on the scale of those already achieved would turn the long series of German defeats into a rout, with all the incalculable consequences entailed in such a turn of military developments.

#### GERMANS MUST WITHDRAW

The N. Y. Times which, to put it mildly, has been consistently conservative in estimating the course of the military struggle on the Soviet fronts now concedes that the Dnieper line is already untenable for the Germans, and that the most the German High Command can hope to accomplish is an orderly retreat to new positions. "It seems a foregone conclusion," stated the Times editors on October 25, "that the Russian successes must force a further German withdrawal."

Whatever the immediate political effects of the Soviet military victories may be, the end results can lead only in one direction, namely, not to a mitigation but to a sharpening of the class antagonisms between the Soviet Union and its capitalist allies. In the midst of the Moscow conference, Stalin's mouthpiece on foreign policy, War and the Working Class, published an article which in so many words demands the recognition of the USSR as "the world's greatest land power." (Daily Worker, Oct. 26.)

The establishment of the Soviet Union as the dominant military power on the European continent is something that Churchill and Roosevelt hope to prevent at all costs. The predominant military role in Europe is reserved by London and Washington for their own armies of occupation. In no other way can capitalism be preserved

on the continent of Europe. Conversely, once the USSR dominates Europe militarily, the extension of Soviet property forms — nationalized and planned economy — to the rest of the continent cannot be long postponed.

The Red Army victories have

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### Civil Rights Defense Committee Asks Aid in Supreme Court Appeal

The petition has now been prepared asking the U. S. Supreme Court to review the recent Circuit Court decision upholding the convictions under the Smith "Gag" Act of the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial. Attorney Albert Goldman for the defendants and attorney Osmond K. Fraenkel of the American Civil Liberties Union drafted the petition. As required by the high court, the lengthy document is being printed to ready it for submission to that body.

All branches of the Civil Rights Defense Committee have accepted their quotas on the \$2500 preliminary expense fund to meet the initial costs in carrying the appeal to the Supreme Court. The national office of the CRDC also reports that four branches have already sent in their full quota. These branches are Plentywood, Mont.; Rochester, N. Y.; San Diego, Cal.; and Toledo, Ohio.

Despite this good start in the campaign, the need for funds remains urgent because of the heavy expense involved in the preparation of the petition to the high court. All CRDC branches are urged by the national office to send in their full quota on the preliminary expense fund as quickly as possible.

Contributions from organizations and individuals should be sent to the national office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

## Fifteenth Anniversary Banquet of the SWP

SPEAKERS:

JAMES P. CANNON  
National Secretary,  
Socialist Workers Party

VINCENT R. DUNNE  
Labor Secretary,  
Socialist Workers Party

ALBERT GOLDMAN  
Attorney for  
Socialist Workers Party

ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW  
Honored Trotskyist Veteran—  
55 years in the revolutionary movement

Saturday, October 30 - 6:30 P. M.

WERDERMANN'S HALL — 16th STREET AND 3rd AVENUE, NEW YORK — \$1.75 PER PLATE

# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Marvel Scholl

The U.S. Supreme Court follows not only the election returns but also the anti-labor trends. By its refusal on Oct. 18 to act on an appeal against a lower court decision in the case of the American Tube and Bending Company of New Haven, it gives an old anti-union weapon back to the employers.

Just before an NLRB election in the New Haven plant, the company president had written a letter and made a speech to the workers "suggesting" that they would find "bargaining directly with the management" a better plan than collective bargaining through a union. This thinly veiled threat was condemned by the NLRB as "interference with the right of self-organization" and cited as an unfair labor practice. The Second Circuit Court upheld the right of the employer to make such utterances on the ground of "free speech."

The lawyers for the NLRB pointed out to the Supreme Court that since the lower court decision a substantial number of employers had used the "very language" employed by the American Tube and Bending Company president. "Objections to elections because of campaigning by employers are very numerous," they added. "Unless the decision is reversed, it will become increasingly difficult for the board to conduct its elections in an atmosphere of neutrality which it deems essential to the fairness of the election procedure."

But the Supreme Court refused to even consider reversing the decision and by this method gave its left-handed approval to the reactionary position of the lower court.

The National Industrial Conference Board has conducted a survey and found that in slightly more than half of 155 war plants women hired for unskilled work receive the same starting pay as men and the same automatic wage increases.

Miss Geneva Seybold, NICE official in charge of the survey, gives "recent War Labor Board directives credit for much of this improvement in women workers' financial status," according to the N. Y. Times of Oct. 14.

What the survey actually shows, however, is that the War Labor Board order calling for equal pay for women workers is being ignored in almost all the war plants. Instead of credit, the War Labor Board deserves the strongest possible condemnation for failing to force the employers to abide by its equal pay order.

All this goes to show once more that the unions cannot depend on the War Labor Board to carry out a policy in the interest of the workers. The unions themselves have to see to it that the equal pay order is complied with. The only orders that the WLB is really concerned about putting into effect are the ones directed against the workers.

Two more names have been added to the list of dead as the result of the recent explosions in the Sayreton No. 2 mine of the Republic Steel Corporation near Birmingham. This brings the number of dead up to 27.

Meanwhile Harrison Combs, representing the UMW on the U. S. Bureau of Mines, has made public his report on another mine disaster which took 14 lives last month at Minersville, Pa. He reported that the Moffett-Schradler Coal Company had "flagrantly violated four sections of the Pennsylvania Mine Laws" and that the blame for this explosion, like all of the others, could be placed squarely on the shoulders of the owners.

Combs said: "This explosion emphasizes the growing menace from faulty ventilation to the lives of mine workers. The deaths of 25 [now 27] men at Sayreton, Ala., 12 men at the Three Point Mine at Harlan, Ky., and the men killed in this explosion were all due to faulty ventilation. The reports that are coming in from the Federal Mine Inspectors of the various coal mines in the country show an amazing number of these mines have inadequate ventilation even to give enough air to the workmen and certainly not enough to sweep away accumulated gases."

The love-feast between Mayor LaGuardia and Stalinist Michael J. Quill, president of the CIO Transport Workers Union, is now in the main course. LaGuardia has endorsed Quill's candidacy for city councilman, and Quill introduced LaGuardia to the TWU convention in New York last week as "the best war mayor in the United States, a friend of labor, and the people's mayor." It wasn't very long ago that the TWU was engaged in a knockdown dragout fight with La-

# WLB Rejects Illinois Mine Pact

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railway employees, have been negotiating for a 30% wage increase since February 1943. The union representatives have gone through all the twists and turns and mazes of the highly complicated Railway Labor Act.

## A MISERLY OFFER

Today, after nine months of negotiating, they have received the final decision of the emergency board which authorizes an increase of four cents an hour. Even the subservient and cowardly bureaucrats of the railroad brotherhoods did not dare accept this miserly offer. They are in a deathly fear that unless they can obtain some reasonable wage concessions, their own leadership is in jeopardy.

The anti-union tone of the Brewster hearings being conducted by the House Naval Affairs Committee becomes more ominous daily. Every company and naval official has pointed his testimony in an attempt to place the blame for the company's production failures on the shoulders of Local 365, UAW-CIO.

A typical part of this smear campaign was the testimony of Captain George Keller, head of the Navy's Industrial Department, who last week implied that the Brewster plants were "shot through with saboteurs" and that the union was protecting these alleged saboteurs. The actual testimony shows a far different picture, however.

According to Keller's testimony, a list had been compiled of 70 workers "who were subject to varying degrees of suspicion." Further investigation whittled this list down to 27 names.

At a conference participated in by company officials, representatives of the Navy, Army and Labor Departments, and CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood officers, it was decided to discharge the 27 workers.

Keller said that Thomas de Lorenzo, Local 365 president, "belligerently" opposed firing the workers, but that later he agreed. Twenty of the workers were later "reinstated after union-supported appeals."

Sabotage is a serious crime, punishable by death in war time. Twenty of the workers who had been wrongfully accused were reinstated with back pay. Is anyone naive enough to believe that any of these workers could have been reinstated, with the necessary approval from the government agencies concerned, unless the charges against them had been proved false?

Yet Keller's testimony is an obvious attempt to make it seem that the union is protecting saboteurs. Actually, it is now clear, the falsely accused union members were never under attack as individuals—it was the union itself which was under attack. This particular union, by its militancy and fighting spirit, has earned the hatred of the bosses and their government. It has been and will continue to be a constant target for attack.

Frank H. Karker, chairman of the War Department's price adjustments board, recently spoke these reassuring words before the labor-hating Associated Industries meeting in Cleveland: "In reaching a conclusion in renegotiations proceedings we allowed an adequate margin of profit, plus a margin of generosity, plus a margin for good measure. No manufacturer can say that the plan is anything but fair."

"Fair" is certainly the grossest kind of understatement. The present renegotiations setup has not prevented the employers from coining the greatest profits in American history. If they are complaining, it is not because they are not being treated overgenerously by the War Department, but because they are just chronically unable to stomach any limitation on profits, no matter how mild.

President R. J. Thomas of the UAW announced on Wednesday that the Executive Board of the union had taken action on a proposal for the formation of a service men's organization "from the ranks of organized labor to rival the American Legion." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 27.)

Thomas said that the formation of such an organization has "long been advocated by local unions throughout the country." The executive board's action came after many local unions had written in requesting an organization for union servicemen. "It is the opinion of most union men that the American Legion does not represent the interests of the working men. . . . By the actions of its leaders the Legion has proven that it is definitely lined up with various big business groups. For the most part these leaders have shown themselves to have a decided anti-labor bias." Thomas stressed that the new organization would be for "all unions." He will present the proposal for action at the CIO annual convention next week.

any time since the Railway Labor Act was first passed in 1926.

The feverish dissatisfaction among the men can also be gauged by the actions of such reactionary anti-labor figures in Congress as Senator Langer and Representative Hamilton Fish, who are criticizing Roosevelt for his conduct of the rail negotiations and demanding that he approve the original award of eight cents an hour wage increase. Langer called upon the Senate to demand of the President that he "sign the findings of the railroads and unions" in order to "prevent riots, strikes and bloodshed."

## TYPICAL REACTION

The temper of the railroad men is portrayed very well by the message sent on October 18 to the officials of the fifteen non-operating unions by a mass meeting of the Federated Shop Crafts, representing all the non-operating unions in Paducah, Kentucky. The message declared: "If our wage question is not settled by October 22 we have decided to cancel our no-strike pledge and to distribute ballots without delay."

A joint council of the railroad workers, the CIO, AFL, United Mine Workers, Brewery Workers and Typographical unions, representing 200,000 workers in Kentucky, have condemned the action of the emergency board "in granting a pitifully inadequate wage increase."

The general chairman of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks wired from Buffalo, N. Y., on October 19 that the men were "sick and tired" of the 13 month run-around and threatened strike action unless they received immediate satisfaction.

## Impact Of War On The USSR Discussed At N. Y. Forum

"The titanic power unleashed by the Soviet masses in their war is having its effect upon the masses in occupied Europe. Reports of growing unrest run parallel to the advance of the Red Army," said John G. Wright, well-known writer and lecturer, in a discussion of the impact of the war on the Soviet Union, before a group of workers last Sunday at the regular weekly forum of the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

The Red Army victories, the scope of which is staggering Russia's present allies and military men, have been won against the greatest odds. Pitted against Germany, the most advanced capitalist country in Europe, the Soviet Union has won these victories despite Stalin's betrayal of Bolshevism, despite his foreign policy.

Describing the months of horrible battle, the tremendous difficulties overcome by the Red Army in wresting victories from the mighty German machine, Wright said: "Displayed here in military terms is the vast superiority of a new social system, of new methods, new ideas, new relationships. . . ."

Miracles of voluntary sacrifice are being performed by the Russian people in industry, in their tremendous efforts to fill the gap left by millions of war casualties, in their need to cultivate once again the vast stretches of rich agricultural areas left scorched and burned by warfare.

The speaker then discussed the impact of the war upon Stalin's bureaucracy, especially the civilian section of the bureaucracy, the various party bodies, and the trade unions.

He pointed out that Stalin's frantic efforts to stabilize the military caste, to invest it with as great a social weight as possible, is one of the outstanding internal processes occurring now. "This isn't something new on Stalin's part, but in wartime it merely becomes exaggerated. When a Czarism had in the Order of Cavaliers of St. George, Stalin is trying to create in his new Order of Cavaliers of Suvarov. . . ."

There is great hope in the new generation of youth raised to its feet by the war, the youth who have rallied to the defense of Lenin's and Trotsky's conquests of October, the new leaders who are rising out of the masses in spite of Stalin. The question of whether we will see these new cadres re-enter the political arena was answered by Wright in his closing remarks when he said, "Once the movement of revolutionary masses in Europe, above all Germany, meshes in with the heroic struggle of the Soviet masses, no power in the world can prevent the extension of Soviet property forms beyond the boundaries to which Stalin has restricted them."

A very lively discussion followed this lecture, one in a series being presented by the New York School of Social Science. At next Sunday's forum, Oct. 31, Lydia Bennett will speak on "Women and the Social Revolution."

The temporary Washington offices of the fifteen non-operating unions are reported to be literally swamped with telegrams and messages from the rank and file demanding immediate action on the wage demands.

Under this heavy pressure, the officials of the fifteen non-operating unions announced on Oct. 26 that strike ballots were being issued to the 1,100,000 members of these unions, the ballots to be returnable Nov. 25.

## WHITNEY'S STATEMENT

A. F. Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, largest of the "Big Five" brotherhoods, has issued a vitriolic denunciation of Roosevelt's anti-labor policies. Whitney's statement reflects the white-hot anger of the rank and file railroad workers. This statement can be better understood when it is recalled that Whitney has been and remains a staunch Roosevelt supporter.

Whitney advised James F. Byrnes, Director of the office of War Mobilization, that his union membership was informing him that there exists "a growing belief among the workers that labor is being betrayed by those in authority in Washington" when the latter informed Whitney that he would not make public the recommendations of the third fact-finding board in the case of the Pacific Electric Company workers, members of Whitney's union.

Whitney made public a letter to him from Charles Decker, a dining car steward on the Southern Pacific Railroad, who wrote that the handling of the Pacific Electric case had not only aroused "a strong feeling against the

Administration in Washington but is really worse—there is great dissatisfaction with the [union] administration in Cleveland." Decker went on to say: "As far as our members are concerned, they take the position that the no-strike pledge does not exist any more. President Roosevelt and the Democratic Party are fast losing the support which is generally taken for granted. . . ."

## ROOSEVELT CRITICIZED

Whitney, reflecting the seething dissatisfaction of his membership, declared to the Chicago meeting of his union's general chairman: "The no-strike pledge has lost its usefulness. At the time the no-strike pledge was made I considered it excellent labor statesmanship. . . . However, situations change and I see no

wisdom in adhering to it after it has lost its usefulness. . . . "The President is in a weakened condition. He is almost now a 'political prisoner' in the House. It is not for me to assure you that our action might not condition this country for extreme fascist controls which the President could not successfully oppose. . . . Nearly all the positions in our government are now held by big business reactionaries or at best by ultra conservatives, and the President has put them there. . . ."

"The tax program is indefensible. We are now, despite the President's noble speeches, making war millionaires at a rate which . . . will make the profiteering of World War I look like a WPA payroll." Roosevelt dares proceed with

such complete ruthlessness and cynicism against the railroad workers because he knows that the union officials are utterly servile to him. He understands only too well the chicken-hearted character of their policies and acts. He knows that they intend to cling to his coattails regardless of what anti-labor crimes he commits.

Roosevelt is of course right in his estimation of these "labor statesmen." But the decision does not depend on the bureaucrats alone. The rank and file are beginning to take matters into their own hands. They are beginning to exert enormous pressure upon their union officials. They are about to create a new labor crisis for the Roosevelt administration.

## The Kremlin's Revival of Feudal And Czarist Military Traditions

By A. Roland

The degradation and downsiding of the first workers' state under the rule of Stalin is aptly reflected in the kind of honors bestowed by the bloody dictator on the heroes of the Red Army. The Order of the Red Banner and the later Order of Lenin have been pushed into the background. They are reminders of the October Revolution, the first great proletarian victory. Stalin has no desire to keep the memory of that revolution fresh in the minds of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

The highest decorations awarded by the Kremlin comprise the Order of Suvarov, the Order of Nevski, of Kutuzov — and now that of Khrmelnytsky. The mind of Stalin shuts out the entire history of international proletarian struggle, with all its creative figures, to go back to the Czarist past in which he feels more at home. What a tradition to hold out to the working class of the twentieth century — that of the Czarist General Suvarov, the brutal taskmaster of an enslaved army of serfs, and now that of the dread Cossack figure of the seventeenth century, Khrmelnytsky!

The elevation of this figure in the calendar of Stalinist saints has had a profoundly disquieting effect among the Jewish people. One has to go back many, many centuries indeed to find another figure as much abhorred by Jews for the most brutal slaughter of hundreds of thousands of them. The name of this Cossack leader in that period of Polish history called "The Deluge" is the symbol of frightfulness to Jews. Stalin shows, by its use in this epoch when the Jews are suffering the greatest persecution, completely cynical disregard for this victimized people.

## DISQUIETING EFFECT

True enough, Stalin gave no thought to the Jews, but rather held out his fist to the Poles. The sinister figure in the Kremlin accepts kinship with the savage Cossack of the seventeenth century. Bogdan Khrmelnytsky, at heart in sympathy with the nobility and the landlords, nevertheless, by his revolt against the Polish landlords, set off a powerful peasants' revolt in the course of which the Ukraine was freed from Polish exploitation and joined to the Czar's empire. The peasants vented their pent-up fury on the Polish landlords and their

Jewish go-betweens. Czar Alexander III at a later period erected a statue to the Cossack Hetman in Kiev. But such was the stain left on history by the frightful excess of Khrmelnytsky that the liberals and the Russian Jews protested vehemently.

The resurrection of this feudal figure by Stalin is no mere gesture of honor to the Cossacks to whom Stalin has gradually restored their specially privileged position under the Czars who used them as mercenaries. It is rather a warning to those Poles, not only among the landlords, who dare to oppose Stalin's plans for Poland, that he will be another Khrmelnytsky for them. The murder of Erlich and Alter is the proof that it is not only the landowners who will be liquidated. Stalin has had plenty of practice in making amalgams of those who oppose him from the left with those who oppose him from the right, of lumping together the real revolutionists with the reactionaries. When the Red Army marched into Poland after the pact with Hitler, the GPU seized not only landowners and capitalists but working class leaders as well.

Stalin has many points of similarity with the Cossack leader. Khrmelnytsky has been characterized as an eminent savage, who could destroy but not create. The Hetman helped overthrow one set of oppressors only to assume their place. He betrayed both the peasants and the Cossacks by setting up his own clique as exploiters. Stalin usurped the power of the October Revolution by exterminating the Lenin-Trotsky leadership. The Stalinist bureaucracy then took advantage of its position of power to grant itself enormous privileges. Stalin betrayed the proletarian revolution just as Khrmelnytsky betrayed the serfs' revolt.

## STALIN FACES BACKWARD

Stalin shows in everything that he faces backwards to the distant past. He is reactionary to the core. But the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are not fighting with the image of Nevski or of Khrmelnytsky in their hearts. Of that one can be absolutely certain. Their vision is towards the future, towards a hopeful future since the Soviet Union will emerge victorious against the most powerful armed forces of reaction of all history. The revolution did not give the masses of Russia what they sought up to now. They "tolerated" the Kremlin dictator with his GPU apparatus only because they feared to jeopardize the entire future of the revolution by civil war in a workers' state surrounded by capitalism. But the Second World War cannot help but bring a great change.

The masses look to the future. Stalin looks to the past. The outlook of the dictator comes into head-on collision with that of the Russian workers. The Stalinist clique is moving backwards; the workers and peasants desire to move ahead. A collision is inevitable. Of the outcome, we have not the slightest doubt. A new Leninist leadership will be created to point the way to the socialist future.

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The consistent work done by our agent in Pittsburgh during the coal miners' strikes in May and June of this year has already shown excellent results to date. UMW locals in the Pennsylvania coal mine area have sent in ten one-year subscriptions to The Militant.

Now our agent writes that "they have for sometime been mailing The Militant to the steel locals in town and what reports we are able to get indicate it is getting quite popular." This work will undoubtedly show good results also in the next period.

A letter for our Cleveland agent expresses well-founded hope for increased subscriptions as a result of consistent neighborhood work. He writes:

"We have found that it is very easy to get sales for 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' in Negro neighborhood distributions. The main thing is to knock on enough doors. Practically everyone buys a copy and we intend to order another hundred soon.

"Along with the pamphlet we give a complimentary copy of The Militant, and leave word that we want to come back and see them after they have had a chance to read it. We are going to stay in the same neighborhood awhile and stress follow-up. There is no reason, if the work continues, why our subscription list should not show real results from this activity."

A number of our agents send in remittance letters regularly, en-

closing subscriptions or payment for their bundles. During the week we received such letters from the following agents:

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MINNEAPOLIS: "Enclosed you will find check for \$19.25 to be applied on subscriptions attached and Militant bundles No. 41 and No. 42. . . ."

ALLEN TOWN: "Enclosed you will find money order in payment of The Militant through October 9."

LOS ANGELES: "Enclosed is \$15.00 for the following subs. . . . Also enclosed is \$40.00 for our Militant bill. . . ."

Bayonne, New York, Pittsburgh, Reading, Seattle, Toledo and Youngstown have sent remittances in full through the October 16 issue.

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# The Negro Struggle

By Albert Parker

## Responsibility To Men In Armed Forces

With but two exceptions of several weeks' duration, I have been writing regularly in this and other columns of *The Militant* for a little over three years. During this period, through correspondence and personal contact, I became acquainted with a considerable number of workers who have expressed sympathy with the ideas expressed in this paper, and particularly with *The Militant's* fight for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro people. By the time these words appear in print, I shall most likely be in the army; and be unable for quite a while to write in this column; that is why I am taking this opportunity, while it still remains, to address some remarks to my friends in all parts of the country on certain problems raised by conscription.

Already there are about two million union men in the armed forces, and close to a million Negroes, with the number increasing steadily all the time. These people are confronted with new tasks and duties, but they do not abandon their old ideas and principles just because they were drafted, despite the false reports circulated by the capitalist press.

In fact — at least this has been the case with draftees of my acquaintance — their new experiences have served to underline the necessity for the continuation of the economic, political and anti-Jim Crow struggles, in which they themselves participated prior to their conscription. Those workers of both races who before induction fought for decent living standards, democratic rights and equality for the Negro people are as much concerned as ever over the outcome of the progressive struggles at home because both the welfare of their dependents and friends and their own future lives when they return home are at stake in these struggles.

It is not indifference, therefore, but restrictive and anti-democratic military regulations which limit the participation of the conscripted workers in the struggle to improve conditions. One need only recall the case of Sergeant Alton Levy to realize how difficult it is for the workers in uniform to make their voices heard. All that Levy did, after all, was to speak up against army Jim Crow, and for that "crime" he was court-martialed, demoted and imprisoned. If he had actually tried to do something about the situation, as 14 American Negro soldiers stationed in Great Britain were accused of doing at their trial last week, then he too might be facing the death penalty.

All this places an added responsibility on the class-conscious workers still at home. Although their ranks are depleted of many of the most active and devoted militants, at a time when the power and arrogance of the capitalist rulers are greater than ever before, they must do more than continue their progressive struggles — they must extend them. While combatting the anti-

labor and anti-Negro forces, the labor movement must also come to the defense of the servicemen's interests. Because the soldiers themselves are, for the time being at least, unable to take effective measures on their own behalf, the labor movement must actively concern itself with the economic interests and democratic rights of the servicemen and must assume the leadership of the fight to abolish discrimination and segregation in the armed forces as well as in civilian life.

To appreciate the urgency of the responsibilities which war and conscription place on the labor movement, it is necessary to dispel certain illusions about the war and post-war period which Big Business is most eager of all to maintain.

It is not at all certain that there will ever be a post-war period under capitalism such as there was after the last war. The "peace" treaty will not be signed for a long time after the cessation of armed hostilities; it will be followed by world policing for as long, some people say, as a hundred years; the employers will make every effort to continue wartime restrictions on the labor movement; already their representatives are talking about the need for permanent conscription after the war. Under such conditions the "peace" may be almost indistinguishable from war, except that then the capitalist rulers will have greater resources for resisting the demands of the labor movement than today.

The post-war problems are being settled right now. What happens in the future will depend not on a new set of circumstances arising on the day the capitalists decide to say the war is over, but rather on the relationship of forces between the capitalist and working classes. If the workers neglect the wartime opportunities for advancing their progressive struggles, if capitalism is permitted to maintain its oppressive rule and even to strengthen it under the pretext of promoting the war effort, then the struggle of the labor movement will be set back many years and when the remaining Johnnies finally come marching home, it will be to a world of fascist-breeding reaction and despair.

That is why we Trotskyists say again and again: "The class-conscious white and Negro workers dare not postpone the solution of their pressing tasks until after the war. To do so is to invite disaster for humanity."

Added responsibilities pose the necessity for increased understanding as well as expanded activity. To fulfill their obligations to the men in the armed forces, the Negro and white militants must study the nature of the problems confronting them and adopt the program necessary for their solution. They will find the clarification of these problems in the Trotskyist press; they will find the program they need already emblazoned on the banner of the Socialist Workers Party.

Remember — your brothers and comrades in the armed forces are depending on you.

## Pioneer Paragraphs

# BRITISH IMPERIALISTS WON'T LET INDIA HAVE HER FREEDOM

Events have demonstrated irrefutably that British imperialism will never agree to the national independence of India. If Britain grants the "demand" of so-called "friends of India" for renewal of negotiations between the All-India Congress and the British government, it will produce nothing more than did the gigantic fraud of the Cripps Mission. The brutal statement of Churchill in the House of Commons on September 10 should have made it clear to everyone that his policy remains what it was in Jan., 1930 when he said to Parliament: "Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they stand for."

British imperialism will agree to new negotiations only if it feels that its repressions are failing of their purpose of destroying the nationalist and workers' movement of India. Such negotiation and any resulting "compromise" would be designed only to give British imperialism a breathing-space in which to prepare more efficacious measures for crushing the Indian workers and peasants. That was precisely the role of the Cripps negotiations, initiated when Singapore and Malaya had fallen and Britain's armed power in the East was

broken; the negotiations gave Churchill time to send new troops and arms to India for the repressions now taking place. The second reason for the Cripps negotiations was to create the illusion that Britain was willing to give India its freedom — an illusion which is still strong enough to delude large sections of the American and British working class which would otherwise be sympathetic to India's fight for freedom. The Congress leaders aided Churchill in spreading this illusion by their participation in the private negotiations with Cripps. New negotiations would give a new lease on life to this dangerous illusion.

It is absurd to plead with Britain not to make in India the same "mistake" as in Burma and Malaya. The British rulers know what they are doing. British imperialism is fighting this war in order to maintain its empire; to lose control of India permanently would be losing the war. As in Burma and Malaya, Britain's ruling class would prefer to surrender India to Japanese invasion, with the hope of reconquering it, than to lose India forever to the national independence movement. This essential fact must be under-

# Twenty-Six Years After the Great October Revolution

By Edith Kane

Fifteen years ago a small group of American revolutionists was expelled from the Communist Party because they dared to question the political line of the American Communist Party and the Communist International, and because they asked for the right to discuss their differences before the party membership.

These were not newcomers to the movement. Many of them were founders of the American party, members of its national committee, or leading members in their localities. For them, expulsion meant severing bonds with lifelong political and personal associates; braving criticism, slander and even physical attack; beginning anew the task of gathering together co-thinkers and laboriously laying the foundation of a new revolutionary party.

It meant years of work under the most disadvantageous conditions, facing the attacks not only of capitalism but of those who claimed to represent the working class. It meant fighting for the truth with small forces and meager finances against a powerful machine.

What was this truth so important, so vital, so compelling as to cause this group to break with a movement that had helped to create, that had meant all of life to them, and embark on a path of opposition? This great truth was embodied in the program of the October Revolution, which they fought to uphold within the Communist Party until it was plain that the Stalinized Communist Party had abandoned Marxism and could no longer be reformed.

Their duty was clear—a new revolutionary party had to be built. The program was already at hand. The original American Trotskyist movement, the forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party, was created on the basis of the program of the Bolsheviks, as first formulated by the great scientific socialists, Marx and Engels, and tested, confirmed and developed in action in October, 1917.

On November 7 we celebrate the twenty-sixth anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia. On that day the workers, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, carried through the first victorious proletarian revolution. The oppressed Russian masses having thrown off the tyranny of the Czar, still awaited the answer to their cries for "Peace! Bread! Land!" from the treacherous liberal and "socialist" ministers who attempted before October to govern in the name of the revolution.

Only the Bolsheviks had the press and demonstrate their opposition to the Allied leaders' policy. They must demand that the Allied leaders end their concurrence in Badoglio's suppression of civil liberties.

NO CONTRADICTION  
Meanwhile, in his Oct. 20 interview, Badoglio tried to show that in his heart he really isn't a dictator. Calling attention to the coalition of the Action, Liberal, Christian-Social, Socialist and Communist Parties, he said: "As I solemnly declared in my proclamation of Oct. 13, I will complete my government with the most authoritative representatives of these parties, none excluded."

The American Stalinists and some liberals have joyously greeted this declaration as a retreat on the part of Badoglio from his earlier statement published on Oct. 14, when he called for a struggle against communism and said:

"After every war there is danger of communism. . . The Allies must help us, in the press and in propaganda, so that communism does not stand a chance."

Actually, however, there is no contradiction between the two statements. If necessary, Badoglio will appoint representatives of the Italian Communist Party to his cabinet — especially if that will serve to bring his regime which it is now sadly lacking.

But such a course, he knows, will not at all conflict with his main concern — the struggle against communism, that is, against the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in Italy. For the Communist Party in Italy, as elsewhere, acting in line with the directives of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, is the most vigorous opponent of socialist

and a general improvement in living and working conditions. If the Russian workers, despite the handicap of inadequate means of production inherited from Czarism, despite the incompetent bureaucratic leaders, could accomplish such remarkable results under a system of planned economy, what could be expected in a more advanced industrial country under genuine workers' democracy stagers the imagination.

program that answered the needs of the masses, and only one class, the workers, was capable of leading the masses to a victorious revolution and the establishment of a Workers and Peasants Government.

The workers, peasants and soldiers of Soviet Russia had little opportunity to enjoy the peace they had striven for. The Czar's war was over, but for three more years they had to fight the onslaught of counter-revolution and imperialist intervention on 22 fronts. Under the leadership of Trotsky, Commissar of War, the Red Army was created. This army of the revolution manifested in action the fighting power of the socialist ideal. Soldiers who only yesterday had refused to fight, returned to the trenches and fought as never before.

USSR UNDER LENIN AND TROTSKY  
Internationalism was the keynote of Soviet Russia in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. In 1923, Comrade James P. Cannon, then National Secretary of the Workers Party of America (the legal form of the Communist Party at that time), toured the country reporting on the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, to which he was a delegate. In his speech, which was also published as a pamphlet by the Communist Party, he said:

"Those Petrograd workers struck the blow which shattered the capitalist regime in Russia and put the working class in power. But they did more than that, because the Russian revolution did not stop in Russia. It found its way over the borders. It broke through the blockade and spread all over the earth. The Russian revolution was the beginning of the international revolution. Wherever there is a group of militant workers in the world, there is the Russian revolution. The Russian revolution is in the heart of every rebel worker the world over.

"The Russian revolution is in this room. . . For, after all, Soviet Russia is not a 'country.' Soviet Russia is a part of the world labor movement. Soviet Russia is a strike—the greatest strike in all history. When the working class of Europe and America join

that strike it will be the end of capitalism."

That was how the communist movement here and everywhere regarded the Russian revolution at that time. It was not until the false and pernicious theory of "socialism in one country" was propounded by Stalin and his bureaucracy that the trend away from internationalism began. The degeneration of the Communist International led to a series of revolutionary defeats all over the world, directly attributable to the anti-Marxist policies and leadership of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Today we see the end product of that despicable theory in the Stalinist cult of Russian nationalism as opposed to the Bolshevik policy of revolutionary internationalism.

The Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia has not only betrayed the spirit and program of the October revolution, but has exterminated its leaders and entire generations of those who strove to continue in its revolutionary tradition. Lenin's collaborators and co-workers, Red Army commanders, and untold numbers of militant rank and file have been imprisoned, exiled or murdered. In August 1940, Leon Trotsky, whose name together with Lenin's is synonymous with the October Revolution, was murdered by Stalin's GPU assassin.

THE LIVING REVOLUTION  
But the October Revolution lives on. It is alive today in the fighting spirit of the Red Army and in the Russian prison cells and exile camps. Its memory spurs on the Chinese guerrilla fighter against terrific odds. In India its fire smolders at every protest gathering or boycott action. In concentration camps, under fascist surveillance, wherever little groups gather and whisper, the spirit of October 1917 is in the air. In the armies, on the seas, in the factories, on the farms, everywhere it is present.

We of the Socialist Workers Party, looking back over the past 15 years are grateful to that stalwart group who had the foresight and courage to hold aloft that great heritage of our revolutionary teachers, the Bolshevik program, who preserved it intact throughout these years against those who could sully and destroy it.

Comrade Trotsky, in his recorded speech on the tenth anniversary of our party, Nov. 5, 1938, said: "During the next 10 years the program of the Fourth International, will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven." Armed with the program of the immortal October Revolution, we cannot fail.

already sharply altered the relationship of forces that has hitherto existed between the first workers' state and the capitalist world. So long as the Soviet Union remained isolated, and the camp of the revolution extremely weak on the continent of Europe, the capitalist system there remained secure.

Militarily the Soviet Union is now beginning to assert itself as a dominant power. The revolutionary forces in Europe threaten to explode with unprecedented force. Under the impact of the war, the masses who suffered one defeat after another for more than two decades are clearly preparing to re-enter the political arena. This altered relationship of forces greatly narrows down Stalin's field for diplomatic maneuvers, and agreements.

The more this relationship of forces alters in favor of the USSR, all the more decisively must the laws of the class struggle assert themselves, bringing to the forefront what has temporarily been submerged; that is, the fundamental antagonism of our epoch between the decayed system of capitalism, and the new social order which the Soviet Union still represents despite its degeneration under Stalin.

Only in this light can one clearly understand the "enigma" of Stalin's policies and the secrecy now surrounding the conferences in Moscow. Stalin and his allies are seeking a common solution for problems which can be resolved in life only through mortal struggle.

Another thing which should be understood from it is that the Stalinists—like the Allied leaders—are willing to collaborate with the ruling class elements who helped fascism in power for 20 years, even though the primary aim of these elements is to see to it that communism does not stand a chance."

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# Stalin And The Orthodox Church In Soviet Russia

By M. Morrison

The recent designation of Sergius as Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union, made an alliance with the capitalist democracies, he ostentatiously dissolved the anti-religious organization. Subsequent to 1935 Stalin's attitude towards religion could be designated as one of neutrality, which has now developed into one of a highly benevolent neutrality.

If, on one day, the magazine "War and the Working Class," speaking for Stalin, issues a blunt warning to the Allies that no interference with Stalin's territorial ambitions will be tolerated, then, the next day, the chief of the Soviet bureaucracy is likely to say or do something that gladdens the hearts of that section of the capitalist world which is anxious to arrive at an agreement with him. Threats and pressure at one time, soft words and gestures at another, are the methods of "argument" utilized by Stalin to achieve his ends.

It has also been recognized that the resurrection of the Patriarchate is intended to gain the sympathy of millions of Orthodox Slavs throughout the Balkans. In the struggle for influence in that section of Europe Stalin will not hesitate to use the religious prejudices of its inhabitants.

But we can safely assume that in addition to the two factors mentioned above, Stalin was motivated by another factor. He is beginning to see great possibilities in utilizing the opium of religion as an aid in strengthening and preserving the rule of the bureaucracy.

The October Revolution necessarily ushered in a period of intense anti-religious education. Not only because in Russia the Church was a Czarist institution, possessed of great wealth and openly counter-revolutionary, but also because the task of that revolution was to free mankind of all forms of physical and spiritual slavery. The winning of power by a socialist working class in a country where there is no state church will also be followed by a movement attempting to convince the people that religion is nothing but superstition.

All Marxists agree that the campaign against religion must be purely educational in character; no element of force is to enter into the attempt to destroy the hold of religion on the minds and hearts of the people. The use of force against those who are devoted to a belief in the supernatural can only serve to strengthen them in their belief.

Naturally the socialist state will give no financial aid whatsoever to any religious institution. In this country a socialist government would abolish the exemption from taxation that religious institutions enjoy at present, because this is a form of state aid. It would also confiscate the property owned by any church and used as capital. And, if necessary, it would transform some churches and synagogues into schools, leaving a sufficient number for the faithful to worship in.

In the period when the Stalinist bureaucracy proclaimed that the building of socialism would be completed at the end of the Second Five Year Plan or thereabout, the anti-religious agitation under the leadership of Yaroslavsky assumed grotesque forms and undoubtedly did a great deal of harm. If the kulaks could be liquidated by force, why could not religion be exterminated by a decision of the bureaucracy? The bureaucratic conception of building socialism found expression also in the idea that religion can be eliminated by a decree, agitation and compulsion.

When a right turn displaced the leftist period, Stalin found it expedient to call a halt to Yaroslavsky's excesses. When Stalin, after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, made an alliance with the capitalist democracies, he ostentatiously dissolved the anti-religious organization. Subsequent to 1935 Stalin's attitude towards religion could be designated as one of neutrality, which has now developed into one of a highly benevolent neutrality.

It is not at all surprising that a quarter of a century after the revolution, religion should still exist in the Soviet Union. So long as the conditions which make masses of men turn to religion for solace and comfort exist, so long will religion continue to exist. Religion is utilized by a ruling group to keep the masses in subservience. Poverty and misery make it possible for rulers to convince the masses that they need religion. Only a socialist society where the fundamental economic problems have been solved can create the necessary conditions for the elimination of religion and the adoption by the masses of a completely scientific attitude to all social and natural phenomena.

From the Marxist point of view education alone will never suffice to eradicate religion just as education alone is not sufficient to eradicate all other forms of ignorance and prejudice. There are a few well-meaning bourgeois liberals who look to the proper kind of education to cure all the ills existing under capitalism. They ignore both the fact that education under capitalism is under the control of a ruling class that will not permit the schools to undermine its rule and the fact that conditions under capitalism are conducive to the existence of hatreds and prejudices.

If at present religion has received a new lease on life in the Soviet Union, it is only an indication that conditions in that country favor its continued existence. Hardship, poverty and misery are the lot of the multitude and great numbers require the existence of a supernatural being and a world after death as compensation for the hardships of this world. The war with its aggravation of the miseries of the people would naturally strengthen the tendency towards religion.

Religion, to a greater extent even than nationalism, can serve the purpose of reconciling a great number of people to a life filled with privations and agony. And, above all, it can serve to keep the masses in subjection to the ruling bureaucracy. Like every other ruling group the Stalinist bureaucracy is not at all averse to using the opium of religion.

While it is too early to say definitely that Stalin has decided to make use of religion, in addition to police terror, for the purpose of keeping the masses under control, the tendency in that direction is quite clear. If the revolution does not sweep the Stalinist regime out of power and thus bring purification to the Soviet atmosphere by the elimination of all reactionary ideologies, we shall not be surprised to see a further stage in the development of Stalin's attitude to religion. From benevolent neutrality we shall behold an evolution to active encouragement. A regime of reaction necessarily penetrates into every nook and cranny of the social and cultural life of the people.

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# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

VOL. VII—No. 44 Saturday, October 30, 1943

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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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. 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. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

## Free Kelly Postal

Kelly Postal must remain behind the bars of the Stillwater penitentiary. That is the unjust decision of the Minnesota State Pardon Board. This militant union fighter, who has loyally devoted his whole life to the working class struggle for truth and justice, is now behind prison bars because he unselfishly placed the democratic rights of the membership of his union above any consideration of personal risk to himself at the hands of the enemies of the union.

Postal was framed up and sent to prison at the instigation of Daniel J. Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL. The membership of Minneapolis General Drivers, Local 544, two years ago voted to withdraw from the IBT and affiliate with the CIO. As secretary-treasurer of the union, Postal was instructed by a virtually unanimous vote of the membership to transfer the funds of the union over to the CIO. Because Postal loyally carried out the democratic decision of the rank and file, Tobin connived with the county prosecutor to have him indicted for "embezzling" the funds of the local union from—Tobin. Never has anyone so much as hinted that Postal diverted a penny of the funds to his own personal use. The trumped-up charges against him were based solely on his action in transferring the money from the IBT to the CIO.

When the case first came to trial, Postal was found not guilty. But Tobin, determined to railroad him to jail, conspired with the authorities to rig a second trial at which Postal never had a chance. His conviction was appealed to the Minnesota Supreme Court, which placed its stamp of approval on this legal outrage, and on June 21 he was incarcerated in the Stillwater penitentiary under a five year sentence.

Scores of unions, thousands of workers and hundreds of liberals have protested to Governor Thye of Minnesota against the frameup of Postal and have urged his liberation. But the Pardon Board, of which Governor Thye is a member, ignored these protestations, preferring instead to commit another travesty of justice by keeping in prison this loyal union man, innocent of any crime.

Even more than the monstrous injustice against Kelly Postal is involved in this case. A heavy blow

has been struck against the very foundations of trade union democracy. Postal's conviction stands as a threat to the membership of any local union, which, by no matter how large a majority, may vote to transfer from one trade union organization to another and to take the local union property or funds with them.

The fight to win an unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal must be carried on with unremitting vigor and determination.

## Dissolution Of YCL

To install and maintain in power the Badoglios, Girauds, King Georges and King Peters, as the Allied leaders intend to do, will be a long and difficult task, especially when the oppressed masses of Europe rise in revolt and demand the right to establish governments of their own choice. To achieve their ends, the Allied leaders will require "a world police force" for a long time after the termination of hostilities with the Axis powers; the meaning of this "police force" will mean permanent post-war conscription.

While Allied leaders prefer at the present time to keep mum about these plans, prominent spokesmen for capitalism such as N. Y. Times publisher A. H. Sulzberger and British Labor Minister Ernest Bevin have already publicly raised the demand for permanent conscription. This demand is so blatantly reactionary, it so effectively lays bare the truth about the character of the war, that not a single organization claiming to speak in the name of labor or liberal forces in this country has yet dared to openly support it. None, that is, until last week.

The Young Communist League, which has been degenerating for many years along with the rest of the Stalinist movement, held a convention in New York last week and voted to dissolve the organization which was created after the First World War to combat the enemies and betrayers of Marxism among the youth. The next day its members and close sympathizers came together to form American Youth for Democracy, "a character-building organization dedicated to the education of youth in the spirit of democracy and freedom." To show the contempt which this new Stalinist outfit feels for its predecessor's revolutionary origins, the AYD came out unanimously for permanent conscription. They described it as "a patriotic proposal to build a democratic army to defend the nation," but such camouflage does not in any way alter the real character of the measure, the primary purpose of which is to prevent workers' revolutions in Europe.

From the youth vanguard of the world revolution to the most servile supporters of decaying capitalism — that is the path along which Stalinism has led the once-glorious youth organization created under Lenin and Trotsky.

## Fascist Attacks In Boston Area

Incipient native fascist formations, which had ducked for cover in the early days of the war, are resuming their activities with increasing boldness. Irrefutable proof of this renewed activity has been added by the New York newspaper PM in its revelations of conditions in Greater Boston, Mass., where for more than a year Coughlinites and Christian Fronters have been terrorizing the Jewish population.

Squads of young hoodlums have ranged the streets of Dorchester, Roxbury, Chelsea, abusing and assaulting children as well as adults, committing acts of vandalism against synagogues and Jewish-owned stores, driving out Jews from beaches, parks and other public places. The Boston clergy and press have combined to hush up these abominations. Police and local officials have persistently ignored protests and reports of this wave of anti-Semitism, gangsterism and vandalism. In other words, the public authorities in Boston are behaving much in the same way in wartime as they did three and four years ago when Coughlinites and Christian Fronters began to run wild in this area as elsewhere throughout the country.

The conditions in Boston are not at all episodic or isolated. On the contrary, they constitute after the Detroit anti-Negro terror the most glaring evidence to-date of the nationwide growth of anti-Semitism, Jim Crowism and other types of racism, the inevitable outgrowth of capitalist decay.

The president of the Massachusetts CIO has demanded that the governor institute an investigation. This is not enough. Fascist activities are the primary concern of labor. Beginning as attacks against racial minorities, fascist movements have as their main aim the destruction of all workers' organizations, economic and political alike. The experiences in Europe have established this beyond the shadow of a doubt; these experiences have also demonstrated that the labor movement dare not entrust the struggle against fascism to the capitalist democrats but must itself take leadership in the fight.

Without waiting for the public authorities who have shown no great interest in combatting the activities of the fascist thugs, the labor movement in Massachusetts should itself investigate the situation, arouse its whole membership to the dangers inherent in the anti-Semitic attacks, and initiate practical measures to safeguard the rights and liberties of the Jewish people. To delay in crushing the fascists now would only be giving them time to strengthen themselves for their eventual assault against the unions.

# 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.

## Wants More Items On War Profits

Editor:

I work in a foundry where the fumes, the intense heat, the sand-shovelling make working conditions pretty unpleasant. When our union bargaining committee goes in to talk to the general manager about raising wages, he leans back and all he says is: "If it's more money you want, there's nothing I can do about it."

What burns up the workers here even more than the heat of the foundry is the fact that while we are getting about the same wages as a couple of years ago and having seven to ten dollars deducted weekly from our pay envelopes, the bosses are making big profits out of the war. These workers, most of them colored, talk about this all the time and paste up clippings of corporation profits on the wall-boards. It isn't

always easy to get this information about war profits which are usually buried in the back pages of the papers.

I don't think an issue of *The Militant* should go by without some facts about the extent of the war profiteering, which we could use. I'd also like to make the suggestion that you contrast what the companies are earning with the wages the workers in those industries are getting — or, as is usually the case, the wages they are not getting because the War Labor Board won't give them the increases they ask for.

R. M. Newark, N. J.

## Deals With Tojo And Goering Too?

Editor:

After the Darlan deal in North Africa and the Badoglio deal in Italy, it is easy to get an idea of

the kind of Europe which Roosevelt and Churchill want. "Unconditional surrender" may mean a lot of things, but it certainly doesn't mean the surrender of domination by reactionaries.

I think all this offers an explanation for the refusal of Roosevelt and Churchill to grant complete recognition to the Giraud-De Gaulle "committee of liberation." They still have their eye on Petain and Laval and if it can be arranged they will probably be willing to make the same kind of deal in France with these reactionaries that they made with Badoglio and Victor Emmanuel.

If this is permitted to continue, there is surely the possibility of a Goering-minus Hitler deal in Germany and a Hirohito-minus Tojo deal in Japan. Brave new world!

W. N. Cleveland, O.

# War-Bred Famine Dooms Millions To Starvation

By Larissa Reed

MILLIONS MUST STARVE! declares Hallet Abend in the Saturday Evening Post of Oct. 23. One-tenth of the 300,000,000 human beings in Germany and its occupied territories alone "are already doomed to die of starvation or of diseases resulting directly from malnutrition. . . . Most of a whole generation of children there are already foredoomed to rickets, bad teeth and all the ills of maturity which inevitably result from malnutrition in youth."

For the hundreds of millions in Asia, "the extent of hunger will probably at least equal that in Europe," says Abend. Through the censorship case reports that today famine is sweeping India and the dead are daily piling up in the streets. Europe can expect no better fate, according to Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the U. S. Boasting that Germany is closer to defeat "than many people think," Nash admits that Allied victory will bring starvation to 500,000,000 Europeans.

## IN PEACE AND IN WAR

Even in the U. S., richest of all countries, with a "record-smashing food production" this year, the people are reminded in the daily press to tighten their belts and to "have no delusions" about receiving sufficient quantities of food. In capitalist peace times, tons of wheat, mountains of coffee, millions of pounds of hogs were destroyed because they could not be sold at enough profit to satisfy the greedy monopolists. The reactionary rulers of this nation of abundance then granted a few bread lines and doles for the hungry, unemployed millions. Now, in war, they can guarantee

only that MILLIONS MUST STARVE!

Roosevelt has promised "freedom from want" to all mankind, beginning with the peoples of Nazi-occupied Europe, once they are "liberated" by the Allied armies. Writes Abend:

"History affords no parallel to the broken promises and disappointed hope which will follow the surrender of the Axis powers. . . . People everywhere but especially the inhabitants of the Nazi-occupied countries continue to envisage gigantic argosies of food ships, awaiting surrender day . . . all ready to sail eastward to fill Europe's famine-shrunken stomachs. . . . There will be no such argosies."

## FOOD AS A WEAPON

Out of a tangle of conflicting government and military food agencies, one program emerges clear and sharp: Food will be used as a war-weapon by the conquering nations to subjugate under their own rule the peoples who have overthrown the fascist yoke. This is confirmed by Abend who writes: "The State Department contends that it must have a controlling hand in relief activities. . . . Baldly stated, this indicates a desire to use food as an instrument of international policy to force starving millions to climb onto such political band wagons as Washington approves—or goes hungry."

Hand in hand with the State Department is the Army which through AMG took control of food distribution in Tunisia, Algeria, French Morocco, and now in Sicily and Italy. "President Roosevelt," says Abend, "has defined AMG's job as that of preventing anarchy." By now everyone knows that "preventing anarchy"

means preventing the peoples of the Nazi-dominated countries from establishing their own workers' and farmers' governments in opposition to the puppet Quisling governments backed by the Allied leaders.

## THE AMG IN SICILY

The role of the AMG was fully exposed in Sicily. After wresting this island from the Axis powers, AMG bluntly informed the people that "the United Nations do not intend to play Santa Claus" and announced that existing taxes would be continued out of which some relief would be paid. "Sicilians felt themselves basely betrayed," writes Abend.

Sicily is only a preview of the betrayals now being planned on an international scale through the proposed United Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to be headed by ex-Governor Lehman. A high-sounding program is offered: ". . . immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings; food, clothing and shelter. . . . Sicilians can tell the peoples of the world what these false and hypocritical promises really mean.

## DEATH—FAST OR SLOW

From capitalist "liberators" and their "relief" organizations, the peoples of the world will get neither liberation nor relief. From this profiteering wolf-pack they will get only a succession of wars which mean sudden death on the battlefronts or slow death by starvation. Until the governments of the monopolists have been replaced by workers and farmers' governments throughout the world, wars will not end and MILLIONS MUST STARVE!

# International Notes

In an Oct. 17 dispatch from Cairo, N. Y. Times correspondent C. L. Sulzberger reported "blood-thirsty and savage" fighting between the Greek Popular Liberation Army (ELAS) and the Greek National Democratic Army (EDES) "on such a scale that it suggests a small-sized civil war." Fixing Oct. 9 as the first day of the fighting, Sulzberger in later dispatches slanted his stories to invite sympathy for the EDES which he implied is the victim of ELAS aggression.

Although little information is available about the real situation inside Greece, enough is known to make it clear that a plot is afoot to put back on the Greek throne the hated King George, who helped the Metaxas dictatorship take power in 1936. Greek-American spokesmen here, who have some contact with Greeks abroad, present evidence to show that the EDES is being used to create the impression of "civil strife" in Greece as a pretext for King George to step in as "arbitrator" against the wishes of the great majority of the Greek people.

The Popular Liberation Army (ELAS) is the military arm of the Greek National Liberation Front (EAM), which has many features in common with the Yugoslav partisan movement. The

EAM is reported to control some 30,000 active fighters and a reserve of 175,000 peasants and city people. When the Italian surrender came, the ELAS secured a large quantity of arms from the Italian troops stationed in Greece. All sources, including Sulzberger, agree that the EAM is by far the largest organized force among the Greeks. It has its own local governing authorities, its own courts and administrative apparatus.

The Greek National Democratic Army (EDES) is only a small minority group among the guerrilla forces. It is headed by Napoleon Zervas, a former army colonel who was recently made a general by the Greek government-in-exile. Zervas has an unsavory record of collaboration with former Greek dictators such as Generals Pangalos and Condylis.

Last Aug. 10 representatives of the EAM, EDES and the small National and Social Liberation group (EKKA) arrived in Cairo to inform the Allied authorities and the Greek government-in-exile that all organized guerrilla and political forces in Greece are against the return of the King before the people decide by vote on the kind of government they want.

The same hostility to the King is evident among the Greek armed

forces serving with the Allies. About four months ago the King called on the British to disarm the Eleventh Greek Brigade, stationed in the Middle East. A mutiny was reported on the Greek destroyer Ierax, and five death sentences have been imposed in the Greek navy.

Churchill gave the Greek people their answer in his Aug. 31 Quebec speech when he sent a message of encouragement "to the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia . . . who we hope to see restored to their thrones. . . ."

It is reported by Stelios N. Pistolakis, former member of the Greek parliament, now living in the U. S., that the King himself a short while ago declared that Zervas, leader of the EDES, had pledged his support to the monarchy. This, of course, is the same Zervas who is now getting the sympathy buildup as the victim of ELAS "aggression."

Former King Carol of Rumania, now in exile in Mexico, is eagerly trying to shove his royal snout into the Allied trough to which several of his Balkan confreres have already been invited. He has retained the public relations firm of Russell Birdwell, New York, to build him up as the leader of a "free Rumanian movement."

## The Lies of the Moribund Yellow International

The Italian events have been seized upon by the moribund Second International as an occasion for issuing one of its infrequent public statements in this war. This yellow organization bears a great share of responsibility for the victories of fascism, victories which left only miserable splinters of the once-powerful European social democratic parties.

In the guise of a "Message to Italy" Camille Huysmans, Chairman of its Executive Committee, steps to the fore in order to speak in the name of the "socialists of many countries, faithful to their international and democratic principles. . . ."

This weasel-worded formula is necessary to cover up the fact that the "International" exists only on paper. It likewise serves to cover up such facts as the support by Finnish "socialists" of Mannerheim's war in an alliance with Hitler, not to mention the former colleagues of Huysmans and Co. in France, Belgium and other countries who flocked to the banner of Laval and other native Quislings.

Huysmans and the socialists for whom he speaks represent that section of the Second International which hopes that Allied victories will restore them to their influential positions and cushy jobs in their respective countries.

In currying favor with the Allies, Huysmans extends his greetings first not to the Italian people whom he ostensibly addresses but to the "Allied armies, who have . . . brought down Mussolini." This "socialist," it will be observed, brazenly tells the Italian people that they have had nothing to do with the overthrow of Italian fascism. According to Huysmans, the Italian people owe everything to Churchill and Roosevelt, who have done their level best to preserve as much of the remaining machinery of fascism in Italy as they are able to under the circumstances.

Huysmans' real purpose is to divert the attention of the Italian people from the independent revolutionary tasks they must carry out if they are to achieve real freedom and peace; and to deceive them into believing that they have no other course but to depend on and give unqualified support to the "democratic" capitalists.

"The Allied armies," says Huysmans, "are the friends of Italian freedom and independence; the Germans are their enemies. Continue to support the Allied armies in the task they have undertaken. Honor and necessity command it."

This is almost a word-for-word repetition of what the yellow socialists used to say during the First World War to justify the support of their respective capitalist governments. Huysmans and Co. have remained true to themselves.

## OPA Report On Canners' Profits Is Suppressed

Among the biggest profiteers in this war are the corporations producing consumers' goods. Confidential reports—the OPA War Profits Studies—gathered by an official subdivision of the OPA have disclosed that meat packers, wholesale food grocers and hosiery manufacturers have been raking in millions, recording profits double, triple, six times and more of their peacetime averages.

For example, 53 meat packing concerns made more than \$108,000,000 last year, a sum that is larger than their total profits in the four peacetime years from 1936 to 1939. The hosiery companies have boosted their profits 413% despite a slump in the sales.

According to reports in the liberal press, the food packers lobby has succeeded in suppressing the confidential OPA report on the profits of the Canning Industry which had been delivered by the printer on October 11. The study of the war profits of the canning industry has been placed under lock and key by the order of OPA General Manager Chester A. Bowles. Obviously, the canners have raked in such huge sums that they fear even a confidential publication of the figures.

Prentiss M. Brown, in resigning as head of the OPA last week, issued a long letter in which he presents a "detailed defense of price administration" and proclaims that "price control was 'successful.'" (N. Y. Times, Oct. 20.)

He omitted to say just what this "success" actually entailed. The profits of the monopolists supply the answer: these profits have not only been guaranteed but practically unlimited under the operation of "price control." The whole OPA mechanism, as the workers are beginning to learn, is nothing but a piece of skulduggery designed to lull them with fake promises of price stabilization, rollbacks and so on, while their wages are kept frozen.

## Results of Bond Sales in Third War Loan Drive

Little has been written about the results of the recently concluded Third War Loan drive and many of the figures are still unavailable, but an article in the financial section of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune of Oct. 25 supplies the following significant information: ". . . no one maintains that sales to individuals in any of the drives have been satisfactory. The quota of \$5,000,000,000 in the last drive was exceeded by \$377,000,000, but the financial world is well aware that the Treasury's original aim was \$7,000,000,000. The lowered quota was attained, moreover, only by the expedient of including more than \$1,000,000,000 of savings bonds processed through Federal Reserve Banks in the two weeks after the drive ended. . . ."

Two-thirds of the total quota was to be subscribed by corporations, commercial banks, etc., and one-third by individual sales including those made through the payroll deduction system. The article continues:

"Equally pertinent are the data of the actual number of sales outside the payroll deduction system. Those familiar with these undisclosed figures find them decidedly disappointing."