

Gompers' 'Peace Pact'- Its Lessons For Labor

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX—No. 14

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1945



PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Miners Display Fighting Spirit In Strike Vote

Demonstrating their traditional fighting spirit and determination to win their just demands, the nation's soft coal miners on March 29 cast a thunderous eight-to-one majority vote empowering the United Mine Workers leaders to call a strike if the mine operators fail to sign a contract acceptable to the union.

The miners who went on strike four times in 1943 once more ignored the howls of the big business press, government agents and mine owners. They marched calmly to the NLRB voting booths in 90 mining areas throughout the country and rolled up 208,718 "yes" votes against 25,156 "noes" to put into effect their "no contract, no work" slogan if necessary.

This decisive expression of the militant will of the miners, as the boss press has mournfully conceded, has tremendously strengthened the hand of the UMW bargaining committee which had previously received a flat rejection of the union's 18 demands from the operators. The mine owners are gorged with the juiciest profits they have ever squeezed from the sweat and blood of the men who face death daily in the dark, wet, gas-filled coal pits.

In the face of the overwhelming strike vote, the Roosevelt administration hastily intervened in the dispute to forestall a strike at the termination of the soft-coal contract on March 31. Roosevelt's War Labor Board ordered the extension of the old contract for another 30 days retroactive pay for any wage increases subsequently granted.

OPERATORS STALL

The operators, who had previously balked at the retroactive pay provision, were compelled to yield. The mine union officials at first demanded that the owners be required to post a \$15,000,000 bond to cover retroactive pay, because the coal barons had cheated the miners out of some of the retroactive pay the union had won in the 1943-45 contract. This demand was finally withdrawn.

From the start the operators have deliberately tried to stall and delay. Their first counter-offer — promptly brushed aside by the UMW committee — was a brazen insult to the miners. It was for a 25 cents a day increase after the union had asked for various "fringe" demands estimated at from \$1.60 to over \$2 per day.

As the contract termination deadline approached, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins last Friday submitted to the negotiations conference a compromise proposal which even she admitted "takes a great deal out of the union's cherished demands." This proposal would have provided, according to her estimate, increases of \$1.15 to \$1.20 a day through various "fringe" concessions, but not the 10-cents per ton payment to the union welfare fund the union sought as a key demand.

ATTITUDE OF MINERS

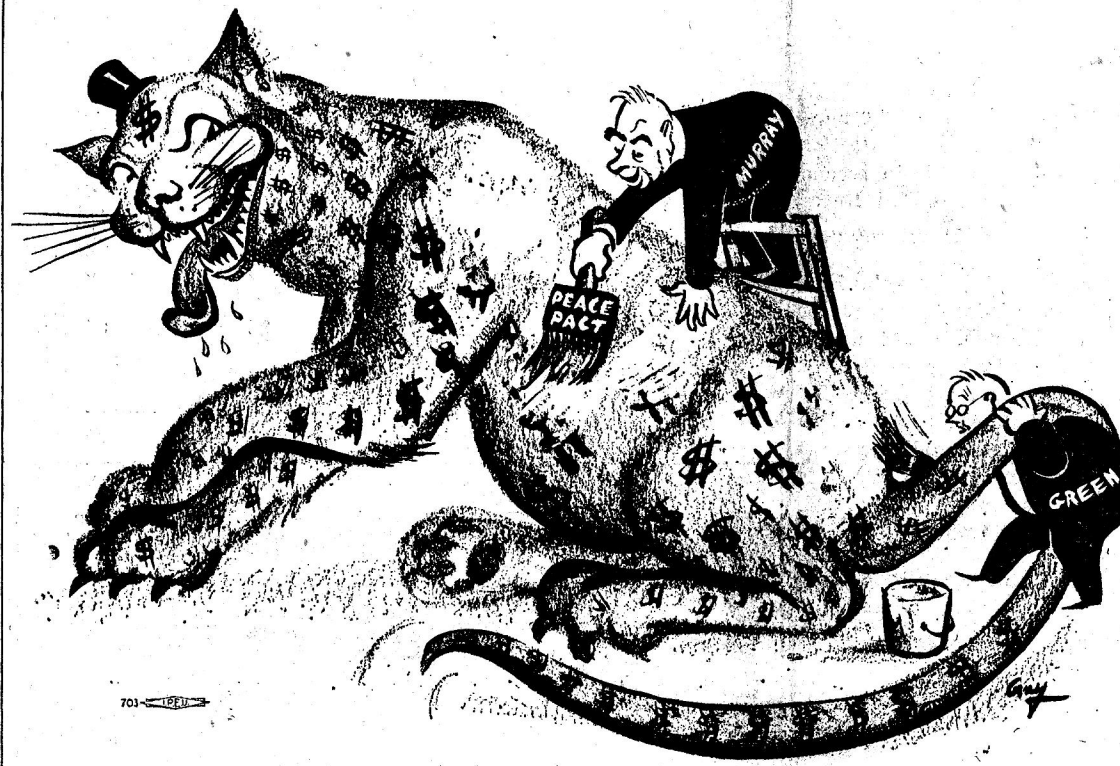
The operators turned down even this extremely modest proposal after the union committee had indicated its readiness to accept it in order to avoid a strike. It became crystal clear, even to the most biased observers, that the greedy operators are intent on preventing the miners from getting even a tiny portion of their demands. Secretary Perkins then certified the dispute to the WLB, which was compelled to agree to consider it promptly without the usual preliminary special panel hearings.

An extension of the negotiations for another 30 days will strengthen the bargaining position of the miners, because the 60,000 hard coal miners, whose contract expires April 30, have also filed for an NLRB strike vote. The results of this vote undoubtedly will parallel that of the soft-coal miners, as the operators have already conceded.

Major William W. Inglis, chairman of the anthracite operators committee, even called the vote "foolish" because he admitted such a vote "would show that an overwhelming majority of the hard coal miners are willing to call a strike."
"But the miners don't think it 'foolish.' They are eager to demonstrate the militant and united support they are giving their negotiations committee and their readiness for battle.

Big Business Hails 'Peace Charter' Signed By CIO And AFL Leaders

Changing the Leopard's Spots



Wall Street Plans Union-Busting Drive Under Cover Of Its 'Truce' With Labor

By C. Thomas

The signing of a "Peace Charter" by representatives of organized labor and industry is being widely acclaimed by the kept press, Wall Street bankers and industrialists, administration wage-freezers and forced labor advocates. For this "charter" contains a "code of principles" lifted out of the bible of Big Business. It affirms the "right" of capital to exploit labor and renounces labor's resistance to such exploitation.

Specifically, it proposes to extend into the "post-war" period the wartime policy of unconditional surrender to the employing class. Small wonder that the dollar patriots and their political agents hail the "statesmanship" of labor leaders William Green and Philip Murray, who joined with the head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Eric Johnston, in formulating the "peace pact for post-war prosperity."

LOS ANGELES SWP LOCAL BACKS NEGRO CANDIDATE

LOS ANGELES, March 29.—In the final, crucial week of the local municipal election campaign, the Los Angeles section of the Socialist Workers Party and its candidate for Mayor, Myra Tanner Weiss, have announced their endorsement of the candidacy of Charlotta A. Bass, independent Negro candidate for councilwoman from the 7th District.

The following statement of critical support was today issued from Trotskyist Campaign Headquarters:

"The Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), which is running Myra Tanner Weiss as its candidate for Mayor, has endorsed the candidacy of Charlotta A. Bass. The Trotskyists are backing her because:

"1. She is the candidate of local Negro organizations and has

Political Association (Stalinists) which is one of craven submission to the Big Business capitalists and their political representatives, who are the real authors of all the injustices which Negroes suffer.

"2. Charlotta Bass supports the capitalist government in Washington and holds up Roosevelt as a 'friend' of the Negro people. She tells the Negro people to place reliance upon Roosevelt in their struggle for equality, despite the fact that Roosevelt and his henchmen, above all his supporters in the 'solid Democratic South,' are the main guardians of the vile system of Jim Crow.

"The Trotskyists agree with the many Negroes who condemn the false politics of Charlotta Bass, but who intend to vote for her election to the City Council because this will be a progressive step toward independent Negro political action.

"Vote for Charlotta Bass!
"Vote for Myra Tanner Weiss!"
The Trotskyists are implementing their endorsement in the following ways.

1. A news release has been issued to the local press announce-

The pact proclaims that: "The rights of private property and free choice of action, under a system of private competitive capitalism, must continue to be the foundation of our nation's peaceful and prosperous expanding economy."

"To this basic capitalist principle the 'charter' adds: "The inherent right and responsibility of management to direct the operations of an enterprise shall be recognized and preserved. So that enterprise may develop and expand and earn a reasonable profit, management must be free as well from unnecessary governmental interference or burdensome restrictions."

AID WALL STREET

This sweeping declaration of the "rights of private property" constitutes a blanket endorsement of Wall Street's "postwar" plans to plunder the wealth of the country.

These plans have already been embodied in legislative form. They provide for the "free enterprise" disposal of the monopolists of billions-worth of government-owned plants, equipment, land

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IN THE NEWS

Can It Be War Profits?

On January 5 the New York Sun said in its stock market column: "Strength in rails and airplanes reflected the current optimism that the war will continue long enough and be hard enough to maintain existing revenues." On March 27, speaking before the House, Rep. Marcan-tonio expressed puzzlement over the stock market decline with "victory over Germany in sight."

No Aid to Their Morale!

Nine soldiers in the European theater wrote their Congressman a letter, read in the House on March 24. "Honorable Congressman: Just read a short item on your stand against the so-called work-or-jail bill in Stars and Stripes. . . . If this bill passes, it will mean another link forged in the chain of regimentation that is wringing the neck of the American people."

Nazis' 1000-Year Rule

The March 28 Volkischer Beobachter, Goebbels' newspaper, complains: "It is very difficult to be an openly declared courageous Nazi today and express one's faith freely. We have no illusions now."

Bad News for Bilbo

Negro-baiter Senator Bilbo of the Mississippi legislature asked Lieut. Van T. Barfoot, Medal of Honor winner from Carthage, Miss., "Did you have much trouble with the Negroes?"
Lieut. Barfoot drawled: "I found the colored boys fight as good as the white boys. I changed my ideas a lot about them and so have other Southerners. Coming up on the train, I found the dinner full. I was told to wait, but I could see behind a little curtain, a colored captain at a table by himself. I said, 'What's wrong with that table?' The steward said he didn't think I'd want to sit there. I said: 'Why not? I've fought with colored men—why shouldn't I eat with them?' I sat there and we had a fine chat."

Mercy—for Big Thieves

Eighteen leading steel concerns and six of their top officers were recently tried in federal court for a 10-year monopoly price-fixing conspiracy in stainless steel netting them tens of millions of dollars profits. Their attorney pleaded no defense for all of them "in order to avoid a long trial." Trial Judge Foreman at the suggestion of Attorney General Biddle's representative fined the defendants each \$10,000, imposed no jail sentences.

This Easter in Rome

"Another change brought about by the war was the absence of pigeons from St. Peter's piazza. . . . They disappeared, so the story goes, into the stew pots of starving Romans months ago," states an Easter Sunday dispatch.

Fight Censorship!

— An Editorial —

A scheduled radio address by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, was subjected to vicious censorship by Station KHJ. Only in mutilated form was the speech finally delivered on March 26 over another station, KNX.

As we go to press, a telegram from Los Angeles informs us that another radio address by the Trotskyist mayoralty candidate—on behalf of Charlotta Bass, independent Negro candidate for city council—was censored by Station KFAC. The American Civil Liberties Union has responded by initiating a protest against these blows at freedom of speech.

'MILITANT' PUBLISHED TEXT

The full, uncensored text of Comrade Weiss' first censored speech was published in last week's *Militant* so that our readers might note the portions of the address which the radio censors did not permit the workers to hear.

One sentence the reactionary censors didn't consider "fit" for the public's ears expressed opposition to "the Roosevelt-sponsored National Service Act and all other freedom-destroying legislation." Another arbitrary excision was a reference to the system of capitalist exploitation and wars as a "cancerous growth on human society."

Particularly vicious was the deletion of a statement correctly linking the terrorist racial attacks on Japanese-Americans in California with the campaign of the open-shoppers to mobilize assaults on the labor movement.

This case is a significant example of the constant censorship and suppression of facts favoring the workers exercised by the corporation-owned radio stations. As the March 17 *Militant* reported, a CIO survey has shown that five out of every six references to labor on the radio are hostile and lying. The controlled radio, like the daily press, is used almost exclusively in the interests of the rich and privileged.

A THREAT TO DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Such cases as the one cited are a threat to the democratic rights of all labor and make a mockery of free speech. The labor movement is duty-bound to protest vigorously against every instance of such censorship and to support the Socialist Workers Party and the American Civil Liberties Union in the fight against these violations of free speech.

At the same time, such cases underline the vital function of *The Militant* in printing the truths and facts which the capitalist press and radio seek to conceal. Our columns are open to the workers to present the true picture of conditions under capitalism which the owning class tries to falsify and bury.

Struggles Of Belgian Miners Supported By Trotskyist Party

THE MINERS WANT TO KNOW WHERE THE COAL IS GOING

The miners of Limbourg, the Centre and Charleroi have gone on strike. They are demanding an increase in wages, clothing priority, an increase in pension, the reemployment of union delegates who have been arbitrarily sacked.

These demands are completely justified, except in the eyes of the conservative and reformist papers, which are already blaming the miners and their union leaders as being responsible for the lack of coal. Yet the Belgian miners have worked hard since "liberation." In spite of the absence of several thousands of their comrades, their production has exceeded that of their French comrades by 50 percent.

In reality, it is not the lack of coal which is disturbing the reactionaries and reformists, but the fact that the miners are thinking of intervening in the control of production.

The miners want to know what scandalous profits the coal barons are accumulating in the midst of the general poverty!

Workers in industry, in the yards and offices! Transport workers! Housewives! Small shopkeepers! The miners' struggle is that of the whole population against the incapacity of the bosses.

If the miners call on you for aid, be ready to support them by all the appropriate means! Together with them you will establish a serious control over production and the distribution of coal.

Indian Trotskyist Leader Dying In Colonial Prison

Philip Gunawardene, one of the most courageous Trotskyist leaders in India, is critically ill and dying of starvation in a Ceylonese prison, according to a report in the March 1945 English *Socialist Appeal*. Many a revolutionary has been physically broken in the torture-houses called "prisons" in India and Ceylon.

Gunawardene has been languishing in prison since Feb. 8, 1944, after he and N. M. Perera, two outstanding Trotskyist fighters in the struggle for freedom of the Indian masses, were betrayed to the British police in India by a Stalinist agent. They were arrested and brought to trial on charges arising from their escape from a British concentration camp, in which they had been interned for almost two years. The uncompromising defense of their revolutionary ideas and defiant challenge to British imperialism they uttered in the magistrate's court at Kandy, Ceylon on Feb. 8, 1944 was published in *The Militant*, Oct. 14.

Gunawardene is one of the leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, formed in 1935 on the island of Ceylon. The party engaged in the struggles of the railway workers, plantation laborers and peasants and published its literature in three languages. It made rapid headway among the six million Ceylonese slaves of British imperialism and became recognized as the only true fighter for their interests. In 1938 the masses expressed their confidence in the Trotskyist Party and its program by electing Gunawardene and Perera to the Ceylon State Council.

BRITISH TERROR

The British overlords, increasingly alarmed by the growth and popularity of the Trotskyist movement, utilized the outbreak of war as a pretext to arrest the Trotskyist leaders in Sept. 1939. Together with other members of

the Lanka Sama Samaja, they were herded into a concentration camp without trial or hearing of any kind. The party's printing plants were confiscated. At the same time the big plantation owners began an "unofficial" terror campaign against all the local party members and leaders. On March 13, 1942, when a new, mighty upsurge of struggle began, the British governor of Ceylon officially proclaimed the Trotskyist movement illegal.

In April 1942, Gunawardene and his colleagues, inspired by the resurgence of the Indian masses and eager to resume their places in the struggle, managed to escape from the concentration camp. One of their jailors in the Ceylon camp, who was converted to the Trotskyist program, assisted them in their escape. They went to India where they helped to organize the unified Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India and Ceylon.

On July 15, 1943, Gunawardene together with other comrades was rearrested in Bombay in a series of police raids. They were betrayed by a Stalinist stool-pigeon who had wormed himself into the party and directed the police to their homes and hiding places. After five months in the prisons of India, Gunawardene was transported back to Ceylon for trial.

Our English comrades are asking that resolutions of protest be sent to the British Colonial Office, demanding his immediate release.

Flint AC Plant Auto Workers Strike Against Provocations

By Jeff Thorne

FLINT, Mich., March 30.—The 13,000 members of AC Local 651, United Automobile Workers, CIO, are holding their heads higher as the result of a two-day demonstration strike last Tuesday and Wednesday at the AC Spark Plug Division of General Motors. It was the first strike in the history of AC and first tie-up of a whole war plant in this General Motors citadel.

Management fired 10 unionists, suspended five and threatened more victimizations, but the strikers felt they were victors. They had gained inspiration, experience and self-confidence. At least they proved "it could be done." They are willing to try it again if necessary.

The rest of Flint's 50,000 UAW-CIO members mainly in Buick, Chevrolet and Fisher Body, were just as pleased. AC had always seemed to lag behind the other locals. Then suddenly the first demonstration walkout, originally intended for only one day, met such overwhelming response it was continued a second day in answer to the firings. Only a small percentage, mostly those who had never been union members, went through picket lines.

AC produces 450 small war materials, including machine guns, but mainly motor and aircraft parts. The workers, mostly women, are paid 20 per cent less than in other Flint plants. They were the slowest to organize and worked all through the 1937 sit-downs.

Only since the war has AC Local's membership reached almost as high a percentage as in the other Flint GM locals. At the very time that other locals were be-

coming more conservative under the corporation's war-time reign of terror, AC militancy rose. As departmental stoppages were let up in other plants they were just beginning in AC.

In the UAW elections only six weeks ago, AC Local was the only one in Flint to have a slate of candidates campaigning against the no-strike pledge. That slate was red-baited by Stalinists and others, but made a clean sweep. It inherited a mountain of unsettled grievances.

Immediately the speedup increased and bargaining broke down worse than ever. A hundred unsettled grievances quickly piled up. A committeeman was fired last week and 40 girls were reprimanded for demonstrating in support of him. That provoked the strike. The frantic UAW regional office could not head it off as long as management refused to bargain.

New, temporary local leadership came to the fore in the strike, inexperienced but willing. Under the no-strike pledge and the UAW International Executive Board's policy of complete subservience to the war profiteers, the recently elected local

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TRADE UNION NOTES

by JOSEPH KELLER

Addes and Thomas

In a personal interview in the *Stalinist Daily Worker*, March 28, George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Automobile Workers, indicates the UAW leaders intend to use the majority vote for the no-strike pledge in the recent referendum as a further pretext for bureaucratic reprisals against the auto militants.

The fact that an unholy alliance of UAW and CIO leaders, the government and the corporations succeeded in pressuring a majority vote for the pledge "strengthens the hands of those union officers who believe in the CIO no-strike policy," Addes is quoted. "This outcome," he adds ominously, "ought to serve as a warning to all disruptive forces"—including, presumably, the 36 percent of the UAW voters who opposed the pledge and the 60,000 who have gone on strike in the past six weeks in Detroit.

However, states the *Daily Worker*, Addes "spoke bitterly of 'demagogues' who will continue to stir up trouble . . . and let it be known that he has no illusions that the fight is over."

UAW President R. J. Thomas also tries to make the most of the referendum results, which he terms a "mandate to me, as president." After trying to squeeze some personal satisfaction out of this "victory" in his column in the *United Automobile Worker*, April 1, Thomas concludes:

"There are definite signs that the period ahead is to be marked by a vicious public onslaught against our union and against labor. The Automobile Manufacturers' Association and its stooges, the 'Automobile Council for War Production' are filling the columns of the press with malicious falsehoods aimed at undermining labor."

The way to "silence these dishonest attacks," Thomas opines, is to enforce the no-strike pledge. This is just what the auto barons want since they can continue their unionbusting drive by firing local union leaders wholesale without fear of strikes. Tens of thousands of Detroit auto workers have demonstrated since the referendum that they have an opposite and more effective method than Thomas for "silencing these dishonest attacks."

Recognize Foremen

Under pressure of the labor movement and recurrent foremen's strikes, the NLRB last week ruled that supervisory employees are entitled to belong to independent unions of their own choosing and to engage in collective bargaining under the Wagner Act.

The corporation owners, who fear the organized collaboration of supervisory workers with the rest of labor, have tried to contend that foremen are "part of management." However, the NLRB majority was forced to admit that the foreman "now is an executor carrying out orders, plans, and policies determined above; he is more managed than managing."

For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

This NLRB ruling, reversing its decision of two years ago, grew out of the Packard Motor case where the foremen, organized in the Foremen's Assn. of America, went on strike in Detroit last May. The decision will have considerable bearing, it is believed, on the *United Mine Workers'*

demand for contract coverage of most of the mine foremen and supervisors.

More Stalinist Finkery

The Stalinists, operating through various local CIO Councils which they control, are continuing their vicious campaign against the coal miners now negotiating for a new contract.

Last week, the Cleveland CIO, long under Stalinist domination, passed an "appeal" to the miners "not to strike." Previously, similar finky resolutions were passed by the Greater New York City CIO and the Detroit CIO, in which they called on Roosevelt to "seize the mines" to forestall an alleged "strike plot."

The *Daily Worker*, March 30, runs a big scarehead editorial, "Not an Hour's Stoppage! The Mines Must Be Seized," advising the capitalist government and mine owners that "no matter what Lewis thinks or would like the miners to do, he knows and the country knows that the coal miners will not strike against the government."

The miners, who have voted eight to one in favor of strike in an NLRB poll, showed two years ago in their four strikes that they were unaffected by similar anti-labor bleats from the Stalinists.

Telephone Strike Poll

Some 18,000 local and long distance telephone operators in New York City will take an NLRB strike vote on April 16, after filing notice on March 17 of intention to strike.

They are continuing to demand a \$5 raise over their present \$20 weekly minimum. The WLB rejected the recommendation of its own special panel endorsing the \$5 increase sought by the 12,000 members of the New York Telephone Co. Workers' Union and the 6,000 members of the Federation of Long Lines Operators, New York local. The national WLB instead awarded a \$3 raise, \$1 less than the multi-billion dollar telephone trust itself finally agreed to pay.

Prisoner-of-War Labor

Aiding the campaign to undermine wages and working conditions of the American workers, the government is extending the use of German and Italian prisoners of war by private employers in both industry and agriculture.

Both AFL and CIO unions, according to a report buried in a leading government war agency, have been objecting bitterly to "the use of war prisoners in foundries, canneries and for maintenance work on railroads."

There are now some 400,000 POWs in the United States. Another 100,000 are being transferred here by the War Department. The unions charge that employers in low-wage industries—logging and lumbering, farming and canneries—are refusing to raise wages "in the hope the prisoners may be brought in to replace civilian labor at the existing wage scale."

The report, whose existence was disclosed by the New York Post labor correspondent, Victor Riesel, states that "the Int'l. Woodworkers (CIO), the chiefs of the Standard Railroad Labor Organization, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union are among the unions which have passed resolutions opposing the use of prisoners of war under private employers."

1800 New 'Militant' Readers In One Week Sets Record For Subscription Campaign

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

During the fifth week of the Militant Subscription Campaign we reached the peak in weekly sales. This week the branches of the Socialist Workers Party sold 1,800 new subscriptions, which raises our total to 7,437. This is 74 percent of our goal to obtain 10,000 new readers before the end of May. With eight weeks remaining, we feel assured not only of reaching but of far surpassing our goal.

FROM THE BRANCHES

K. Karl, Philadelphia: "Philadelphia Branch wishes to challenge Bayonne in the campaign. The few we are ahead at present is not a big factor. The two branches are similar in size, in obstacles and in quota. Comrade Alma is Philadelphia's Pace-Setter with 17 subs up to last Sunday night."

Phil Burns, Bayonne: "The Bayonne Branch needs very little provocation to prove its ability to be amongst the outstanding branches in the party. We, naturally, accept the challenge of the Philadelphia comrades. The Philadelphia Branch will find that their slight margin ahead of ours is merely a reflection of the fact that we are still in second gear. Our Pace-Setters are Phil Burns with 26 subs and Arlene Williams with 15 subs."

Frieda Kalb, Brooklyn Branch, New York Local: "Marion Winters, top scorer of the Brooklyn Branch, rolled up 43 subs in five hours of sub-getting. This is the highest one-day total secured by any single New York comrade. Marion is fourth among the national Pace-Setters and has been boosting her sub sales by going to a college campus on her lunch hour. She usually obtains eight to ten subs each time."

K. Zellon, Milwaukee: "This Sunday we were out in the Italian neighborhood. We received an excellent response. In one instance we sold seven subs in a half block. A brewery worker, who has given up the Socialist Call in favor of *The Militant*, says *The Militant* is a worker's paper and that the Call 'goes too easy on the capitalists.' He has already sold four trial subs to fellow-workers and three copies of the pamphlet, 'American Workers Need a Labor Party.'"

Bill Plain, San Diego: "We are sending airmail 24 trial subs. Our Pace-Setter is Walter Cowan with 30 subs. We're rushing 182 percent and we just started. We intend to top the list."

Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "In thirty days of the campaign we hit our quota of 1,000 and are still in full swing to obtain 1,000 more. Of these 465 came directly from our trade union fractions. We are proud of the job they have done. Our efforts to involve friends in the campaign have been more than successful. Over 200 cards have been sold by friends and we expect many more from them."

D. Hilson, Akron: "Please! Hurry with the sub cards. There are none at all in the office. Comrade O'Kenney feels discriminated against. He has put in his bid for 100 of the cards when they arrive."

John Russo, Reading: "Elmer Oakie is Reading's Pace-Setter with 46 subs. All subs were obtained in the shop he works in."

B. Kingsley, Cleveland: "Enclosed are 25 introductory subs. . . P. S. Flash! Twelve new subs just came in. No sooner do I write a letter on the campaign than it's obsolete!"

M. McGowan, Toledo: "Now that we have finished our quota one, we are setting out to do it again. We have a scoreboard with numbers up to 500 and we feel that we will be able to make it."

Libby Jones, Buffalo: "Our total this week is 104, making the complete total 359, nine over our quota. They will follow tonight. Will you send us 150 more sub cards. Our branch slogan is 'On to 200 percent!'"

B. Radlow, Chicago: "Of the 70 subs enclosed, 51 were obtained in two days by Paul Kujac. . . One of our plant fractions was given a quota of 100. They raised it to 200 at the beginning of the campaign. They have obtained 242 already and now they are going to make it 400."

FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

J. L. V. of Los Angeles sent us 21 trial subs with the following letter: "I've been a reader of *The Militant* for over three months. The subs that are listed here are fellow-workers who have taken a real interest in the socialist movement. I have been a reader of the *Weekly People*, *Socialist Labor Party* paper, for a number of years. Socialism therefore is not new to me, but *The Militant* certainly is different from anything I have ever read. My interest has been aroused to a new high in socialism. I am a brewery worker."

Do YOU give *The Militant* to your fellow-workers and ask them to subscribe?

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Allentown	50	126	252
Akron	85	164	193
San Diego	50	91	182
Toledo	250	316	126
Flint	50	60	120
Milwaukee	100	113	113
Detroit	1000	1020	102
Youngstown	300	270	90
Reading	75	64	85
Buffalo	350	296	85
Chicago	1000	832	83
Boston	200	151	76
Philadelphia	150	107	71
Minneapolis	300	210	70
New York	2500	1637	65
Cleveland	200	118	59
San Francisco	350	188	54
Newark	350	183	52
St. Paul	100	51	51
Bayonne	150	62	41
Los Angeles	2000	827	41
Seattle	400	158	40
Rochester	50	0	0
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	92	66
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)		301	
TOTAL	10,200	7437	74



Incidents like the following show how many opportunities there are for alert agents to sell subscriptions to *The Militant*.

A. Field, Minneapolis: "One of our comrades got three of the enclosed subs this evening on her way to the meeting. She sold them in between transfers on the streetcar."

K. Zellon, Milwaukee: "During the week one of our comrades was waiting for the bus. Glancing through *The Militant* she was approached by a worker evidently impressed by the headline who inquired about the paper. When she explained it was a fighting worker's paper, he immediately purchased a trial sub."

Fred Nomen, East Side Branch, New York Local: "When we had finished our door-to-door work, a group of us demobilized in a cafeteria, where we compared results and experiences. I noticed that four or five young workers at a nearby table were looking at us with curiosity. Spurred on by the fact that another team had obtained three more subs than my team, I approached the table and showed them *The Militant*. After a brief talk, three of them bought subs."

Howard Mason reports a method the Detroit Branch has found successful in selling subscriptions to *The Militant*.

"We hit on what we consider a fine idea. We found that almost every other house has a service flag in the window, so we pointed out the second point in our transitional demands listed on the back page of *The Militant*—Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army. The reception to this was very good."

Another method the Detroit Branch has found successful in getting subscriptions is reported by Jerry Kirk.

"The auto workers before entering the plant line up to buy tobacco, candy, etc. Two comrades distributed *The Militant* to these workers and then proceeded to sign up seven new subscribers. We intend to repeat this weekly."

The following report was sent by Al Lynn, Los Angeles, concerning a recruit to the ideas of socialism.

"Working at a job which allowed him free intervals throughout the day he began to pick up *The Militant* and other radical papers on the newsstands. After a short while he saw the difference and came up to our office to speak to us. At this time he also wanted to know something about a sectarian organization called the Socialist Labor Party. After a few weeks of discussion he became fully convinced of the correctness of our program and joined our Party. He is, besides being very active, an intensive student of revolutionary literature, and has great possibilities for development."

R. S. H., a subscriber in Fort Wayne, Indiana, tells us what he thinks of *The Militant*:

"Do not happen to agree with your position, but I surely appreciate having your paper, as it gives a view we miss in the bought press, and especially in that part of the bought press which we can label Stalinist, which has about as much principle as a jelly-fish!"

'TRAILBLAZERS' OBTAIN 301 NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

With 301 subscriptions already sent in, *The Militant* Trail-Blazers, Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, continue to meet with eager responses from the workers and their wives in the eastern Pennsylvania area. They report: "We called on 18 steel workers' households—and of these 15 are now *Militant* subscribers! Our new friends were so absorbed and interested in our ideas and program that in one home after another both they and we were reluctant to terminate the discussion."

"The conception of a labor party for workers that will be led by workers and can express their needs politically catches on like wild-fire. We gave away several household copies of our *Labor Party* pamphlets. We continue to encounter the same powerful sentiment that we have noted before here—the conviction that the SWOC leaders are beating a retreat before the onslaught of the Bethlehem Corp., and a feeling of disgust and disillusionment with the do-nothing policy of the union officials."

WANT TO FIGHT

"Articles in *The Militant* that bring these workers the information that other sections of the labor movement are reassembling their forces and preparing for a fight serve to revive their confidence and arouse fresh hopes. Often they subscribe to *The Militant* only after we have proved that the rank and file of the unions, armed with a correct program of struggle against the bosses and led by men from the ranks, can turn the anti-labor campaign of the corporations into a rout. By and large these men want to fight. You should have seen the eyes of one man sparkle as we described how a Labor Party could counteract the campaigning of the bosses—particularly when we pointed out that what we need is not a slick lawyer or university man to speak for us, but a tough, uncompromising working stiff who could stand up in the sacred halls of Congress and really blast the phony politicians and their masters!"

"There is a lot of talk among the men in the mills regarding the double-cross Roosevelt deal of the working class. One worker's wife told us she'd been a Roosevelt fan until the actual operation of his hold-the-line policy opened her eyes. Another worker said: 'The New Deal is a dirty deal for labor!' Many of the women carry the fighting spirit in the family and berate their men for giving up too easily! They are enthused and eager to talk about a fighting working class movement."

Grace Carlson's articles on "hobbies" for workers' wives and on the special care given Fala contrasted with the neglect of working class mothers under capitalism got warm receptions among the wives of these steel workers. In one house where we'd already talked for an hour and a half, the woman abandoned her ironing, and invited us to stay longer for more talk.

OUR IDEAS SPREAD
Well over 100 Bethlehem Corp. workers now read *The Militant*, and this is just a drop in the bucket compared to the thousands who will read it in the months to come. Already copies are finding their way into the plant. One worker who subscribed told us he'd seen it in the shop only the day before. A steel worker's wife told us her husband had taken his copy to work in his lunch bucket.

We utilized the rainy days to establish a newsstand for *The Militant* on one of the busiest corners in Allentown, corner of Hamilton and South Eighth St. Also we put out sample copies of the paper in a housing project preparatory to covering it for subscriptions. This project houses all Bethlehem steel workers and among the 28 subs we got from the first day's work are some exceptionally fine workers. We were told that the majority of them come from the coal fields, and this was indicated also by the fact that the men's faces all bore the blue scars that mark coal miners wherever you find them.

"One of our friends in a local plant had an experience the other day that is most heartening. A fellow worker approached him with the question: 'Do you know how much profit those lousy capitalists in the Chrysler Corp. earned last year?' and quoted from a *Militant* article. He said the garage man where he parked his car had shown him the paper. This garage man had bought a sub from us a couple of weeks ago. Goes to show how fast our paper spreads!"

Jackson speaks at Toledo Meeting On Negro Struggle
TOLEDO, March 25th—An enthusiastic audience assembled in the Frederick Douglas Community Center to hear Charles Jackson, *Militant* columnist, speak on "The Struggle for Negro Equality." Seventy Negro and white workers were present at the meeting held under the auspices of the Toledo School of Social Science.

Comrade Jackson pointed out the connection between the Negro struggle and the struggle of all workers for emancipation from wage slavery. He summoned all Negro workers to join the common struggle against the common enemy, capitalism. He showed that since capitalism is the root and cause of race prejudice and discrimination, the fight against racial injustice is a part of the fight against this profit system.

After the speech there was a lively question and discussion period in which many of the audience participated.

Hold 'Militant' Sub Drive Party
SAN FRANCISCO, March 26—San Francisco's drive to make every reader in the area a *Militant* sub-getter was high-lighted by a social on Sunday, March 25th. Fourteen trial subscription cards were sold to *Militant* subscribers present which they in turn will sell or give to their friends and shopmates. One friend has already sold several subs and is well on his way to winning the local contest for selling the most subscriptions during the present national drive. The winner will receive a copy of James P. Cannon "History of American Trotskyism."

The hall was decorated with streamers and posters stressing the goal of building *The Militant* into America's leading socialist weekly. Robert Chester demonstrated with crayon and drawing paper in ten easy steps just what and for whom *The Militant* is published. The entertainment was climaxed with a skit showing a typical example of house-to-house work in selling trial subs.

N. Y. Forum Hears Speech On Marx

NEW YORK, April 1—"The Heritage of Karl Marx" was discussed tonight at the Sunday Night Forum, held at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. Comrade Art Sharon was the speaker of the evening. He traced the struggles of Marx against the various schools of utopian socialism, Marx's analysis of the great events of the nineteenth century, and his great theoretical and organizational contributions to the independent struggles of the workers against capitalist oppression.

No forum is scheduled for next Sunday April 8. All friends and readers of *The Militant* are asked to watch for future announcements, and attend the forums with their friends and shopmates.

New York SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM
Friday, April 13, 8 p. m.
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Speaker: STEVE JOSEPHS
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Free Admission

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MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

Here are the twenty who have sold the highest number of subscriptions in this campaign.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Mike Warren	West Side, New York	200
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	192
Paul Kujac	Chicago	134
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, New York	121
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	100
E. D.	Detroit	99
Sam Richter	Chicago	85
Dennis O'Kenney	Akron	79
H. Mason	Detroit	73
B. Haynes	Chicago	70
M. Kennedy	Detroit	68
Ruth Grayson	Trotskyist Youth Group, N.Y.	67
E. Logan	Detroit	65
Robert Kendall	Toledo	61
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	58
Walter McKay	Detroit	56
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	53
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn, New York	50
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	50
Joe P. Morgan	Toledo	48

Spanish Trotskyist Group Issues Ringing Call To Action

Spain is once more becoming a focal point in European politics. In order to head off the growing revolt against Franco, the royalists are maneuvering to restore the monarchy while the Republicans, Stalinists and Socialists are aiming to revive the pro-capitalist Popular Front which paved the way for fascism in Spain.

The Spanish Trotskyists alone call upon the workers and peasants to organize their forces for the revolutionary overthrow of Franco as a step towards the conquest of power and the establishment of socialism. Herewith is a translation of the "Manifesto to the Spanish Proletariat" issued in September 1944 by the International Communist Group (Spanish Section of the 4th International) and published in the Jan. 15th, 1945 issue of its paper "Lucha de Clases" (The Class Struggle).

Under the weight of the contradictions inherent in the bourgeois regime; under the growing pressure of the revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat and under military defeats, the Hitler apparatus—which through terror managed to maintain the capitalist system in Europe—is inexorably going down!

Germany's imperialist rivals are multiplying their efforts to eliminate this competitor in annexations and robberies against the peoples, while at the same time they are getting ready to take decisive positions with an eye to their coming attack on the Soviet Union. But the fall of Hitler on the other hand inspires the world bourgeoisie with terror and constitutes the main preoccupation of Anglo-Saxon imperialism.

The governments of Washington and London and, along with them, the industrial and banking magnates, know that the collapse of Hitler will give impetus to the revolution in Germany and through all Europe.

Imbued with this preoccupation, the so-called democracies are today at the Quebec conferences drawing up the most detailed plans to stem the offensive of the working class and to replace, without grave consequences to themselves, the man whom in 1933 these same "democracies" aided in taking power with the mission to crush the revolution in Germany and abroad.

Counter-revolutionary Aims of Allies

To divert everywhere the action of the workers through "democratic" patriotic or "anti-fascist" channels—according to the situation in each country—so that the violent convulsions of the present revolutionary crisis should not attack the foundations of the capitalist regime, such is the obsession of the bourgeoisie. This is the topic of discussion in chancelleries, at the Quebec conferences and in the cabinets, already the sources of fulminations against soldiers and workers who try to fraternize with the revolutionary workers and the working masses of Germany.

The "Allied" bourgeoisie and its lackeys in the working class are straining with redoubled force to prevent the international proletariat from undertaking an independent struggle for its class aims, for its emancipation as a class; for the conquest of power with the aim of establishing socialism: the only way out for humanity is not to fall into barbarism.

Which way this historical dilemma—barbarism or socialism—will be decided; whether the crisis will be resolved within the framework of putrefying capitalism, or will end with the destruction of this system and the founding of the Workers State, this will depend solely on the struggle of the international proletariat, and, in the last analysis, on its most conscious wing: its vanguard.

This Time the Workers Must Win

The struggle is not lost by the mere fact that the lackeys of the "democratic" or patriotic bourgeoisie persistently continue on the road of class collaboration and are making an effort to castrate the revolutionary will of the workers. The struggle, already begun, must be pursued and this time we must win it. This skepticism—which is also due to the fact that certain illusions have recently been shattered—this skepticism which undermines the revolutionary energies of a large section of the Spanish vanguard, must therefore be replaced by fighting energy and the determination to destroy the bridges—be they "democratic," "national" or any other kind, which the bourgeoisie and its servants are building.

Program of Revolutionary Action

To the dirty maneuvers and the open treachery of those who wish to return to a 14th of April [1931] or something similar, the workers and peasants will counterpose the spirit and attitude that inspired the struggles of July 19, 1936.

To the intrigues and evasions of "National Fronts" or "Anti-Fascist Fronts" which band together to seek a means of removing only Franco and his Falange, as in Central Europe they are looking for a way to replace Hitler and his S.S., we counterpose the UNITY OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTION OF THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT the only force capable of crushing the Candillo (Franco) and the bourgeois state that holds him up.

To class collaboration we counterpose the class struggle.

For the dissolution of the Army, the Civil and Assault Guards and the establishing of Workers Militias. For the arming of the proletariat.

For the expropriation of the landowners and the distribution of the land to the peasants.

For the socialization of the heavy industries and of transportation, and the nationalization of the banks.

For the destruction of the economic and political power of the church and the dissolution of religious orders. Religion is the opium of the people.

Down with "National Government" and "National Unity." For the resurgence of the Committees of July 19th.

LONG LIVE THE COMMITTEES OF JULY 19!
DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR!
LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

owners, finance capital, the economic power of the church, the armed forces which were overnight converted to republicanism, continued untouched while unemployment grew and wages dropped. Complete master of the economic levers, the bourgeoisie found in 1936 the opportunity and the strength to launch the military-fascist uprising, to resolve the crisis in its favor, and to retrieve the crumbs it had been forced to hand out under the pressure of the masses during the republican-socialist coalition.

Why Franco Won in the Spanish Civil War

The republic of Azana-Prieto-Zamora breathed new life into bourgeois reaction by permitting the sacred rights of private property to continue and even defending them. And Franco, paralyzed during the first months by the revolutionary offensive of July 19 [1936], later became the victor thanks to the German-Italian fascist coalition; thanks to the "democratic" coalition of the Non-Intervention Committee and thanks to the 13 Point Republic [of Negrin] which, all in the name of the fight against Franco, dissolved the Committees of July 19, destroyed or corrupted the workers' and peasants' Collectives; jailed and persecuted the militants of the vanguard and the revolutionary "bands" while offering the hand of friendship to the clergy.

Franco did not win through the mere fact of receiving direct or indirect aid from the world bourgeoisie. This aid came as no surprise. The bourgeoisie will always and at any moment be united in its counter-revolutionary tasks. Thus it was in 1918-19 (and again now) in Germany. Thus it was in Russia in 1917 and thus it is getting ready again now against the Soviet Union.

Franco won out, above all, because the Spanish working class, in the absence of a revolutionary party, was sacrificed on the altar of bourgeois democracy. That is to say on the altar of the same cause and the same principles for which it is now summoned to fight. This is the most important lesson the Spanish proletariat must keep in mind from the experience of its past struggle if it wishes to escape another defeat.

Before the immediate perspective of the fall of Hitler, which is the perspective of the international revolution for a Soviet-Socialist Europe, the Spanish proletariat must prepare itself for the task begun and cut short in 1936. The struggle against the Franco regime is the struggle for the revolution. Franco, like Hitler, must in his fall drag down with him the edifice of the bourgeois regime.

UAW Regional Director Carl A. Swanson tried a tear-jerker, telling of seeing two girls "crying out there (near the picket lines) because of their men overseas." A couple of thousand girls in the audience burst into a roar of laughter and hooting at this cheap demagoguery.

A few wanted to prolong the strike indefinitely, but the majority understood all day Wednesday that because of the tremendous forces against them they were not tactically situated to continue the strike any longer. UAW International Vice President Walter Reuther, whose assistant had been roundly booed the night previously, addressed the final meeting of 4,500 workers Wednesday night. Although Reuther himself received some boos, the meeting voted almost unanimously to return to work Thursday.

Reference to what the UAW International Executive Board is "giving" the members aroused mingled amusement and indignation. One girl shouted, "All we get is the damn receipt!"

Even as they voted to end the demonstration, the ranks and some of the local officers indicated they are ready for another strike, if necessary. However, they were not allowed to vote on a motion to resume the strike in 30 days if negotiations are not satisfactory. The motion was ruled out of order.

Some local officers declared that if the corporation continues its arrogant provocations they will initiate "legal" strike procedure after 15 days, under the Smith-Connelly Act. However, it is the UAW's no-strike pledge, rather than the Smith-Connelly

officers dared not openly assume leadership of the strike. They did issue a press statement blaming the company, but they were high-pressured by the International and Regional office into giving lip-service to the back-to-work chorus of the bosses, the press, the government, the Regional Office and the Stalinists. The Stalinists dared not offend picket lines, but they tried to lead the back-to-work movement.

At mass meetings the ranks roundly booed UAW International and Regional spokesmen, and any local officers who did their bidding, although many of the ranks, understood the extreme pressure on their recently-elected officers. Stalinist "patriots" received the loudest boosing and hissing.

First Issue of Spanish Trotskyist Paper



Reproduced above is the first issue of "Lucha de Clases" (The Class Struggle), organ of the Internationalist Communist Group, Spanish section of the 4th International. This paper, dated Jan. 15, 1945, is published in Lyons, France, where many thousands of Spanish working class refugees are located. Its headline reads "Neither the Liberation Front (Social - Democratic) nor the Spanish National Union (Stalinist): For a Workers' Alliance!" We salute our Spanish comrades who under great difficulties are pointing out to their fellow-workers the road to the overthrow of Franco and the capitalist system which produced and sustains the bloody Fascist dictator.

Flint AC Plant Strike Answers Provocations

(Continued from page 1)

Act, which has bound the hands of the auto workers.

The union ranks were rankled frequently by leadership branding the strike as illegal and in violation of the contract. They demanded to know "What about management's violations?" The only answer was, "We haven't exhausted the regular procedure or taken the legal steps for a strike." But the ranks were "exhausted" by the corporation's reign of terror to the point of taking strike action—a fact the leaders ignored.

The AC rank and file, with inexperienced local leadership, and opposed by top leadership, conducted their demonstration without any help from other local unions. It was over before many other workers knew about it. There had been little preparatory planning. There was no provision for gaining support or city-wide sympathy; no campaign to inform even the AC Local membership of the real issues. The only handbill was issued the last night, after everybody knew the action was all over.

Picket signs carried practically the only information about the strike issues: "Management Is Trying to Smash Our Union"; "Management Will Not Bargain in Good Faith"; "Stand By the Girls in 78"; "No More Buck Passing, This is It."

THE REAL ISSUES

Nevertheless, practically all Flint workers understood the real issue: substandard pay, speedup,

reign of terror, victimizations, bargaining breakdown. These are every-day experiences. But the issues were not crystallized for and around the strike. The local union leadership, not daring to actually lead the strike, satisfied neither the union membership nor the corporation officials. The workers wanted their leaders on the picket lines with them. And the corporation accused them of "responsibility" for the strike anyway.

This AC strike was the first real union action for most of the membership. The strike meetings were the first union meetings many of the members had ever attended. The largest of these rallied an attendance of 4,500. Regular local meetings used to have as few as 15 in attendance; lately up to 200. This improvement must continue. The ranks must attend their meetings to discover and develop the right kind of leadership.

AC took a step in the right direction in electing officers opposed to the no-strike pledge. These officers and the progressive elements of the local should line up with militants in the other Flint locals to form a city-wide section of the UAW Rank and File Caucus. This progressive Caucus is organizing nationally to wipe out the no-strike pledge, remove the labor members from the WLB, and build an independent labor party. It aims to secure a new, fighting international leadership that will battle for this program.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Austria

We have received the following letter from John Roberts, a Militant reader.

"Referring to the International Notes item on Austria in the March 17th issue of The Militant, I should like to add a few things.

"1. The Moscow conference promised 'independence' from Germany. This in itself is a crime against the German-speaking Austrian workers and peasants. In 1918 they wanted to become a part of a democratized Germany but were prevented from doing so by the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. The argument of Stalinists, Monarchists, etc., that the Austrian people have a different cultural and historical past to justify a separation from the Reich, is just as criminal as a proposed division of Italy. The only possible solution would be the creation of an autonomous Soviet Republic within a Federation of Soviet Germany.

"2. The proposed partition of Austria, and even of Vienna, is one of the most vicious potential attacks on the socialist revolution of Central Europe. It is well known that the Viennese workers are among the most advanced and class conscious of the world. The proposed division of Vienna would prevent the inhabitants of the various proletarian and residential districts from communicating with one another. By introducing passports in the city allied world reaction hopes to prevent the Viennese workers from organizing to take over the city and with it the whole country.

"This attack on Austria is all the more significant if one con-

Puerto Rico

A partial victory was won by field and mill workers in Puerto Rico's sugar producing industry. The strike was called in the middle of the season and crippled the industry for almost six weeks. The strike took place under the direction of the General Confederation of Workers (CGT) participating.

Wage increases of 23 cents for workers in the field and 24 cents for those in the mills were won, bringing daily wages up to \$1.73 and \$1.83 respectively.

In an attempt to break the strike the Department of Labor handed down a directive in the midst of the strike, raising minimum wages for mill workers to 37 cents an hour. The attempt failed.

That the U. S. government has no intention, however, to make the planters pay for the increased wages out of their profits is clearly seen by an agreement of the Commodity Credit Corp. to increase the subsidy on sugar to cover the wage increases.

Nigeria

Trade union organization has taken a huge spurt forward in Nigeria, largest and wealthiest of the British Crown colonies in

Social-Democrats Back Imperialists In Greece

By M. Morrison

In the "New Leader" of March 10, 1945, Liston M. Oak who left the Stalinist party after his experience in the Spanish civil war and is now a staunch Social-Democrat (a right-wing one, if such a thing is possible) attempts to show that the Trotskyists talk "gibberish" when they explain and justify their support of the EAM-ELAS in the recent civil war in Greece. My explanation for our material support of the EAM-ELAS, which appeared in my article in *The Militant* of February 24, is to him utter nonsense.

There is no doubt whatever that he is unable to understand it. That simply means that he does not understand the language of revolutionary Marxism. The fact that he left the Stalinist movement some time after it had ceased to be a revolutionary force and then joined the decayed social-democratic movement is conclusive evidence that he never understood the language of Marxism.

Oak characterizes the struggle between EAM and the Papan-dreu Government backed by British imperialism as a war between "Russian and British imperialism." The victory of the former means totalitarianism; the victory of the latter means democracy. Hence we must support British imperialism.

For Marxists the term imperialism has a definite connotation. In general it means to us a stage of capitalist society where monopoly has displaced free competition, bringing with it the reactionary policies of finance capitalism. There is no law preventing one from using the term in any way he pleases; one can use it to designate the drive on the part of the Stalinist bureaucracy for prestige, power and wealth. But we insist on defining it in the Leninist manner. There is, however, no need to enter into a discussion on the nature of imperialism with Oak. It is really not relevant to the issue.

It is necessary in the first instance to examine what forces fought on each side of the Greek civil war, what were their aims and the probable consequences of their victory. On the side of the EAM was the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants. Were it otherwise the Greek Government would not have had to depend upon the British armed forces. What were the workers and peasants fighting for? They had no written program but it can be taken for granted that the masses fought for the right to determine their own fate, for the right to live without being exploited, for freedom, democracy and for the national liberation. Undoubtedly a large section of the working class hoped to establish a socialist regime in case of victory.

STALINISTS AND THE MASSES

In addition to analyzing what the masses fought for it is incumbent upon us to state what the organization which led the masses was fighting for. What program did the leadership of the EAM have? It is clear that the EAM was not fighting for a socialist government. The leader-

ship consisted of Stalinists, Social-Democrats (of the Greek and not of the New Leader variety) and liberals.

It is probably true that the Stalinists played the most important role in the leadership but that does not mean that they completely controlled the masses. All the information we have indicates that the Stalinist leadership did its utmost to avoid the struggle and to compromise it after the conflict began. Mainly responsible for the compromise which left the Greek masses without arms and therefore helpless against the tyranny of the reactionaries are the Stalinists.

What would have been the result of a victory for the EAM? In all probability the establishment of nothing more than a bourgeois republic. But it would have meant also an advance in the power of the masses who would have gained greater class-consciousness and self-confidence by virtue of the victory. It would have meant a big stride forward in the establishment of a workers' republic.

It is perfectly true that an EAM victory would have meant an increase in the power of the Stalinists and therefore an increase in the danger of totalitarianism. But the masses, with arms in their hands, with the confidence that victory would have given them, would not have easily succumbed to any dictatorship by the Stalinists. The probability is that the masses would have fought the Stalinists to the bitter end. There can be no guarantee of victory in any struggle. We are sure that had the EAM been victorious the masses would have had a greater opportunity to go forward.

The reactionary forces did not win a complete victory. Because of the resistance of the Greek masses and the British workers, Churchill had to retreat. The wonderful struggle put up by the masses gives them an opportunity to struggle in the future. Had no resistance been offered the workers would have been crushed completely.

Oak calls the Trotskyists the most deadly enemies of Stalinism. Correct. But we do not adopt tactics by virtue of hatred of Stalinists. Our support of a movement depends upon the direction in which a movement is travelling. Under Stalinist leadership a movement may be caught in the dreadful coils of Stalinist totalitarianism. But the workers, while in motion, can wrench themselves loose from these coils. A victory of British imperialism against masses of workers and peasants can never help the masses.

WHAT OAK FEARS

In reality what Oak is afraid of is not only Stalinist totalitarianism but the Bolshevik revolution. For he expressly states that we would be better off now had the British, French and American imperialists helped Kerensky and the Mensheviks defeat the Bolsheviks. Now we know exactly where we stand. Oak prefers British imperialism to a workers' revolution. That is why he would have been shooting on the side of British imperialism, against the Greek masses had he had the chance, and we would have been in the forefront of the struggle urging the masses to defeat the British imperialists and then to settle scores with the Stalinists.

Oak blames the Bolshevik revolution for the existence of Stalinism. One might as well blame the mother who gave birth to the child for the disease that strikes the child. Stalinism came after the Bolshevik revolution but the basic cause of Stalinism lies in the betrayal of the German Social-Democrats. Had they not submitted to German and British capitalism the German workers would have taken power in 1918 and Stalinism would have never come into existence. The union of industrialized Germany with agricultural Russia would have assured the complete success of the Russian and German revolutions.

Living in a backward country and unaided by the workers of Western Europe, the Russian workers permitted Stalinism to gain control of their destinies. The main responsibility for the victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy lies upon the leadership of the German Social-Democrats, the spiritual predecessors of Liston Oak.

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'The Story's True'

Confirming the story carried in last week's *Militant* in his March 30 column, Drew Pearson states that Reuters, British news service, phoned the UNRRA for comment on the revelation that a British colonel, posing as a UNRRA worker in Greece, was found with receipts showing secret British payments to Greek royalist leaders for their bloody war against ELAS-EAM.

"You'll deny it, won't you?" said Reuters.

"No," replied UNRRA. "The story's true."

Ask Your Shopmate to
Subscribe to *The Militant*

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."
—KARL MARX

"Black Boy" Packs a Wallop

If you don't want to be jolted out of the self-satisfied enjoyment of a quiet evening at home, if you have abundant confidence in American "democracy" and the brave, new world that is gradually a-comin' under capitalism, if you think that the people of "good-will" are going to be able to effect economic security and racial equality in the South through a "bloodless revolution,"—then don't sit down and read Richard Wright's latest book, "Black Boy."

"Black Boy" is an unusual book, written in an unusual style but dealing with a far too usual subject. It paints a picture. That is all it does but it does that well. This picture is not a pretty one but it is a true one.

It is true because it is the picture of the author's own life. And not only his but in general that of millions of other dark-skinned Americans who have been born and raised in the South.

It is not pretty because the real-life picture of America's South, indoctrinated with the myth of white supremacy and pumped full of the poison of racial prejudice, is not a pretty one.

The author, banging away in a style of point-blank range, relates incident after incident of frustration which he experienced as a result of the South's firm policy of dividing the races and pitting them against each other. He gives matter-of-fact, detailed descriptions of the intimidation, the brutalizing and the terroristic violence which is visited on the Negro in order to keep him "in his place." He expresses in this story of his own life the bitter resentment of the Negro people against racial subjugation and their instinctive determination to fight to the death to eradicate the forces of Jim Crowism at the first promising opportunity.

INSTINCTIVE REVOLT

Hearing of lynch violence against Negroes on every side, Wright says: "I resolved that if I were ever faced with a white mob, I would conceal a weapon and just when they thought I had accepted their cruelty as the law of my life, I would let go with my gun and kill as many of them as possible before they killed me."

Not only racially but also economically oppressed, Wright can remember the actual pangs of hunger which stayed with him the greatest part of his underfed boyhood. He instinctively rebelled against the panacea of religion which was relentlessly heaped onto him by his fanatical family and their preacher. He told a boy from across the street who was sent to talk him into joining church: "If laying down my life could stop the suffering in the world, I'd gladly do it. But I don't believe anything can stop it."

He tells how he and some other boys were finally pressured into joining the church. "The preacher, draped in white robes, dipped a small branch of a tree in a huge bowl of water" and shook the wet branch over the head of each candidate for baptism. "I wanted to yell for him to stop; I wanted to tell him that this was so much

nonsense," says Wright. "But I said nothing." Later the boldest of them confessed that the entire thing was a fraud and they played hooky from church.

The Uncle Tom role of the segregated school system is brought out as the author tells how, when he was chosen as valedictorian of his class, the principal prepared a conciliatory speech for him that would be suitable to deliver before the mixed white and colored audience which was scheduled to listen that night.

VINDICATION TO COME

Driven from job after job because he tried to learn trades that only whites were "supposed to know" or because he could not reconcile himself to the kowtowing attitude expected of a Negro, Wright sensed that his dilemma was "but a part of a huge, implacable, elemental design toward which hate was fluted." Although the Negroes "lived in an America where in theory there existed equality of opportunity, they knew unerringly what to aspire to and what not to aspire to."

The revolutionary vindication for 11 million oppressed Southern Negroes which is sure to come is indicated by Wright's perfectly normal inability to make "subversive an automatic part" of his behavior. He puts it this way: "The white South said it knew 'niggers,' and I was what the white South called a 'nigger.' Well, the white South had never known me — never known what I thought, what I felt. The white South said that I had a 'place' in life. Well, I had never felt my 'place' or, rather, my deepest instincts had always made me reject the 'place' to which the white South had assigned me. It had never occurred to me that I was in any way an inferior being."

Richard Wright fails to include an economic analysis of the forces which perpetuate and profit by this prejudice. He also fails to make clear the fact that the poor, prejudiced whites are also held down by this artificial hatred with which they are indoctrinated. Therefore his book can map no path for the correction of this intolerable condition.

He paints a horrible and true, but static and sterile picture. Be that as it may, anyone who can read this forceful account and yet rest in a dream-world of racial smugness, not trying to determine the cause and then act to the greatest of his capacity to correct this injustice, is not fit to claim membership in the human family.

Wall Street Hails "Peace Charter"

(Continued from page 1) and surplus commodities at a fraction of their value. They provide generous cash payments for war contractors upon the termination (cutback) of their war contracts. They protect the "property rights" of the corporations during the "reconversion" period by guaranteeing a "reasonable profit" while the plants are shut down.

Under the "peace pact" signed by Murray and Green, the operators have the "right" to operate the plants — constructed and paid for out of the public treasury — at a "reasonable profit," or shut them down. This is the "free choice of action" which the capitalist claims as his sacred right and which the misleaders of labor endorse in their "charter." Such endorsement of the "principle" that property rights take precedence over human rights is a gross betrayal of everything the labor movement stands for.

What did the "labor statesmen" get in exchange for putting their seal of approval on the holy "rights" of private property? The labor commentator for the N. Y. Post observes that the "peace charter" contains no mention of 60,000,000 jobs or "full employment." "Nor," he adds, "does it give labor any concessions beyond recognizing the right to collective bargaining — which, incidentally, now is protected by a federal law."

In short, the labor leaders got exactly nothing! As far as labor is concerned it was all give and no take. Moreover, the recognition of the right "to organize and to engage in collective bargaining," granted under the National Labor Relations Act, is meaningless without the right to strike.

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

And the "peace pact" proposes to eliminate strikes by the "peaceful" disposal of "differences between management and labor." How is this to be done? The CIO had a very decided opinion on this question which it expressed in no uncertain terms. In a pamphlet published by the national office of the CIO in 1940, the answer to this question was given in the following clear and unambiguous terms:

"The right to organize and bargain collectively implies the right to strike, since strike action is frequently the only way organized workers have of enforcing collective bargaining. Though collective bargaining is guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act, employers often refuse to obey the laws of the U. S. Strike action is then the only way by which they can be forced to recognize unions and bargain with them in good faith."

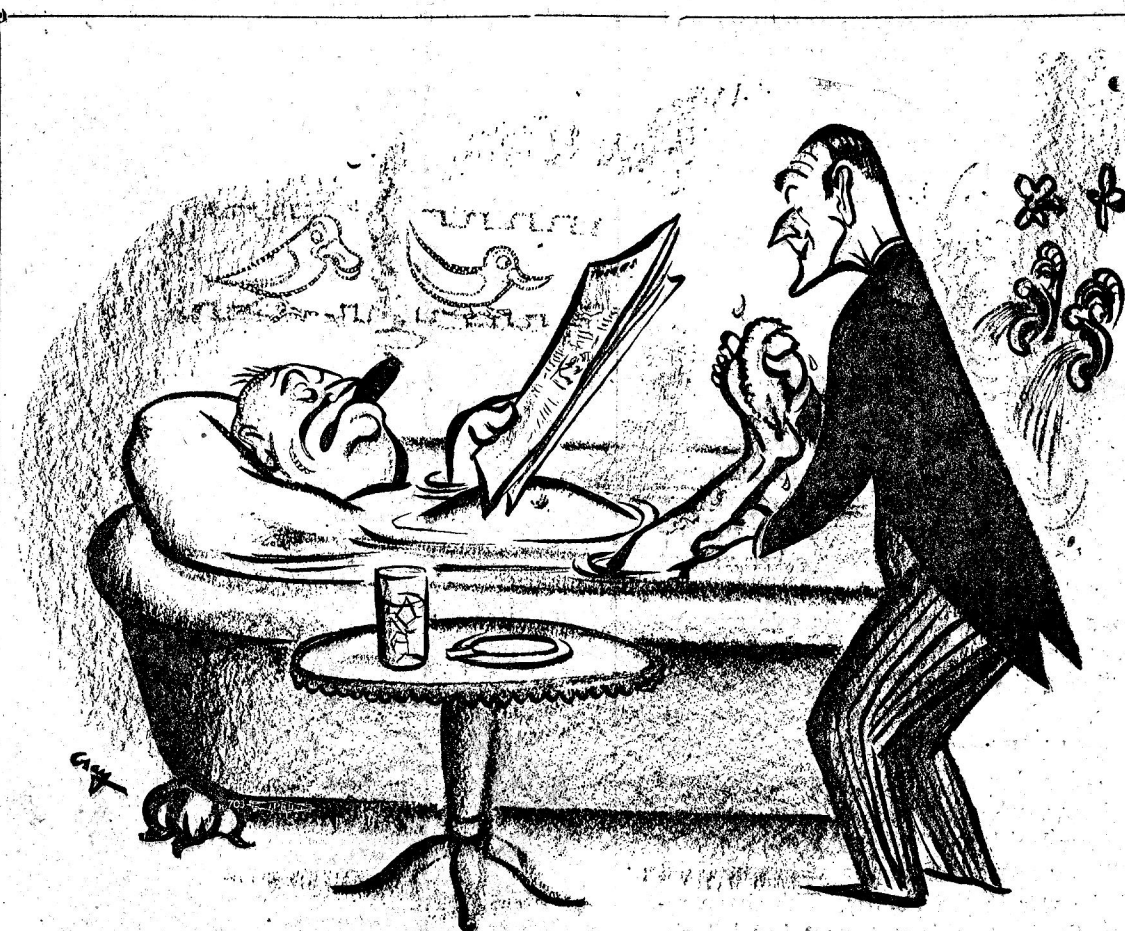
The events since 1940 have confirmed the correctness of this position. The alternative is to pursue the course followed by the union heads since Pearl Harbor of compulsory arbitration of union demands and grievances by an "impartial" employer-dominated Board. It is this latter course which Green and Murray have written into their "peace pact" with the bosses.

The union officials' endorsement of the "rights of private property" and compulsory arbitration elicited warm statements of approval from the camp of Big Business. Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the board of the Chase National Bank, declared: "I heartily approve of what has been done." It is "a great step forward." Chase National, a Rockefeller financial institution, is one of the two largest private banks in the world.

Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric Company, said: "The important thing is that these fine words be translated into action." The new "economic stabilizer" Davis and WLB chairman Taylor added their praise. Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate in the last presidential election, "hailed the labor-employer charter" as a "notable" achievement. Roosevelt, who is using every means at his disposal to jam a forced labor law through Congress, expressed himself as being "very pleased."

But the workers, who were neither advised nor consulted in its adoption, will have their word to say about this "charter" of docile surrender to the employers. As the militant ranks are beginning to demonstrate in ever greater numbers — the continuing strike wave in Detroit and the strike vote of the miners are tokens — they are not going to submit willingly to any "charter" which binds them to exploitation without resistance and keeps them from effective action in defense of their welfare.

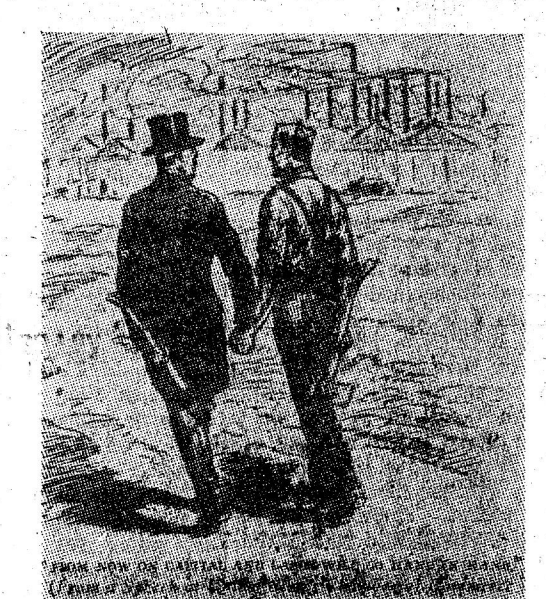
Thus, the workers are maintaining the profits of the capitalist class at their present peaks by the lowered standards of living of themselves and their families. (From "Your Standard of Living — What's Happening to It?" by C. Charles, pp. 7-8. Pioneer Publishers, 1943; 32 pp., 5 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.).



"Roosevelt's right—we need a labor draft to put those loafers to work!"

Gompers' "Peace Pact" - Its Lessons For Labor

William Green, Philip Murray and R. J. Thomas claim that they made history when they signed a "peace pact" with Eric Johnston, representing the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Far from making history, these union officials are repeating it. Over forty years ago the leaders of the AFL signed a similar agreement with the foremost capitalists which resulted in the organization in 1901 of the National Civic Federation. Green's predecessor as AFL president, Samuel Gompers,



How a contemporary cartoonist viewed the capitalist-labor "peace pact" of 1901.

was one of the founders of the National Civic Federation and served as its vice-president until his death in 1924.

Together with such big business men as John D. Rockefeller Jr., Charles Schwab of Bethlehem Steel, Mark Hanna, boss of the Republican party, and such "impartial" representatives as ex-president Grover Cleveland and Archbishop Ireland, Gompers signed the following statement of the aims of the National Civic Federation. "To do what may seem the best to promote industrial peace and prosperity; to be helpful in establishing right relations between employers and workers . . . to obviate and prevent strikes and lock-outs." Similar phrases now stud the "new charter for labor and management."

Wage War Against the Workers

Collaboration with the capitalists became the cornerstone of AFL policy. The National Civic Federation preached war on industrial unionism, labor participation in politics, and social insurance. Its main aim was to prevent the organization of the low-paid workers in the mass-production industries. It was really an open conspiracy against the industrial workers between the employers and the craft-union AFL officials. Big Business was willing and well able to throw a few crumbs to the craft-unions in payment for such services.

But while AFL "labor statesmen" were going up and down the land, spreading the doctrine of "peace" between Capital and Labor, the employer representatives in the National Civic Federation were waging a savage war against the workers.

In this period Charles Schwab, the open-shop head of Bethlehem Steel, fought off all attempts to organize his steelworkers, using every device known to labor-hating employers—the blacklist, lockout, union spies and stoolpigeons, armed guards, imported strikebreakers.

Another "union-busting" employer on the National Civic Federation's Board at this time, was John D. Rockefeller Jr. On Rockefeller's record of anti-union terror the blackest spot is the "Ludlow Massacre." In 1914 several thousand members of the United Mine Workers went on strike against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller corporation. They wanted an eight-hour day, recognition of the union, the right to trade in any store they pleased, and a ten percent wage increase. Other strikebreaking methods having failed, Rockefeller's agents unleashed a reign of terror in Ludlow. Women and children were shot down by machine guns, miners' homes were

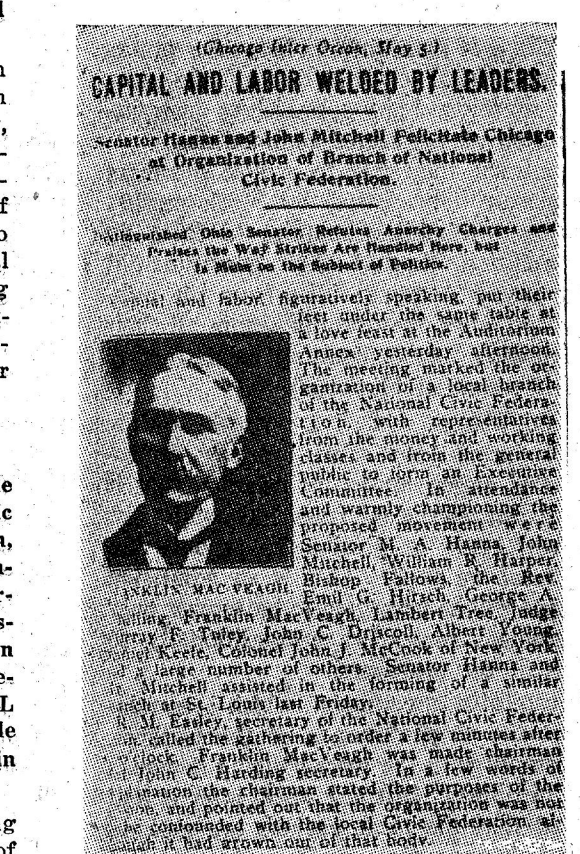
burned, scores of union members were arrested and jailed on trumped-up charges. The miners were forced back to work.

These are only a few examples of the vicious anti-labor activities carried on under cover of the National Civic Federation, which made that organization hateful to every progressive worker. As early as 1911, the United Mine Workers presented a resolution to the Atlantic City convention of the AFL denouncing the National Civic Federation and demanding that the AFL sever all connections with it. Gompers was able to muster enough conservative votes to defeat the resolution.

Fight Against Nat'l Civic Federation

Twenty-four years later, however, when the revolt in the AFL against the traditional Gompers' policies was at its peak and the industrial union movement was gaining great power, the United Mine Workers' spokesman John L. Lewis offered the same resolution to another Atlantic City Convention of the AFL—the same convention which set up the Committee for Industrial Organization. This time the resolution passed. AFL vice-president Matthew Woll, who had taken Gompers' place and was one of the chief proponents of industrial unionism, was forced to resign from the National Civic Federation.

The resignation of Woll, the resurgence of the labor movement, and the rise of the CIO dealt a virtual death-blow to the National Civic Federation. Now Murray and Green propose to renege this discredited policy upon the workers just when the bosses are speeding up their union busting campaign.



Report of a love feast which preceded the employer drive against labor under cover of the National Civic Federation.

PHILADELPHIA Civil Rights Defense Committee "SPRING FESTIVAL" Saturday, April 7 Featuring a variety of artistic dance groups Refreshments LABOR EDUCATIONAL CENTER 415 S. 19th Street Contribution 50 Cents 8 p. m.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

The foreman says, "O.K., there's a mess up on Number Two, if you want to work labor."

One or two of the fellows walk out, because they don't want to put in sixteen hours at labor pay. The rest of us, who have already worked eight hours on our own jobs and have gone down to try and get another eight hours, say, "O. K., we'll take it. Sure, we'll work," and we get shovels and picks and start down the line to Number Two blast furnace.

The night is very black outside, and edged with a rusty glow here and there where some furnace is flushing cinder. Back down the line, Number Seven is casting and the light flares spasmodically, one moment throwing our long shadows clearly on the ground before us, and the next, letting them fade back into the half darkness again.

Tom says, "Damn, I didn't want to work tonight. We had a tough shift. Coke mess."

Pete Rossi from the disintegrator looks at him. "You didn't want to work?" he says with mocking incredulity. "Why, I wanted to. I hate to go home."

Tom says, "I believe you do." Tom turned to the rest of us. "Last time Pete went home, his dog chased him around the block. He didn't know him any more, because Pete's always out here."

As we approach Number Two, we hear the roar of the "wind." The furnace is shut down, so the blast is being shot out into the atmosphere with the steady, ear-crashing racket of a great tornado, the sound of a greatly amplified Niagara Falls.

We climb the stairs and see the mess. There is slag all over the floor where a cooler has burned, tuyere, blowpipe, and all. Part of the gang is at work doing their regular cleanup, but the blower, keeper, and stove man are trying to clear the cinder away from the cooler. We dig in with shovels and bars.

Jimmy says, "I knew I should have gone home at quitting time." I pick up a hammer and hit a bar the blower is holding. I hit it perhaps a dozen times, and he moves it to another spot. I hit it some more. We work quickly. It is said that the company loses a great deal of money for every minute a furnace is shut down, so the foremen are running around yelling and pitching in to keep this terrible cost down as far as possible.

We bang and dig for perhaps three quarters of an hour before we're ready to put in the new cooler. The whole furnace gang is working with us now, all of us sweating and grunting, but in spite of it all, laughing and joking. The night is young.

We get the cooler, tuyere, and blowpipe in. The stove tender runs down the stairs to "start up." When the blower gets his signal, he runs to the wheel and puts the blast back on. The great roar of the wind changes in key, slackens, and with one final squeak, dies out entirely, and all is quiet but for the hissing of the blowpipes and the muffled pounding of the blow-engines in the engine house across the way.

We'll Shovel For the Rest of the Night

Lunch time. We walk slowly over to the restaurant, shivering as the sweat begins to cool in the night breeze.

Somebody says, "That was a hell of a way to start a double!" In the restaurant it is bright and we relax a bit over our meal. Bad as the food is, and dirty though the restaurant may be, we are grateful for it. It is good to sit there with our coffee.

When we get back, the foreman is waiting for us. There is a coke mess at Number Four stockhouse. We'll shovel there for the rest of the night.

At intervals we look up at the sky. But the dawn is a long time coming. The sky remains black, edged here and there with a rusty glow. The shovels become heavy. Our hands begin to burn. The usual indigestion, caused by the restaurant's inferior food and by our bodies' revolt at sixteen hours of work, rises up in our throats.

There is less and less joking. Pete scrapes his hand on a steel upright, scratching the flesh slightly. He swears, not with slight irritation, but with deep fury. The night wears on.

By morning we are all silent. Silently we trudge back with the shovels. Silently we start back to the locker room. But then, knowing we're finished, conversation starts up again.

Tom says, "Well, I've got to be back here in eight hours." I'm glad I don't have to be. I'm changing shifts, so I get time for a little rest, but I'll be tired too.

Jimmy says, "What's the matter, Pete? Still sore about hitting your hand?"

Pete says, "I was thinking. After they take out the tax, all we get for working a double, including time-and-a-half, is about seven and a half bucks!"

We're still swearing about that as we walk into the locker room. We think about it under the showers, and we're still thinking about it as we walk out the gate. But we know we'll do it again.

10 Years Ago In The Militant APRIL 6, 1935 SACRAMENTO—Eight leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union were found guilty in the frame-up "Criminal Syndicalism" trial instigated by the California bosses. Sentences of from one to fourteen years were imposed by presiding Judge Lemmon, whose anti-labor prejudice has been evident throughout the trial. Under the conviction, six other defendants were released and probation recommended for two of the prisoners. AKRON—The stormy resistance of American workers to miserable wages, unemployment, and rising prices under Roosevelt's NRA (National Recovery Act) broke out in full fury in Akron, where workers of the three major tire companies simultaneously prepared to strike. Despite their lack of experienced leadership, the workers at Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone voted walkouts in defiance of the "compromise" tactics of the national leadership of the AFL. ST. LOUIS—The strike wave swept westward as St. Louis Gas House Workers of Federal Union No. 18799 (AFL) walked out in protest against company provocations. Taking a lesson from the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934, the Gas House Workers immediately issued their own strike bulletin to win the support of other working class organizations. The Automobile Workers and the Filling Station Operators unions as well as two unemployed organizations responded with immediate aid on the picket line.

PROFITEERING FOOD TRUSTS CAUSE FOOD PRICE INFLATION

There are two ways in which price rises take place: legally and illegally (the "black market"). We will first take up the legal increase in the prices of necessities, primarily food, which is the main item in the workers' cost of living.

The government, through the Office of Price Administration (OPA), has followed the general policy of surrendering to the capitalists, whenever the latter demand increased prices.

This is how it works. The price of raw material rises. The food manufacturer has to pay higher prices for farm products. His selling price for the finished article is fixed by law. If he sold the article at the legal price and paid more for the farm products, his profits would suffer.

But the capitalist considers his profit a holy of holies. And this point of view is completely shared by the government. The manufacturer, claiming his profits are being "squeezed," demands and receives from the government permission to charge higher prices to the wholesaler. He passes the

"squeeze" on. In this way, he protects his profits. The wholesaler, too, claims a right to a full measure of profits. If he sold goods to the retailer at the same price as before while paying the manufacturer higher prices, the wholesaler's profit would diminish. The wholesaler asks authorization from the OPA, and gets sanction to charge higher prices to the retailer. The "squeeze" is passed on to the retailer. But the retailer claims that his profits would decrease if he charged the same prices for the product while paying higher prices for it to the wholesaler. Therefore he is granted the right to pass the "squeeze" on to the consumer, in the form of higher prices. The overwhelming majority of the consumers are workers. The worker-consumer cannot pass the "squeeze" on. He cannot secure higher wages because the law fixes his wages as in a vise. Profits are holy, but wages are not. They remain on the same level, while profits skyrocket. Thus, the workers are maintaining the profits of the capitalist class at their present peaks by the lowered standards of living of themselves and their families. (From "Your Standard of Living — What's Happening to It?" by C. Charles, pp. 7-8. Pioneer Publishers, 1943; 32 pp., 5 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. IX—No. 14 Saturday, April 7, 1945

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8847
FARRELL DOBBS, Managing 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: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 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.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.



Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.

— 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.

Freedom From Want

Whether Italy or France—conquered or "liberated"—victor or vanquished—the promise of the Allied leaders that this war would bring "freedom from want" has become a grim mockery. As the result of the war, the people in every country of the world face ever-growing scarcity of food. Whole continents are gripped by hunger and mass starvation.

Even the closest friends and most favored allies among the "United Nations"—Belgium, France, Holland, etc.—beg in vain for food supplies merely to keep their people from dying outright or to prevent them from revolting against the capitalist system which condemns them to destitution and despair.

The utter economic chaos which prevails in all the war-torn countries is rapidly spreading into territories as yet untouched by military warfare. In Europe, for instance, the bulk of the food-producing areas are devastated or lie fallow. Much of the meager existing supplies cannot be distributed because of the breakdown and military diversion of transport.

Insofar as any food gets to the major population centers, it is beyond the reach of hundreds of millions of jobless, homeless and destitute. Currency inflation and the all-pervasive black markets restrict the greater part of available commodities to the rich.

Despite the glowing promises made to the "liberated" peoples, American capitalism cannot and will not save them from continued starvation. It is sheer hypocrisy when Byrnes says "as a Christian, humane people, we gladly do our part to relieve suffering and distress in a war-torn world." In reality the Anglo-American imperialists intend to use food solely as a supplementary weapon in furthering their schemes of world conquest and domination. As events in Greece conclusively demonstrated, the Allied rulers send or withhold food shipments, not in accordance with the needs of humanity, but in order to prop up the most reactionary regimes or to starve into submission the masses rebelling against capitalist rule.

Intolerable misery and want are not to be restricted to Europe and Asia. The capitalist rulers

plan to make the American masses pay for the costs and consequences of this trillion-dollar war through unemployment, wage-slashes, greater price-inflation and profiteering. Instead of bringing "freedom from want," this war is spreading and intensifying want not only in Europe and Asia but in this, the wealthiest of all capitalist countries.

There is but one solution for this greatest crisis in world history. Freedom from want can be achieved. But it can be secured only through the struggle for the abolition of the profit system and the creation of the planned economy of international socialism.

Exposing A Fraud

From the beginning *The Militant* has opposed and exposed the campaign to enact a forced labor law as a strikebreaking, union-busting conspiracy engineered by Big Business and its military and political agents in Washington. Every other pretext advanced by the slave labor advocates has been shot to pieces. In recent weeks their sole remaining argument has been that a slave labor law is needed to "boost the morale" of the men in the armed forces.

But Roosevelt's Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, James F. Byrnes, gave the game away completely, when he reported to Congress that "manpower legislation" was required not only after the military collapse of Germany, but AFTER the end of the war in the Pacific. The sharp reaction in the Senate to this statement has led observers to conclude that the pending "compromise" manpower bill is doomed to defeat.

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon last week disclosed that he had received "pressure" telephone calls from Administration officials expressing "fear," that unless they got a forced labor law for use "after hostilities cease they cannot meet the unemployment problem in this country."

This provides added confirmation to our editorial analysis in the March 31 issue of *The Militant* in which we stated:

"The drive for additional measures of labor repression to be applied AFTER Germany is defeated completely exposes the fraud of 'peace, security and jobs-for-all' in the 'post-war' period. If capitalism could guarantee a decent standard of living for the masses on the basis of 'peacetime' production, it would have no need of strengthening its machinery of repression. On the contrary, it cannot maintain even the present low standard of living but must drive it still lower. This end cannot be accomplished by 'peaceful' or 'voluntary' methods."

Food Profiteers

The food shortages, the devastation and wastage of the necessities of life which are the inescapable consequences of the imperialist war inflict ever greater suffering upon the masses. But these worsening conditions come as a heaven-sent opportunity to the food trusts, speculators, black marketeers and all the other parasites who thrive at the expense of the people.

Food, like every other commodity under capitalism, is produced not to satisfy the needs of the people, but solely for profit. The production and distribution of food in this country is controlled by giant monopolies like the meat packers, milling interests, dairy trusts, packaged food corporations as well as by huge retail grocery monopoly-chains like the A & P.

The mad chaos of these monopolists after profits prevents any rational organization of the war-limited food supply and any approach to an equitable distribution of the scarce commodities.

On the contrary, they seek to exploit shortages by charging exorbitant prices, by black market operations, by withholding supplies to force up prices. In addition, through their governmental agents they extract huge subsidies from the public treasury and when they cannot secure all their voracious demands, they deliberately create further scarcities as a means of blackmail.

Thus P. O. Wilson, executive secretary of the Livestock Producers Association, brazenly declared: "When this nation makes up its mind that it wants meat it can rewrite the rules and regulations so that it will again be possible to produce the amount of meat we need." This is an admission that the people will be permitted to have meat only if the government surrenders unconditionally to the demands of the profiteers.

And this capitalist government, which is so adamant against the wage demands of the workers, hastens to comply with the price-gouging demands of the food profiteers. Just last week, after it had been revealed that the meat packers are making seven times their peace-time profits, an emergency court of appeals in Washington invalidated certain OPA meat price ceilings to permit sharp rises.

Capitalist war merely continues and aggravates the economy of scarcity and hunger for the masses that prevails at all times under the capitalist profit system. Roosevelt himself, who today calls on the American people to "tighten their belts," enforced the planned destruction of commodities such as cotton, corn and hogs during the period of the New Deal depression to bolster prices and profits while millions went ragged and hungry.

In wartime or in peace, the masses are compelled to go without adequate food and clothing to enrich a small gang of capitalist exploiters.

READ

'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Laying It On the Table!



WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of *The Militant*. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Steel Workers Send Congressman Wire

Editor:

Here is a copy of a telegram that 121 Bethlehem Steel workers sent to Democratic Congressman Chet Hollifield, each contributing 10 cents to share the expense of sending it. The originator of this telegram had an idea that only a few workers would be interested in any action of this sort, but after he started passing it around it seemed like everyone wanted to sign.

"We, Bethlehem steel employees, know that the cost of living has gone up to the extent that warrants Congress voting itself its own wage raises. Your demands are no more just than the workers of the districts which you represent. Therefore we believe that you should be restricted to 15 percent above the amount earned on January 1, 1941, which is the Little Steel Formula which you claim is heading off inflation. Employees of Uncle Sam and industry should keep in step with one another either by breaking the Little Steel Formula or by both abiding by it."

Steel Worker
Los Angeles, Calif.

A Real "Mac"

Editor:

One of the fellows in my shop who recently subscribed to *The Militant* was discussing with me the situation in our local union. He described to me in detail the career of the newly elected vice-president of our lodge; how this particular opportunist rose through various offices in the union during the war period; how before the war he had not taken part in the struggles of building the union; how he was a big talker, a bit patriotic, a windy politician; how he skirted around important grievances of the ranks with vague, patriotic talk.

This immediately called to my mind the portrait of Kovalesky's new character "Mac," introduced in *The Militant* of March 3. Since my shopmate had not yet received his first copy of *The Militant* in the mails, I brought him mine and showed him Kovalesky's column. He was so delighted with the description of Mac that he passed the paper around to the other unionists in our department, explaining the analogy with our local "Mac." The *Diary of a Steel Worker* now has several new enthusiastic followers.

B. L.
Burbank, Calif.

Anti-Semitic Poison

Editor:

Why doesn't *The Militant* do something to counteract all this propaganda identifying the Jews with the capitalists?

This in my opinion is a more dangerous poison than even the anti-Negro feeling.

I continually point out to my friends and fellow-workers that 60 families own this country and only 3 percent of them are Jews. But these people have no real understanding of the way the econ-

omic system works. Because they see many stores run by Jews and the movie producers and the clothing industry, without bothering to investigate further, they conclude that the entire Jewish people are Shylocks and money-makers. Thus much of the hatred directed against the capitalists is turned toward the Jewish people.

Jean Martin
Los Angeles

Cost-Plus Contract

Editor:

I would like to relate an incident that happened in my place of work last week. The company works on a cost-plus contract, turning out war equipment. One part of the shop had been working for the last five months on an order for split rings for motors. A report came through that this order, which was then half filled, had been cancelled.

But the company didn't want to stop just because the rings weren't needed! On the very same day of the cancellation a night shift was put on for production of these split rings, and the day shift continued to work on them, piling up a big supply that the government would have to pay for on cost-plus...

Then three days later came a report that the cancellation was rescinded, and the rings would be

needed. But the bosses, knowing they would get paid for them for a long time ahead, didn't care about speed any more. No more night shift!

We all asked each other what the tangle was all about, and it wasn't hard to figure out. This is just one example on a small scale of what is happening on a large scale in other plants. The bosses would continue production not because it is needed—but because the profit motive is their main interest. The bosses are not interested in production or in the welfare of the workers who are hired and fired for three days' work. The workers here and elsewhere are learning this lesson of the class struggle from their own lives.

A. Davis
Brooklyn

IVES-Quinn Bill—A Small Concession

Editor,

Under the pressure of organized labor and minority groups, and especially in an effort to corral the Negro vote in the state of New York, a small concession has been won in the form of the Ives-Quinn Anti-Discrimination Bill.

Here we see the great unrest within the troubled waters of the Negro community being gently oiled. One need not be too brilliant to conclude that this bone falls from a table of conflict.

What does the Ives-Quinn bill propose? And how do they propose to enforce it?

The terms of the bill cover discrimination in jobs, labor unions, employment agencies, and the printing of advertisements for jobs or the use of applications which imply discrimination based on color, creed or nationality. Employers of fewer than six persons are exempted from compliance, as well as social clubs, fraternal, charitable, educational and religious institutions organized on a non-profit basis.

A state commission is to be set up consisting of five members appointed by the governor. This commission will receive complaints of discrimination in employment, investigate and pass upon them. The orders of the commission in such cases are enforceable through court order and if defied are punishable by the maximum fine of \$500, a year in prison or both.

A close examination of the bill discloses that only the industrial field which offers employment to a fair percentage of New York Negroes is covered by the law. The other percentage who constitute the medical, educational and domestic are still left wide open to discrimination because of the wording of the Bill.

It is therefore necessary for us to tell the workers to accept this slight concession. But accept it only as a foothold in the wall which protects the ruling class. It is from here that we must continue to climb until we have completely overwhelmed capitalism.

R. Murdoch
New York

Why Allied Bombs 'Miss' Some Plants in Germany

Amid the slaughter and devastation in the Rhine and Ruhr areas after three years' of merciless bombing, American troops were startled to discover huge war plants virtually unscathed. They are plants in which American and British capital is invested. Writing from Krefeld-Uerdingen, Germany, Chicago Sun correspondent John M. Mechlin reported last week in a delayed dispatch that American soldiers are asking "with ill-concealed sarcasm" how it happens that they found "several giant factories running full blast," including those of the Krupp steel, I. G. Farbenindustrie chemical and Wagonfabrik automobile trusts. All these companies have been associated in cartel deals with American and British monopolies.

"There is a rumor circulating that the reason the Allies did not bomb the Wagonfabrik plant is because six members of the company's board of directors are Englishmen... the rumor is important because the Yanks believe it," says Mechlin.

In the New York daily PM, March 27, Max Lerner reporting on his tour in the Rhineland, stated that "it gave me a jolt to see American industrial plants in Neuss. It also gave me a jolt to find out that the Ford motor plant in the suburbs of Cologne was relatively unharmed." He added that there is "bitter suspicion" among the American troops. "They think that British and American air bombardment deliberately spared factories in which Anglo-American money had been invested."

When asked at a press conference why these particular vital war factories were skipped in bombings for over three years, Gen. Arnold, chief of the U. S. Army Air Forces, first asked, "What reason could there be for missing them?" Informed of the Anglo-American financial connections, he passed off the whole matter laughingly, saying "I could say something about that, but I won't."

One of the greatest scandals after the first imperialist World War was the revelation of the "gentlemen's agreement" between the contending powers not to shell or bomb plants from which capitalists on both sides of the lines were making blood profits. The second imperialist World War—in which the suffering of the masses has been incalculably worse than in 1914-18—also finds the capitalist rulers safeguarding their mutually profitable interests.

War Boosts Profiteering To New Record Heights

Despite all the flag-waving propaganda about the reasons for high prices and wage-freezing, the real explanation can be found in the latest figures on wartime profits.

"Last year (1944) was the most profitable of the war period for industry," reported Bernard T. Frevert, editor of Standard & Poor's Trade Service, last week.

Each year of the war has seen corporate profits reach new all-time record heights. But in 1944, "net income, after taxes, of the 625 companies that have reported to date, aggregated \$1,574 million, or 2.9 per cent over the \$1,529 million of the previous year (1943)," Frevert reports.

An example of the monumental war profiteering is General Motors, the multi-billion dollar trust whose workers were recently denied a general wage raise by the WLB. On March 29, GM's head, Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., reported 1944 net profits of \$170,995,865 as compared with \$149,780,088 in 1943.

Frevert states that despite these profits gains "big business cannot be accused of profiteering." Sure, yes, the capitalists haven't taken the worker's pants yet. Not that they aren't trying!

War Food Administration Blamed For Shortages

Charges that War Mobilization Director Byrnes, Roosevelt's "Assistant President," recently established a food export control committee "inspired by the War Food Administration to cover up its responsibility for the drastic food scarcities which the nation now faces," were made in the April 1 issue of the *United Automobile Worker*, CIO.

The UAW's Consumer Bureau contends that the War Food Administration, "frankly acting to protect the profit interest of U. S. food trades," has been talking about the "danger of a food surplus for a long time." Only last December Food Administrator Marvin Jones "told high officials at the White House that there was no need for rationing."

Jones promoted a policy of "getting rid of food as fast as it was available" without rationing. "Not only have plans not been made to conserve American food supplies against the present shortage, but actually much of the present shortage was planned by the War Food's production plans of two years ago, and the rest of it has resulted from its program, announced last May, to keep commercial and government food shelves down to minimum stocks," states the auto workers' paper.

"It was a deliberate wartime application of the scarcity technique which any good food monopoly uses whenever it can," the statement further charges.

The new food export control committee was set up to "shift attention away from Jones' lack of foresight" by blaming the shortage on the export of food to starving Europe.

"Tip-off is in the praise voiced by Paul Willis, head of the big food manufacturers' combine, when the export limitation committee was announced," says the *United Automobile Worker*. "This step meant to him more profits from selling scarce food supplies to American consumers."

Reactionary Congressmen seized on the issue to divert blame from the administration and food profiteers on to "Europeans who want food from us when we can't have all we want."

The paper concludes: "There will be no congressional investigation by either political party (Democrats and Republicans). Both parties are in on the deal, and the scheme is to keep it hidden by persuading American plain people that they are at war with European plain people for a share of a limited supply of food."