

What The Coal Miners Are Fighting To Win

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War Profiteers Seek To Smash Price Controls

By Henry Jordan

A big parade of war profiteers from all consumers industries and trades last week stormed the Price Control Bill hearings of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to batter huge holes in the feeble defense lines of OPA price control.

For the first time since the beginning of the hearings, there was a full turnout of Senate committee men. They listened with bated breath and open sympathy to the tales of woe poured forth by representatives of the meat packing trust, dairy trust, tobacco trust, real estate interests, textile manufacturers, department stores, etc.

All told the same mournful story. Despite the greatest profits in their history—ranging as much as 1,000 per cent above the pre-war period—they were on their



"One Meat Ball"

last legs. They could not "survive" unless the government gave them a free hand to boost prices skyward and milk the consumers dry.

At the end of the hearings, Sen. Butler, reflecting the views of his colleagues, opined that "the Price Administrator is trying to limit profits—we've heard the same complaint from everybody."

What the OPA officials had attempted in previous sessions—which most of the Senators did not bother to attend—was to

prove that the OPA wasn't interested in how much profits the price-gougers made. They produced figures—direct from corporation reports—showing that corporation profits after taxes in 1943 were largest in history and double those of 1940.

Typical of the complaints registered by the multi-millionaire parasites was that of the meat packers—who boosted their wartime profits "only" eight times. Admitting that the "country has the raw beef," the meat packers predicted a meat famine unless the OPA "inconsistencies"—meaning price ceilings—were not ended. This prediction covered a threat. The meat trust intends to enforce further scarcity—the national anthem is already becoming "One Meat Ball"—to pressure the masses into paying huge prices for meat.

The two main demands of the price-gouging lobbyists were for the limitation of the Price Control Bill to one year and the establishment of "product standards" in fixing price ceilings.

The profiteers want to end all price control as quickly as possible. They aim at a grand inflationary profits-steal with the approach of the end of military hostilities.

Right now, they want prices fixed not on the basis of total profits, but on a guaranteed "nominal" profit on every individual item sold, regardless of how enormous their total profits are. This is the "product standards" principle, which the OPA has already largely adopted.

Roosevelt has enforced the wage freeze. And now comes the price-squeeze. It's a swell war for the money bags.

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE BEGINS RADIO CAMPAIGN

We reprint below sections of the radio address made by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, Sunday, March 11. This was the first of her four weekly campaign speeches scheduled for 8:45 P. M. over Station KFAC.

Everyone, the soldiers at the front, the workers and their families at home, is thinking and worrying about what will happen in the period after the war. Will the tremendously swollen population of Los Angeles, plus those who return from the war, be able to find jobs?

It has been estimated that nationally there will be an unemployed army of between twenty and thirty millions. The California State Reemployment Commission estimates as many as 800,000 unemployed in this state alone even under "the most favorable business conditions." It is generally recognized that we shall return to an economic crisis as devastating as the depression of the 30's, if not worse. The soldiers as well as the workers at home, and their families, face once more the terrible prospect of unemployment and insecurity.

We have been told that we are fighting for the Four Freedoms, enshrined in the Atlantic Charter. One of these freedoms is Freedom From Want. Yet the American workers are already being told that they must again face the most terrible want of all—the want of a job and livelihood.

President Roosevelt talks about creating 60 million jobs after the war, but Big Business, which controls the stock market, knows that the end of the war will mean production cutbacks, contract cancellations—in other words, idle plants and unemployment. That is why the stock market drops each time the end of the war seems to be in sight. The bosses know what is in store. The workers must not be deceived either.

The Shadow of Post-War Unemployment

The shadow of post-war unemployment falls even more darkly over the large Negro working-class population. The Negroes are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Even in the midst of a war production boom they are given the most menial, poorly paid jobs. In general, they are discriminated against because of their color. Even in the armed forces they are Jim Crowed. The Negro people most of all must join in the struggle for Socialism.

Hand in hand with economic distress, capitalism also holds in prospect a political tyranny which it needs to secure itself from the

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Mass Resistance To Hitler Regime Reported Growing Inside Germany

Detroit Strikers Fight Mass Firing Of Union Leaders

By Jerry Kirk

DETROIT, March 17. — A five-day strike at the Thompson Products plant here this week ended after the company agreed to rehire 20 of 26 fired union leaders and lift the suspensions of 126 other members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 247, whose victimization provoked the strike.

The company further agreed to arbitrate the cases of the six not rehired, who include the union president, the financial secretary and four leading committeemen and shop stewards. These, however, were the main targets of the company's union-busting attack. It is obvious that the wholesale firings and suspensions were a deliberate device for securing a "compromise" that would still enable the company to head off the union's leadership.

The settlement of this strike follows the pattern of that in the Briggs and Chrysler strikes, which occurred just previously. In the Briggs settlement, eight of the 16 leading militants whose firing provoked the strike are still out on the street pending arbitration.

Other than verbally protesting the company's provocations and declaring the strike a "lockout," the top UAW leaders took no decisive action to defend the Thompson Products local. Even this gesture was denied by these craven leaders to the Briggs workers.

UNION WRECKERS

The developments at Thompson Products are further evidence of the organized and concerted union-busting campaign of the auto corporations. The bosses are looking ahead to the termination of the war and huge production cutbacks and unemployment. Their strategy is to undermine the local leaderships now, intimidate the membership, and prepare for a final crushing open-shop blow when the unions are sufficiently weakened by preliminary softening up and unemployment.

Following closely on the heels of the Thompson Products strike, the NLRB has come to the aid of the company by announcing a collective bargaining election, although the UAW already has a signed contract with the company. This maneuver was first employed by Montgomery Ward's Sewell Avery as a pretext for refusing to bargain with the genuine union of the workers.

MAJOR DEMANDS OF COAL MINERS REJECTED BY GREEDY OPERATORS

By Joseph Keller

Sitting comfortably atop the greatest pile of profits in their history, the country's soft coal mine operators last week flatly rejected six of the nine wage demands of the United Mine Workers of America and contemptuously countered with an offer of a few crumbs amounting to 28 cents a day increase.

The UMW's 200-man policy committee promptly instructed the union's negotiating committee to reject outright the operators' counter-offers and to continue negotiations on the basis of the original 18 demands made by the miners at the opening of the new contract parley. The UMW's wage increase demands, carefully designed to avoid conflict with the formal restrictions of the Little Steel Formula, are estimated to total over \$1.60 a day.

STRIKE VOTE

If the present contract terminates within two weeks, on March 31, without an extension of the old contract or a new agreement being reached, the over 425,000 soft coal miners may resort to their traditional policy of "no contract, no work." The NLRB,

in response to the miners' petition under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, has announced that it will conduct a nation-wide strike vote on March 28.

How the militant miners will vote is a foregone conclusion, as their whole past record demonstrates. In the first sampling of opinion among West Virginia's 100,000 miners, 300 officials and representatives of local unions on March 18 expressed unanimous approval for an affirmative strike vote.

Government representatives and the Wall Street press, lined up solidly behind the profiteering coal barons, have been circulating dire threats of a government "seizure" of the mines in the event the miners vote to walk out. The Smith-Connally act makes strikes illegal in government-operated properties.

SEIZURES A FRAUD

Roosevelt's "seizure" two years ago simply meant the appointment of the mine owners and their supervisory agents as "government representatives." The private operators remained in control—they were just wrapped in an American flag.

The wage "concessions" of the operators were an offer to consider increases in traveltime (portal-to-portal) pay, a fourth-shift differential and vacation

The Open-Shopper's Lament



Powerful Minority Vote Cast Against UAW No-Strike Policy

By Art Preis

The militant auto workers have run up a smashing 35 per cent vote for scrapping the No-Strike Pledge in the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement workers referendum held during January and February, according to the first unofficial returns announced by Ben Garrison, referendum committee chairman.

Approximately 300,000 votes were sent in by mail, according to Garrison, out of 1,200,000 ballots distributed. Over 105,000 were for rescinding the pledge, while 185,000 voted for it, and some 6,000 ballots were voided.

Neither the corporation daily press nor the top CIO and UAW officials take the formal majority for the pledge as a victory for the no-strike policy. On the contrary they correctly view the tremendous minority vote rolled up for scrapping the pledge as the true indication of the trend of the ranks.

As Business Week, a leading mouthpiece for the corporations, commented, the UAW leaders are "embarrassed in making the results public. The vote was counted while more men were on strike in Detroit's auto plants than at

any time since the war began." The vote for smashing the no-strike pledge is particularly impressive because it was cast in the face of an unprecedented campaign of pressure and intimidation by a united front of the corporations and their press, the Roosevelt administration, the Murray-Hillman machine of the CIO, the entire top UAW leadership and the Stalinists.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

All the reactionary forces inside and outside the UAW combined in an unholy alliance against the auto ranks. The daily press and radio poured out an endless stream of lies and threats. Roosevelt intervened personally with a letter to UAW President R. J. Thomas. Murray issued a

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IN THE NEWS

No Silk Shirts

Answering claims of a "labor shortage" by pointing to large shipyard layoffs in the Gulf area, Rep. Keefe offered as one "amusing proof" the following want-ad in the Mobile, Ala., Press Register: "Terminated—For sale, one pair of shoes. Going back to Mississippi just like I came. 7-8821."

All News Fit to Print?

Of the millions of words printed in the country's daily press about Sergeant Alex Drabnik, first American soldier to cross the Rhine, none reported as did the Toledo Union Journal that "he worked in a Toledo packing house before the war and was one of the founders and original members of the CIO in his plant, a loyal and conscientious worker in his union."

The Vultures Hover

"A well-founded report making the Washington rounds," states The Progressive, "is that United States policy in occupied Germany will be made by a Big Business group now in Paris, including Paul Mellon and David Bruce, son and son-in-law of the late Andrew J. Mellon; Junius and Henry Morgan, of the House of Morgan; Lester Armour, of the Chicago meat trust; Alfred du Pont, of the du Pont munitions and chemical trust."

Heil Harvard!

Harvard University was accused of anti-Jewish discrimination by Albert S. Coolidge, of its faculty, who testified before the Massachusetts state legislature that in selecting students for scholarships, "we know perfectly well that names ending in 'berg' or 'stein' have to be skipped over. A gentlemen's agreement between the university and the employer sponsoring a scholarship has resulted in such discrimination."

Italy's "New Order"

The Chief of Public Security in Naples, Italy, explained to a PM correspondent that there are now four police forces there. They are "his own, who work as plainclothesmen, the Carabinieri, who are the royal or state police, the Guardia di Finanza, who supposedly were formed to protect public property but in reality were little more than Fascist gangsters, and the Allied military police."

Strikes, Demonstrations Flare Up In Large Cities

Revolutionary Moods Spread As the German, Foreign Workers Unite in Common Struggle

By Harry Martell

The independent actions of the insurgent masses against the Hitler regime are beginning to multiply throughout Germany, according to reports which have managed to seep through the double wall of Nazi and Allied censorship. This would indicate that the German workers revolution—the great hope of the toiling masses and all the poor peoples of Europe—has started to raise its head in the bomb-blasted cities of the Reich.

The most significant information that has thus far been published is that Workers Committees have appeared in the industrial centers of Essen, Muelheim, Duesseldorf and Dortmund, according to reports from Switzerland. In 1918, these committees were known as Arbeiter- und Soldaten-Räte, the German equivalent of Soviets. These committees kicked Kaiser Wilhelm off his throne, and but for the treachery of the Social-Democrats, would have established a firm Soviet government in Germany.

PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS

Huge peace demonstrations took place in many cities as a result of rumors that negotiations to end the war were in progress, according to CBS correspondent Charles Shaw broadcasting from Stockholm. Parades were held in Hamburg, Duisburg, Dortmund, Duesseldorf, Vienna and Munich. In the industrial areas of Berlin, the Ruhr and Saxony, according to Shaw, protest strikes broke out when word spread that Von Rundstedt and the General Staff wanted to make peace but Hitler and Himmler refused. Riots occurred when Storm-troopers

These are but a few of the problems that call for a bold and aggressive policy to defend the workers' standard of living against employer-government attack. Faced with these problems, the top leadership of the CIO proceeded to reaffirm its policy of unconditional surrender to the corporations and their political henchmen!

The CIO union heads voted to

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Packinghouse Units Call For "Holiday"

By Barbara Bruce

ST. PAUL, Minn., March 12.—Six hundred packinghouse workers meeting in St. Paul last Sunday authorized their union officials to call a holiday in the packing plants if packers do not comply with union demands to live up to the 48-hour week and pay workers at the established union rates. Representing 10,000 members in the South St. Paul, St. Paul and Newport area in Minnesota, packinghouse workers from five locals of the United Packinghouse Workers of America declared for a program of militant action in answer to the wage cuts and lay-offs of the last several months.

RANK AND FILE ACT

Although Minnesota packing plants are in an area declared critical by the War Manpower Commission, packers have refused to comply with the order. They have also refused to meet with UPWA representatives in WMC conferences to discuss lay-offs, cut-backs and downward revisions in employment which have been taking place in all the packing plants. Several hundred workers at Swift's and Cudahy's have been laid off in the last 6 weeks while hundreds of others have had their wages cut through a company system of stepping workers down from higher to lower paid jobs. This program was initiated a year ago by Cudahy's and Armour's. Pork workers are laid off one day a week as another means of cutting wages.

Sponsored by the joint executive boards of the five UPWA unions in this area, the meeting

was called to obtain rank and file approval of joint board recommendations for union action. With but one dissenting vote, the membership gave its enthusiastic approval to the decision to demand that packers live up to the 48-hour week and pay workers at regular union rates. If this is refused, packers will be asked to issue temporary releases to all packinghouse workers not employed full time or at the union scale for work in other industries without loss of seniority rights. In the event packers do not comply with these demands, the joint board is authorized to call a holiday in the plants with a mass demonstration at the offices of the War Manpower Commission.

Pointing out that the aim of the packing companies is to smash the unions and beat down the labor movement, speakers at the mass meeting declared that workers can no longer take a passive attitude, that rank and file unionists must fight in their own interests and not leave everything to union officials to negotiate.

One speaker recalled how employers made profits from both sides in World War I and declared that American packers are doing the same thing in this war in the case of Argentina. United States packers are selling their products to the Allied armies, while Argentine companies, owned and controlled by U. S. packing interests, sell their products to the Axis powers.

A committee of two representatives from each local union was set up to meet with the WMC this week to present the demands of the unions.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Textile Strike Poll

Without one dissenting vote some 50,000 New England cotton-rayon textile workers last week in a poll conducted by the CIO Textile Workers Union empowered the TWU officers to demand an NLRB strike vote under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law provisions.

In Fall River, Mass., 3,500 union members went even further. They empowered the TWU leaders to call a strike without going through the formality of a government-supervised election and an additional 30-day stalling period.

The TWU executive board several weeks ago revoked the no-strike pledge for 100,000 cotton-rayon workers. They acted after a long-delayed WLB decision granting "fringe" increases and raising the minimum wage from 50 cents to 55 cents an hour was blocked by Roosevelt's former Economic Stabilization Director Vinson. TWU President Emil Rieve at the same time resigned from the WLB.

An editorial on "The No-Strike Pledge" in the March Textile Labor, official organ of the TWU-CIO, explains why the union scrapped the pledge. After describing the administration-manufacturers conspiracy to deprive the exploited textile workers of their just demands, the editorial says:

"While all this was going on, no attempt was made to 'stabilize' cotton manufacturers' profits, which were continuing at the rate of \$365,000,000 a year, five times pre-war figures. . . . But there are other considerations back of the action. . . . Nearly 100,000 TWU members are now in the armed forces. Are they to come back to \$24 a week wages? Are they fighting for another chance to be ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed? If we do not fight their home-front battles for them, if we capitulate to reaction, what else can they come home to?"

UAW Dues Decline

Dues-paying membership in the CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, largest union in the country, declined by 113,741 during the period between May and November, 1944, according to the latest report of UAW Secretary-Treasurer George Addes.

The monthly average of dues-paying members during the reported period was 1,008,159. Over half the membership is in Michigan, with 528,429 members, 345,127 of them concentrated in Detroit.

A primary reason for the sharp membership decline—over 10 per cent within six months—is unemployment due to cut-backs and layoffs, despite the Roosevelt administration's claims of a "labor shortage" to bolster its demand for a forced labor bill.

Unemployment compensation claims since December 1, 1944 in Michigan have been averaging between 18,000 and 20,000 weekly.

Hush-Hush in Auto

Every newspaper from coast to coast head-lined the great strike wave the past few weeks in Detroit. During a period of three weeks some 60,000 auto workers, the greatest number since Pearl Harbor, hit the picket lines to defend their unions against the union-busting provocations of the corporations.

A microscopic examination of the United Automobile Worker, official organ of the UAW-CIO, for the past two issues, March 1 and 15, reveals not a word about this tremendous development of such importance and interest not only to the auto workers but to the whole labor movement. There is not even a line in protest against the open, savage, con-

certed campaign of the corporations to break the unions by wholesale firing of local union officers, committeemen and shop stewards.

During the recently-concluded UAW referendum on the no-strike pledge, the UAW top officials did not hesitate to use the union's paper, in violation of a convention mandate, to plug for the no-strike pledge by printing whole pages of CIO President Philip Murray's anti-strike speeches under the heading of "news."

But when the auto rank and file themselves make real news by militant defense of their unions, the UAW leaders stupidly try to play ostrich. They soft-peddle the struggle and bureaucratically deprive the membership of the aid of their own paper.

AFL Asks 11% Boost

The AFL, through its members on the War Labor Board, answered the WLB's endorsement of the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula by petitioning Roosevelt with a demand for a general immediate 11 per cent wage increase.

This petition refutes the lying "statistics" of the WLB "public" members about wages rising "faster" than the cost of living. "Since the war wage rates have increased by 19 per cent," the AFL representatives pointed out, "while the cost of living has increased—based upon official figures—by 30 per cent. To correct the maladjustment between wages and the cost of living—when measured by the same standard that was used when the Little Steel Formula was adopted—an adjustment of approximately 11 per cent is justified."

The only thing wrong with the AFL's demand is that it gives away too much to the government and employers. The government's cost-of-living figures are as phony as a nine-dollar bill. The cost of living has gone up nearer to 50 per cent than 30. On this real basis, labor is justified in demanding not an 11 per cent but a 30 per cent wage boost.

Philadelphia Aftermath

Twenty-seven company-union members and leaders of the Philadelphia transit walkout last August against the upgrading of Negro workers took the rap in federal court last week for the company-inspired action. They were each fined \$100 under the Smith-Connally Act after reversing their not guilty pleas to no defense.

Among the questions the court failed to answer were these. Why was the Jim-Crow stoppage organized on company property and strike meetings freely held there? What company officials advised the workers to initiate the walkout by getting "sick" in a body in order to prevent the use of Negro workers as motormen and conductors? Why was the walkout organized by leaders of the PRT (Philadelphia Rapid Transit) Employees Union, the old company union, just after it had been defeated by the CIO for collective bargaining representative? Why did the company say not a word against the walkout—aiding it by cutting off the subway power?

One defense attorney bluntly declared: "The race question was dragged in by officials of PTC (Philadelphia Transportation Co.) They were out to smash the bridgehead that organized labor has finally succeeded in holding in PTC."

A hand-picked grand jury which brought down the original indictments against the misled workers who were made the scapegoats of this affair simply covered up for the company and turned the proceedings into an attack on the CIO and a defense of company unionism.

Branches Near Half-Way Mark In Campaign For 10,000 New 'Militant' Subscribers

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

In only four weeks members of the Socialist Workers Party have placed *The Militant* into the homes of 4,471 working class families. In four weeks we have almost reached the half-way mark in our three-month subscription campaign to obtain 10,000 new readers. This high percentage of over 1,000 new subscriptions a week is an achievement of which all of us can be proud.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Henry Hill, Trotskyist Youth Group Campaign Director: "The Trotskyist Youth Group in New York is putting forward a contender for the national youth singles championship in the Militant Subscription Campaign. We are putting forward Ruth Grayson, 16-year old leading scorer in New York, who has 34 subs thus far. It is our goal to have the Trotskyist Youth throughout the country well represented among the 20 leading Pace-Setters in this campaign."

H. Newell, Allentown Pace-Setter: "This Sunday four of us went out; we sold 22 subs in a few hours' time. Our work has already made some impression. One of the comrades was told by a steel worker that he had seen the paper in the shop. We have been pointing out the two columns devoted to steel every week. Some of the good unionists have shown their pleasure by stating they were going to show that so-and-so who doesn't belong to the union the articles."

"Comrade Kincaid has been our best renewal-getter and also has been getting trial subs from his shopmates at the rate of about five a week."

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "I learned today of Youngstown's challenge to our integrity in the sub drive. This provocation shall be severely dealt with! Please inform Youngstown that the Cleveland branch has accepted the challenge to sell more subs in the course of the drive than they."

P. Davidson, Boston: "The enclosed 21 subs represent last week's activity. We in Boston have noticed two things: (1) A good many people are attracted by Gray's cartoons. Some people are collecting them into scrapbooks; (2) A goodly number of pamphlets are sold if the crews take pamphlets with them."

Rose Russo, Reading: "Please send us 50 more sub cards. We are going to work!"

R. Haddon, San Francisco: "We are planning several new types of sub work in conjunction with the campaign. One will be going out in the various neighborhoods and around where comrades live. This will make the recall and general contact work a lot easier. We are also planning for the near future a Campaign Social and at that time will try to involve our subscribers in the campaign."

Jerry Kirk, Detroit Pace-Setter: "The sub campaign is in full swing in Detroit. All comrades are actively participating and are doing a marvelous job. More subscriptions are being obtained from the plants than ever before. Over half of the subs are coming direct from workers in the shops."

I. Cope, Youngstown: "It's a good thing that we upped our quota from 150 to 300. No other branch would be able to keep the pace we're setting if our quota were still 150."

Harriet Collins, Chicago: "I am now working on a stack of about 100 subs turned in by one of the auto fractions."

A. Field, Minneapolis: "Enclosed are 20 subs. We are having a mobilization this Sunday so I expect to have many more next week."

A. Lynn, Los Angeles: "Results continue to be surprising. We had another mobilization this last Sunday and again got a large number of subscriptions—285. Now, too, comrades are bringing in subs from their shops, from neighbors, from friends, and from relatives. About 15 more comrades have been drawn into the sub drive in the last week and branch organization of the work is getting more efficient. In our last campaign the branches played a minor role. The mobilizations were by sections, where everyone went to the same neighborhood. This time we have section mobilizations but the branches go out in their own neighborhoods."

P. Mertens, St. Paul: "Our local Pace-Setters are P. Mertens with 17 subs and J. Pearson with 14 subs. . . . The national Pace-Setters are really going to town!"

FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

This is what two subscribers intend to do about getting their friends to read *The Militant*.

R. A. C., Akron: "Send me eight more of the sub cards."

B. D., Pine Bluff, Ark.: "I have come to this town to remain indefinitely. I am going to try, despite the adverse surroundings, to get subscriptions."

You can help us too. Pass on your copy of *The Militant* to a friend. Ask your friends to subscribe.

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Allentown	50	87	174
Akron	85	93	109
Toledo	250	241	96
Milwaukee	100	71	71
Youngstown	300	188	62
Buffalo	350	216	60
Flint	50	32	60
Detroit	1000	515	52
New York	2500	1120	45
Philadelphia	150	67	45
Chicago	1000	443	44
Boston	200	87	44
San Diego	50	18	36
Bayonne	150	51	34
Los Angeles	2000	649	32
Minneapolis	300	97	32
Reading	75	24	32
St. Paul	100	28	28
Newark	350	99	28
San Francisco	350	81	23
Seattle	400	83	21
Cleveland	200	36	18
Rochester	50	0	0
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	37	26
Trail-Blazers		108	
TOTAL	10,200	4471	45



A high percentage of subscription sales is reported by our Los Angeles agent, Al Lynn. "Our Southside Branch informs us that about 50 percent of the people they approached bought subs with most of the rest asking them to call back later. Doors which were opened only a little because the family was eating dinner were opened wide and the comrades asked in only when they announced that *The Militant* is a 'socialist paper.' Typical comment: 'Socialist paper, sure I'll take it.'"

"One most interesting observation. We are starting to meet people who already have subs to *The Militant* and who have read the Minneapolis Trial pamphlets."

A similar report of good sales by using the "socialist" approach is made by P. Mertens of St. Paul. "We all found it helps to say 'socialist' rather than 'working class' or 'labor paper.' If we say the latter, people are inclined to tell us that they get a union paper and then the sale is harder to make. Especially in the Italian neighborhood the words 'socialist paper' seem to work wonders."

H. Newell of Allentown finds the following procedure helpful in selling subs to *The Militant*. "I believe offering a sample paper is a great help in selling. The person receiving the copy is obligated to listen to an explanation of the paper and this keeps the worker from getting in a 'no' channel before an explanation can be made. Usually if you can explain what the paper is, the worker will buy."

One of our readers, B. Z. of Arlington, Wash., wants to have back years of *The Militant* for his library. He writes: "I would like some bound volumes of *The Militant*, as many of the years as possible. Your agent Kelly of Seattle informed me that you may not have any issues as far back as 1939."

We have bound volumes of *The Militant* beginning 1939 through 1944 and will be glad to supply prices upon request.

The following letter from Bill

'MILITANT' CONFERENCE PLANS 8-PAGE WEEKLY

Meeting to discuss plans for the forthcoming 8-page paper, the first *Militant* Institute was held at 116 University Place in New York on March 11. Twenty-five members of *The Militant* staff and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, involved in the production and distribution of the paper, heard its editor, Farrell Dobbs, hail this meeting as "the first in a series of press institutes planned for the future."

"The central point of this and all such future conferences must be the discussion of ways and means of making *The Militant* a more popular working-class paper," said Comrade Dobbs in his opening remarks to the Institute. Backing up his statement with statistics from the successful campaign for new *Militant* readers conducted in 1944 and the still more successful sub campaign now in progress, he went on to say, "The Socialist Workers Party membership is demonstrating in most striking fashion that *The Militant* is entering the stage of mass circulation."

The needs of educated Marxists must always be considered by *The Militant* staff, Comrade Dobbs pointed out, but the main task now is to attract and hold the many thousands of new worker-readers of the paper.

The addition of more cartoons, drawings and pictures; the publication in serial form of the great labor novels of the past; the provision of more light, short features were among the many suggestions made by Comrade Dobbs for "lightening up and brightening up the paper."

Stressing the importance of getting news from the field, Dobbs proposed the immediate expansion of the "Workers' Forum" as the first step in this direction. The possibility of organizing a training school in journalistic techniques for worker-correspondents in the various localities was also discussed.

PLANS FOR PAPER

Unable to attend the *Militant* Institute because of illness, Morris Stein, Acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, sent a statement which urged the necessity of "improving the coordination between the hundreds of *Militant* agents in the field and the editorial staff in the center." Rank and file comrades in touch with the thousands of new readers of *The Militant* "must become an integral part of the nerve system of our press," he said. "They can transmit the feelings, the sentiments and the reactions of our worker-readers to the center, which will, in turn, make the center more sensitive towards the needs of the field-workers and the worker-readers."

Offering many criticisms of the language and style of *The Militant*, Comrade Stein said, "I believe there is not enough fight in the paper." He illustrated his remark by reference to a radio attack which had been made on the mine workers by Walter Winchell. "It is our job to jump into such a fight and swing with everything we have. . . . Everybody enjoys a good fight and the workers are particularly eager if somebody champions their cause and does it skillfully."

Reflecting their awareness of the problem of appealing to the thousands of new *Militant* readers, members of the *Militant* staff who participated in the discussion which followed had many concrete suggestions for popularizing the paper. All of the comments, ideas and suggestions made by the participants in the *Militant* Institute will be published in the next issue of the Socialist Workers Party Builder.

The members of the editorial staff of *The Militant* hope that the publication of this first *Militant* Institute will stimulate discussion in the party, especially among the *Militant* agents, said Comrade Dobbs in summarizing the discussion. If more contributions can be obtained from the field workers, who are in close touch with the new worker-readers, a long step will have been taken toward making *The Militant* a real mass paper.

New York Forum To Hear Lecture On German Events

NEW YORK, March 18—"Germany, The Key to Europe's Fate," will be the topic of the next Sunday Night Forum to be held on March 25 at 8 P. M. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. Comrade Harry Frankel will be the speaker.

Tonight the forum commemorated the 74th anniversary of the Paris Commune. Comrade Harry Robinson, organizer of the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, discussed the significance of the Commune for the workers in their struggles today. Four beautiful posters by Paul King depicted the continuation of the struggle of the working class for socialist freedom from the Paris Commune to the coming European revolution.

N. Y. Local To Hold Masquerade Ball

NEW YORK, March 18 — The "Militant Masquerade" planned for Saturday Evening, March 24, from 8 p. m. to midnight promises to be one of the gayest affairs ever presented to the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. Festive decorations, entertainment, and refreshments are planned, with a costume promenade as the feature of the evening.

Five prizes will be awarded for the most original costumes. All readers of *The Militant* are invited to attend at 116 University Place, N. Y.

Socialist Youth Forum Is Held

NEW YORK, March 16 — An audience of 37 young workers and students heard Comrade Ralph Boer of the Trotskyist Youth Group, speak on Germany at the Socialist Youth Forum tonight. Questions and discussion followed the presentation.

Two young people joined the Trotskyist Youth Group at the close of the forum.

All young readers of *The Militant* are invited to attend these forums which are held every Friday 8 p. m. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

Youngstown Accepts Challenge Of Akron Contender

With all due respect to the fighting prowess of young Denny O'Kenny, Youngstown Socialist Workers Party throws into the ring Veteran Battler Phil Russo, 67 years old, but a newcomer of three months in our local A. C.

Battling Phil wasn't sure it would be fair to pitch his years of experience in the ring of life against Akron's novice. It was only with fast talking we convinced him not to take on the whole Akron A. C.

"What," says Phil, "only 85 quota! It ain't fair to wallop a young fighter the first time in the ring."

We talks faster than him, though, and so he's in there fighting, but Akron A. C. better look to its laurels. Battling Phil says, "I'll fight young Denny with one hand, and take the other two O'Kenny's with the other."

Youngstown A. C. offers as its half of the purse, "The History of American Trotskyism."

The fight's on, the bell for round one has rung, and our boy's already in there battling.

Just before entering the ring, Phil turns to me and says, "I ain't been licked often, but it would make me happy, for the first time in my life, to take a lickin'."

We know him, though, and it's going to take a lot to lick our man.

I. COPE, Youngstown Campaign Manager

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British Accused Of Assisting Fascist Roatta's Escape; Masses Indignant At Close Of Collaborationists' Trials

By Larissa Reed

With the chief criminal, General Mario Roatta, still at large, the trial of 15 fascist leaders in Rome was brought to an end on March 12. Roatta was sentenced to life imprisonment in his absence. Of the seven fascists in the courtroom three were found guilty and four were acquitted. Fulvio Suvich, ex-ambassador to the U. S., and Lieut. Gen. Francesco Jacomoni, former viceroy of Albania, each got 24 year terms. Jacomoni sought to escape judgment by the court on the plea that he had acted as representative of the House of Savoy in Albania. The only death penalty was meted out to Filippo Anfuso, Mussolini's ambassador to Berlin, but he was not present in the courtroom and remains safe in the north.

The N. Y. Times correspondent points out that the few severe sentences were handed down largely because of the public indignation aroused by Roatta's "escape." These fascist leaders were not tried for their crimes against the Italian people as fascists but solely on the basis of acting against the interests of Italy's new foreign policy. The way has been left open for their sentences to be remanded once public indignation dies down.

The real attitude of the court toward the crimes of these fascists was shown by the verdict in the damage suit brought by the families of the Roselli brothers against Roatta and four others. These officials of Mussolini's regime had helped organize the murder of the two anti-fascist leaders of the Action Party. The court awarded only nominal damages of two lire — two cents — against each of the five accomplices in the assassination of the Rosellis. "The conclusion of the costly and tortuous trial is sure to disappoint many Italians," observes the N. Y. Times.

The anger of the Roman people against these farcical "purge" trials and especially over the flight of Roatta which flared up in the colossal mass demonstration at the Quirinal Palace last week was again expressed the day after the trials closed. An attempt was made to assassinate Berlinguer, high commissioner for punishment of fascist crimes.

The Bonomi authorities have made no serious efforts to find and apprehend Roatta. Accusing the British of arranging the escape of Roatta from Rome, col-

umnist Drew Pearson declares that he is now in Bengasi under British protection. According to the March 13 PM, "it has been admitted in London that Roatta knows a good deal about Prime Minister Churchill's earlier relations with Benito Mussolini and about Britain's settling of Gen. Drazha Mihailovich, Chetnik ex-leader in Yugoslavia. Roatta's testimony before a Roman court, therefore, might have proved a little embarrassing."

Cases of British protection of known fascists are not at all uncommon. In reporting the arrest of Alessandro Chiavolini, former private secretary to Mussolini, the March 14 N. Y. Herald Tribune reveals that this prominent fascist has been living openly at his villa behind the Colosseum, sharing it with five British officers. It goes on to say that "Allied officials were unperturbed when they learned a fugitive from anti-fascist sanctions had been living in an officers' mess. They said there was no question of military security involved, and that the discovery and punishment of fascists is solely the Italian government's responsibility."

Chiavolini became editor of La Lombardia and Il Popolo d'Italia, and participated in a meeting at the Piazza Spolero where the Fascist movement was launched in March 1919. Under Mussolini he came to be known as "the Little Minister" and was popularly believed to have made himself a millionaire.

If British officials can openly patronize so intimate an associate of Mussolini, it is not at all unlikely that they could also help arrange the escape and provide sanctuary for the fascist butcher Roatta.

Demonstration in Rome



Dramatic photograph of the huge working class demonstration at the Colosseum in Rome on March 6 in protest against the "escape" of the fascist General Roatta.

'MILITANT'S' TRAILBLAZERS SEND FIRST REPORT ON WORK

Eager to open up fresh fields in *The Militant* subscription campaign, two women campaigners have gone out into new territories to acquaint workers with our paper. The first stop of these *Militant* trail-blazers is in the Allentown and Bethlehem districts of Pennsylvania. We are publishing parts of their first reports to the Campaign Director. They have already obtained 108 subscriptions. In subsequent issues we will publish further accounts of their experiences.

March 13—"We have had the best results with steel workers partly due to the fact that nine out of ten of the men here are in steel, but also largely because of the appeal of Kovalevsky's column and V. Grey's Shop Talks on Socialism. The article on the Little Steel formula and the elections in steel in the March 3 *Militant* likewise has attracted and interested these steel workers.

"We ran into an obstacle at first when we presented *The Militant* simply as a paper for labor. Every household here already receives the union local paper—the press of the local labor council, etc. When we began to present *The Militant* as a fighting workers' paper with a class struggle program our score began to rise. Now by and large we are selling our paper for what it is—a class paper with a class line.

Finally, in direct opposition to the early tendencies within the Partisan movement for unification and federation of all Balkan peoples, Tito now revives the old imperialist and expansionist policies of the Serbian ruling class. "The government," he said, "will do everything so that our national territories that remained outside the borders of our State after World War I may be united."

The Allied pattern of disarming Partisan bands in order to keep firm control in the hands of the conquering power is now being repeated in the Philippines. A special dispatch to the N. Y. Herald Tribune (Feb. 13th) tells of the disarming of the Hukbalahap ("Huk") guerrillas outside Manila by 37th Division infantrymen. These Partisan bands, named the "Peoples' Army Against the Japanese," are called "communist" by the American Military Command.

They operated behind American lines in Tarlac and Pampanga. Provinces disarming the Quisling forces of American imperialism and setting up their own local governments in villages they took over. Filipinos assigned to govern under American supervision were afraid to remain in office in areas where the "Huk" were strong. More than 1000 "Huk" attempted to enter Manila with arms but were turned back four miles north of the city.

As in Italy, France and Belgium, American commanders are disarming these partisans under the pretext that they "cannot risk civil war along their supply and communication lines and have been forced to deal firmly with all factions."

OPPOSITION TO NAZI RULE SPREADING IN GERMANY

(Continued from page 1)

tried to force the strikers back to work.

The most militant action occurred in the Atlas Aircraft motor factory in the North Berlin suburb of Reinickendorf. Shaw reports that the workers there had long been dissatisfied with the food provided at the factory canteen and their disillusionment over the scotching of the peace rumors goaded them into action. Members of the workers' delegation that complained to the plant management about the food were arrested by the Gestapo just as a new shift was going to work. The workers of the new shift stoned the Gestapo agents and then refused to work.

Opposition to Hitler has grown so strong in Munich that the local gauliteer has warned Nazi officers to avoid circulating in the workers sections of the city because the police are no longer able to guarantee their safety. Munich was the birthplace of the Nazi movement.

The Dachau concentration camp, one of the largest prisons for revolutionary and communist workers, has become a center of struggle against the Nazi regime.

Huge anti-war strikes have broken out in Bremen. Beginning in the munitions industry on the outskirts of the city, the strikes quickly spread to the shipyards and other industries in the city proper. These were militant, revolutionary demonstrations where the strikers paraded up and down Bremen's streets shouting "Down with the war! Down with Hitler! Down with the Nazis!" When SS troops tried to disperse the demonstrators bloody clashes ensued in which the workers fought back with arms as well as bare hands.

An outstanding aspect of these demonstrations was the solidarity of the foreign workers with their German brothers. Contrary to the expectations — and hopes — in the camp of the "Big Three," instead of fratricidal strife between German and foreign workers, there is unity in struggle!

The Swedish reporter says the striking demonstrators "were shouting in I don't know how many different languages. It was all one roar." In Brunswick — where 1,000,000 foreign workers of 32 different nationalities are employed — the workers of the giant Hermann Goering works refused to

Reaction of Soldiers To Hate-Propaganda

American soldiers, bombarded with hate-propaganda picturing all Germans as inhuman beasts, are subject to a \$65 fine for "fraternizing" with civilians. An American sergeant, in one of the first units to enter Cologne, describes the true reaction of most servicemen to this campaign of hate.

"They (the civilians) were mostly children and old people — just sort of helpless and glad they were not being killed. It's hard to keep that icy front when people act friendly; also we Americans used to have some respect for old folks.

"We are supposed to hate people — be very tough customers. But as soon as the fighting is over it works just the other way — we begin to feel sorry for them. Non-fraternization works if somebody is there with a club, but right at the front where a soldier is risking death you cannot scare him with a \$65 fine."

buy *The Militant*. What gems they are. We can sell them subs but we have to prove it's no sissy paper first! They want to fight, these boys—and their wives are right along side with their fists clenched. They do have a warm smile for us, though, and it is heartening.

"One of our new friends on whom we called back because she was so darned nice, sent us to her neighbor—also a former miner—for a sub. We got it and were agreeably surprised to find a well-read worker acquainted with Trotsky's history—and wise to the role of the Stalinists!

"Another Greek woman who'd asked us to come back and with whom we'd left a sample *Militant*, subscribed and complained that her husband and kids had monopolized the paper and she hadn't had a single chance to see it."

return to their jobs after an air raid. Only the threat of instant death at the point of machine-guns forced them back.

Defeatism is sweeping the land. The people are sick of the war. Berlin is full of deserters who, having flung away their uniforms, prowled the streets at night and hide in the daytime.

YOUTH REBELLIOUS

The German youth, brought up and educated under the Nazi regime, are infected with the rebellious moods sweeping through the country. An 18 year old member of an anti-aircraft gun crew was quoted as saying that 60 per cent of the boys in his outfit, ranging from the ages of 15 to 18, are against the Hitler regime and many have deserted.

An article in a Swiss paper reports that a crowd of German women in the town of Freigimbrigsau accosted three soldiers and urged them to throw away their guns and return home. In Hanover after an air raid a woman, whose home was partly demolished by bombs, seized a picture of Hitler hanging on the wall and dashed it to pieces.

When SS men attempted to arrest the woman her husband attacked them with a crowbar. An angry crowd, shouting curses at the Nazis, accompanied the man and his wife to SS headquarters.

A Swiss paper estimates that 80-90 per cent of the Germans are against the war and openly denounce the Nazi leaders. The recurrent threat is heard:

"When the time comes we alone know who we have to shoot."

GESTAPO TERROR

Himmler must employ the most naked, most brutal methods of repression to keep the Nazi regime from crumbling completely. Howard K. Smith, broadcasting from conquered German territory over the Columbia network, said:

"Gestapo headquarters and prisons plus their inmates have fallen into our hands. In the past year the inmates tell us these prisons have been overflowing with German traitors. Cells made for two prisoners have been packed with up to 21 prisoners.

"On each day of execution, the prisoners said, they were all brought out of their cells and into the courtyard to watch the hanging. Some of them were then released to spread their stories of eye-witness horror about the city."

Smith goes on to describe why Hitler's doom is sealed. The Nazi party has lost its following in the one section of the population where it formerly found strong support.

"For me," says Smith, "by far the most important thing I've seen in our military excursion into Germany has been the end of the German middle classes, the dislodgement of that keystone of German society. Their financial basis for existence as a middle class has been depleted. Their every possession has been irretrievably smashed by their brown-shirted 'saviors.' I've spent a lot of time talking to them in Cologne and Muenchen-Gladbach and in Coblenz in the past week and I think their expressions of disillusion are genuine. They're in a mood which with some leadership could be called 'revolutionary!'"

There is no doubt that these middle class millions are now looking for that leadership in the industrial proletariat of Germany which is already on the march.

No wonder the conspirators at Yalta decided to hack Germany to pieces, convert it into pasture land, and transform the most advanced people of Europe into serfs guarded by foreign soldiers or into coolies deported for slave labor.

But Germany is not Greece — and even there the British imperialists came close to being thrown out of the country by the Greek working class fighters. Germany is a nation of 80,000,000, more than eleven times the size of Greece. It has the most skilled industrial proletariat in Europe. The workers are as skilled in the methods of proletarian organization as they are in handling the most complicated machinery. They have behind them long and glorious traditions of revolutionary struggle.

Side by side with the Germans are 5-6,000,000 foreign workers who are beginning to make common cause with them. The workers of Northern Italy — indeed of all Europe — are watching Germany with great expectations, waiting for a signal to renew the great continental struggle against capitalist rule.

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM FOR PEOPLE OF POLAND

By M. Morrison

Many people write and speak as if they were taken by surprise by the decision of the Big Three, at the Yalta conference, with reference to Poland. For many months previous to the Yalta verdict all indications were that Churchill and Roosevelt had decided to yield to Stalin. The three lords sitting in state at the seaside resort situated on the shores of the Black Sea found no difficulty in granting that part of the earth known as Poland to one of them. The people of Poland were transferred to a new master.

Nominally Stalin was made a gift only of that part of Poland east of the Curzon line. In reality, however, he also gets all of Poland west of that line plus whatever German territory the three rulers will decide later to attach to Poland. Only naive people or those who have an axe to grind will accept as good coin the promise that "free and unfettered elections" will be held in that part of Poland which, according to Stalin's assurance, will be permitted to exist in freedom and independence.

The Provisional Government created by Stalin will be enlarged to include "democratic leaders" from within Poland and from abroad but it can be taken for granted that only leaders willing to play ball with Stalin will be acceptable to him. At any rate a majority of the contemplated Provisional Government of National Unity will be under Kremlin control and with such a government in power only the fatuous will expect a free election.

"THE GREAT LIQUIDATOR"

Charges have been made by the Polish Government-in-Exile that Stalin's GPU with the help of his Polish puppets are liquidating all political opponents of the Stalinist regime. Through deportations, transfer of populations, and confinement in concentration camps, Stalin is making certain that any elections held will give his puppets a safe majority. We need not have too much confidence in the veracity of the Polish Government-in-Exile to believe that Stalin will not hesitate to use all measures of chicanery and violence to rid himself of political opponents, especially of revolutionary Marxists. His activities in the last twenty years testify to the truth of such a charge.

Several factors explain the important concessions made to Stalin by the representatives of the imperialist democracies. It may be argued that there was nothing else that they could do. They surely would not go to war against the Soviet Union for the purpose of retaining the prewar Polish frontiers. The English and American masses could not easily be cajoled into supporting such a war. The issue is too remote; they have already suffered too much. Stalin's prestige as a result of the victories of the Red Army is too great. And it is difficult to sell the masses the idea that the Polish Government-in-Exile represents justice, truth, freedom and democracy.

All this is true but it does not explain why Churchill and Roosevelt have given in so easily and in addition go out of their way to defend their action as just. The important factor is the conviction on the part of the representatives of imperialism that Stalin's help is essential to suppress any revolutionary outbreaks on the part of the masses in the different countries of Europe. The Stalinist parties constitute a very important part of the working-class movement all over Europe. Their role as a brake upon the revolutionary activity of the masses is clearly understood by the imperialists.

One can say that in Greece the Stalinists led the EAM in its struggle against Papandreou and the British masters. But just because of that fact and just because the Stalinists betrayed that struggle, Churchill and Roosevelt know what a valuable support they can be for keeping the rule of the imperialists in Europe safe from the masses.

And not only do the imperialists depend upon Stalin's control of the Communist parties but

upon Stalin's Red Army which in case of necessity can be used to crush any revolutionary uprising by force. Rumor has it that Stalin has made some secret promises to Churchill and Roosevelt. One of those promises is undoubtedly to help keep the European masses chained to capitalism.

CAPITALIST RESTORATION Another exceedingly important factor explaining Roosevelt's and Churchill's decision to appease Stalin is their conviction that capitalism stands a very good chance of being restored in the Soviet Union. They know better than we do the extent of the devastation brought to the Soviet Union by Hitler's armies. Has Stalin indicated to them that he needs their economic aid and that he does not look with hostility to a strengthening of the capitalist forces within the Soviet Union?

No one can tell whether Stalin discussed this question with the other two participants in the Yalta Conference. But we can safely assume that Churchill and Roosevelt, realize that conditions exert a tremendous pressure upon the Stalinist bureaucracy in favor of the restoration of the capitalist market. In the light of the tendencies of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, the representatives of imperialism are more than willing to take a chance on yielding to Stalin on the Polish question.

FOR A SOVIET POLAND

The advanced workers of Poland will certainly not determine their policy upon the choice between Stalin and the Polish Government in Exile. They understand that neither the one nor the other can solve the problems of the Polish masses — problems of national liberation, of economic security and freedom. They will steer their course on the basis of the fundamental line of a Socialist United States of Europe. This means raising the demand for the right of national self-determination for all peoples living in prewar Poland. This means raising the slogan of an independent Soviet Poland.

No one will underestimate the difficulties confronting the advanced Polish workers in spreading their ideas. The GPU is a force to be reckoned with. Nevertheless there will, in all probability, be "democratic cracks" through which, in the first period, the revolutionary Polish Marxists will be able to spread their propaganda. To fool the gullible and to give Churchill and Roosevelt a chance to say that Stalin has kept his promises, the Kremlin ruler may permit some degree of democracy. If he does, the revolutionary workers of Poland will utilize the opportunity to put forth their own program against Stalin and against the Polish Government-in-Exile.

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Trotskyist Candidate Begins Radio Talks

(Continued from page 1)

angry indignation of a people determined not to be ground into poverty.

Congress is discussing the so-called National Service Act, more correctly termed slave labor legislation, in the attempt to freeze workers to jobs, and force them into jobs, regardless of the conditions of work and rates of pay. Supposedly, this freedom-destroying legislation is needed because of a shortage of labor. Yet many workers in Los Angeles can testify to continuing lay-offs in local war industries. Already war contracts are being cut to prepare for reconversion.

No, the proposed slave-labor law is an attempt to gain greater control over the workers and force them into jobs. . . Take note: They want to conscript labor for private enterprise which is run for the profits of individual bosses. They do not even talk of conscripting capital. All repressive measures are designed for the workers.

You understand all this. The question remains: "what is to be done?"

Labor Must Create Its Own Party

In order to defend itself, labor must break from the two boss parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and organize an independent labor party based on the trade unions. Organized labor is about 14 million strong. Allied with the 13 million Negroes in America who have suffered the worst kind of persecution, discrimination

BULLETIN

LOS ANGELES, March 18. — The election rally held at Watts tonight rose to its feet as the broadcast of Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor, opened with the playing of the "Internationale." Comrade Weiss joined the rally at the conclusion of her broadcast. Two Negro members of the campaign committee condemned capitalist politicians and called for the election of a Trotskyist mayor as the only solution to the problems facing the minorities. J. Hall discussed the "Zoot Suit Riots" and R. Jones the questions of segregation, housing and zoning laws for the colored people. Other speakers attacked the anti-working class program of Roosevelt and called upon the workers to build an Independent Labor Party. The campaign collection totaled \$60.

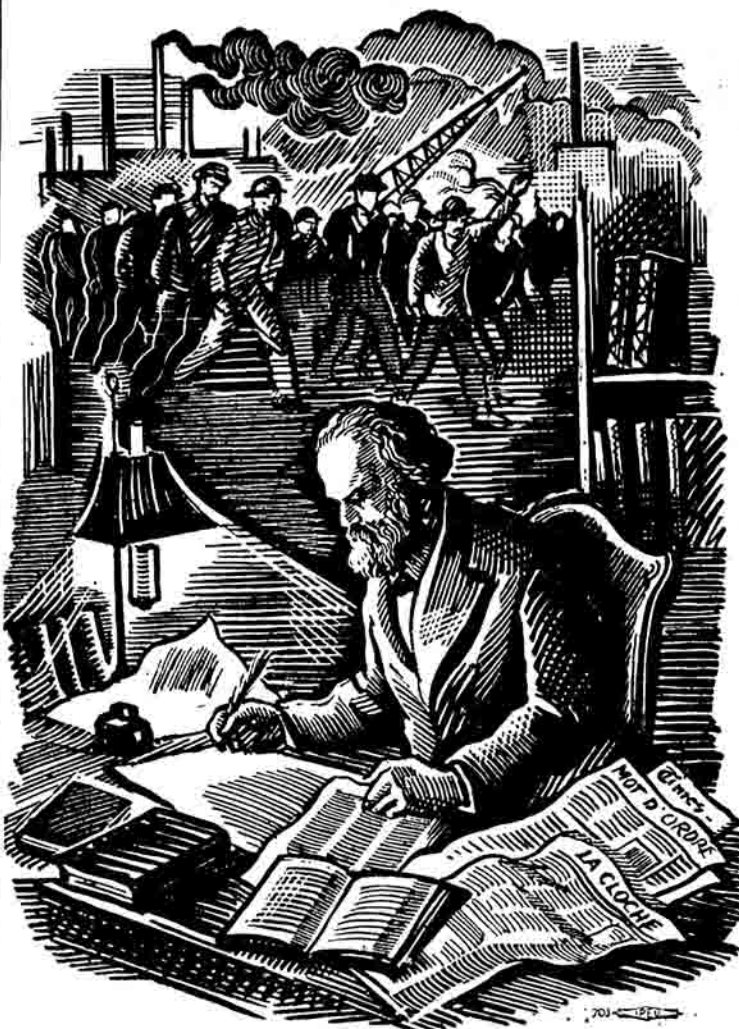
even being practiced by the federal government—and other racial and national minorities, and defending the interests of the poor farmers and agricultural workers, labor can rally the vast majority of the American people and form a Workers' and Farmers' Government, and organize production on a planned scientific basis.

Only such a program can possibly remove the recurring horror of war, fascism, and economic depressions. Only Socialism will bring peace and plenty to humanity and employ science and technology for the preservation of life rather than its destruction.

Now some of you might ask—what has all this to do with a mayoralty campaign? Let me explain. Los Angeles cannot solve its problems alone. No one city can do that. Local problems are simply local manifestations of much larger national and international problems. The same struggle we conduct here is being fought throughout the nation and throughout the world.

Most of my opponents say that jobs must be provided for the millions of prospective unemployed in the period of reconversion. But how do they propose to do this? Some expect to guard against a new economic catastrophe by attracting the rich with their money to Los Angeles. Another, a little more serious, proposal: public works, another WPA. But none can see how even the present production facilities can be utilized, for these are owned by private business and will be shut down when profits can no longer be made.

Marx Hailed Paris Commune



This drawing of the Paris Commune symbolizes the deep interest which Karl Marx had in this great struggle of the working class. Pictured at his desk, he sent advice and aid from London to the Parisian workers "storming the heavens"—building the first workers' state.

They do not dare propose to open these idle factories and run them under workers' control. So they begin with the premise that these great factories must be locked up while millions are left to starve.

Let Us Fight for a Socialist Program

Against the dark and threatening prospects held out by capitalism, my party, the Socialist Workers Party, offers the broad promise of socialism—a real solution to the gangrenous social ills that beset mankind.

I invite you, the workers of Los Angeles, to join with me and my party in the fight for a better world. If elected mayor, I shall strive to advance every one of your most vital interests. Let us fight together to preserve our democratic rights against the forces of reaction! Let us fight for a Socialist program which will keep the factories open so that we and our families, the returning veterans, and the generation that comes after us, may live as human beings are entitled to live. Abolish poverty and war! Fight for a Socialist world! Don't waste your votes on capitalist politicians! Vote Socialist!

PARIS COMMUNE: FIRST WORKERS GOVERNMENT

By Ruth Johnson

Seventy-four years ago, on March 18, 1871, the people of Paris established the first workers' state in history—the immortal Paris Commune. After seventy-one days of magnificent achievement, the Commune lay in ruins, crushed by the armies of the capitalist counter-revolution, and on its bones was built the Third Republic of France.

But the Commune did not die. Its revolutionary traditions continue to inspire the French workers to this very day.

In 1871 the victorious armies of Bismarck were routing the armies of French capitalism. The French government, the terrified capitalists and their followers fled from Paris to the safety of Versailles. Only the brave Parisian masses stood their ground. Without armed troops, without tested political parties, they proclaimed their own government, the Paris Commune—against both the regime at Versailles and the mighty Prussian enemy.

Hastily a new government was formed at Versailles with Thiers at its head. He signed a truce with Bismarck. Both capitalist governments—French and German—united by their common fear of the insurgent working class, cooperated to crush the Commune. Bismarck released thousands of prisoners of war to swell the ranks of the French army besieging the workers' government in Paris.

COMMUNE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Surrounded by enemies, the Commune, fighting for its very existence, nevertheless set a record of achievements which has become a treasured heritage of the working class. Its councils, elected by each of the arrondissements (districts) of Paris, showed in every action their proletarian character. One of their first decrees, for instance, abolished night work in bakeries; a second abolished the system of fines by which workers had been penalized by the bosses.

The Commune replaced the standing professional army, which had always been used as a weapon of capitalist oppression, by the universal arming of the people. The Communards in arms undertook the defense of revolutionary Paris. In the tumultuous events of Europe today, the insurgent masses, following the lessons of 1871, are also demanding the right to possess and retain their arms in the fight against all the enemies of the people.

The Commune issued a decree turning over to the control of the workers all factories abandoned or closed by their owners. In the Paris insurrection of August 1944, the French workers, inspired by the slogans of the Trotskyists, demanded and in some places carried out the expropriation of the factories owned by collaborationists who fled with the Nazi armies, and started to operate them under the control of workers' councils.

HERALDS NEW SOCIETY

But most important of all, the Commune established a new kind of governing body which combined both executive and legislative functions. The members of the Commune were elected by universal suffrage and served at working men's wages. This was the pattern upon which the Soviets were built during the Russian Revolution of 1905 and perfected during the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This was the greatest gift of the Commune to the working class.

Karl Marx, who followed with passionate interest every development of the Commune, sent advice and aid through the Parisian members of the First International. "Working men's Paris, with its Commune," he wrote, "will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society." He described the Commune as "the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor."

The Commune, however, proved to be historically premature. In 1871 the French working class, still engaged in handicraft or working in small factories, lacked the means, the forces and the leadership to extend and fortify their revolution and build a socialist society. The Commune

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N.W. corner



By V. Grey

Seissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) has the bright idea that Socialism won't work because the workingman and woman will have too much money. They won't come to work half the time, he says.

Well, in the first place, I don't see why that will be the acid test for the success of Socialism anyhow. If a fellow can look out the window some fine spring day, see the sun come up real bright for the first time in months, and decide to go fishing instead of going to work—why I think that's swell!

Especially if he can afford it, and under Socialism he CAN afford it.

But Seissorbill Sam and every other company man the world over hold up their hands in horror when you say a thing like that. "What would become of production?" they say. "Suppose everybody did that? It would be a fine state of affairs, wouldn't it?"—and so on. You know, just like the foreman talks when he sees you eating a sandwich at your machine.

They think production will go to hell under Socialism. They think everybody will take it so easy nothing will get done. They think we'll all wind up combing the beach or sitting on a park bench starving until we keel over and come back to our senses.

Naturally, the capitalist, the foreman, and their seissorbill stooges believe that people won't work if they are FREE. All the bosses can see is a society where everyone—except themselves—is a slave. Take the chains off a slave, they figure, and he'll run away.

They understand so well how hateful it is to work under their system that they see it takes heavy chains indeed to keep their wage-slaves humble. Why, if the worker had a little independence, they reason—a little extra dough, and reasonable freedom from worry about future unemployment, he'd take off every day in the week!

So keep him poor! Keep him down! And you'll squeeze the work out of him. And they're partly right, too, because a slave isn't the same as a free man. A slave works because he has to—because the master has the upper hand.

But they are only partly right. The funny part of it is that even under this wage-slave system, people don't always behave according to slave etiquette. (There is more than one way to act when you get whipped.)

For instance the people who take off the most are the sweepers. Their work is the lowest paid and the most miserable. A couple of the old boys go off on a toot for two days after payday, regular as clock work. They work the other four days counting the hours until they get their twenty odd dollars, and spend half of it for forgetfulness.

The people that are by far the steadiest are the tool-room workers. Their work is the highest paid and the most interesting. For one thing they'd hate to lose twelve dollars—or rather eighteen with time and a half—by taking off. And not only that. You can see when they fold up the blueprint for the day that some of them are still thinking of the thing they are making. In that sense, they even work overtime for nothing.

Even when the work is not so interesting, men are much more cheerful doing it if they are decently paid. Bricklayers, for instance, riveters and iron workers, put in a tough day, but they don't look at it as a grind nearly as much as they would at lower pay.

HOW IT WILL BE UNDER SOCIALISM

Under Socialism EVERY job will be decently paid. And jobs will be interesting, even aside from the pay. Hours will be shorter. Instead of taking you at least 48 hours a week to make a living, you'll do it in 30, 24 and less. You'll plan things, turn wheels, and push buttons instead of getting ruptured. And you'll look forward after your regular three or four days off, to your turn at the wheel—just like you look forward to a day's fishing now.

There won't be any question about production falling down because of people not working. That only happens in Capitalist depressions when millions are begging for work, and can't get it. Today when there is supposed to be so much "absenteeism" the workers have outstripped all production records. The system of the Capitalists works pretty well—between depressions. The Capitalists "give" everybody work for a little while making guns to kill every body else.

But these same Capitalists lock and bolt the factory door when wars are over. And long, long lines of working people form every day trying their best to get in the dirty place and do the work they hate. That's the kind of work that's done under Capitalism. That's the kind of production. But that's the CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Under OUR system, things are going to be different. We're going to be working for ourselves then, not for Park Avenue poodles. We'll want to work, and like to work. Not as sweat-slaves for a few lousy bucks, but as people working for other working people instead of for profits. Making the things our wives and children want—and making them in far greater amounts than the fattest capitalists ever dreamed of.

The capitalists, and the capitalist-minded seissorbills, may think we'll get dopey and lazy with so much prosperity. They may think that when we can eat as much as we want, we'll just keep on eating like pigs. And that without any owners over us, we'll bust—that we'll lose all sense of responsibility and forget about making the food that we so hogishly eat. In other words, they judge US by THEMSELVES.

I don't know how it is with other workers. But I think I'll take my chances of possibly busting under Socialism against sure starvation under Capitalism.

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Best Medical Care Given Fala's Pups While Infants Of Poor Suffer Neglect

By Grace Carlson

"Fala is the father of twins. Dr. Thomas Sheldon, veterinary, announced today that twin daughters were born on March 9 at the Sheldon Canine Hospital to President Roosevelt's famed Scottie and Butters, owned by Miss Margaret Suckley of Hyde Park.

"Fala's daughters, named Meggy and Peggy, were sent home with their mother yesterday, Dr. Sheldon said."

So ran a March 13 Associated Press report from Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Now, I do not think all the troubles of this country are due to the fact that F. D. R.'s dog and his dog's "bride" receive expensive medical care. I should not want to force the young Mrs. Fala to go through the ordeal of motherhood, alone and unaided!

But I wonder what a visitor from Mars would have thought if he had read in the same paper which carried the news of Mrs. Fala's successful delivery at Sheldon Canine Hospital, the report from the U. S. Children's Bureau about inadequate hospital facilities for human mothers?

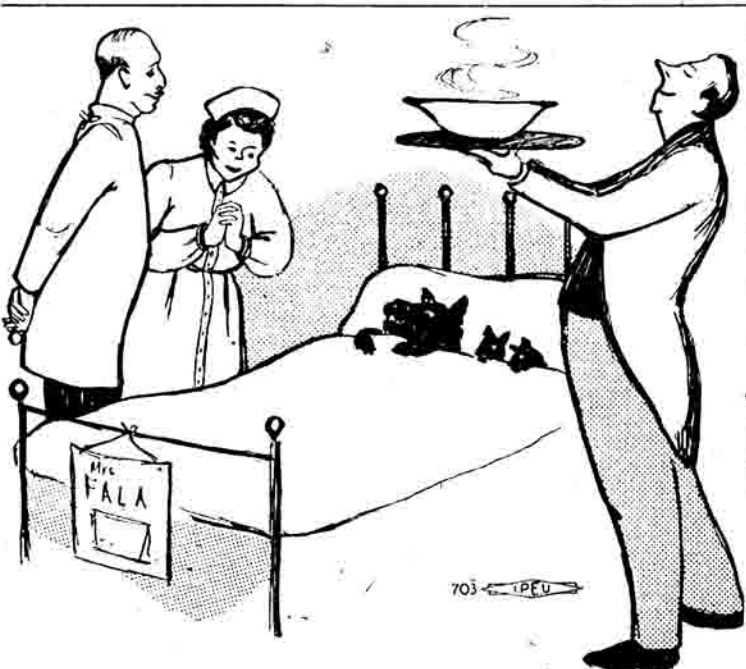
Very likely, the citizen from Mars would have decided that the members of the human race are crazy and taken the first rocket ship back home!

RICH—AND POOR

Public health authorities have long known there are hundreds of thousands of American mothers and their newborn infants who do not receive proper medical and hospital treatment. Census reports show that only 73 percent of white women are delivered in hospitals. Far more shameful—only 29 percent of Negro women receive this type of care.

These 27 percent of white maternity cases and 71 percent of Negro maternity cases who do not receive hospitalization represent poor mothers—mothers of the working-class. When babies are born to the rich, their mothers receive elaborate obstetrical and hospital treatment—even more impressive than the maternity care given their dogs.

But with the wartime shifts of population and crowded living conditions in the large mass-production centers, the problem of working-class women needing maternity care has become still



Strong Minority In UAW Opposes No-Strike Policy

(Continued from page 1)

special anti-strike edition of the CIO News addressed to the auto workers.

The International Executive Board and top officers of the UAW unitedly appealed to the membership to retain the pledge. They mobilized their large machine of paid functionaries throughout the union on behalf of the pledge. The Stalinists milked the treasuries of the unions under their control and poured huge sums into the reactionary drive.

In addition, there were serious irregularities in the conduct of the referendum. Reports are coming in of large numbers of auto members who received no ballots. Non-members, including corporation officials, as in Lansing, Michigan, were the recipients of ballots.

The militant Rank and File Caucus, initiated only six months before the referendum began, did not have sufficient time, organization or resources to reach a large section of the members. Nevertheless, in the face of tremendous obstacles, it mobilized a powerful minority vote against the pledge.

Events in the past month since the completion of the referendum confirm the real significance of the vote to rescind. The UAW executive board has been compelled to call for withdrawing the CIO members from the WLB. The corporations have launched a savage offensive against the unions. Over 60,000 auto workers have hit the picket lines in Detroit in the past five weeks.

These events following the referendum vote indicate the fighting mood of the ranks. They disclose the substantial base that exists for a powerful caucus that will lead a showdown fight for a militant program and a new, aggressive leadership. The task ahead for the Rank and File Caucus is to make serious, organized preparations to extend and strengthen its forces in the ranks for the coming inevitable battle to reestablish the UAW-CIO as the vanguard union in the American labor struggle.

of the deaths of newborn infants were due to a lack of proper medical and hospital treatment. In round figures, this means that nearly 100,000 lives could have been saved every year if this society had only been willing to spend the money needed.

But statistics are cold and impersonal. What do maternal and infant deaths mean in terms of human values?

The death of a working-class mother in childbirth. Tragedy in the home—improper care for the new baby and the other young children. Very often, the necessity for breaking up the home because the hard-pressed father finds it impossible to carry the double burden. Then separation of the children—boarding-homes or orphan asylums. This all-too-familiar story has been heard thousands of times in the courtrooms where so-called juvenile delinquents are tried.

FALA IS FINE

And the death of a newborn infant! Who can look upon a dead baby without bowing his head before the tragedy of a human being that never had a chance?

100,000 deaths of mothers and newborn babies could be prevented every year!

BUT MOTHER AND BABIES IN THE HYDE PARK KENNELS ARE DOING NICELY!

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Browder Shows His Colors

The fact that the American "Communists" have forsaken the struggle for Negro equality since degenerating into the mere agents of the Stalin bureaucracy in Russia is daily becoming more clear to the advanced Negro militants in this country. Although the Trotskyists have been pointing to this fact for some time, the real job of exposing the present role of these so-called "Communists" is being done by the Stalinists themselves.

Not only the leading Negro "communists" such as Councilman Ben Davis and former professor Doxey Wilkerson have made it clear that they are discouraging any militant struggle for Negro rights but now also the official spokesman, Earl Browder, has publicly stated in the March 4th issue of the Sunday Worker that "it has been the studied policy of American Communists to refrain from public discussion" of the issue of Jim Crowism in the Army.

In his article discussing the new policy of the Army to commission "Communists" he deals with the Negro question and makes it clear that the "Communists" intend to ignore the reactionary Army policy of Jim Crowing the Negro soldiers.

He states (believe it or not) that they are "convinced" that the Army leadership is "soundly democratic" and that "it would move to modify and finally abolish... Jim Crowism" without any "organized pressure." He further says that the Stalinists "are today happy indeed" that "progress is being recorded." According to Browder, his "judgement, (on the value of the silent policy) has been confirmed." In other words, by not fighting back against the reactionary policy of the Army brass hats — wonder of wonders — a great victory has been gained.

JIM CROW REMAINS

Now since every Negro knows that during four years of this imperialist war the repulsive Jim Crow policy of the Army has been neither "modified" nor "abolished," it is obvious from Browder's statement that he is either entirely ignorant of the facts or else is making a traitorous attempt to fool the Negro masses and lull them into submission to the Army's official segregation policy.

Since the hell which the Negro inductees has experienced both in Southern training camps and abroad is common knowledge, we can only assume that the Stalinists are making an official attempt to betray the Negro people. They aim to discourage them from fighting for their rights in order to prevent any interference with the plans of the imperialist war lords to conquer and exploit the peoples of Europe, Africa and Asia.

Although a few more openings were made as political gestures previous to the national elections,

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

—KARL MARX

What Miners Are Fighting To Win

By Evelyn Atwood

Half a million coal miners are compelled again to renew their battle against the greedy mine owners. The miners toil in grime and sweat for long hours in the dark, dangerous caverns below the earth's surface, but their wages constantly lag behind the cost of living as the profiteering company stores bleed them white. They are denied safety equipment and measures against needless mine disasters which every year kill over a thousand of them and cripple thousands more. They require a sufficient breathing spell—a vacation—so their exhausted bodies can recuperate from backbreaking, unhealthy toil.

These mine workers in 1944 dug out of the pits six hundred and eighty-five million tons of coal, an all-time record. Their sweat and blood, their limbs and lives are in every lump of coal which has helped turn the wheels of American industry and made millionaires into billionaires during this war. But these miners, these producers of wealth for others, are self-respecting, fighting union men — and they are demanding the right for themselves and their families to live in decency, comfort and health.

The mine bosses bask in Florida sunshine and listen to the tinkling music of mounting profits. But when those whose labor keeps the mine owners in useless luxury demand a tiny share more of the enormous wealth they are creating, what bellows of rage are let loose by the profit-swollen parasites! With the aid of their political agents, the operators move ruthlessly to crush the workers whom they consider nothing but "aggressive" slaves.

SERVE MINE OWNERS

The mine owners, who regard profits as everything and workers as nothing, once more have summoned their flunkies and set all their well-oiled machinery into motion against the mine workers. They have, first of all, their capitalist government and all of its agencies of deceit and force. Thus, even before the present mine contract negotiations began, Secretary of Interior Ickes threatened to indict all the officials of the United Mine Workers Union under the vicious Smith-Connally anti-strike law.

Backing up the boss government is the boss press, pouring out a stream of lies and slanders to poison the minds of the people against the miners. The New York Times, mouthpiece of the same House of Morgan which controls many coal mines, rages that the miners are bringing about an "acute coal shortage... in wartime." It does not mention that the miners dug more coal than ever before in history or that the mine owners made more profits than ever before.

The Times demands even more stringent laws than the Smith-Connally Act to throttle and crush the miners. It approves the cynical statement of the coal operators that through their demands the miners are "encroaching directly upon the function of government by usurping the problems of social welfare." Who else but the miners can safeguard their own social welfare? The coal owners and their government can bring them only greater poverty and despair.

Even the movies have been pressed into service to give the public false impressions about the miners' living conditions. Power Unlimited, an RKO "educational" film, has just been released to 8,000 theatres, throughout the country. The United Mine Workers Journal criticizes "the impression it gives that all is lovely and picturesque in a great number of mining communities owned by coal operators. Shots of a modern beauty parlor, a well-stocked and well-kept company store and a slightly ultra swimming pool, along with the narrator's explanation that these are the means by which solicitous operators endeavor to keep their



HE: "Imagine those miners asking for more money while WE'RE fighting this war!"

employees contented." All of this "will evoke an ironic laugh from the hundreds of thousands who live in mining camps where conditions compare to those of the big city slums and operator solicitude is unknown."

WINCHELL'S DIRTY WORK

The radio, that powerful instrument for shaping public opinion, keeps blasting away at the miners. Foremost among the hired commentators is Walter Winchell, who turns for a moment from his scandal-mongering to spit his venom upon the miners. This professional key-hole peeper earns \$5,000 a week now and has just been offered a \$10,000 a week contract by the Ever-sharp Pencil Co. He can well afford to sneer at the miners who ask for a few cents more a day. He can afford to wrap himself in star-spangled bunting and appoint himself superpatriotic spokesman for "the boys in the foxholes."

But he will not influence the miners and sons of miners and millions of other workers in uniform who know very well what the men in the pits are fighting, and what they are fighting for. The worker-soldiers are proud of their "aggressive" brothers in the mines.

Yes, the miners are aggressive. The miners are fighters. For you have to be a man to be a miner. The miners have plenty to fight against — their degradation and impoverishment by the mine bosses. They also have something to fight for — their right to be free men in a free country and to share the wealth they produce. In this they are carrying out not only the best traditions of their union but of the entire American working class.

BACK THE MINERS!

When this country consisted of thirteen colonies, men like the miners fought against British tyranny. Were it not for their good fight this country might still be under the heel of England. In the next century, fighting men like the miners, the Abolitionists and the Unionists, fought together with the Negro slaves and

smashed the system of chattel slavery.

After the Civil War, fighting men like the miners struggled for decades against the bosses to keep what gains they made and to win more gains for the working class. Many were jailed and many were killed before the workers won the right to organize into unions; before they won first the 10-hour day and then the 8-hour day — and the 7-hour day in the mines. The capitalists coined millions of dollars of profit out of the labor of children before men like the fighting miners forced the enactment of laws to make child labor illegal.

Powerful forces are lined up against the miners. But half a million united men are a mighty force too. The miners have the power of their numbers, they have a just cause, they have the will to struggle. Given the support of the whole labor movement, they can break the stranglehold of the bloodsucking profiteers and win their right to a decent life.

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Send the zone number to:

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116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
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CIO Leaders Vote To Continue Their Policy of Retreat

(Continued from page 1)

"continue intact our no-strike pledge" after the end of the war in Europe. They voted to retain the CIO representatives on the wage-freezing, employer-dominated War Labor Board. They voted, once again, to send a delegation to the White House to beg their "friend" for a hand-out. With their heads buried ostrich-like to shut out the sight and sound of rising rank-and-file revolt against the policy of retreat and capitulation, the CIO leaders voted to continue the same course which has led the unions into their present blind alley.

But so strong has the swelling opposition to this policy become that it found its echo on the board. Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers Union, and George Baldanzi, vice-president, cast their votes against the policy resolution. Thomas and Addes of the United Automobile Workers Union voted for the resolution after their proposal asking "consideration" for withdrawing the CIO members from the WLB had been defeated. The textile and auto workers have been in the forefront of the struggle against the wage-freeze and employer provocations.

PROPOSE CONFERENCE

Taking cognizance of the current union-busting drive, the CIO policy resolution deprecates the fact that "there are some employers and others who seek to take advantage of our present war situation and endeavor to provoke labor by threatening the existence of unions, the discharge of leading members of the union, cutting wages and other divisive methods." To correct these evils the CIO heads propose that Roosevelt convene a tri-partite conference of industry, labor and government, to formulate "a policy that will meet the needs of our nation."

All this chatter about "meeting the needs of the nation" is so much gibberish. The employers always identify THEIR needs with those of the "nation." And their needs have been adequately met by Roosevelt's policy of freezing workers to their jobs at frozen wages. Their needs have been taken care of by labor's no-strike pledge and by the War Labor Board. Why should they participate in a conference to "formulate policy?" It is their policy which the administration has put forward and the labor leaders have been faithfully carrying out.

It is labor which has a crying need for a new policy to "meet the needs" of the workers. Such a policy will never materialize out of a "conference" with the employers and their government agents. The CIO ranks look in vain to their top leadership to formulate a policy that will defend their interests. The cowardly surrender policy of the national executive board has made it abundantly clear that the CIO militants will have to forge a new leadership in the process of struggle for a program of action that can solve their problems.

AKRON

Militant Club Forum

Sunday, April 1, 3 p. m.

'The Struggle for Negro Equality'

39 E. Market Street Room 406 Admission Free

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalsky

"Pete," I said, "come on home."

It was late at night. The workers on the graveyard shift were sweating on the furnaces and straining in the mills. Some laggards from the shift before were still under the showers or crouched in a circle in the locker room intently watching the spinning of a pair of large transparent green dice. Others were already at home sprawled wearily on kitchen chairs getting a snack before climbing into bed. I had stopped at Emil's place for a couple of beers with some of the gang. And that's where I found Pete Nolan.

Pete was leaning heavily on the bar, doing his best to become drunk. There were circles under his eyes, and his hand was a little unsteady, for Pete had been doing this all week long. He was drinking double shots.

"Pete," I repeated—

Nolan turned to look at me. He turned ponderously and deliberately as though he were aiming a large gun, swinging it into place to fire. There was a glint of meanness in his eyes, but underneath it there was a look of hurt, of pain and bewilderment, that threw up a dyke of meanness so that the hurt wouldn't flow out into the world and tell everyone that Pete Nolan had troubles that he couldn't take.

Pete glared. "What the hell you talking about. I haven't got any home."

"I know, Pete, but come on out anyhow."

Maybe he was sick of drinking, or maybe he really wanted to talk. Anyhow, he finally came along, telling me his troubles as we walked down the street.

It was an old story that Pete told me. It's been told before in all languages, and it will be told and re-told many more times, I'm afraid.

Pete told me what a swell little wife Lois was. He told me with whiskey tears in his eyes how crazy he was about her.

"Before we were married," he said, "we used to plan how it would be. We were going to save up and maybe get a little place of our own. I wasn't going to work in that damn steel mill all the rest of my life. Some day we thought we could get away from here, maybe I'd open up a little garage, or we thought maybe we'd get a little farm or something. You know, some place where we could have something of our own and a little security."

But that was all finished. Pete was now blubbering quite openly from the double shots he had been drinking before I got him out of Emil's place.

"It's all over now." Pete caught his breath. The night air, a chilly breeze sweeping over the lake had begun to clear his head. His voice became more normal once again.

"Yeah," he repeated, "it's all over now. She's finally gone and left me, and, hell, I don't blame her. I never wanted to go out anywhere or do anything. I'd come home grouchy as hell, and she wouldn't want to take it, so she'd say her piece. Cripes, she couldn't just sit there and take it all the time without talking back."

"Besides, she had plenty to gripe about too. A girl can't stay young and pretty all her life. She wants to have some fun when she is young, not just scrub floors and wash a bunch of dirty work clothes and do the cooking. It wasn't the way we used to talk about it."

'I Didn't Want It To Happen To Me'

I didn't say anything. There was really nothing to say; besides, Pete wanted to talk, not to listen.

He grinned cynically. "I knew what it was like. My old man and my old lady used to hate each other most of the time. He'd get out of the house every chance he had, and they were always scrapping like cats and dogs."

"But, cripes," Pete turned to me pathetically, "I knew about that, and I didn't want it to happen to me, and it went and happened all the same. I'd come home tired. . . You know how it is. And we never had enough money. . . you know. I never meant it to happen."

"What the hell," Pete said resignedly, "I don't blame her." We walked silently down the darkened streets past shadowed houses where workers slept, where bedrooms and kitchens reeked with the hatred that comes all too often with hard times, with drudgery, and with fatigue. In the distance an engine hooted dimly as it tugged a load of ingots past a crossing. It was a lonely sound.

"Dammit, I miss her," Pete said.

We passed more dark houses. Sometimes there would be light in those houses, and laughter. Sometimes there would be love and comradeship; but sometimes also there would be bitterness, sharp outbursts of anger that seemed to come from trivial things but really came from too many hours of back-breaking toil on the furnaces or in the mills and from paychecks that were never quite enough.

Pete muttered, "If I could have only made a little more money. . .," and he turned the corner of his street.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARCH 23, 1935

NEW YORK—Richard Whitney, President of the New York Stock Exchange, warned that "Excessive relief presents the gravest threat to the fiscal integrity of the government." (Whitney later displayed his own "fiscal integrity" by embezzling funds entrusted to his control and was sent to Sing Sing Penitentiary).

While this capitalist spokesman and "moralist" strove to reduce the miserable relief handouts, The Militant revealed the true conditions of the American workers caught in the most devastating depression in history.

"A widow and two small children were found living in the railroad station at Allentown, Pa.," said The Militant. "J. E. Gibson of Paris, Texas was given \$2 to buy fishing tackle, and removed from the relief rolls. 'The catfish are biting,' he was told. Mike Naggis, unemployed steel worker, was found dead in his unheated home near Coatesville, Pa. 'Starvation,' said the coroner."

WASHINGTON—Talk of rearmament for the Second World War filled the air, as news came from Germany that Hitler had torn up the Versailles Treaty. "It came as no surprise," said The Militant, "despite public protestations of righteous indignation."

"That Germany has been arming ever since Hitler came to power has been an open secret for many months. . . Just so long as capitalism exists there will be wars. This is the fact that workers and the peoples of the world must learn."

Pioneer Paragraphs

FATE OF THE SOVIET UNION LINKED TO WORLD REVOLUTION

The program of Bolshevism started with the point of view that the fate of the October Revolution is inseparable from the fate of the international revolution. The program of 1928, in spite of all its "internationalist" phrases, starts with the perspective of the independent building of socialism in the USSR. The program of Lenin declares: "Without revolution in the West and in the Orient, we are lost." This program, by its very essence, precludes the possibility of sacrificing the interests of the world workers' movement for the interests of the USSR.

The program of the Communist international means in practice: the interests of the proletarian revolution in France can and ought to be sacrificed to the interests of the USSR (more strictly, to the interests of the diplomatic deals of the Soviet bureaucracy). The program of Lenin warns: Soviet bureaucracy is the worst enemy of socialism; bureaucracy, which reflects the pressure of bourgeois forces and tendencies, can lead to a revival of the bourgeoisie; the success of the struggle against the scourge of bureaucracy can be assured only by the victory of the European and the world proletariat.

Contrary to this, the present program of the Communist International States: socialism can be built independently of the successes or defeats of the world proletarian movement, under the guidance of the infallible and all-powerful Soviet bureaucracy; anything directed against the infallibility of the bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary and should be exterminated. . .

In practice, indeed, the Stalin-

ist bureaucracy long ago replaced the program of the international proletarian revolution with a program of Soviet national reforms. Disorienting and enfeebling the world proletariat by its policies, which are a mixture of opportunism and adventurism, the Communist International thereby likewise undermines the fundamental interests of the USSR. We are for the USSR, but against the usurping bureaucracy and its blind instrument, the Communist International.

(From "Whither France," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 105-106. Pioneer Publishers, 1936; 160 pp., cloth \$1, paper 75 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

German Workers

This issue of *The Militant* carries detailed reports of strikes, demonstrations, and armed clashes occurring in the principal industrial centers of Germany. These facts show that the German workers are seizing the opportunity provided by the mortal military and political crisis of German imperialism—under the most terrible conditions and adverse circumstances—to mobilize their forces against the Nazi regime.

What then becomes of the hideous lie that the German workers, the first victims of Hitler, were behind his regime and still support it? The German workers were dragged into this war against their will and their interests by the Nazi agents of German imperialism just as the American workers were plunged into the war by the servants of Wall Street. They are no more responsible for Hitler's atrocities than the British workers are responsible for Churchill's massacre of the Greek people.

If the German workers backed Hitler, there would be bitter hatred and hostility between them and the millions of foreign workers deported into the Reich as slave labor. Instead reports from Bremen indicate that they have cemented solidarity in struggle against the Nazis. "The demonstrators were shouting in I don't know how many languages," says the reporter, "it was all one roar."

What a crushing answer is this stirring unity in action to the Allied trade union officials who met last month in an International Trade Union Conference in London! Taking the cue from their masters, these labor flunkies passed a resolution saddling the German workers with responsibility for the crimes of Hitler and German capitalism. This slander has been concocted to justify the savage plans of the Big Three to partition Germany, demolish its industries, and convert its inhabitants into paupers and slaves as Hitler did to the peoples he conquered.

To further these reactionary designs the Allied spokesmen are peddling another fraudulent story which is directly aimed against the maturing German revolution. They say that after military defeat the Nazis will continue to fight indefinitely by underground and guerrilla activity.

The prerequisite for sustained and successful

guerrilla warfare is popular sympathy and support. Where will the discredited and defeated Nazis get such support? Not from the middle classes described by Howard Smith as disillusioned with Hitler and in a "revolutionary" mood. Certainly not from the German workers who, like the Italian workers, won't need any Allied War Crimes Commission to ferret out the fascist rats and shoot them on sight.

In fact, the Allied leaders are preparing to stigmatize these and other revolutionary actions of the German workers as "Nazi guerrilla warfare." Using this type of frameup as a smoke-screen, they plan to use occupation troops to repress the masses, as they have already done in Greece. One of Stalin's generals has declared that he would deal with a demonstration greeting the Red Army with revolutionary banners and red flags as "a Nazi conspiracy."

The American workers must be on guard against such lies and frameups. They must rally to the defense of the German worker's revolution in the same spirit of class solidarity displayed by the foreign workers inside the Reich.

Smith-Connally Act

On February 26 the United Mine Workers filed with the Department of Labor, the National War Labor Board and the National Labor Relations Board a formal notice of the existence of a labor dispute in the coal industry. They took this step in defense of their interests in strict conformance with the legal requirements imposed upon the unions by the Smith-Connally Bill (War Labor Disputes Act.)

Despite this scrupulous observance of the harsh provisions of this anti-labor statute by the miners, the big business press at once set up a howl against them for preparing to "strike in wartime." That Wall Street mouthpiece, the *N. Y. Times*, raved in an editorial on Feb. 28 that "a national coal strike at this time would disrupt our entire war production. It could give both the Nazis and Japanese the breathing spell they so urgently need and desire."

The *Times* had to acknowledge that the miners acted legally in taking advantage of the strike-poll machinery established under the Smith-Connally Act. But it complained that "this is the result of one of the stupidest pieces of legislation ever passed by Congress."

What cynical hypocrisy! This infamous measure, passed by Congress on June 25, 1943 was deliberately designed as a weapon against the trade union movement, and especially against the United Mine Workers which had just conducted three magnificent general strikes against the avaricious mine owners. It contains many vicious civil and criminal penalties which have already been invoked to convict mine union officials.

But even this "slave statute" is not vicious enough for the labor-hating employers, their press, and government representatives. They do not propose to permit the miners to operate even within the restrictive framework of the Smith-Connally Act. Demands for more stringent anti-labor legislation are already being raised in Wall Street and Washington. By fair means or foul, the bosses are out to smash the miners' union.

The Main Task

The Wall Street plunderbund is openly preparing a nation-wide union-smashing drive in anticipation of an early end to the war against Germany. The bloated war-profiteers aim to crush all organized resistance to their "post-war" wage-slashing, open-shop "reconversion" schemes.

The recent strike-wave in Detroit was deliberately provoked by the auto corporations with this end in view. Their plans are being facilitated by the weak-kneed policies of surrender imposed upon the unions by the official leadership. While the bosses fill their war-chests, gather their forces, and go ahead with their union-busting conspiracies, the top union officials act as a brake upon the militancy of the ranks.

The preliminary skirmishes in Detroit have amply proved that the workers are ready and eager to meet and beat back the offensive of the union-wreckers. They have confidence that the fighting capacities which built their powerful organizations are fully adequate to defend them.

What the militants lack is an organization which can unify and coordinate their struggles around a program which answers their needs. This was evident in the recent UAW referendum on the no-strike pledge. A powerful national coalition composed of the Stalinists, the employers and their government, the kept press and the union bureaucrats was arrayed against the UAW militants. This combination threw its full weight against a small rank-and-file group which had been organized to fight for the independence of the union by rescinding the no-strike pledge. Yet, even despite this unfavorable relationship of forces, over one-third of the votes cast in the referendum favored the revocation of the pledge.

There are similar rank-and-file groups in rubber, steel, and other unions. The task is to overcome their present weaknesses and isolation and to create a movement capable of meeting the nation-wide offensive of the employers.

The program for such a progressive movement is clearly indicated by the main issues which have already arisen out of the experiences of the workers themselves. The militants in the various unions are mobilizing around the following slogans: rescind the no-strike pledge, withdraw the union representatives from the W.L.B., build the independent labor party.

Guardian of Reaction



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.

Polish Readers

The attitude of Polish workers was demonstrated by the reaction of one worker in *The Militant* subscription drive last Sunday morning. I told him when he opened the door that I represented *The Militant*, the only paper in the country which tells the truth about the conditions of the workers.

He invited me in and asked about the underlying ideas of the paper. I answered that it was a socialist paper. He then stated that he was opposed to Bolshevism. My reply was that the paper was a Bolshevik paper, and I asked why he was against Bolshevism. He then made it clear that he felt very strongly opposed to Stalin's entire line in Poland and identified Stalinism with revolutionary socialism.

As soon as he discovered that the paper was anti-Stalinist, that it followed the policies of Lenin and Trotsky, his attitude changed. I insisted that Bolshevism had nothing in common with Stalinism and presented our line on Poland, backed up by *The Militant* story on the Yalta conference.

The worker went on to state that he had no confidence in Churchill and Roosevelt — but felt that progress could only be made in Europe by the poor. To illustrate his disapproval of conditions here at home, with particular reference to the coal shortage, he went on to explain how simple it would be to produce heat more efficiently and cheaply if done on a cooperative socialist basis.

Our talk wound up by his taking two subscriptions, one for himself and one for a Polish friend. That, plus the three I had already sold, made five in one hour.

D. L. Cleveland, O.

Milwaukee Socialists

Editor:

Four Socialist Party candidates in the Milwaukee School Board Spring Primary elections will be opposed by a fifth Socialist Party member, Anthony King of the AFL Building Trades. White-haired party members were horror-stricken when Frank Zeidler, guiding light of the somewhat rusty SP municipal machine, suggested that King be expelled. It was pointed out that the AFL bureaucrat has "too many friends." Expulsion would also be suicidal for SP aspirants to AFL bureaucracy jobs.

Naturally this is not a matter for the attention of the Socialist Party National Executive. The ways of "democracy," "autonomy," "unity," are sacred. School Board posts in Milwaukee are traditional stepping-stones for

ambitious labor-taking politicians. Jack O'Connell Milwaukee, Wis.

More 'Spicy' Articles

Why not have more spicy articles on leading figures such as the one on Daniel Tobin? If I could only write, I'd turn a group out on each of the "Big Three," the "Bricklayer," "Rosy" and "Uncle Joe."

While I have some more room, I'd like to offer the suggestion that *The Militant* would be lots more attractive if it were smaller in size and had more pages. It is very difficult to read a large paper on the street cars and buses and this is the only time that many people do read.

J. M. Los Angeles

Negro Blood

In our plant the other day, we had an interesting and striking example of how many Negro workers view the Red Cross. One of my buddies, a Negro, upon paying the \$1.00 that was forced from him through pressure of the company, said to the foreman: "Here's my dollar, only be-

cause I promised it to you. When I went down to the Red Cross blood bank the other day, to offer a pint of my blood, I was told, 'No, we're not in need of any Negro blood at present.' If my blood isn't good enough for them, neither is my money."

Truly, this is a good example of the double discrimination against the Negro minority in this country.

I. C. Youngstown, O.

System Denies Right To Trial By Jury

I certainly like the way you replied to L. G. Sims in your issue of February 24th. It does not matter who is the president under this system; they all act more or less alike. Hoover was not as good a president because he could not peddle as much baloney. But a change of presidents really makes no actual change in the system of government.

The United States Constitution supposedly guarantees that the right to jury trials shall be preserved in both criminal and civil cases but for over 60 years it has been the easiest thing to prevent lawyerless defendants from having jury trials. For who could ever know that they had demanded a jury trial within the time prescribed by law?

And after regaining his liberty, if a man tried to take legal action against whoever prevented him from having a jury trial, he would find such action was impossible because he could produce no proof. It was merely his word against the word of a respected citizen, and he was an ex-convict. It may be that those who made the Constitution intended that a defendant should remain a defendant until he had received all the legal rights he was entitled to, and that in any controversy, the burden of proving that he had received his legal rights would be upon those responsible for handling the case.

But between the people and the Constitution there are such a lot of lawyers and judges who have made so many rules for legal procedure that it is impossible for the Supreme Law of the land to operate when a poor man is the defendant.

Do the people approve of such practices or is there a possibility that they do not know of them? It is a certainty that they have the right to sit on jury trials and they cannot do this when such trials are withheld from those who are entitled to them.

This matter may possibly interest some of your readers for it shows that the authorities believe that they are justified in ignoring the United States Constitution and administering the law in the way they think best. It also shows that they refuse to allow a lawyerless defendant to have a fair trial.

Arthur Penn San Francisco, Cal.

OPA Gives Profiteers Another Helping Hand

Roosevelt's Office of Price Administration last week extended to wholesalers and retailers of "all commodities" the privilege of using special price-padding practices already employed by the manufacturers with OPA approval.

This is the "product standard" principle of fixing prices, which netted the steel barons alone \$100,000,000 extra profits in 1944.

According to this slick method, manufacturers and merchants may demand and secure industry-wide price-ceiling increases for specific commodities on the basis of the costs of the smallest and least efficient firms in a given industry or trade.

All the merchants have to do to get a price boost on any item is to show that some individual seller's cost of operation does not permit a "reasonable" profit on that item. The price-ceiling is hiked for the entire trade, regardless of how large the profits of the big firms are.

This OPA-price gougers' scheme to clip the consumers for hundreds of millions in additional profits was announced just after Deputy OPA Administrator Brownlee had reported on the staggering profits of retail merchants to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. He explained that "the OPA never reduces prices merely because it considers profits are large."

Brownlee admitted that 1943 profits had soared as much as ten times over those of the 1936-39 period. Here are the percentages of profit increases he revealed. Department and specialty stores, 1,046 per cent; hardware retailers, 360; small furniture sellers, 170; variety chain stores, 250; men's clothing, 230; chain groceries, 76; independent groceries, 101; music shops, 210.

This latest OPA assistance to the profiteers was denounced by Donald Montgomery, chairman of the CIO Cost of Living Committee and a member of the OPA's Labor Policy Committee. He declared that unless such policies are halted "price control is going to give way" and an "explosive situation" will result. For the consumers, the "complicated formulas" of the OPA mean that it "continues to raise prices for establishments which already are making many times the profits which they made in pre-war years."

Thus, Roosevelt's OPA sanctions a new huge price steal just after his War Labor Board and Economic Stabilization Administration endorse the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.

NAM Advice On How To Win Friends Inside Congress

According to the tongue-in-cheek testimony of its representative before the House Campaign Expenditures Committee last year, the National Association of Manufacturers is strictly "non-political." NAM didn't have to account for political expenditures, because it didn't make any. So said the NAM.

The latest "non-political" venture of the NAM is a flossy little pamphlet, called "Know Your Congressman." This is being sent to all NAM members with a letter from Ira Mosher, new NAM president. As one commentator observed, this educational brochure might well be titled "The Care and Feeding of Congressmen." It tells all the little charming ways a business man can use to "win friends and influence people" among the federal legislators.

Included in the pamphlet are ten rules for business men in getting Congress to give them what they want. It also advises the business lobbyists to remember that a Congressman is "human" and has personal problems—such as a miserly \$10,000 annual salary which is "not enough to meet his demands."

Be useful to your Congressman and he'll be useful to you, is the NAM "non-political" slogan.

Grain Speculators Coin Millions From 'Leaks'

Speculators with inside information on the government's Commodity Credit Corporation operations have made "millions and millions of dollars" in the grain market, declared Rep. Taber before the House last week. He called for an investigation of a situation which he said "transcends Teapot Dome."

These charges were supported by Rep. Keefe, who stated that an examination of "certain brokerage houses here and in Chicago" would disclose "large purchases" of grain at below parity prices just a few days before the CCC announced it would support grain prices up to parity.

"People on the in," he said, "made themselves millions and millions of dollars on the transaction." Taber recited grain price quotations at Chicago for September 26, 1944 prior to the market opening. "Before the grain market opened the Government announced that it would buy on May 1, 1945, at full parity price all wheat under loan that remained unredeemed. This came as a surprise and caused a five-cent advance in wheat that day."

"From September 9 to September 25 there was a steady rise in the price of wheat and the spread reached a height of 14 1/5 cents per bushel. There was a very large volume of purchases and those purchases were dropped on the market immediately after the announcement on the 25th at a very large profit."

He asked: "Is it possible to infer anything other than that there had been a leak in the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation and that those with the tip-off made an enormous profit in getting rid of the wheat at high prices?" A similar "leakage and a profit on the part of speculators" in the egg, rye and raisin markets in connection with CCC operations were also charged.

At the moment these disclosures were being made, Frank Hancock, CCC head, sitting in the House gallery, hastily disclosed to reporters that three employees of the CCC had been "separated" from their jobs and an investigation was being started.

This, presumably, will uncover some minor scapegoats, while capitalist speculation in the necessities of life for the people will continue unabated. The speculators would merely use their government connections to uncover new sources of "inside" information.