

Churchill Blames His Victims For Greek Slaughter

By Joseph Hansen

Winston Churchill, champion of capitalist counter-revolution for a quarter of a century, is now openly preparing the next great stage of the Second World War—suppression of the advancing European socialist revolution. In a sinister speech before the House of Commons on January 18, Churchill raised the banner of an unholy crusade against a spectre haunting Europe. The spectre Churchill wants to exorcise is "Trotskyism."

This is not the first time that Britain's Prime Minister has stepped forth as the director of reaction's vanguard. When the Soviet Union was born in the October 1917 revolution, Churchill organized the protracted Allied intervention which sought to drown the first workers' state in blood. Only the heroic defense of the Red Army led by Trotsky, combined with the support of the world working class, frustrated Churchill's designs.

Churchill spoke to Commons in another attempt to quell the political crisis his government faces in consequence of public indignation over the slaughter of Greek workers and peasants. He again slandered these heroic fighters as "brigands." He lied that Allied troops invaded Greece solely to bring the blessings of food and democracy. He did not breathe a word about General Scobie's orders that the Greek partisans give up the arms they had used against the German armies and get out of Athens. He lied that the partisans had provoked civil war, although it was British-armed police who fired on an unarmed demonstration against the British-supported puppet government of Papandreu. He was discreetly silent about his order to Scobie to provoke civil war even if he must kill women and children.

1945 RED-BAITING

Then came Churchill's red-baiting—a repetition of his red-baiting tactics against Bolshevism in the First World War. Describing the infiltration into Athens of partisans defending themselves against British-backed counter-revolution, Churchill declared: "For three or four days or more it was a struggle to prevent a hideous massacre in the center of Athens in which all forms of Government would have been swept away and naked, triumphant Trotskyism installed. I think Trotskyism is a better definition of Greek Communism and certain other sects than the normal word. It has the advantage of

being equally hated in Russia." In naming Trotskyism as the foe of world imperialism, Churchill was careful to absolve Stalin of any responsibility for fostering the socialist aspirations of the masses. "Trotskyism... has

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FLINT CIO COUNCIL SCORES ALLIED POLICY IN EUROPE

Taking the lead among American unions in publicly condemning Allied counter-revolutionary policy against the workers in Greece and throughout "liberated" Europe, the Greater Flint (Mich.) Industrial Union Council at its regular meeting on January 6 adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS: To forestall a Democratic Government in Greece and restore the puppet King George, the Churchill Government has slaughtered Greek Soldiers of the Worker's Army (ELAS) that drove the Nazis out of Greece, and

WHEREAS: Allied tanks, planes, munitions and men were used against Greek Workers at the very moment when American Workers were being slandered with blame for an alleged shortage of armaments on the Western Front, and

WHEREAS: Allied forces have been used also against Italian and Belgian workers who protested being ruled after "liberation" by the same native S. L. Avers, Tom Girdlers and Smith-Connallys who oppressed them under the Nazi heel, and

WHEREAS: American workers with our own Quislings and would-be Hitlers and Mussolinis to deal with have common cause with European workers trying to make a reality of their so-called liberation, and

WHEREAS: The right of Nations to determine their own government is a fundamental demand of oppressed peoples everywhere, regardless whether there ever was an Atlantic Charter, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council calls upon the CIO National Office immediately to launch a nation-wide campaign to protest the use of Allied troops against workers of any country who are trying to establish their own democracy. We particularly protest the Churchill-Scobie butchery in Greece. Let the people of Greece, Belgium, Italy, North Africa, etc., choose their own governments and deal in their own way with their native Mayor Hagues, Hoovers, etc. We protest our brothers in the Allied forces—mostly denied the right to vote here at home,—being ordered to shoot European workers who want a voice in their governments, and be it finally

RESOLVED: That copies of this Resolution be sent to the CIO National Office, to the White House, State Department, Winston Churchill, affiliated Local Unions, and the press.

12 Trotskyist Leaders Released After Imprisonment Of 13 Months

Roosevelt Rejects AFL-CIO Demand To Raise Wages

By R. Bell

The labor "statesmen" have just concluded another pilgrimage to the White House where, hat in hand, they pleaded for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. The conventions of the CIO and AFL have repeatedly gone on record to conduct a fight against the wage-freeze. The spectacle of the top leaders of 13 million organized workers crawling to the shrine of "labor's friend" to beg for a handout symbolizes the "fight" which Murray, Green and Company are conducting.

Their abject attitude prompted one reporter to make this cynical comment: "For whatever good it may do, leaders of the CIO and the AFL have made it plain to President Roosevelt this week that the workers in their organizations are clamoring for action on their demand for higher wages to compensate for higher living costs." "Both groups," he added, "left the White House empty-handed..."

After the interview, Green and Murray reported that, "The President seemed to be sympathetic" but told them that he would take no action in advance of a report which the War Labor Board was preparing. "With this reassuring pat on the head the bootlickers gratefully retired. The report, without which Roosevelt declares he will 'take no action,' is one of a whole series of thimble-rigged 'cost-of-living' reports concocted by the WLB to justify the wage-freeze. The battle of statistics is another aspect of the labor faker's 'fight' against the Little Steel formula. It has been going on for years.

While Murray and Green spar with Roosevelt in their sham battle over the wage-freeze the cost of living continues to rise. Frozen wages in the face of a constant rise in the cost of living has reduced real wages and lowered the workers' standard of living. Profits have soared to the highest levels in history. The cost-plus patriots rake in fabulous profits as the costs of the war are loaded on the wage-earners. This is the reality behind Roosevelt's fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" program. In Roosevelt the profit-hogs have a consistent champion who uses his executive powers to fleece the workers for the benefit of the employing class.

VINSON DECREE

Recently, Roosevelt's "economic stabilizer," Fred M. Vinson, issued an order prohibiting the WLB from "deciding any wage issue without prior assurance from OPA that the Board's proposed order will not affect prices." The immediate effect of the order was disclosed when Philip Murray announced that "negotiations with the steel industry to put into effect the WLB's order of last Nov. 23, had just about broken down and that the case would be referred again to the WLB in a few days." The Vinson decree gives the OPA power to veto any decision reached by the War Labor Board. Thus the WLB decision granting the steel workers certain "fringe" demands

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Murray Intervenes To Bolster No-Strike Policy In UAW Poll

By Art Preis

Two sharply opposed forces are locked in bitter struggle as the climax approaches in the CIO United Automobile Workers' referendum battle over the No-Strike Pledge. The militant rank and file, local committeemen and officers, who daily feel the whiplash of corporation provocations, are mobilizing to scrap the no-strike surrender policy. Arrayed against them is the entire top bureaucracy of the UAW and CIO, backed by the corporations, the Roosevelt administration and the Stalinists.

Exploiting the vast resources and prestige of the CIO, the pro-Roosevelt Murray-Hillman machine is now intervening directly in the UAW struggle. So powerful is the rising offensive of the auto workers against the no-strike policy which has placed them at the mercy of the corporations, that the CIO chiefs have been impelled to rush openly to the aid of the hard-pressed UAW leadership.

CIO President Philip Murray proclaimed his policy of open intervention in the UAW referendum in his letter of January 12 to UAW President R. J. Thomas, declaring that "this is directed through you to the membership of the largest union in the world." A full-page reproduction of this letter appears in the January 15 CIO News.

MURRAY'S LIES

Murray resorts almost entirely to the most hypocritical anti-strike propaganda of the corporations and their political agents, who always advance their anti-labor policies behind a "boys in the foxholes" smokescreen. He appeals to the auto workers to reaffirm the "sacred pledge made to the soldiers, sailors and marines." Of course, this "sacred pledge" is the one-sided agreement—originally palmed off as a "three-way commitment between labor, management and government"—handed to Roosevelt after Pearl Harbor by the top labor fakers, who had never even consulted their memberships.

Murray's flag-waving appeal, which reads as though it were plagiarized from an advertisement of the National Association of Manufacturers, is topped off by a truly fantastic claim. He asserts that the "peaceful pattern of labor relations" was responsible for "a year of progress on the home front." He has the

STRIKEBREAKING CREW

But the basic causes of the strike were the company's refusal to settle a mounting volume of grievances and the National War Labor Board's rejection last December 26 of the union's year-old demand for a 7 cents hourly raise. The board had stalled its decision to within a month of the

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Railroaded For Opposition To Roosevelt War Program

First Labor Victims of Smith "Gag" Act to Speak in New York, Minneapolis, Chicago

(By Wire to THE MILITANT)

By Larissa Reed

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 24—After 13 months confinement behind federal prison bars, the 12 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers' Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded under the Smith "Gag" Act were released this morning from Roosevelt's penitentiaries.

The 11 men prisoners arrived here at 11:30 A. M. today from the Sandstone, Minn., Penitentiary and held a joyous reunion with their relatives, comrades and friends who

thronged the Great Northern railway station to welcome and honor them.

They are James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs, Felix Morrow, Carl Skoglund, Oscar Coover, Emil Hansen, Carlos Hudson, Max Goldman and Jake Cooper.

A similar gala welcome home is awaiting Grace Carlson, sole woman among the 18 Trotskyists originally imprisoned, who was released today from the women's prison at Alderson, W. Va. She

is being met at the prison gates by her sister Mrs. Dorothy Shultz, of St. Paul. They are expected to arrive here some time tomorrow.

Deep joy and excitement went through the 70 to 80 men, women and children waiting to meet the train bearing the homecoming prisoners. Photographers were on hand to take pictures of their arrival.

The scene was extremely moving as those so long deprived of their homes and loved-ones stepped off the train. There were

(Continued on page 3)

NATALIA TROTSKY GREETES 12

Warmest revolutionary greetings to our friends upon their release. My deepest wish is for your success in the continued struggle for the better future of mankind.

Natalia Sedov

ROOSEVELT, BRASS HATS SPEED FORCED LABOR

By C. Thomas

Responding to the fervent appeals of the labor haters Roosevelt has renewed his demand for legislation conscripting workers for profit. He dispatched a message to the House Military Affairs Committee urging immediate action on the May-Bailey Bill now before that body. Along with his statement, Roosevelt enclosed a message from the top ranking brass hats, Admiral King and General Marshall.

The Commander-in-Chief and his Chiefs of Staff threw their weight behind the vicious May-Bailey forced labor measure in an effort to head off the growing opposition to labor conscription. Upon receipt of Roosevelt's communication, Chairman May of the Military Affairs Committee, co-author of the May-Bailey bill, abruptly terminated the hearings and announced: "We've discussed this matter long enough. It's now time to act."

However, resistance developed to this attempt to railroad the bill through committee and hearings were reopened for further testimony. The technique worked out by the forced labor advocates was to rush the measure through under cover of an emotional barrage laid down by Roosevelt's "psychological warfare" division.

This barrage reached a frenzied peak in the period following the military reversal in Europe.

(Continued on page 5)

NEW YORK MASS MEETING TO WELCOME MINNEAPOLIS CASE DEFENDANTS

HEAR

James P. Cannon
National Secretary, SWP

Albert Goldman
Attorney for Defendants

Farrell Dobbs
Editor, THE MILITANT

Felix Morrow
Editor, 4th INTERNATIONAL

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Asst. Gen. Secretary The Workmen's Circle

O. K. Fraenkel
American Civil Liberties Union

Benj. F. McLaurin
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters

James T. Farrell
Noted Novelist

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Punitive Measures Against Union Militants

The corporation-dominated War Labor Board has come to the rescue of CIO United Rubber Workers President Sherman Dalrymple in his ruthless bureaucratic drive against the militant ranks of his union.

On January 17, the entire board of employers, "Public" members and union representatives in Washington directed the United States Rubber Company to deduct \$10,582 from the wages of 572 workers who had engaged in a strike last October in Detroit.

This \$10,582 is to pay union fines and reinstatement fees levied by Dalrymple because of the striking workers' refusal to obey his arbitrary back-to-work order. Dalrymple had imposed on each of 800 strikers a \$12.50 fine which had to be paid by a certain date or they would stand automatically expelled.

The 572 militants who refused to pay this fine were expelled from the union. Then Dalrymple, with a "militancy" he never displays in fighting for the union membership against the corporations, demanded that the company take action against the expelled workers under the provisions of the contract maintenance of membership clause.

The company didn't find it expedient to fire so many experienced workers at one clip. It referred the issue to the WLB, which decided that "the urgent need for tire production as well as necessity for reinforcing" the no-strike policy required a different action than dismissing 572 workers. The company against whose provocations the strike was directed will deduct from wages the \$12.50 fines and \$6 union reinstatement fees exacted by Dalrymple.

While the representatives of the employers on the WLB have always voted against maintenance of membership or any other type of union security clause, they were more than happy to oblige in perverting its use to strike a blow at union militants. And even if Dalrymple can't win any gains for the union from the WLB, he secured 100 per cent cooperation from it to strengthen his reactionary hand against the rank and file.

The WLB, which proved helpless for years in enforcing its directives against recalcitrant open-shop employers like Sewell L. Avery, does not lack punitive powers, or the will to employ them, against workers who refuse to accept the dictates and conditions imposed by the employers.

Under the guise of an "impartial" decision directed against "both" the Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. and Local 16 of the CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the WLB's Shipbuilding Commission has granted only "conditional" maintenance of membership and check-off provisions to the local because of "unauthorized strikes."

The WLB placed the union on "probation" for six months, during which time the former contract clauses will apply. At the end of the six months, the WLB Shipbuilding Commission will "reconsider" its decision in the light of the union's "conduct" in the "trial" period. Thus, the WLB is using the threat of withholding union security to force the Local 16 workers "into line."

The WLB decision indicated

why the Federal workers were forced to go on strike. The decision first complains that the "union has almost literally 'scraped the bottom of the barrel' in its demands." The union, you see, is first blamed for asking "too much." But then, it is conceded, "the refusal of the company to grant any union demands, even of those issues where the commission action is known in advance by everyone in the industry, leaves it open to charges of refusal to cooperate with the union in meeting the common problems of the parties."

In short, the company flatly refused to concede anything to the union, even provisions contained in the previous contract and customarily sanctioned by the WLB. This subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel corporation conducted a vicious anti-union policy which provoked repeated work stoppages. The WLB rewards these provocations by further undermining the union's security.

That is a prize example both of the WLB's "impartiality" and its exercise of punitive measures against the workers.

Over a thousand members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 661 engaged in what, to our knowledge, is the first "sit-down" strike in this country since Pearl Harbor. Their two-day action last week at the Ranger Aircraft division of the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Corporation, Farmingdale, Long Island, was directed at "wage decreases" imposed by the company through the method of reclassifications.

The strikers argued that since they could not obtain wage increases without prior approval of the WLB, the company should not be permitted to reduce wages without agreement with the union and WLB.

This sound logic did not prevent the Army from intervening and forcing the end of the "sit-down" by threatening the strikers with the harshest punishment in its power.

In a recent 5 to 4 decision, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld UAW-CIO President R. J. Thomas in his appeal against a conviction under a Texas anti-labor law requiring the licensing of union organizers.

As a test case, Thomas had spoken at a meeting of Houston CIO oil workers and urged non-members to join the union. He was arrested and convicted. Thomas appealed against a \$100 fine and 3 day jail sentence which had previously been upheld by the Texas courts.

The Supreme Court majority based its decision on the particular circumstances in the Thomas case, which they contended violated the free speech provisions of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. At the same time, the Court did not invalidate the "right" of the state governments to pass laws regulating unions and union organizers.

On the contrary, the majority opinion, delivered by Justice Rutledge, said such a "right" could "hardly be doubted," provided more was involved than mere verbal endorsement or solicitation of union members. If, however, a union organizer sought to collect funds or obtain subscriptions, the opinion declared, "he enters a realm where a reasonable registration or identification requirement may be imposed." In such cases "solicitation would be quite different from the solicitation involved here."

That is to say: it's all right to talk favorably about unionism in Texas, but don't try to do any real organizing without a license from the anti-labor government!

Release Of 12 Prisoners Spurs SWP Expansion Fund Drive

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

Inspired by the release of our 12 comrades this week, branches, members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party forwarded the largest sum received in any week since the opening of the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund campaign. This concrete expression of solidarity has boosted the Fund total to 83%. With five weeks left to go we are confident that the quota of \$1,000 for each of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case defendants will be exceeded by a comfortable margin before the March 1 deadline.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Detroit, A. Wood: "The Detroit Branch has paid in full its pledge of 1250 dollars in welcome to our twelve released comrades. Money order follows. We hope to send an additional sum before March 1st."

Buffalo, B. Grey: "Buffalo over quota in fund drive. Money on way."

Chicago, B. Radlow: "Enclosed you will find our check for \$235 which brings our total in the fund drive to \$1100. We'll keep sending it!"

St. Paul, R. Wadsworth: "Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$125, which is the balance of the St. Paul quota of the Twin City Fund. Hope this payment reaches you in time to put it in The Militant and by the time our comrades return from prison."

San Francisco, A. Alexander: "We made it! This check brings our payment on our pledge to 72 1/2% of our total, in time to greet our returning comrades."

Pittsburgh, M. Johnson: "This brings us up to our pledge on the fund—now we'll see how far over we can go."

Milwaukee, H. Burns: "Enclosed is a money order for \$44, another payment on the Milwaukee quota. This brings our total to \$114 according to our figures, an amount already exceeding the \$100 quota set by us. Comrade Crane, the literature director, is deciding on a cartoon from a selection of two or three and will let you know later which we want."

Boston, F. Daniels: "It's fairly safe to say that the next payment will carry us over the top. And that will be by the 22d of this month. I'll wire you next Monday."

Cleveland, M. Baker: "Am enclosing money order for \$87. Comrade Tony Black is sending in \$50 this week. These two payments will complete our quota of \$250 for the Expansion Fund!"

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San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., 4th Fl.

BERKLEY

Sather Gate Book Shop, 2335 Telegraph Ave.; Whitey's corner Bancroft and Telegraph Ave.

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Athletic Sport Center, 908 Washington St.; M. & M. Drugstore, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.

ST. LOUIS

Poster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.



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Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
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Boston	400	427	107
Toledo	300	317	106
Youngstown	300	316	106
Akron	300	300	100
Buffalo	400	400	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Detroit	1250	1250	100
Newark	450	450	100
Pittsburgh	80	80	100
Reading	75	75	100
San Diego	150	150	100
Maritime Club	3000	2960	99
San Francisco	1000	825	83
New York	3000	2348	78
Twin Cities	1000	702	70
Seattle	1500	900	60
Los Angeles	2500	1394	56
Philadelphia	200	111	56
Chicago	2000	1100	55
Bayonne	300	129	43
Members-at-Large, groups and friends	300	320	107
TOTAL		\$14,918	83%



The following letter accompanied a 6-month introductory subscription to The Militant from a worker in Brooklyn, N. Y.:

"Perhaps you would be pleased to know how come this letter. While bringing my wife home from her place of enslavement (work) we were crossing an intersection, being very careful because of the slush, and noticed a paper lying there, dirty, wet and trampled upon. Yet my eye caught a glimpse of its name, The Militant. I went back, picked it up, brought it home and we both had a swell time reading it. Believe it or not, we never heard of this valuable paper. How altogether thankful we both are for it."

"My wife wants to know if you can suggest some books on Trotskyism for her. She holds a position where she can do quite

a bit of good for the cause." (We have referred this subscriber to Pioneer Publishers list of publications on socialism and the labor movement.)

This urgent request was sent us by a worker in Sacramento, Calif.: "Your paper is as useful as the IWW's. Give us something but the hash we got from Gompers. The IWW is growing here like cowtails. We get DeLeon's weekly in the library. Will you give us The Militant?"

A. West, our Toledo agent, reports the following interesting incident: "The four subs enclosed were obtained as a result of several distributions in a housing project after which we called back to sell subs. We found that people remembered seeing the paper before and many were really interested in it. One woman who subscribed said, 'Yes, I found that paper in my doorway one night when I went out to get the milk. I brought it in and sat down to read it. It is a dandy little paper. I was still reading it at midnight when my mother came and shut the light off on me.'"

A letter from Anne Alexander of San Francisco records eight new subscriptions sold at one of her socials: "Our recent social exceeded all expectations. We had counted on about forty people and got instead ninety. All of them are either subscribers or readers of The Militant. Eight new subs came in the night of the party from those present."

In Detroit, Mich. You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 15c. per copy.

NEW YORK SWP LOCAL HOLDS LENIN MEETING

NEW YORK CITY, Jan. 21. — The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party tonight commemorated the 21st anniversary of the death of Lenin, and the 26th anniversary of the assassinations of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, at a public memorial meeting held at the Irving Plaza Hall.

Comrade M. Stein, Acting National Secretary of the SWP, gave the principal address, describing the ideas and revolutionary achievements of Lenin, the great Bolshevik genius of the October 1917 Revolution. Harry Frankel, organizer of the Trotskyist Youth Group, spoke on the anti-imperialist war struggles of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, who organized the revolutionary socialist resistance against their own German imperialists in World War I. The New York Local organizer, Geo. Grant, was chairman of the meeting.

In his address, Comrade Stein told of the world-wide mourning at Lenin's death. "I believe it is safe to say that never was the death of a man mourned so deeply by so many. Not only the multi-millioned mass of the Soviet Union felt orphaned with the death of Lenin, but wherever oppression exists, wherever men are exploited in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, he was mourned by the down-trodden in whose hearts he was imbedded."

The speaker pointed out that Lenin was a "true disciple of Marx and Engels. His masters, the founders of scientific socialism, did not have the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. Lenin was presented with that opportunity. Together with Trotsky, he led the great revolution that wrested power from the capitalists and established the workers' power in a country that stretched over one-sixth of the earth."

Lenin, said the speaker, "was an internationalist through and through. He knew that the October revolution was only the opening round of a life-and-death struggle between the hideous powers of the exploiters and the liberating forces of the exploited world over." The Third International was founded by Lenin as "the general staff of the world revolution."

After Lenin's death, the bureaucratic caste of Stalinism, basing itself upon the weariness of the masses and the isolation of capitalist encirclement, destroyed Lenin's party and instituted a regime of nationalist reaction which led the workers of the world through defeat after defeat, culminating in the betrayal to the imperialists in the Second World War.

But "Lenin's name and Lenin's writings are a constant threat to Stalin's works; if only he could expurgate Lenin's name out of the minds of the workers — he would then feel a lot safer. But

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

this is beyond Stalin's power and this is why even today, 21 years after Lenin's death, Stalin and his cohorts must try desperately to falsify and distort Lenin."

Today, it is only the Trotskyists who maintain Lenin's program. "Lenin showed us the way. He taught us how to build a party that is firm, disciplined, a combat party. He armed us with a program. He taught us his method. And that is why Leninism lives. It lives in the Fourth International."

Comrade Frankel described Liebknecht and Luxemburg as the two revolutionary leaders who best symbolize for the youth of today the fight against imperialist war. He told of the heroic lives of these two great German workingclass leaders which culminated in the struggle of the Spartacist revolution in 1918 and their foul murder at the hands of the Junkers and their "socialist" agents of the Second International. "We shall never forget that monstrous crime of the social-democratic traitors," declared Frankel.

The meeting sent resolutions of greeting to the 12 imprisoned Trotskyist leaders and to Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, the co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution. The meeting adjourned with the singing of the "International."

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Pioneer Notes

Libraries from Southern California to Northern Maine are ordering Joseph Hansen's new pamphlet, "American Workers Need a Labor Party." Its sale promises to equal or surpass the sales of the widely read pamphlets, "The Struggle for Negro Equality" and "Negroes in the Post-War World."

Acclaim for the pamphlet continues to pour in from the branches as it meets with a warm reception in the factories.

Detroit writes: "The Labor Party pamphlet is great. We expect some record sales on it. At our first try one comrade sold 17 at a union meeting. Another comrade dropped in at the

headquarters of a local union with 8 copies. He sold all of them immediately—could have sold more. A good number were sold at a meeting of the Stalinist-controlled Wayne County CIO Council the other night. The comrades themselves think the pamphlet is excellent."

From Los Angeles: "One of our friends had a copy of the Labor Party pamphlet with him in his shop. His fellow workers looked at it and were soon in a dought to see who should read it first. Four of them kept passing it back and forth to each other. Now that the supplementary order of two hundred copies has come in we will see to it that each one of them is able to get their own copy. This is an ideal pamphlet to sell at the gates of factories and we hope to be able to start this soon along with Militant distributions."

Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 15c. per copy.



Now on Sale Fourth International

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Speed-Up Hits Rubber Workers

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, Jan. 15—The rubber industry this month launched a 120-day non-stop speed-up drive to increase the production of military tires. Sponsored jointly by the corporations and the government, the 4-month drive has been endorsed by the officials of the United Rubber Workers of America, CIO.

The program has been sent off with a cannonade of propaganda in the press, designed to convince the tire builders that there must be a truce in the class struggle in the plants, and that uninterrupted production and extra effort are needed.

Sixteen rubber companies, including the Big Four, Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich and U. S. Rubber, have pledged, "Business as usual is out!" They also have faithfully promised that "there can be no changes in hours, wages and working conditions EXCEPT (the emphasis is ours) in the interest of greater production."

This pledge is a 100% fraud. With the 120-day campaign hardly under way, the corporations have intensified their wage-slashing drive by cutting standards for piece work.

When the unions protest this violation of the 120-day agreement, the bosses reply: "But this is in the interest of greater production."

To what extent "business as usual" has been suspended was made very clear in an article written on January 8 by Drew Pearson which made a sensation in Akron. He revealed that for the next 120 days, precisely during the period of the so-called drive, War Mobilization Director Byrnes has extended high premium prices on passenger tires, \$1.30 per tire over the OPA price.

"Believe it or not," Pearson wrote, "the motorist will continue to pay an extra \$1.30 despite the fact that profits of the tire industry for the first six months of last year, before taxes, were 784 per cent of the average profit for 1936-1939. Byrnes however, yielded to army friends close to the tire industry and o.k.'d the continued price boost."

The profits of the Big Four of the tire industry for the first six months of 1944 was \$149,262,970, or 828 percent better than the 1936-1939 average.

It was no secret in Washington, Pearson intimated, that army big shots put the pressure on for their rubber industry friends, to see to it that profits-as-usual were continued for another 120 days.

Thus, as far as the corporations are concerned, the drive promises to be a huge success. The sky's the limit for these slave-driving profiteers.

Sherman H. Dalrymple, President of the URWA, has signed the union's part of the 120-day agreement, which states that union members must "adhere and comply with our pledge to refrain from work stoppages during this war emergency regardless of the provocation."

To guarantee that no matter what the provocation, no worker will dare to strike, the army has sent several hundred soldiers into

Condemn Dalrymple

AKRON, Jan. 15 — Goodrich Local No. 5 URWA-CIO last week adopted a strong resolution condemning URWA President Sherman Dalrymple for his dictatorial action in fining 500 union members of Local No. 101, U.S. Rubber, Detroit, for participating in a walk-out.

Branding the wholesale fines as "a repetition of his action in the firing of 62 handbuilders at General Tire and Rubber Local 9" the Goodrich local adopted the resolution at a general membership meeting almost unanimously. There was one pro-Dalrymple vote. That was the vote of a well-known Stalinist stooge, Keller Snyder, newly elected to the executive board.

The 500 workers at U. S. Rubber, who have refused to pay their fines without first getting a fair trial, have been threatened with expulsion from the union, and consequently with being fired by the company.

the plants to work during the 120-day campaign. These soldiers, no doubt handpicked, have been sent into the plant as a military assignment. They have not been released from the army or its discipline. They have on the contrary been given to understand that they are being held strictly accountable for their conduct in the plants.

At recent union meetings in Akron union members report that the soldiers have told them they are under instructions not to join the CIO, and to put on their "MP" arm bands in case of any threatened walkout, and to maintain "order."

Workers understand the purpose of sending these soldiers into the plants and are treating them with kid gloves. If they remain in the plants long enough, and if the workers explain patiently to them, many of these soldiers will come out sympathetic to the unions.

But their presence in the plant as a company-sponsored attempt to intimidate workers is a threat against the union.

That they were not sent in to build tires as their primary duty is made obvious by the fact that soldiers are being sent into various departments and even into production of civilian goods. The plan is to spread them throughout the plant to act as a brake on the workers while the company pushes its ruthless wage-cutting and speed-up drive.

Released Trotskyist Prisoners



The Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners released this week photographed in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party just before their imprisonment on December 31, 1943. Standing (left to right) Farrell Dobbs, Harry DeBoer, Ed Palmquist, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper. Sitting (left to right): Max Goldman, Felix Morrow, Albert Goldman, James P. Cannon, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund and Grace Carlson. Harry DeBoer, Ed Palmquist and Clarence Hamel were among the six released last October. Carlos Hudson, one of the twelve released this week, was ill at the time and does not appear in the picture.

12 Trotskyist Leaders Released After 13 Months Imprisonment

(Continued from page 1)

laughter and tears, embraces and kissing, hard, sincere hand-claps.

All the released prisoners showed in their eyes and their pale skins the effects of their incarceration for defending the interests of the working class and upholding the principles of revolutionary socialism. They wore the usual drab, poorly-fitting suits and heavy shoes that the government issues to those released from its prisons.

But elation over their freedom and eagerness for renewed struggle predominated in the expressions and words of the Trotskyist leaders. Their first thoughts were to address themselves to their party comrades and the workers everywhere, expressing firm convictions in the program of Trotskyism and in

the future of their revolutionary party, the Socialist Workers Party.

DEFENDANTS' STATEMENTS

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, stated: "We are glad to be out. The work of the party in our absence shows that our party is based on ideas and cannot be halted in its work by the imprisonment of a few individuals. This makes our whole experience well worth a year in prison."

Vincent R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the SWP and great fighting leader of the Northwest Teamsters movement, declared: "We went to prison as the result of a frameup against the labor movement. We entered prison with the unchangeable idea that the party not only would carry out our great work for our broad socialist aims, but that the labor movement would also respond to the call of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which defended us so well and would make a counter-attack on reaction stemming from high places and carry on its great work."

Albert Goldman, one of the prisoners and brilliant defense attorney in the famous Minneapolis trial, stated: "We are elated at the support the labor movement has given us and the cause we represent. We are now out and ready to continue the struggle in the same manner that we conducted it before we were sent to prison. With a party strengthened during our absence, we shall continue to educate and organize the workers."

Farrell Dobbs, Editor of The Militant, said: "It is an understatement to say I am happy to be back. We all have learned a great deal while we were away which will be put to good service for the party."

Felix Morrow, Editor of Fourth International, stated: "We know we are coming back to a growing party and to ever-growing opportunities for bringing our socialist message to great masses. Despite 13 months behind prison walls, we have been able to follow the life of the labor movement and the party. We know that despite all reactionary prejudices, the labor movement has a great capacity to fight. It is the party's duty and the party's glory to play an increasingly important role in that task."

Oscar Coover, Minneapolis SWP organizer, stated: "I am glad to be back among our comrades and we are ready to take our places in the ranks again and carry on the fight."

GO TO HEADQUARTERS

From the railway station, the returned comrades were escorted to the Minneapolis party headquarters, fine new headquarters secured during their absence and which they had not seen before.

There, amid mounting excitement and happiness, they are being treated to their first real home-cooked "spread" since entering prison 13 months ago. The menu included roast beef—a treat that lighted up the faces of the ex-prisoners.

Comrades Goldman and Morrow proceeded east after a brief stopover at the Minneapolis station to receive the hearty greetings of their Twin Cities well-wishers. Comrades Cannon and Dobbs will return to New York City after a day or two stay here.

These four will be the principal speakers at the Welcome Home Mass Meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee to be held next week in New York City. This meeting in honor of the 12 will be addressed also by a number of prominent labor and civil liberties leaders. It will be held Friday, February 2, 8:15 P.M., at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street.

MASS MEETINGS

The other 8 released Trotskyists will be guests of honor at a public Homecoming Banquet in Minneapolis, to be held Sunday, January 28, 6:30 P.M., at the Labor Lyceum, 1800 Olson Memorial Boulevard. On his way to New York, Comrade Goldman will stop over at Chicago, his home town, where he will address a mass meeting in honor of the 12 on Thursday, January 25, 8 P.M., at the Ashland Auditorium, Ashland Boulevard and Van Buren Street.

The Minneapolis Labor Case constitutes the outstanding violation of civil liberties and workers democratic rights in the Second World War. The trial and conviction of the 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the famous Northwest drivers movement occurred in the summer and fall of 1941.

BACKGROUND OF CASE

This blow against the rights of labor and the revolutionary socialists was delivered by the Roosevelt administration as a major preparatory step for shackling the militant labor movement and harnessing it to Wall Street's war program. As leaders of the powerful Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and uncompromising fighters against capitalist war, the Trotskyists were regarded by Big Business and its government as the most serious obstacle within the labor movement to Wall Street's anti-labor and imperialist designs.

The occasion for this frame-up was provided by AFL Teamsters Czar, Daniel J. Tobin, one of Roosevelt's most loyal labor lackeys. For years, Tobin, had been at odds with the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544, whose militant struggles had inspired a tremendous resurgence of the entire Northwest labor movement. In June 1941, Tobin proposed to remove the Local 544 elected leaders. The membership responded by overwhelmingly voting

to disaffiliate with Tobin's union and join the CIO.

Tobin promptly appealed for aid from the White House. Roosevelt as promptly seized on the long-awaited opportunity and ordered the Department of Justice to take "appropriate" action. FBI raids on the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis and St. Paul followed, and in October, 28 SWP and Local 544-CIO leaders were brought to trial under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act. After a historic trial, in which the defendants uncompromisingly defended their Marxist convictions, 18 were sentenced to prison on December 8, 1941, the day of the United States declaration of war.

The Civil Rights Defense Committee launched a nation-wide campaign to reverse the convictions. Labor and civil liberties organizations and leaders assailed the trial and convictions as a blow at the rights of free speech and press guaranteed in the Bill of Rights of the U. S. Constitution.

LABOR SUPPORT

In the course of the defense campaign over 500 labor organizations, representing more than 4,500,000 workers, have come to the support of the 18. Despite this tremendous volume of protest, the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused even to hear an appeal. On December 31, 1943, the 18 were sent to prison. In October 1944, President Roosevelt through his pardons board brushed aside the appeal of millions and refused even to consider a pardon for the 18. Six of the 18 were released last October on termination of their shorter sentences.

Although released, the 18 victims of capitalist class justice are now deprived of their civil rights. The infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they were imprisoned still stands on the statute books as a continuing threat to the entire labor movement. Organized labor will have to fight harder than ever for repeal of this "dangerous thoughts" law.

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How Stalinism Rules Bulgaria

By Paul Abbott

After a six-weeks visit to Bulgaria, Joseph M. Levy has published a series of articles in the N. Y. Times depicting conditions there under Stalinist domination. Living conditions have worsened. Levy says this is particularly true of the Jews who were singled out for persecution under Nazi occupation. "They are homeless, shoeless and starving. They are existing, not living, under the most unsanitary conditions, three and four families sharing a dingy little room which is unheated and without windowpanes. . . The children's bitter cries for food and agonizing moans of the sick are still ringing in the writer's ears. Despite innumerable appeals for help, no relief from abroad has been forthcoming."

Such conditions, of course, are concomitant with war. Hope for alleviation rests with organization of a planned economy. However, Stalin promised Churchill and Roosevelt not to overthrow capitalism in Bulgaria. Levy quotes a member of the Armistice Commission who reveals that Molotov outlined Moscow's policy as follows:

"To strengthen the position of Bulgaria the conduct of your Young Communists, assisted by our Young Communists, must cease once and for all. This conduct is certainly not the work of the leaders of your party or ours, but the work of youth. Bulgaria will remain a democratic country and we will not interfere in her internal affairs."

"If certain Communists continue their present conduct, we will bring them to reason. Bulgaria will remain with her democratic Government and her present order and will govern herself in the manner that she may decide . . . Do not be too optimistic. Bulgaria must bear certain burdens. We are not alone. We have Allies who insist that Bulgaria assume certain responsibilities—principally under the influence of your neighbors."

PARTISAN YOUTH

Molotov thus promises that Stalinism will do its best to maintain capitalism in Bulgaria despite the wishes of the people. His references to the "work of youth" are made clear by the following extract from Levy's report: "Tens of thousands of youngsters, most of whom were formerly Partisans, have received tommy guns, rifles or revolvers and been put in charge of policing the country. Because of the harsh, brutal methods used against them and their families during the last three years, these youths are embittered and filled with a strong desire for vengeance."

Levy explains that "During the period of the Nazi regime. . . there were from 12,000 to 15,000 Partisans roaming the Bulgarian mountains, resisting the local police and military authorities, and occasionally staging acts of sabotage to German supply dumps. . . The most barbaric and inhuman methods were employed against the Partisans. Not only were they killed and their bodies left lying naked in village or town squares—to intimidate the population—but all their relatives, including women and children, also were executed by firing squads, burned alive or hanged to the nearest telegraph pole."

Levy declares that the Bulgarian people "are hoping for early Allied action to establish a democratic regime." The masses of Bulgaria, however, have already shown what they want. When the Red Army entered their land, they held great welcoming demonstrations, raising the Red flag and saluting with the clenched fist. The Bulgarian ruling class, observed a capitalist correspondent, "were alarmed at the prospect of Communism. At one time it looked as if it were only a question of a few hours before the Communists took over."

The insurrection nevertheless was halted in its stride by the hastily formed puppet government which, with the backing of the Stalin clique in Moscow and aided by the top Bulgarian Stalinist leaders, proceeded to disarm the masses and order them about as its reactionary predecessors had done. The Army of occupation intervened when the movement of the masses threatened to topple the capitalist regime.

The Stalinists set up a class collaborationist "Fatherland Front" whose representatives take part in the government side by side with former reactionaries. "A virtual reign of terror prevails in Bulgaria," declares Levy; "in which ordinary civil rights are almost non-existent. Such elementary democratic principles as free speech and free press criticism are taboo."

STALINIST REGIME

Levy describes how the Stalinists control the regime: "In Bulgaria today one finds a government within a government. One is visible, the other invisible. To all appearances, and especially for foreign consumption, Bulgaria is ruled by a coalition government in which Agrarians, the Zveno, Socialists and Communists are equally represented. In fact,

members of the present Bulgarian Cabinet represent the Fatherland Front, an organization composed of these four of the most important political parties in Bulgaria. This is the visible government."

"The invisible government, and the one that exercises real power in the country is Miss Tsola Dragoytchova, executive secretary of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front in Sofia." This woman, of course, is an old Stalinist. She has the militia at her disposal.

The capitalist journalist Levy, of course, has his own axe to grind. He is interested in whitewashing Anglo-American imperialism by painting up the horrors of Stalinist rule. Actually Anglo-American imperialism has shown how little concerned it is in establishing democracy by its actions in Greece, Italy and Belgium where it has used armed force to thwart the democratic aspirations of the people.

Whether Stalin will succeed in maintaining capitalism in Bulgaria and in suppressing the struggle for Socialism remains to be seen. The facts prove, however, that he is doing his utmost to carry out the counter-revolutionary objectives outlined by the Allies in their Teheran conspiracy. Whatever differences the imperialists and their agents may have with one another, they are united in one objective: at all costs to prevent the extension of the October Revolution of 1917 in Europe of 1945.



WINFRED LYNN

Lynn Case Appeal Rejected Again By Supreme Court

The Supreme Court has for the second time refused to take action in the Lynn case, reports the Lynn Committee for the Abolition of Segregation in the Armed Forces. This case has been nationally recognized as a test case involving violations of the Selective Service Act by Jim Crow methods of selection by racial quotas.

On May 29, 1944 the Supreme Court ruled that it could not review the case on the pretext that Winfred Lynn, who had instituted suit for release from the army at the time of his induction, was no longer in the custody of his first commandant at Camp Upton, N. Y. He is now a corporal serving in the South Pacific.

The Lynn Committee, with the assistance of Arthur Garfield Hays, noted civil liberties attorney, appealed the first refusal to review. It is this appeal which has just been rejected.

The legal basis for the suit is the wording of the Selective Service Act, which states that "in the selection and training of men under this act . . . there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color." Lynn was inducted to fill a "Negro quota" in Queens, New York, June, 1942.

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Stalinist Fink Clause In ILWU Contract

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17.—On December 5, 1944, the Stalinist leadership of Local 6, warehousemen's section of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, CIO, signed a new three-year master contract with the San Francisco Distributors Association, affecting over 12,000 workers. This contract, widely advertised as another step toward "unity," contains no wage increase for the great majority of the workers. Instead, it features Bridges' notorious permanent no-strike pledge and an even more infamous "strikebreaker clause."

The ILWU *Dispatcher*, as is usual with every Bridges action, hailed the event as a "great step forward in industrial relations—a challenge to all sections of American labor and capital who are giving serious thought to the Post-War World." This sentiment was promptly echoed by the *Peoples World*, West Coast Stalinist sheet, which headlined its article on the contract "A Model for Post-War Industrial Peace."

Rank and file warehousemen have not responded to these exalted proclamations, however. What they wanted and did not receive was a 15c per hour raise asked for in the negotiations. The wage increase was sold down the river for this "Post-War Unity." According to Richard Lynden, president of Local 6, the union had requested a general wage increase of 15c per hour, but in the interests of settlement had agreed to forego a general increase at this time.

Rank and file longshoremen too, have begun to wonder if their new contract, now up for negotiation with the same demand for a 15c increase, will not follow the same course.

The only concessions gained by the union were a 5c increase only for those women making 70c per hour, vacation pay to be based on a 48 instead of a 40 hour week, and a 5 day sick leave clause. Even the 5c increase, granted only for the lowest scale of pay for women, has not been O.K'd but is subject to approval by the WLB.

STRIKE-BREAKER CLAUSE

For these piddling concessions, the union signed a three year no-strike pledge binding the union not to strike either during the war or after. But even this was not enough for the Stalinist sellout artists. Something new has been added — a STRIKE-BREAKER CLAUSE.

The clause binds the union to an agreement "that it will not support strikes and picket lines by unions not party to this agreement unless such union's right to organize peacefully has been interfered with by the employers, or unless it has been denied the peaceful means of its dispute." In other words, the Stalinist-Bridges clique has gone so far as to refuse aid to a brother union UNLESS that union has gone through every phase of mediation, conciliation and arbitration demanded by the Stalinists.

This finky stand has been followed in both words and action. The daily press of December 5 carried the statement of President Richard Lynden that "the union will not support strikes of other unions which are called solely for

Rankin Speaks on Negro Slavery

In keeping with the reactionary character of the new Congress, Democratic Congressman Rankin of Mississippi, greeted it with one of his typical tirades against labor and the Negro people. As usual, this Southern Bourbon interspersed his fascist-like rantings with a pious expression of his "good-will" toward Negroes.

He boasted that once he had even condescended to shake hands with an old man who had been one of his grandfather's slaves. "My people were slave owners," he bragged, "but they didn't enslave the Negro, they lifted him from savagery."

This is like the lynch gang who cynically sneered when they murdered a Negro, that they didn't hang him, they "just lifted him up from earth to heaven."

economic gains or which are not considered valid strikes." The Stalinist-Bridges leadership has thus discarded labor's most precious weapon — labor solidarity. It was only upon such solidarity that the ILWU was able to survive.

The 1934 San Francisco general strike, the tenth anniversary of which Bridges so loudly eulogized a few months ago, threw the whole power of the labor movement behind the fight of the ILWU to organize and win a living wage. Now Bridges cynically throws overboard this weapon to which the ILWU owes its very existence.

That the Stalinist-Bridges clique mean to follow this path of betrayal has been demonstrated by the Montgomery-Ward strike. Though Montgomery-Ward has flagrantly defied the demand of the workers for a well-earned wage increase, though Montgomery-Ward has defied the union, government and WLB (giving even the Stalinists no legal loophole to slip through); though every other CIO union has come out in support of the workers, Bridges has bluntly ordered the ILWU warehousemen working for Montgomery-Ward to stay on the job and handle "hot goods" from the strike-bound plants. Bridges is determined to carry out his strikebreaking agreements with the bosses to the letter.

Thinking workers can only draw the following conclusion. The Stalinist-Bridges clique will stop at nothing in their unconditional surrender to the bosses.

Of Course, THEY Like It!



Reprinted from "LABOR"

Murray Seeks To Avert Auto No-Strike Defeat

(Continued from page 1)

culated by members of Chicago's huge Chrysler-Dodge Local 274.

Summing up the "balance sheet" of the no-strike policy, the leaflet shows: "LABOR SACRIFICED: The right to strike, that is, the right to its most powerful weapon in the fight against the big monopolists who are ALWAYS working to lower our living standards and crush our organizations. The right to fight for higher wages—because wages were frozen. The right to look for or get another job or a better job — because jobs were frozen and we could move from place to place ONLY by the permission of the employer. The right to have our wages go up as the cost-of-living went up — because our wages were frozen by the 15 per cent 'Little Steel Formula' while

the cost-of-living has gone up since January, 1941, by more than 45 per cent, according to the figures of our own International President R. J. Thomas. The right to collective bargaining — because all demands and grievances went to the War Labor Board, which denies our demands and ignores our grievances, or else buries them in its vaults for months and years.

"LABOR GAINED: Nothing!" What is the no-strike "balance sheet" for the employers? "INDUSTRY SACRIFICED: Nothing! Nothing except their comical pledge not to lock out labor at a time when a lock-out meant suicide for them. INDUSTRY GAINED: Land bought for them at government expense. Factories erected on this land at government expense. Machinery placed in these factories at government expense. Raw materials guaranteed to them by a hundred government agencies. An ample supply of labor guaranteed to them by the government, with jobs frozen and wages frozen and strikes frozen and grievances frozen.

"Juicy cost-plus contracts, with profits guaranteed by the government. A War Labor Board, set up by the government, which looks carefully and tenderly after their interests. The highest salaries in history for corporation executives, with NO '\$25,000 limitation' as was promised. The corporations moan and weep about the 'high taxes.' What are the facts? Let us quote just two simple ones from the statement by CIO President Philip Murray, and remember them well: 'Corporate profits for 1944, AFTER TAXES, increased 198 per cent over the 1936-1939 peacetime era. Corporate profits for the same year, before taxes, show an increase over the peacetime era of 449 per cent.'"

"BOYS IN THE FOXHOLES" Indignantly, the Dodge workers ask, "What about the boys in the foxholes? Who shouts the loudest about this? The corporations, their spokesmen and tools, their paid editors and scribblers. Their nerve is almost as colossal as the profits they are making. They want to teach US patriotism! They are the same people who would not convert to war production, who would not produce a single airplane, tank, cannon, rifle or bullet, for the 'boys in the foxholes' until the government guaranteed them their heavy blood-profits. "Who are the 'boys in the foxholes'? They are OUR sons, brothers, Our sweethearts or husbands. Our fathers. We are a million times more concerned with them than the ice-hearted corporations who squeeze a brutal profit out of everything they use. We are so concerned with them that: We do not want them to come back to open shop conditions . . . to low-paid jobs and back-breaking hours . . . to smashed or paralyzed neurons. When we fight to make our union strong and effective, we are also fighting for THEM!"

That is the fighting auto workers answer to the spread-eagle and corporation-inspired anti-strike propaganda of the Murrys.

These demands were made on the pretext of increasing efficiency. Gregory Harrison, attorney for the employers charged that "since 1934 efficiency of Longshore work on this coast has steadily pursued a downward course . . . and we are convinced that we have the poorest efficiency record in the world." The facts prove otherwise. Bridges, in his "everything for the war effort" policy has voluntarily introduced speedup measures. Bridges has lost contact with the ranks of the union. He is more at home with the union-baiting shipowners, Foisie and Lapham, than with the working longshoremen who are beginning to ask embarrassing questions. He is more and more becoming the open and cynical agent of the bosses. His days of militant action have long since disappeared.

Auto Militants Rally to Fight No-Strike Pledge

By Jerry Kirk

DETROIT, Jan. 20. — The UAW Rank and File Committee here is steadily stepping up its campaign to win a majority for scrapping the no-strike pledge in the CIO United Automobile Workers' national referendum.

Discussion over the referendum on the no-strike policy is reaching new heights in this heart of the militant auto workers union. Voting is under way as ballots have been mailed starting January 4, to all UAW members, including some 400,000 in the armed forces.

The climax of the referendum campaign to rescind the pledge will be reached this week-end when the powerful Briggs Local 212 presents a half-hour radio program to urge the auto workers to vote down the no-strike policy. A number of union locals are implementing the campaign of the Rank and File Committee with leaflets and other literature issued by the locals themselves.

In addition to its scheduled radio broadcast, officers and members of Local 212 have issued an excellent leaflet entitled, "Revoke the No-Strike Pledge," which draws the balance sheet of the blows against labor since the pledge was first made by the top union leaders on the false promises of Roosevelt to institute "equality of sacrifice." This leaflet has been widely circulated throughout the Detroit east side and has met a heartening response from the auto workers.

The Rank and File Committee has mailed out thousands of copies of its program, described previously in *The Militant*, to local officers, committeemen and active militants throughout Detroit and Michigan. All reports indicate that this program is making strong headway. The Rank and File Committee is becoming recognized as the only group willing and able to lead the struggle for progressive policies in the UAW.

Confronting the auto militants is a united front of reaction, with the three boss-controlled dailies here shrieking editorially against the rank and file. The corporation daily press published large ads furnished by the Stalinist-led Committee to Retain the No-Strike Pledge, which appears lush with funds that the auto workers themselves certainly have not provided.

The stronghold of this anti-strike committee is the official-dom of the Stalinist-dominated Ford Local 600. However, Rank and File leaders predict that the Local 600 ranks will turn out a huge vote against the no-strike pledge.

Roosevelt Breaks Cleveland Strike By "Seizure"

(Continued from page 1)

termination of the contract on January 31.

Last October 7, the local had voted for a strike and established a deadline for October 22. The WLB then agreed to consider the union's wage appeal and the strike committee of 100 declared the walkout "postponed."

A slanderous strikebreaking barrage from the capitalist press, corporations, city and state officials and leading clergymen erupted against the strikers, even before the issues of the strike became known. The demand went up from all reactionary quarters for drafting deferred strikers immediately into the army. After the strike was broken, Governor Lausche continued to demand such draft reprisals.

At the very outbreak of the strike, the War Labor Board issued a back-to-work ultimatum. There were no repeated "last warnings" as in the case of the powerful employer Avery. Roosevelt's "seizure" order came in direct response to a personal appeal from the power company officials.

Joining the reactionary pack howling for punishment of the striking workers, the Stalinist leadership of the Cleveland CIO issued a vicious strike-breaking public statement. CIO President Philip Murray intervened, threatening an "investigation" of those "responsible" for the strike.

The government promptly initiated a campaign of reprisal by reclassifying the alleged leader of the strike, Victor Stemberger, to 1 A. Stemberger was the union steward who had refused to accept the company order to be shifted where he could not fulfill his union duties.



By V. Grey

"I don't care what you say," Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) was protesting, "You've got to have executives."

"Why of course you have," said Pop soothingly, "of course you have."

"Well that screwball Slim says things can run by themselves."

"Nope, 'tain't so," Pop replied, not making it clear whether he meant it wasn't so that things could run by themselves, or it wasn't so that Slim had said they could run by themselves.

Anyway, feeling thus encouraged, Scissorbill Sam got under way. "And even if you had your own executives—Slim was talking about a bunch of two bit bookkeepers—huh!—even so, they'd have to have someone over them, wouldn't they? Even Eugene Grace has someone over him, hasn't he?"

"Who?" said Shorty.

"The stockholders!" was the triumphant reply.

"Oh, the thirty-eight million dollar a year boys. Grace is in on that gang as well as being president of the corporation. So he must take orders from himself."

"That's only accidental."

"Pretty happy accident," Pop chuckled.

"I mean incidental," snapped Scissorbill.

"Now don't get excited. What's your point?"

"The point is that these engineers or bookkeepers or whatever they are, won't have anyone to make them toe the line. Who's going to call them to order, who's going to fire them?"

WHO'LL DO ALL THE FIRING?

"Well for that matter, who's going to fire us under that kind of a set-up? Things'd come to a pretty pass," said Pop "if there was nobody to fire us."

"Yes, for that matter, when you come right down to it," said Scissorbill, looking all around with a challenging look, "who is going to?"

Then he calmed down and was very patient with the fellows. "What you guys don't understand is that even these big executives, even Eugene Grace himself, has to make out reports for the stockholders. And if they don't manage the business to show a profit, the stockholders give them the air."

"That doesn't sound too bad," said Shorty. "At least it's systematic, if it really works that way. But what I'd like to know is this—if it really is the executives that make the business show a profit, and if the stockholders really do fire them if they fail, how come the stockholders get thirty eight million dollars a year just for firing people? Why Crapapple Jennings, over to the main gate, does all the hiring and firing for this whole plant, and he makes hardly any more than I do."

"It's their plant, don't you understand?" shouted Scissorbill. "They own it—that's why they get so much. . . You'd get it too," he said grudgingly, "if you owned it."

"Yeah, I'll buy you a drink when I own it. But that isn't the point. You were tryin' to tell us why you have to have the owners. Sure they are the owners right now. But suppose all of us here, including Scissorbill and all the other working people, was to be the owners. — Suppose we were just as extravagant as the present incumbents and paid our stooges a half a million or so a year just like they're doin' now—we'd still save the thirty eight million profits, which isn't peanuts. But according to Scissorbill, we wouldn't have sense enough to fire these half a million dollar babies if they acted up."

"I didn't say that. But who would you have over them to do the firing? A couple thousand jerks like you couldn't just walk up in a body and do it."

"If a couple thousand jerks like me walked up to Eugene Grace in a body, it'd be lots of fun!" mused Shorty. "Here comes Slim, Hey, Slim, if you get this here Socialism, who's going to make these organizers of industry, the bookkeepers and all that, toe the line? Scissorbill was tellin' us they wouldn't have anybody to prod them."

"You mean there wouldn't be anyone over them with a whip, like the foreman over us?"

HOW WE'LL MANAGE SOCIALIZED INDUSTRY

"Yeah, I was just coming to that. I was figuring we could save a lot of money just to give some guy three or four thousand bucks a year and give him a bull whip. And the only thing he'd ever have to do would be crack somebody with it when they got out of line. That would save us thirty seven million, nine hundred ninety six thousand dollars. Right?"

"Right," said Slim solemnly. "But I'm afraid we'd have to spend a little more of our thirty eight million than that. In the first place there'd be hell of a lot more than thirty eight million anyway, but say there was only that much more produced than the wages we're getting right now, we couldn't add all of that onto our wages. We'd have to spend a little making this place a little more decent to work in. We'd get the new wheel on that number two crane right away, for instance, instead of waiting for the insurance company to make us do it, after somebody got killed."

"As for the guy with the whip. Well, that's getting by pretty cheap for us. But it's too much like Capitalism for my taste. We want to produce more than we do today. We've got to have a more efficient system that won't break down in depressions and bust out into wars. You can't bring that about with a whip."

"You mean the capitalists will let us walk in like cows going to clover?" queried Shorty.

"Oh that's something else again. I'm talking about how we're going to work things—how we're going to make production go."

"We could elect an industrial commission, sort of inspectors on a nation-wide scale. Only instead of holding a rule or a pair of mikes on the margin of a piece of sheet metal, they would have to measure up the total production of the whole country. If the steel plants weren't up to specifications with the auto plants, the guys who were organizing the output of steel would be told about it."

"There you are," said Scissorbill. "These super-inspectors of yours would eat up your thirty eight million. You'd have to give them a damned high wage."

"I don't know about that—" Slim started to reply.

"Now don't tell me they'd work for the kind of money you do."

"Well, the capitalists get their Congressmen to work for ten thousand a year. Thirty eight million dollars would buy thirty eight hundred Congressmen for a year. It ought to buy the services of three or four production experts for the steel industry. If it doesn't, we'll train our own experts—send them to a college for expert planners on the understanding that they'd have to work for a measly ten thousand a year when they come out."

Longshoremen Given Wage Run-Around As Bridges Hobnobs With Shipowners

By Robert Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17.—Rank and file longshoremen of Local 10, International Longshoremen's Union, CIO are restless these days. After three years of waiting, a wage raise seems as far away as ever. Recent hearings before a special WLB panel have not brought it any closer. Meanwhile conditions on the job, won in the great strikes of 1934-1937, are being given up without a struggle.

Longshoremen have not received a wage increase since 1941. Polite requests by the Stalinist-Bridges leadership for a 15c per hour increase, made in 1942 and 1943, were summarily rejected by the bosses. Finally on August 7, 1944, the union, under pressure of the rank and file, reopened its contract with the Waterfront Employers Association for the purpose of obtaining, in addition to a wage increase, "vacations with pay, sick leave, increased rates for handling explosive and damaged cargo, and a guaranteed 36 hour work week." The employers not only refused to grant any of these demands but countered with demands of their own.

After religiously following the procedure outlined by the government mediation agencies, going through 12 steps of negotiation, conciliation, and arbitration (in the record time of four months) the case came before a special three man WLB panel.

The panel held its hearings in the swanky Mills Tower. Ten days of testimony were concluded with a dinner for the panel jointly sponsored by the union and the waterfront employers. Before ad-



journalment of the final session, panel chairman Arthur S. Meyers commented: "I have never had the pleasure of listening to two better prepared cases than the cases of the union and the employers and I have no doubt that I echo the opinion of my fellow panel members."

Meyers should know. "He is," admiringly comments the ILWU *Dispatcher*, "an experienced mediator who has served as chairman in such famous cases as . . . the dispute between the four companies comprising 'Little Steel' and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in 1942."

(This dispute ended with the imposition of the Little Steel Formula upon American labor.) To still further assure the expectant rank and file that all was well in the "unity" camp, the Dec. 29

issue of *The Dispatcher* front-paged a picture of Mayor Roger Lapham, former American Hawaiian Steamship Co. magnate and President Frank Foisie of the Employers Association together with Bridges and Goldblatt of the ILWU "heisting a couple."

Behind the beaming faces of the employers lies a cold calculating purpose. They seek nothing less than a return to pre-1934 conditions when they ruled the waterfront with a high hand without "interference" of any union. At the hearings they made demands calculated to undermine the union and prepare the basis to smash it when they considered the time ripe. The following are some of their demands.

(1)—A "neutral" chief dispatcher in the longshoremen hiring hall to be appointed by the Labor Relations Committee or an arbiter, in case the committee can not agree. (One of the main gains of 1934 was the establishment of union control of hiring under a fair rotating system that guaranteed equal distribution of jobs to all members. Introduction of a "neutral" chief dispatcher is step number one to break union control of hiring.)

(2)—A "decentralized" hiring hall. (This demand which was presented on the pretext of saving traveling time would further weaken centralized control of job distribution by the union.)

(3)—"Preferred gangs" to work steady for an employer without going through the union hall.

(4)—An increase in sling loads. (Instituting speed-up with a consequent relaxation of safety conditions.)

(5)—A return to the "shape-up" with every man not in a

"steady gang" reporting each day to the hiring hall, whether work is available or not. (The "shape-up" practiced before 1934 was the vicious means used by the employer to practice favoritism, blacklisting and other methods of creating antagonism among the men.)

(6)—A ruling which would prevent a longshoreman, discharged by the employer "for cause" from being dispatched from the hall until his case is heard and decided upon. (Another form of blacklisting — nothing else!)

Other employer demands include a reduction in the size of gangs from 16 to 8 men (the employer hiring only as many men over the number of 8 as he feels necessary); 30 days suspension of any worker convicted of work stoppage, insubordination, or slowdown; dropping him from the hiring lists if the offense is repeated.

These demands were made on the pretext of increasing efficiency. Gregory Harrison, attorney for the employers charged that "since 1934 efficiency of Longshore work on this coast has steadily pursued a downward course . . . and we are convinced that we have the poorest efficiency record in the world." The facts prove otherwise. Bridges, in his "everything for the war effort" policy has voluntarily introduced speedup measures.

Bridges has lost contact with the ranks of the union. He is more at home with the union-baiting shipowners, Foisie and Lapham, than with the working longshoremen who are beginning to ask embarrassing questions. He is more and more becoming the open and cynical agent of the bosses. His days of militant action have long since disappeared.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Get Into the Union Struggle

One of the things that rightly grips active Negro unionists and progressive white unionists is the fact that there still remain in many plants hundreds of Negro workers who refuse to join the local union or, just as bad, they sign up and then let themselves lapse out of good standing by non-payment of dues.

Offhand, such a situation would seem almost unexplainable in view of the fact that the growing force of the trade union movement, especially the CIO, has been more responsible than any other factor for the relative gains made by Negro workers in recent years.

For black workers to turn their backs on certain locals of the AFL which set up "auxiliary" (polite name for Jim Crow) sections is not only understandable but it is exactly as it should be. Under such conditions they have no voice and no vote and they are thereby not even given the chance to put up a fight to change the reactionary policies of such a local. But what we are kicking about applies to unions which take the Negro brothers in on an equal basis, such as, for example, the UAW-CIO, where a relentless battle has been waged for years against job discrimination.

There are hundreds of Negro workers today who have the chance to join a UAW-CIO union and are passing it up. It is specifically these Rip Van Winkles that we would like to take a crack at this week and see if we can awaken them from their costly snooze. We say costly because it is not only these negligent workers but the Negro people as a whole who will have to pay the price for this bull-headed attitude.

However it is not so much condemnation as explanation that's so badly needed. In fact, the lines that these Negro non-unionists come up with prove that they are looking at the whole matter in a short-sighted manner and are blind to the more basic issues.

"Why pay six bucks to join the union? I was only hired in here because there was no one else to take the job." "Why keep up the buck a month dues when I know darn well that as soon as the company can get along without me I'll be kicked out in the street? Even though the union means well, I'll be the first to go even according to their rules because I have less seniority."

Or, "the union claims, on paper, to be against all forms of discrimination but I can point out a dozen cases around this man's town where Negroes have been discriminated against either in hiring or in upgrading. Certain union officials, including Negro union officials, have been called in and what have they done about it? They have carefully and quietly stashed those grievances

away in the ice house, brother, so why should I join an organization that doesn't always practice what it preaches?"

Now obviously even the most progressive unions are not perfect. They still reflect reactionary tendencies of today's society. Some of the best unions have been guilty of the faults mentioned above and many more. We're not asking for a whitewash job even on the organizations of the working class in which we place all confidence.

But it is for the very reason that the union movement still has its shortcomings that every Negro worker should be an active member. If every union official and union policy were perfect it wouldn't be so necessary to be a union member as it is now. The Negro worker should—and must—go into his union, pay his dues, attend the meetings, fight any suggestion of compromise on the race issue, organize caucuses to oust any reactionary officials, and fight relentlessly to make the union strong and to keep the union strong.

The union is the official economic organization of the working class. Bad or useless as you may think your union is, yet there is no other battlefield on which you may fight, that is, there is no other working class grouping today that has such a vast mass basis. To remain out of the union just because there are some reactionary elements in there is to turn your back on the struggle. Then you are just as valueless to the progressive forces as a deserter who has surrendered to the enemy.

On the other hand, if you get in there and fight for less working hours for all instead of mass layoffs, for production for use instead of for profit, and for an Independent Labor Party in the political arena and if, through your help, we win some of these fights, then some light will be thrown up that dark alley that you say lies around the corner.

Now back to discrimination. How do you think a white unionist who is putting up a fight for Negro equality feels (and there are plenty) when Negroes themselves fail to fight with him by not joining the union or by not keeping up their dues? Furthermore, many white workers who have been falsely indoctrinated will lose their prejudices and join in our fight when they see black workers in their same union putting up a battle to keep that union strong and to gain economic concessions for all the workers in that plant.

I don't care what you think of a guy. If he is active in a fight that helps you, nine times out of ten you will cast aside all previous intolerances and inhibitions and get active in the fight that helps him.

Churchill Blames His Greek Victims

(Continued from page 1)

the advantage of being equally hated in Russia." With these words, Churchill gave a vote of confidence to Stalin as one of the initiators in the fraternity of counter-revolution sworn to suppress the struggle for socialism.

What Churchill means by "Trotskyism" is revealed by a news flash from Greece, published in the London Evening News three days before the war began, that the two thousand textile workers of a well known thread-spinning mill in Greece had taken possession of the factory and appointed a "management committee." The appearance of management committees indicates an advanced stage of working class revolution. Such committees mean that the former capitalist management has either decamped or been dispossessed because of its sabotage of production. If such anti-capitalist actions were threatened on a wide scale, small wonder Churchill rushed troops to Greece.

Churchill's red-baiting against Trotskyism flows from a coldly calculated attempt to lay down the ideological line for the Allied conspiracy to crush the rising working class movement of Europe. "We are toiling through a mighty maze," declared Churchill, "but I can assure the House it is not without plan." This plan was laid down at the Tehran conference where Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin not only carved up Europe into spheres of influence, but agreed to put down socialist revolution wherever it might arise. Churchill is now engaged in executing and defending this counter-revolutionary scheme plotted at Tehran.

Churchill made it clear that British troops were sent into Greece with full approval of Roosevelt and Stalin. In a previous speech he indicated that he made an error in not including a contingent of American troops among the invading forces. Undoubtedly he will be more careful on this score in future operations. More important, however, in diverting blame from British imperialism is his construction of a scapegoat called "Trotskyism." That is why Churchill pictured

"Hunger With Dignity" in Italy



NEWS ITEM: "Widespread hunger is being borne with great dignity" by the Italian people, says Herbert Matthews, N. Y. Times, Jan. 18.

the Greek workers as brigands, murderers, inhuman monsters. Churchill is deliberately trying to shift the "blame" for bloodshed onto the shoulders of his victims.

To insinuate that the EAM follows the banner of Trotskyism is a lie. The EAM is headed by Stalinists, who, as Churchill himself points out, are "not always free from the danger of being discredited," but who nevertheless have done their utmost to hold back the Greek masses from revolutionary action.

We do not know the truth about internal political relations in Greece. Churchill's censorship, his gagging of the press, prevent us from knowing the complete

facts about his traduced opponents. But we are sure that the Greek Trotskyists march in the front ranks of the struggle against foreign imperialism and its native agents.

The January Socialist Appeal, organ of the British Trotskyists, reports that in some provincial editions of the capitalist press a story appeared that of "three prisoners interviewed by British journalists" in Greece "two stated that they were Social Democrats, and one that he was a member of the Fourth International."

The Socialist Appeal likewise quotes the August 5 Economist, economic organ of British Big Business: "Recalcitrant Commu-

nism used to be pretty strong in Greece years ago. Its spokesmen, who labelled themselves curiously as 'Archivo-Marxists,' gave many headaches to the leaders of the Communist International in Moscow. Under the Metaxas regime the 'Archivo-Marxists' were wiped out by police repression; and it seems somewhat doubtful whether the same movement has now been able to reemerge and to sway the Greek guerrillas."

"But it is quite possible that some such unorthodox Communist tendency may have established itself among the 'men of the mountains' firmly enough to oppose the Lebanon Agreement and to reject any conciliation with the dynasty. If so then the Russian military mission in Greece will be confronted with a task which may be as much political as military. The Mission has come to Greece with an increased moral and political prestige derived from the victories of Russian armies. This will probably strengthen its hands in laying the 'Trotskyist' ghost in the Epirus."

There is substance in Churchill's fears about the establishment of Trotskyism in Greece, for Trotskyism is the program of revolutionary socialism. If the people of Greece were permitted to exercise their democratic right to choose their own form of government, they would undoubtedly proceed to set up a workers' republic and organize socialism as the only way out of imperialist war and capitalist chaos.

Buy "The Militant"

IN MILWAUKEE
at the newsstand on the northwest corner of Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.

Roosevelt, Brass Hats Press For Speed On Forced Labor

(Continued from page 1)

prompt action now is much more important in the war effort than the perfecting of details." Among the "details" which Roosevelt considers so unimportant is one providing that anyone who leaves a job "without permission" shall be "subject on conviction to the penalties provided by the Selective Service Act, which run to \$10,000 in fines and five years imprisonment" or both. This is just a minor "detail" to labor's "friend" in the White House.

Committee members said, "they would apply corresponding provisions to those who are directed by their local boards to take essential jobs and fail to do so." For quitting a job, or failing to take a job when directed to do so, a worker can be fined \$10,000 or sent to jail for five years, under the provisions of the May-Bailey bill. There is another provision prohibiting unions from enforcing closed shop contracts. Still another would bring strikers within the provisions of the measure. But Roosevelt brushes aside these

savage penalties and union-wrecking provisions as petty "details" and demands that a forced labor bill be adopted forthwith.

With the exception of the strikebreaking Stalinists, all sections of the labor movement are on record against driving the workers to forced labor for the benefit of the profit-hungry bosses. The union bureaucrats have so far confined their opposition to purely verbal objections voiced by the top leaders. No serious attempt is being made to mobilize the many-millioned ranks of organized labor against the conspiracy to railroad a slave labor bill through Congress.

The union militants must take the lead in making the voice of labor heard in unalterable opposition to any and all forms of forced labor.

Roosevelt Rejects AFL-CIO Demand To Raise Wages

(Continued from page 1)

is to be sent through Roosevelt's wage-freezing machinery once again.

The Vinson order, declared Murray, "has got the War Labor Board definitely stymied. It has placed the Board in the category of a second-rate panel, unable to move until and unless another agency first nods its head." Why then does Murray lend CIO prestige to an agency which has no power to decide a wage dispute, but can only function as an anti-labor body?

The answer is that Murray has no intention of conducting a serious struggle against the wage-freeze. Such a struggle must be directed first and foremost against the "chief executive" whose hand-picked agencies move only when Roosevelt "nods his head."

It is up to the union militants to mobilize the workers for a real fight against the wage freeze. Demand that the labor representatives resign from the wage-freezing War Labor Board! Reclaim the no-strike pledge! Build labor's own Independent Labor Party! For a national conference of all unions regardless of affiliation to weld a workers' front of struggle against Roosevelt's wage-freeze.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JANUARY 26, 1935

SACRAMENTO—Fighting for the freedom of the 18 Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union leaders, framed up on charges of "Criminal Syndicalism," a united front defense committee held its first meeting on January 19. The first act of the committee was to draft a call for a conference of all unions and other labor organizations, scheduled for February 10.

The call was signed by the Workers Party, the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the Socialist Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, Charles Gordon of the Stalinist-controlled International Labor Defense, and the Communist Party. "Will this united front last until the case is closed?" asked The Militant editorially. "This we cannot guarantee since it involves more than our party. Our position is clear. . . . We are pledged to carry (the defense) out honestly not only for the sake of one defendant who shares our views, not only for the sake of the other seventeen defendants, but for the sake of the working class—the real defendant at Sacramento."

PITTSBURGH—In the American Federation of Labor, there was growing unrest, as the need for industrial unionism was felt in mass industries. Symptomatic of the ferment was an unofficial rank-and-file convention called by militant unionists, to be opened in Pittsburgh on February 3. Many of the major AFL unions were to be represented, with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, Tin and Sheet Metal Workers in the forefront. "Obviously this 'rank-and-file convention' is called to consider the decisions of the official San Francisco convention recently held by the AFL and to lay plans for carrying out these decisions," said The Militant. ". . . But there is implicit in such a procedure a revolt against the AFL officialdom."

WASHINGTON—Exposing the anti-labor mechanism of the New Deal, a special correspondent to The Militant described its effect upon the incomes of the workers. "Between August 1933 and August 1934 living costs skyrocketed—because of the drought, because of the Agricultural Administration Act processing taxes, because the NRA codes permit cartelizing price-fixing and production control. The result? In that one year, real wages—purchasing power—in the cotton industry in the north fell away 15 percent; in the south, 25 percent."

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

DIARY OF A STEELWORKER

The newspapers have carried a tiny note informing the public that "Benjamin Grimes, beloved husband of Eliza" etc. is no longer among the living, the local has sent flowers, and Johnny Crummit has taken over the keeper's job that old Ben used to have. Every now and then one of the fellows will say something about Ben, but even that will die out soon. He's just one more worker whose tired-out body has been laid to rest in a peaceful grave.

Old Ben came out of the deep south a quarter of a century ago, a tall, hungry-looking man of thirty with big, powerful hands, calloused from the plough. Life had been hard there. Daily he had struggled to bring forth good live crops from his stale patch of earth. The sun beat upon his head, and the Jim Crow system pressed down upon his spirit, and he felt himself trapped.

It was a happy day for Ben when the white stranger came to his door and said, "Boy, how'd you like to go north and make a lot of money working in a steel mill?" Ben felt the trap open. He thought he saw a new life for himself and his family, a life that would not be so hard and barren.

So Ben went north in 1919 as a scab and a strikebreaker. He didn't know that there was a great strike throughout the nation's steel plants. He didn't know that the steelworkers had put up too long with intolerable grievances, and that finally they had borne all they could and had banded together to fight with doomed courage for a halfway decent life. He knew nothing of this. All he knew was that he was going to the fabulous north to make a lot of money.

The train took Ben and his fellow passengers right into the plant, and almost the minute it stopped he was put to work on blast furnace. A white boss with a sneering, scornful face showed him what to do and complained in passing about the "damned Bolsheviks" who had stirred up trouble in the plant and made it necessary for the foreman to do a pile of extra work trying to teach a bunch of ignoramuses how to work on the furnaces without killing themselves and everybody else. Ben didn't know about any of these things, but he thought it was a pity for anyone to be stirring up trouble in a world that was troubled enough anyhow.

The very first day, Ben saw he had been mistaken. Here too, life would be hard. He worked until he almost dropped from exhaustion and then worked some more. He sweated until his clothing was drenched. It wasn't the good, clean sweat boiled out of his body by the southern sun, but an unhealthy kind of sweat that was strange to him and made him feel sick. After a long time the boss came up to him and told him he could go and sleep for a spell. Ben dragged himself to the box car where there was a bunk for him and went miserably to sleep. He never forgot those first days.

Before long the strike was over, and with it went a large portion of the hopes and dreams that Ben had held concerning the north. Angry, bitter white men came back into the plant, taking the jobs that Ben and his new friends had held, calling the newcomers names, refusing to have anything to do with them. Only the dirtiest, lowest paying work was left to the Negroes. For a long time there was hard feeling.

What Ben Came to Learn—and to Do

In spite of the low wages (he recalled the "big money" the stranger had told him about) Ben managed to send for his wife and family and to install them in a rented house in the Negro steelworkers' section, where he became part of the community, no longer feeling out of place in a strange land. In fact, the land was quite like the south. True, there were no lynchings, but there was Jim Crow all the same. In slack times Ben found that the colored workers were the first to be laid off, the last taken back. He saw young white workers advanced ahead of him even though he knew the work better than they, and in many cases, taught them all that they did know about furnaces. Ben finally worked up to a job as keeper, but that was as far as he could go, and he knew it.

Still, in spite of the discrimination that he found in every phase of life, Ben came to realize that all white men were not the same. Bit by bit he came to know some of us and to like us as we liked him, as workers like each other when they work together day in and day out, laughing together, struggling together on tough jobs. I think he was even beginning to understand the whole problem—how children are trained in ideas of racial superiority by the ruling class of a nation so that the working class will be split up and unable to fight against the real enemy, the capitalists, how race baiting is used by the companies as a union-busting weapon. He knew the difference all right between Girdler or Grace and the white steelworker.

When the SWOC started organizing the plant, old Ben was strong union man from the start. When they called us reds he recalled what they had told him in 1919 about the Bolsheviks. Above all, I guess he remembered how he had been barred from advancement. The CIO stood for racial equality and better conditions for all workers, and Ben was all for the CIO.

But now that's all past, and Ben's in his grave, and Ben's CIO local has sent a wreath, and pretty soon everybody will forget all about him. Only this is important to me. We weren't great friends. We knew and liked each other, as I've said. What's important is this: this isn't just the life of old Ben Grimes, old at fifty-six years of age. This is the life of thousands, of millions of Negroes, discriminated against from birth to death, given the hardest and worst-paying jobs, denied opportunities, worked and worn out.

If only I had the opportunity, I'd like to talk to every white worker in the country and show him what his colored brothers have to put up with. I'd like to show him what causes Jim Crow and how it breaks up the unity of the working class and harms the white workers almost as much as it hurts the Negroes. If I could do that, we'd be a lot nearer the solution of all our problems.

BUFFALO

Charles Jackson

Writer of THE MILITANT column

will speak on

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Hear Jackson discuss a fighting working class program that will protect the interests of the Negro workers.

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

Vol. IX—No. 4 Saturday, January 27, 1945

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8647
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$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."



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Greetings To The 12

This week we greet with joy the emergence of the 12 Trotskyist leaders from Roosevelt's "democratic" prisons where they have been incarcerated for thirteen months.

These valiant working-class revolutionists committed no crime whatsoever against the interests of the people. They simply did their duty to the working class in its hour of greatest need. They told the truth about the exploitation, the tyranny, the hopelessness of life under capitalist class rule. They told the truth about the imperialist war. They urged the masses to rid themselves of the plutocratic leeches and build a socialist society which could give peace, security and plenty to all.

These were unpardonable crimes under a social system where the lie which serves the exploiters has been crowned King. That is why the Roosevelt administration railroaded the Trotskyists to prison under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Our comrades never flinched in the fight against this vile conspiracy. All have dedicated their lives to the cause of the working class, to the struggle for a socialist world. They were prepared to pay the penalties meted out to those who dare oppose the ruling minority on behalf of the oppressed majority. They viewed their persecution not only as a blow directed against the entire labor movement but also as an opportunity to warn the workers against the plans of the capitalist war-makers, to teach the ideas of socialism, and to give an example of principled revolutionary struggle against capitalist reaction.

We are proud of the manner in which our comrades fulfilled their obligations to the working class. It is worthy of the finest traditions of the revolutionary socialist movement.

We commend the Civil Rights Defense Committee for the magnificent nation-wide fight it conducted for the freedom of the 18 and for the repeal of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act.

We hail the more than 4½ million members of over 500 labor organizations who rallied to the support of the 18 class-war prisoners in a splendid demonstration of class solidarity.

This fight does not end with their release. These devoted working class fighters have been deprived of their civil rights. The vicious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act remains a constant threat to labor and democratic rights.

Restore the civil rights of the 18! Repeal the Smith "Gag" Act! Defend labor's rights! Under these slogans the struggle must and will go forward.

Roosevelt Deceit

The official organ of the Railroad Brotherhood, *Labor*, focuses an editorial spotlight on the deception practiced by Roosevelt in the recent election. "Strangely enough," the editorial remarks, "the President did not have anything to say about this scheme to draft labor for private profit when he was facing the voters in the last campaign. He opened his battle for the presidency at a dinner arranged by the Teamsters' Union. On that occasion he might have said something like this:

"My friends, I assure you that if you will reelect me for a fourth term the first thing I will do will be to demand that Congress pass a law to draft American workers. We all know he didn't say anything like that. So far as we can recall he never mentioned the labor draft during the campaign."

This cynical deceit is not peculiar to Roosevelt—although this master demagogue excels in the art of hoodwinking the people. It is characteristic of all capitalist politicians and parties foresworn to uphold a system of exploitation, tyranny and oppression. The political structure of capitalist "democracy" rests on the twin pillars of deceit and force. In pre-election periods the political agents of the ruling class mask their subservience to the predatory money interests and swear eternal fealty to the interests of the common man. After the returns are in and they take office, the mask is discarded—until the next election.

Roosevelt is an old hand at this routine. If all his broken promises were compiled in one book, it would make a formidable volume. According to capitalist standards, Roosevelt is a "smart" politician. A smart politician is one who promises the people one thing prior to the election, does exactly the opposite after—and gets away with it. Once in office the stage-play is finished. The President can defy the electors; for four years his seat is secure. He is independent of those who elected him. Capitalist law does not permit him to be recalled.

Lacking their own political party, the workers are denied any control over those elected to office. It would be impossible to perpetuate this farce were it not for the treacherous role of the "labor statesmen" who prevent the workers from organizing their own Independent Labor Party.

The War Criminals

During the last world war, the Allied rulers threatened dire punishment for the war criminals of the opposing imperialist camp. What finally happened? The Kaiser lived to a ripe old age in luxurious exile. With the benevolent aid of American bankers, the German capitalists and Junker generals survived to plunge the German masses into a second world imperialist slaughter.

At the start of this war the Allied leaders proclaimed that "this time" all the fascist war criminals, including Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito, would "pay in full." A special United Nations War Crimes Commission was established to draft a "war criminals" list and devise machinery for bringing them to justice.

But as the day of Allied military victory draws closer, the reluctance of the Allied rulers to deal harshly with the fascist war lords is being amply demonstrated. In Italy, for example, leading fascists are not merely protected from the masses by the Allies, but are retained in positions of power and privilege.

The real Allied attitude toward the fascist war criminals has been further revealed through the resignation of the head of the War Crimes Commission, Sir Cecil Hurst, who complained that its work was being "frustrated" by the British Foreign Office. The London *Sunday Express* discloses that Churchill's government objects to trying the fascist leaders "in the dock of a criminal court." It wants them "dealt with politically—as was Napoleon, who was never put on trial but merely exiled."

The Allied imperialists feel that an open criminal trial might prove "embarrassing," explains the *Express*. "Those in the dock might endeavor to have prominent British statesmen brought to the witness box to give evidence for the defense. This evidence would take the form of past utterances in praise of the prisoners and, in some cases, the extolling of the virtues of Nazism and Fascism. Altogether, it would be an embarrassing business to have these skeletons trotted out in court."

The Allied rulers also fear that such a trial might lead to the demand that all the war criminals be placed in the prisoners' dock—the capitalist imperialists of both war camps whose greedy rivalry for world markets, colonies, spheres of influence has plunged the peoples of the earth into the bloodiest shambles of all history.

The fate of the war criminals is not being written in the secret conclaves of Allied commissions. It is limed in the flames of the international socialist revolution now rising in Europe. None will escape stern retribution.

As Leon Trotsky predicted in the 1940 "Manifesto of the Fourth International": "The butchers of the second imperialist war will not succeed in transforming Hitler into a scapegoat for their own sins. Before the judgment bar of the proletariat all the present rulers will answer. Hitler will do no more than occupy first place among the criminals in the dock."

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Terrorism and Zionism

Editor:

The two Palestinian youths who shot Lord Moyne have been sentenced to death by the Egyptian court. The proceedings of the trial were censored but the motives driving these Jews to such desperate acts are readily recognizable.

Lord Moyne was Under-Secretary of Colonial Affairs during a time when the alternative for millions of Jews was emigration to Palestine or slaughter at the hands of Fascism. Churchill was not the least moved when Jews drowned because of Moyne's policy in the administration of Palestine. No, Churchill the humanitarian agitated for the closing of the "Jewish Homeland" to victims of capitalist barbarism; giving them the universal capitalist freedom—freedom to die. Three million Jews have died.

What are the Zionists doing? They hold weekly banquets, rallies, conferences and congresses where the more aggressive Zionists may on specific occasions mildly criticize British policy in Palestine. On the record, the Jewish Agency has sweated blood to recruit 30,000 Jews to fight for the maintenance of the British Empire in this great imperialist war. American Zionism by forcing Silver out of its leadership in favor of Stephen Wise has thereby placed the movement in the position of abject subservience to British and American imperialism.

Neither by acting as tools of British imperialism nor by individual terrorism can the Jewish

problem be solved. The Jews and Arabs of Palestine need a revolutionary party to guide them in fighting imperialism, pointing the way in the fight for socialism, which will emancipate all minorities. In the period of capitalist death agony, Jews the world over cannot fight under the banner of reactionary nationalism, but must fight in unison with the only progressive force in society today—the working class—fighting for a new and better world!

Henry Hill
Trotskyist Youth Group, N. Y.

British Workers And UAW Militants

Editor:

May I congratulate you on the excellent report of the UAW Conference which appeared in your issue of September 16th, copies of which are now arriving in England. Comrade Preis has succeeded in projecting the atmosphere of the conference floor into the pages of *The Militant* in what is in my opinion a unique piece of working class journalism.

Here in Britain, the American trade union movement seems a fairly complex problem for the average trade unionist, though I have no doubt the same applies to the American worker in relation to the situation here. Since receiving *The Militant* I have passed it on to some of the Amalgamated Engineering Union members and it is pleasing to note how easily they grasp the significance of the struggle being waged by the militant wing of the UAW. They compare it with the problems which we face in the AEU and are able to appreciate the similarity of the

struggle against the common enemy.

Here also an internationalist outlook is being concretely developed and this is very important for the British workers. I hope to be able before long with material such as this to introduce a discussion on American trade union problems in the branch.

The conference proceedings seemed very promising and the net gain must have been a strengthening and consolidation of the left wing. In this activity I am sure the supporters of *The Militant* are playing their part, perhaps in unspectacular circumstances but with a confidence and determination that must inevitably bring great results.

The key to good trade union work is the correctness of one's ideas plus patience and more patience. To be able to weigh up a situation objectively and "keep one's feet on the floor" without succumbing to tail-end empericism or racing ahead of the workers' political development will speed the day when the Fourth Internationalists in Britain and America will be in the leadership of the unions.

S. H.
London

Wants Definitions

Editor:

I read *The Militant* each week and am well satisfied with it. As for suggestions, I think that the defining of ten words or so each week such as subsidy, tyranny, and proletariat would be good as many people read the words but don't look up the meaning.

L. O. L.
Huntington Park, Calif.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

West Indies

With each year of the war, the burden of imperialist rule has weighed down more heavily on the people of the West Indies. Although these islands are among the most fertile regions of the world, British policy of deliberately retarding industrial development and of growing only one main crop—sugar—has fostered direst poverty. At the beginning of the war, sporadic strikes over wages and working conditions expressed the deepening unrest of the masses.

When the United States established military bases throughout the islands, many hoped Wall Street might prove more beneficent than London. They were not long in being undeceived. Seeking to end imperialist oppression of both the London and Wall Street variety, the workers and field laborers of the West Indies are now turning toward socialism.

In Barbadoes, for instance, a professed socialist has been elected to the Assembly. According to the London *News Review*, this socialist is a wealthy Negro, Grantley Adams, who began his political career as a conservative but became convinced after holding public office that socialism offered the only road for the Barbadoes people, 90 percent of whom are colored. Adams' party won seven seats in the Assembly. This impressive electoral victory is clear proof that sentiment for socialism is growing rapidly in the West Indies.

France

How Stalinists act as agents of Anglo-American imperialism is clearly revealed in a January 14 declaration of Maurice Thorez, secretary-general of the French Communist Party. Docile workers are needed by the capitalists to fight for imperialist war aims. Thorez, the Earl Browder of France, has accordingly come out openly against revolution, saying this is "rather a time for a union of all leftist parties into one popular party to help prosecute the war."

Thorez opposes the workers finding a correct political program that could guarantee the victory of socialism. "There is no place now for political fights. We must all make war against fascism. We French must get arms and help the Americans and English who must not be left fighting alone on the western front."

Meanwhile reaction, headed by de Gaulle, is consolidating itself in France. Instead of purging pro-Nazis who collaborated with the Germans, de Gaulle is moving

against members of the resistance movement. On January 11 three officers of the French Forces of the Interior were sentenced to prison for having executed two collaborators whose death penalties had been commuted by de Gaulle. One was sentenced to seven years in prison, the other two to five years each. The two collaborators had been condemned in Maubeuge. When they were reprieved a great crowd gathered, threatening to storm the jail and execute all the collaborators held there. Pressed by the aroused populace, the three FFI officers executed the two most notorious collaborators.

Having sent the FFI officers to prison, de Gaulle on the following day commuted another death sentence passed against the notorious Nazi collaborator, Henri Beraud, chief contributor to the totalitarian periodical *Gringoire*.

While de Gaulle continues to aid the forces of counter-revolution, economic conditions in France are becoming progressively worse. Parisian bakeries cannot obtain even fuel. Many lack flour. Sugar cards in Nantes have not been honored since October. Salt in the Paris suburbs is disappearing from the market. There is no illuminating gas after 8:30 P.M. and no electric current between 8:30 A.M. and 5 P.M. except for one hour at lunch time. All stores close at 5 P.M. France's transportation system has broken down to such an extent that steam-driven passenger trains no longer run.

Coal production is lower than under German occupation. Malnutrition and low wages are affecting the productive power of French miners to an alarming extent. Conditions are so bad, according to *Temoignage Chrétien*, organ of the Christian Democrats, that men deliberately injure themselves in order to get on the sick list for a few days rest.

The rising revolutionary temper of the French masses is indicated by a raid of 350 housewives in Valenciennes (northern France) upon a sugar refinery. The march of housewives upon sources of food held by the capitalists and their agents is a classic symptom of approaching revolution. In Paris, housewives are organizing committees to present lists of grievances. Most active in organizing these committees, according to N. Y. *Times* reporter Archambault, "are Communist, Socialist and other advanced elements." Archambault does not specify whether these "elements" are following party programs.

"Housewives began to be formed into committees only a few

weeks ago," continues Archambault in the January 19 *Times*; "and the movement is extending rapidly, particularly in the south. In Toulouse, for instance, every ward now has a committee that meets weekly and discusses grievances and complaints. It is hoped soon to reorganize committees in every town and village in the country."

Belgium

P.M. January 14, published an interesting interview with a Belgian resistance fighter at Fort Eben Emael. Only 21 years old, he had been in the Belgian underground for three years.

"I'm a worker, and I suppose I speak from the worker's point-of-view. But most of us are very bitter against the Belgian industrialists who worked willingly for the Germans and made huge fortunes. Sometimes they played both sides to keep their skins safe. They would give 50,000 francs to us and then make 2,000,000 from the Germans."

"I think some of them are sabotaging a return to work in Belgium right now and are thinking longingly of the German occupation days. In those times there were no strikes or labor troubles because the workers would be sent off to German concentration or labor camps if they kicked up trouble. Belgian workers are miserably paid—50 francs a day—and the cost of living is terrific. Butter now is 250 francs for a little over two pounds."

"The Pierlot government has accomplished nothing. You would think that all the time they were in London they would have worked out some good system of food distribution. Actually they had nothing ready when they returned to Brussels."

"As far as cleaning out the old collaborationists is concerned, we have had lots of life sentences and even executions of young fascist fighters of de Grelle. "But none of the great industrialists who have made fortunes out of the war has been touched. "We Resistance men helped the Americans take this fort from the Germans and we have been on duty here ever since. Now the Pierlot government wants to kick us out and put us in the Army under our old reactionary officers. We don't want that."

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Supreme Court Juggles Words on Child Labor

Roosevelt's hand-picked Supreme Court on January 8 did another chore for the sweatshop interests and child labor exploiters. By a 5 to 4 decision, the august court sustained an appeal of the Western Union Telegraph monopoly permitting it to employ children under 16 as messengers.

The decision was a masterpiece of legalistic hair-splitting intended to evade the child labor provisions of the Wage-Hour Act by uncovering an "exception" in the instance of Western Union.

Under the Wage-Hour law, firms producing goods for interstate shipment are prohibited from employing child labor. The juridical jugglers of the Supreme Court tossed the words of the law around with practiced dexterity. While the court agreed that telegrams are "goods," they were not "shipped." Because, you see, the messages themselves were not sent—only "electrical impulses."

Even a minority of the court, no mean hair-splitters themselves, could not quite stomach the "linguistic purism" of the majority. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Murphy was constrained to remonstrate: "To sacrifice social gains for the sake of grammatical perfection is not in keeping with the high traditions of the interpretive process." But, of course, the Supreme Court was acting strictly in accord with the "high traditions" of the capitalist legal system.

Justice Murphy pointed out that "by reading into the Fair Labor Standards Act an exception that Congress never intended or specified, this court has today granted the Western Union Telegraph Co. a special dispensation to utilize the channels of interstate commerce while employing admittedly oppressive child labor."

The Supreme Court's Western Union decision has supplied additional fuel to the machinery of child labor exploitation which has been operating at high speed during the war. It has further undermined the structure of social legislation established by decades of labor struggle to protect children, the most defenseless section of the population, from the worst evils of capitalism.

Capitalist Judge Shows "Impartiality" -- Almost

When OPA officials hailed a small Philadelphia restaurant owner into Federal court for violating price ceilings and asked that he be jailed, Judge Kalodner blew up.

He charged that the OPA agents had previously brought before his court for similar violations the managers of several swank hotels and restaurants, including the Bellevue-Stratford, the Barclay and Henri's. But the OPA had not asked for jail sentences or severe penalties for these big price violators. This was favoritism, the judge pointed out, toward wealthy and influential law-breakers.

"In those cases you were satisfied with injunctions, but now you want me to send this man to jail. I won't send him to jail when others can go free by signing a piece of paper," declared the irate judge. "In this court you'll not find one law for the high and mighty and another for the humble."

It almost looked as though here at last was a capitalist judge who really meant to hand out "impartial" justice. But he wound up fining the little restaurant owner \$2,500 dollars and placing him under a year's probation. This was just to give a warning to the big-shot violators to be more careful in the future and not get caught.

That Revealing Leaflet American Legion Withdrew

The American Legion, veterans organization run by Big Business and the brass hats, has been conducting agitation for compulsory peacetime military conscription since 1919. Usually, the Legion's propaganda has been sugarcoated by assurances that such compulsory military training would be for "not over" a year, that it was intended merely to "build up" the health and character of American youth and to "strengthen" democracy.

Recently, the American Legion hastily withdrew its leaflet entitled "Answers to Questions Regarding Universal Military Training" because the author made a slip-up which disclosed the real nature and intent of the program to establish a permanent system of military regimentation. Despite its attempts at suppression, the Legion was unable to prevent a number of copies of the revealing leaflet from being circulated.

There were two questions and answers in the leaflet which made it particularly "unsuitable" for public dissemination.

"Question: Will those who have completed 12 months of training be obligated for further service?"

"Answer: Yes, after the period of training there will be a period of obligation. That period can be served in the regular army, or navy, the national guard or the reserve corps."

"Question: While serving the period of obligation, can the reservist be called to active duty?"

"Answer: Yes, at the call of the Federal government."

In short, as it was pointed out in *Labor*, weekly organ of 15 railway unions, "young men who go through the compulsory training will be subject to military service for an indefinite number of years thereafter. Suppose such young men, having returned to industry, go on strike for better conditions? Why, they would still be in the 'period of obligation' and so it would be the easiest thing in the world to summon them to the colors and thus break the strike."

"Perhaps someone will say that can't happen here. Well it happened in France when a democratic regime still governed the country, back in 1937. Railroad workers struck and the government cracked down by calling them into the army. France, you see, had the kind of peacetime conscription now advocated for this country."