

Mine Operators Forced To Yield Wage Increases

The militant soft coal miners have forced the reluctant mine owners to sign a new union contract granting wage increases estimated to average \$1.25 to \$1.50 per day for a six-day week.

This victory was won on April 11, eleven days after the lapse of the old contract. The operators hastened to sign after government threats, culminating in a government mine "seizure," failed to halt widespread mine strikes which at their peak involved over 300 mines in eight states employing some 100,000 workers.

These spontaneous walkouts occurred despite a 30-day extension of the old contract. The miners were determined to show they meant business by their eight-to-one strike vote in an NLRB poll and that they would tolerate no further stalling from the mine bosses who have rolled up the biggest profits in their history.

On the same day the agreement was signed, the late President Roosevelt, in one of his last official acts, ordered the "seizure" of 235 struck mines. This action was taken at the request of the War Labor Board, which had intervened unsuccessfully to order the miners back to work.

Like the mine "seizure" orders of two years ago, when the miners went out on four general strikes, the latest order provided that the mine operators themselves were to "continue with their managerial functions to the maximum degree possible."

The principal wage concession was the granting of two hours daily overtime at time and a half pay. The basic work week will be restored to the original 35 hours, instead of the 40 hours under the last contract, thus providing greater overtime benefits.

In addition, the contract calls for full pay for travel time in the mines (portal to portal) instead of the present two-thirds. Vacation pay was raised to \$75

'Big Wages' a Myth, Veterans Discover

"It's not that the boys don't want to work, but the salaries are too small," declared United States Employment Service interviewer Christmas P. Winkler, explaining on April 7 why the USES in Memphis is having such a tough time securing jobs for returning war veterans.

He revealed that out of 1,045 ex-servicemen who applied at his office for jobs last month, only about 200 were placed. The soldiers, complained Winkler, have "read in the newspapers, magazines and radio about the enormous wages war plant workers are pulling down. They're disgruntled when they come back and find they don't get big salaries."

from the old \$50 limit. Premium increases of 4 cents and 6 cents an hour were granted to second and third shift workers. The companies also agreed to pay part of the costs for various miners' equipment.

There is still one serious hurdle before the contract can go into effect. That is the government agencies — principally the War Labor Board. The contract must be approved by the WLB.

It is generally conceded that the contract provides no increases in formal violation of the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula, the WLB — as it did two years ago in blocking a mine contract and precipitating a strike — might claim the contract represents "hidden increases." That was the pretext used two years ago when the WLB denied the miners' right to portal-to-portal pay.

Goodyear Workers Strike Against Speed-Up Program

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, April 10.—Corporation attempts to smash union standards this week provoked a strike of several hundred Banbury mill operators at the Goodyear Tire and Rubber company which practically crippled tire production. The strike, still in effect after 7 days, graphically illustrates the increasingly vicious anti-labor drive of the rubber barons and the angry mood of the rank and file workers.

The strike occurred last Tuesday when the Goodyear bosses arbitrarily slashed the piece work standard on remilling tube stock. When the Banbury mill union committeeman (URWA-CIO) refused to run the batch at the reduced standard he was immediately fired. The department walked out.

For seven days since then the men have steadfastly refused to return to work until the committee is reinstated and the old standard put back into effect. The combined pressure of the company, the press, the radio and the top officials of the URWA have been stubbornly resisted by the men.

The mill operators are especially bitter since they have been the main targets together with tire builders of the joint government-corporation campaign to speed-up tire production. They know that the union, the government and the corporations signed an agreement to maintain a 120-day continuous production schedule, with the proviso that the corporations would maintain the status quo on all wages and standards. The union leaders promised there would be no strikes.

But time after time the companies have moved in behind the smokescreen of the 120 day program to speed-up the standards and cut wages.

This time the workers refused to take it. When the company reduced the time allotted for the production of the batch the workers knew this was a bald-faced wage cut.

Moreover, the speed-up is doubly vicious in any milling department in a rubber plant. The revolving calendars which mill out the rubber are veritable death traps. More than one rubber worker has been ground to pulp in these mills. Hundreds have lost a hand or an arm when a

piece of clothing or a gloved hand was pulled into the revolving mills which grind whatever goes into them down to hundreds of an inch.

But to the rubber corporations neither the lives of the workers, nor signed agreements take priority over their greed for profit.

The attempt of the rubber barons to cut wages during the period of the 120 day program proves their absolutely insatiable appetite for profits. In a column published several weeks ago Drew Pearson revealed that the big rubber companies refused to sign the 120 day "Peace" program until they were first guaranteed huge additional super-profits by the OPA.

It was estimated that this lifting of the price ceiling would net the corporations almost \$40,000,000 in additional profits.

The rubber corporations, which averaged an annual profit of \$43,279,000 from 1936 through 1939, salted away \$307,368,000 in 1943. This was an increase of 612.4%.

They are not satisfied with this fat wartime swag. They are not satisfied that while they have reaped the harvest the wages of workers are frozen. They have moved into one department after another cutting standards, slashing wages, and trying to destroy the unions.

Sherman Dalrymple, URWA International President, did not have a word to say about this anti-labor campaign by the Goodyear company. On the contrary, he only made veiled threats to discipline the "irresponsible elements."

While the corporations are stepping up this union-busting drive, the Sherman Dalrymples are busy speaking at Rotary clubs about the virtues of the "Peace Pact" between labor and industry for the post-war period.

Government Censorship Conceals Widespread Production Cutbacks

Trotskyist Leader Reported Released From Ceylon Jail

All of the 14 political prisoners in Ceylon, India, are to be released by the authorities on condition that they sign bonds agreeing to certain restrictions, according to the Mid-March English Socialist Appeal. Among the 14 prisoners is Philip Gunawardene, Ceylonese Trotskyist leader, who will be released immediately as a result of his critical illness brought on by harsh prison conditions and starvation. The imprisonment and mistreatment which brought Comrade Gunawardene close to death were vigorously protested by *The Militant* of April 17.

JAILED WITHOUT TRIAL

Comrade Gunawardene is one of the courageous leaders of the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party who was elected to the Ceylon State Council in 1938. He was thrown into a British concentration camp, without trial, at the beginning of the war for his opposition to the war and his revolutionary political convictions.

Escaping from the concentration camp in April 1942 during a resurgence of the Indian masses, Comrade Gunawardene went to India where he resumed his place in their struggle for freedom. There he helped organize the unified Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Ceylon and Burma.

Betrayed to the police by a Stalinist stool-pigeon who had wormed his way into the party, he was again arrested on July 15, 1943 and transported back to Ceylon for trial and imprisonment. His uncompromising defense of his revolutionary ideas and defiant challenge to British imperialism during his trial was published in *The Militant* of Oct. 14. When news was received that he was dying of illness and starvation in prison, our English comrades asked that resolutions of protest be sent to the British Colonial Office, demanding his release.

GUNAWARDENE'S SPEECH

Comrade Gunawardene is once more free to fight for the views he so ably defended before the magistrate's court of Kandy, Ceylon, in 1944. He said:

"Revolutions are on the order of the day... In the wake of the fall of Fascism working class revolutions will break out in Europe. The fall of Japanese imperialism will give rise to colonial revolution..."

"The working class of Ceylon under the leadership of the Sama Samaja Party will play its part in the coming years."

'MILITANT' EXPANDS TO 8 PAGES BEGINNING WITH MAY DAY ISSUE

The enthusiastic reception accorded *The Militant*, climaxed by an increase of over 10,000 new subscribers within the past seven weeks alone, makes it possible to announce that starting with the May Day issue, April 28, *The Militant* will be expanded from six to eight pages.

Less than a year ago, *The Militant* took the big step forward of increasing from four to six pages. This enlarged format, acclaimed by our readers, enabled us to give a much wider national and international news coverage, better analysis of political events, more educational articles and introduce a number of new popular features, including regular columns, cartoons, etc.

The addition of a third more space will mean another tremendous all-round improvement in the paper. It will be possible to present even more extensive news coverage of important political events, publish more new features

of popular interest to the workers, expose in detail the conspiracies of Big Business and the capitalist corruption which the kept press conceals.

This ambitious undertaking — unprecedented in the 16-year history of the American Trotskyist movement — is designed to provide the workers with the finest workingclass weekly ever published in this country. As the only paper that tells the truth about the struggle of the workers everywhere for a better world, the expansion of *The Militant* is intended to make it into a still more powerful and effective weapon in that struggle.

Both the national and international conditions of this struggle today make this expansion imperative. The steadily increasing response to *The Militant* and its Marxist program of revolutionary socialism has demonstrated that the workers are seeking a basic answer to the catastrophic crisis that engulfs mankind.

Above all, the American work-

ers are seeking a way out of the swamp of capitalist lies and desire a program of struggle against the impending economic and social chaos, with its cuts, mass unemployment, price inflation, wage-slashing and unbridled assaults on the labor movement. An eight-page *Militant* will be a better instrument for educating, organizing and preparing the workers for the labor battles ahead.

Last spring, in one previous subscription campaign, the Socialist Workers Party members and sympathizers secured over 7,600 new *Militant* subscribers in three months. In the latest campaign or 10,000 new readers in three months, the quota has already been surpassed in seven weeks.

It is particularly appropriate that the new eight-page *Militant* be launched on May Day — the traditional international workingclass day dedicated to mobilizing the ranks of the workers for renewed and greater struggles for socialism.

Camouflaging the Big Gun



Bosses Push Open-Shop Drive Despite CIO-AFL 'Peace Pact'

By Art Preis

"It's Industrial Peace for the Postwar Period!" shrieked the front-page headline of the April 2 *CIO News* to the startled ranks of the CIO. Thus did Philip Murray jubilantly proclaim the fact that he and AFL head William Green had signed a "peace charter" with Eric Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

The surprised membership of the CIO and AFL learned that their top leaders, after months of secret meetings with Johnston and without any prior consultation of the union rank and file, had agreed to call off all struggle against the profligate, labor-hating bosses.

Even more startling to the ranks were the conditions of this "truce." Labor is pledged to recognize the "sacred right" of the handful of ruling capitalists to control American economy and resources forever and to exploit the workers for profit under the system of monopoly capitalism "free enterprise."

The employers generously agree — in words — to recognize the right of collective bargaining — a right they are already supposed to respect by law.

THE REAL SITUATION

Up and down the labor movement, and in their official press, Murray, Green and their lieutenants have announced that labor must surrender permanently its traditional methods of militant struggle. It must clasp the hand of fellowship now supposedly thrust forth by the corporations.

The workers have looked around to see some practical evidences of this miraculous transformation of

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IN THE NEWS

For Honest Black Market

A meat packer told a Senate committee last week that black market meat operators were beginning to complain about the "illegitimate" black market. He said that Florida black marketeers who get meat from New York, are beefing that some "illegitimate" dealers in New York were charging 10 cents above the black market scale.

Incentive Pay?

Four of the War Labor Board's public members, who have helped enforce the wage-freeze, on April 6 were granted an 11 per cent salary boost by Presidential order. Their annual salaries were increased \$1,000—from \$9,000 to \$10,000.

Better Hurry, Fellows!

Advertisement in the March 31, New York Times:

The Ultimate in Men's
Topcoatings
Vicuna
A Masterpiece by De Pinna
\$425

A princely garment designed expressly for the special delectation and usage of those favored folk who may indulge their every wish. Rich, soft beyond belief, aristocratic — these Vicuna topcoats are decidedly rare. In fact, candor dictates the admission that eight is all we can secure of these Vicunas this season.

The United Nations

Under the headline, "Glitter Of Captured Gold Starts Allies Squabbling," the New York Post, April 11, reports: "The Nazi gold and currency hoard captured at Merkers, Germany, over the weekend already is starting a squabble in Washington and among the Allies. Dividing up the booty raises the whole problem of reparations and treatment of post-war Germany."

Rules Too Strict

At the Peoples House in the coal-mining town of Gilly, Belgium, all the workers parties and organizations are permitted to hold meetings free of charge. The sole condition: that the meetings permit public questions and discussions. Only the Communist (Stalinist) Party has refused to meet there, reports Lenin's Road, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist).

NEWS BLACKOUT HIDES RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Industrial 'Demobilization' Plans Ignore Thousands of Discharged War Workers

By C. Thomas

Cutbacks in war production are mounting behind a veil of military censorship intended to conceal the full extent of layoffs due to war contract cancellations and plant shutdowns. The boss press, which a few weeks ago was screeching for a labor draft to meet an alleged manpower shortage, has fallen in with the hush-hush policy of the administration and its brass hats. "No news stories, no headlines," observes one labor commentator. "But every day hundreds more are told 'No more work after Monday, all men with less than two years seniority are permanently laid off.'"

Propose Higher Prices to 'Fight' Black Market

Congressmen at various hearings on the meat shortage have been loudly blaming the extensive black market — estimated at about 90 per cent in large cities — on OPA price ceilings. A parade of meat packers last year boasted profits seven times over pre-war levels and in the past 18 months pocketed over \$600,000,000 of government subsidies, are demanding the lifting of price ceilings as the "solution" to meat shortages and black marketeering.

Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, last week chimed in with this theory that if prices were only high enough there would be no black market. "OPA policies," he stated, "are restricting meat and building up the black market."

The black market, by admission of the meat packers themselves, includes the "legitimate" meat firms. "Who is not in the black market?" declared one packer before the House Food Investigating Committee. The same Congressmen and Senators who blame the black market on the OPA are those who voted last year for a price control act which virtually destroyed the OPA's limited price enforcement powers.

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WHAT CAN LABOR EXPECT OF TRUMAN?

By Joseph Keller

The death of Franklin D. Roosevelt has suddenly lifted into the office of the presidency of the United States a man who is little known to the majority of the American people. This comparatively obscure figure, Harry S. Truman, now stands at the head of the greatest military, industrial and financial power in the world. As the chief executive officer of the ruling capitalist class in the United States, his words and deeds will directly affect the lives of all American workers and the future welfare of the hungry, tortured, war-weary masses throughout the world.

Universal interest is now focused upon this political personage. Every thinking worker wants to know who Truman really is. What are his connections and background? Who are his advisers? What interests will he serve? What policies will he pursue? American labor needs a clear and truthful answer to these questions as a guiding line for the period ahead of economic convulsions and world-wide social crisis.

In subsequent issues *The Militant* plans to publish a series of articles on the political role and record of the late President Roosevelt.

One thing is certain at first glance. Truman commands the confidence of every sector of the

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

UE Militants Expelled

For allegedly conducting a "slowdown" when the Matam Corporation, Long Island City, stalled contract negotiations, six workers were expelled last week from Stalinist-dominated Local 1227, CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. Eight others, including three women workers, were suspended and fined sums ranging from \$25 to \$100 each. This suited the company fine. It promptly fired all 14.

The Stalinists are very ferocious when it comes to fighting against union militants. But they have only the most cringing attitude toward the employers and their government agencies, like the War Labor Board. Thus, for over a year, the UERMW leaders have been trying to get wage increases for 200,000 General Electric and Westinghouse Electric workers by begging before the WLB. Last Thursday, the WLB contemptuously rejected all their major wage demands. It can be expected that the Stalinists will now put up a more stubborn fight—against the union ranks!

White Collar Workers

The CIO Economic Outlook, March, 1945, gives a vivid description of the plight of the white collar workers.

Only 13 per cent of the estimated 7,000,000 white collar workers in private industries are employed under union agreements, as against 60 per cent of the manufacturing wage earners. Only 5 per cent of clerical and professional workers in manufacturing and financial establishments, wholesale and retail trade combined are protected by union contracts.

By the end of 1943, according to the OPA estimate, "real" weekly earnings of finance, service, government and trades employees declined up to 5 per cent over the already low levels of 1939. The Social Security Board reports that the average weekly income of 4½ million white collar workers was only \$29 in 1943. The average real annual income of all public education employees declined from \$1,461 in 1939 to \$1,156 in 1943.

The women telephone operators, who have organized and put up a militant fight for better conditions, recently winning wage increases, have shown the way. Militant union organization—that is the only answer for the white collar workers.

State Anti-Labor Laws

Philip Murray and William Green may have signed their "peace charter" with Eric Johnston of the Chamber of Commerce, but the employers are continuing to press for union-crippling legislation through the state governments.

For instance, the Texas House of Representatives on April 10 passed the notorious anti-closed shop bill. It is one of those "right to work" bills whose purpose is to prevent the enforcement of closed shop contracts. However, the "right to work" principle does not operate when employers want to fire workers.

Six state governments have already quietly passed, and 12 others are now considering, a bill which would defraud hundreds of thousands of time-and-a-half pay

for overtime work and permit employers to "chisel" on wages of those earning less than \$16 weekly. If passed in every state, as it already has in Ohio, Iowa, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Oregon, it would affect some 21,000,000 workers under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

This extremely complicated law in effect reduces the time in which workers can file claims for unpaid wages from six years to six months. Employers would be liable for only six months back pay instead of sums owed for several years. The amount of wage chiseling that goes on can be seen from the fact that the Wages and Hours Administration in 1944 alone collected \$18,000,000 in back wages and overtime pay for workers. Since 1939, there have been over 250,000 such claims filed.

Two Kinds of Justice

In the March 31 issue of The Militant, this column described how for nine years—since 1936—the Weirton Steel Company has successfully fought CIO unionism through murderous terrorism also how throughout all these years it has defied numerous federal court orders and NLRB rulings to grant collective bargaining rights to its employees. The company plans to defy these rulings for another seven years through the aid of friendly capitalist courts and slick legal maneuvering.

Last week, Circuit Judge J. Harold Brennan at Weirton, W. Va., sentenced 15 CIO United Steel Workers members to fines up to \$100 and jail sentences of from 30 to 60 days on charges of "unlawful assembly" at the Weirton plant gates. Weirton is a company town, run by company officials and police, enforcing company laws. The CIO members were arrested for attempting to pass out union leaflets to the workers. Several of the CIO organizers were severely beaten by organized company thugs, armed with special clubs made in a special department of the plant.

Here is a typical example of class justice. A powerful corporation can violate federal laws—it can commit murder—with impunity. But its workers who seek to exercise rights recognized by federal law—are beaten and thrown into jail.

Double-Talk on WLB

Complaining against the CIO United Automobile Workers Executive Board's resolution calling for the withdrawal of CIO members from the WLB, George Addes, UAW secretary-treasurer, writes in the April 15 United Automobile Worker: "I disagree, for never let it be said that labor joined hands with Sewell Avery and his like in demanding that the WLB be scrapped or its power further weakened. If there must be resignations—and we believe there should be—let them come not from labor but from public members of the Board."

Linking the UAW opponents of the anti-labor WLB to Avery, who has his own special reasons for opposing the WLB, may be effective slander—but it isn't an argument. Let Addes show where the auto bosses want to scrap the WLB. He can't—because the vast majority of big corporations understand that the WLB is their agency which they have used effectively in enforcing the wage-freeze and curbing the workers. What good would getting new "impartial" public members on the WLB do for the workers? All the old ones were also supposed to be "impartial." Addes begs the real question. The WLB was designed to aid the bosses. It merely enforces official capitalist government policy. A change of public members would not change its anti-labor function.

10,000 Quota Exceeded In Seventh Week Of Campaign For New 'Militant' Readers

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

In a magnificent demonstration, members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party have fulfilled the total national quota of 10,000 set in the Militant Subscription Campaign at the half-way mark. In seven weeks' time they have placed The Militant in 10,435 more working class homes. From the pace which the branches are setting themselves, they will probably come close to doubling the original quota.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Doris Hilson, Akron: "The Akron Branch challenges all other branches to a 500 percent of quota score. Are there any takers?"

H. Newell, Allentown: "20 steel workers and one auto worker bought subscriptions the past week."

Kay Martin, Flint: "Here are 16 more subs. Our supply of sub cards is very low so please send 50 more as soon as possible."

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "We were quite optimistic at our chances to exceed the quota of 200 at the beginning of the campaign but no one of us would have dared to predict a total of 500 by the campaign deadline! We have reached the half-way mark in the campaign with 300 subs."

Elmer Oakie, Reading: "Please add three subs enclosed to my list of Militant readers. This makes my total subs 58."

Inez Cope, Youngstown: "Our comrades are really in there pitching and though we have only one organized mobilization a week, we find ourselves going out two and three times weekly. This is such an opportune time to get our paper into workers' homes. Doubts are beginning to arise in their minds and our paper will certainly clear them up in no time. It is our duty to get our paper into as many homes as possible because we are the only ones who can give them honest explanations and an answer to their problems."

Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "This week our comrades covered the Browder meeting in Detroit. One of our comrades overheard two Greek Stalinists talking about the Militant Sub Campaign. One said to the other with a note of respect in his voice, 'Those Trotskyists are selling subscription all over the city.'"

A. Field, Minneapolis: "Twelve of the 19 subs enclosed were obtained by three comrades who went out from house-to-house for about an hour before the meeting Thursday."

Sylvia Moran, New Haven: "The enclosed 11 subs were obtained by Bert and me. We'll send in more in a week or two."

P. Mertens, St. Paul: "Comrade Pearson had been to a place where he used to work and got eight subs. When he came over with them and found out we only needed four to have 100 percent—he went out and got the four! That makes Pearson our Pace-Setter with 37 subs. The campaign is still half-way to go, and St. Paul is just starting!"

R. Haddon, San Francisco: "With half the campaign over, we are sure to get our quota, but we are hoping to get at least 500 by the end of the campaign. Our high scorers are Joan Wakefield and R. Haddon with 32 each, Tori with 25, A. Alexander with 22 and Jim with 20. Our teams are running neck and neck and it is still anybody's chance to win. East Bay has 66; Jim's team has 76 and Haddon's 83. But, only half the campaign is over, so we can't tell as yet which team will be honored with the dinner at the close of the campaign."

FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Many of our recent subscribers are helping us in this campaign by introducing The Militant to their friends. We invite all of you to join our "Militant Army."

C. E. D. of Evansville, Indiana sent in subscriptions for seven of his friends.

H. C. of Cincinnati, Ohio, sent us fifteen more subs and he writes: "Incidentally—maybe I should say EXTRA EXTRA—I got a nibble from one of my subs. He sent in four subs I see by The Militant."

L. H. Y. of Ft. Wayne asked us to send subs to six of his fellow-workers, and subscriptions were received from L. B. C. of Hamilton, Ohio and J. F. M. of St. Louis for their friends.

A. N. W. of Outlook, Montana writes: "Enclosed find a check for \$28. Three dollars of this is a combination sub for a friend of mine in Plentywood and the balance of \$25 is a belated contribution to The Militant fund. The paper is great and getting greater. Am glad to see this sub drive with such a punch to it."

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Akron	85	268	315
Allentown	50	154	308
Flint	50	109	218
San Diego	50	91	182
Cleveland	200	300	150
Milwaukee	100	136	136
Reading	75	101	135
Toledo	250	334	134
Youngstown	300	382	127
Detroit	1000	1235	123
Buffalo	350	418	119
Minneapolis	300	301	101
St. Paul	100	100	100
New York	2500	2503	100
Boston	200	188	94
Chicago	1000	930	93
Newark	350	256	73
Philadelphia	150	107	71
San Francisco	350	241	69
Los Angeles	2000	1266	63
Seattle	400	238	60
Rochester	50	25	50
Bayonne	150	70	46
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	187	133
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)		495	
TOTAL	10,200	10435	104



Numerous incidents reported to us show that more and more workers understand clearly the need for an independent Labor Party. We quote several such incidents.

M. Baker of Cleveland: "On today's house-to-house canvass, I met a brewery worker who asked right off the bat what program The Militant represented. When I told him the paper publishes the program of the Socialist Workers Party and fights for an independent Labor Party, he said, 'Then I'm interested in it.'"

"He told me he used to always vote the Democratic ticket. But he knows now there's no difference between them and the Republicans, and what the workers need is to clean out the capitalists and straighten things up themselves. There's a lot of talk about these things in the shop," he said. "There are a lot of the fellows that I consider Socialists. It's the only way out for us."

"Then he asked if we have a group here in Cleveland and if we have public meetings. I explained we send notices of such meetings to The Militant subscribers, and invited him to celebrate May Day with us."

H. Newell of Allentown: "I have encountered only negligible defense of Roosevelt when his role is explained in discussing our Labor Party slogan. There is no doubt but that the workers are much more prepared by the past election and subsequent events for our paper and its program than they were just previous to the election with all the PAC ballyhoo obscuring the class issues."

"We really have to sell the paper for what it is—a working class paper with a class line."

Howard Mason of Detroit reports good literature coverage of a Stalinist meeting: "We covered a meeting where Browder spoke this week with The Militant and other literature. All of us noticed a definite improved reaction from those attending, which is borne out by literature sales. Although we had to leave before the crowd really began coming because of a meeting of our own, our agents

'TRAILBLAZERS' RECORD HIGHEST WEEKLY TOTAL

Last week Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, the Militant Trail-Blazers, secured 176 subscriptions from workers in Rochester, N. Y. This is the highest number yet secured in one week's work. Their subscriptions now total 532.

Here are a few excerpts from their enthusiastic reports. "We have met a pretty fair cross-section of the Rochester working-class. Among the new Militant readers are workers from all the local industries (garment, Kodak, optical, instruments, etc.) including a dozen different nationalities. We continue to be impressed by the almost uniform degree of class-consciousness we encounter."

CONDITIONS AT KODAK

"Most of the workers are in the lower wage brackets. Eastman Kodak, a large plant employing thousands, is unorganized. Rumor has it that the company spent 15 millions to fight the union. It's a powerful outfit linked up with the DuPont gang. Working conditions are lousy—they have a half-disguised incentive pay plan in operation, and a killing 10 hour day. Workers tell us about Kodak's international monopoly, which provides an opening to talk to them about the need for internationalism in the workers' struggle. One indignant woman, who subscribed to The Militant, told us that after sweating 10 hours a night for Kodak, her husband falls asleep and is too tired to come downstairs to dinner. She, as others we met, jeered at the promise of 60 million jobs after the war."

"Two Kodak workers, former followers of Stalinism, kept us talking with them for half an hour after they subscribed. We discussed the treacherous line of the Stalinists, the set-up at the local Kodak plant and the conspiracy of the bosses and their politicians to use the war as a means of further enslaving the workers. These men were bitterly aware of the campaign the Daily Worker carried on a year or so ago for incentive pay. They described to us how incentive pay, the bonus system and terror are used by Kodak to forestall union organization among the tens of thousands of workers."

"This is particularly interesting since Kodak establishes conditions for the entire working population of Rochester. It is not only the largest industry here, but through the letting of contracts and other indirect channels, Kodak controls practically all of the production carried on here."

"With the four subs sent in sometime ago, this makes 15 sold by this one friend. And no telling how many of the 15 new readers will in turn become just such friends."

ITALIAN WORKERS

"Italian workers who have watched events unfold in Italy are obviously undergoing a great political education. Many of their old illusions have been shattered. Both the old workers and the younger ones are receptive to the program of socialist struggle. Our internationalist program has a powerful appeal to these people. But when other workers, for other reasons, are equally aroused and enthused by our ideas, we get the impression more strongly each

For a Rising Scale
Of Wages to Meet
Rising Living Costs

Pioneer Notes

A worker in Boston who bought James P. Cannon's History of American Trotskyism gave his reactions after reading it. "As a member of the American Workers Party (Muste group) some years ago I never understood the meaning of Trotskyism. Reading Cannon's book has made everything become simple and clear as to what this political working class movement is and its program."

From Cincinnati a former member of the Socialist Party writes: "I received the book History of American Trotskyism—I certainly enjoyed reading same." He goes on to discuss in detail his reactions to the book, indicating how closely and seriously he had read it. "Cannon certainly pulls no punches. . . . What I can give him credit for is his frankness and strong efforts. I hope his policies succeed in the future. . . . I will pass this copy of the book on."

These tributes are an indication of the increasing response of workers to James P. Cannon's book. New subscribers to The Militant who are reading about Trotskyist ideas for the first time will want to know more about the history of the movement—where it came from, its early struggles and its development and growth, its role in the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934, and a picture of the great pioneers of the Trotskyist movement in this country. They will find the full story, in simplest language, in The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

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Chicago Forced Labor Plan Used To Lower Wages

By L. Ray

CHICAGO, April 12 — The government's forced labor "referral" plan is being pushed in this area at a time when production cutbacks are beginning to cause widespread layoffs.

Although this has been declared a "critical labor shortage area" with a minimum 48-hour week, layoffs are occurring, especially in the higher pay, better organized plants. The only labor shortage is in plants paying from 50 cents to 80 cents an hour. The "referral" plan is being used to force the higher paid workers into lower paid jobs.

At one large plant manufacturing airplane motor parts, there was a recent lay-off of 20 percent of the workers. Another 10 percent of the remaining force suffered "relocation" to other jobs of lower skills and pay. Grinders, polishers and inspectors, formerly receiving \$1.20 to \$1.30 an hour, have been transferred to chip pullers, oilers and "broom pushers" at 95 cents per hour. Those who left the plant seeking jobs at their own skills, particularly the men, were not given releases but were forced to take referral cards.

REFERRAL CARDS

Under a release, the workers have a choice of places to work, and a chance at jobs paying their customary wages. With a referral card, there is no choice. The workers are permitted to seek employment only with the one or two employers named on their cards. And they are really taking a beating!

For instance, one worker, formerly a chief steward and member of the bargaining committee, desired to quit the aircraft plant rather than take a drastic reduction from his former job paying \$1.25 an hour. He was given a referral card specifying two employers, one paying 70 cents an hour, the other 75 cents.

TYPICAL CASES

He refused both and went to work in a job-shop making \$2 per hour. He was immediately classified in 1-A, given his physical and, although he is 43 years old, small and very thin, sent to Camp Ellis, Illinois, to serve in a Labor Battalion at \$50 per month. Reports are coming in that there are so many men now in these Labor Battalions that they are becoming a problem to the army.

A woman grinder at this same plant, who had been making \$1.20

N. Y. Phone Strike Voted 25 to 1

NEW YORK, April 17 — 18,000 local and long distance telephone operators here today voted overwhelmingly for strike after a WLB decision reduced to \$3 a \$5 per week wage raise recommended by the board's own panel.

The Traffic Employees Association, the local operators, voted 9,999 in favor of strike, with 540 against. The Long Lines Telephone Workers voted 3,814 to 18 in favor of strike action.

Both unions had demanded \$5 a week increase. The case was stalled for two years by the WLB. After a strike threat three months ago, the company offered \$4. The WLB, rejecting a panel recommendation, slashed it to \$3.

per hour, was offered a 95-cent job. She quit and her unemployment compensation was delayed three weeks because she refused another grinding job at \$1 an hour.

A machine repairman who had received \$1.65 an hour was referred to a job paying \$1.17 and on a night shift. His wife was dead and he could find no one to take care of his children except during the day. This meant that he could keep his home together only by working days. He found a day job at his original rate of pay and at his trade. The WMC insisted he continue at the night-shift job to which they had sent him. At last reports, he had quit this job after he returned home one night to find his children in hysterics. He may already be in a Labor Battalion somewhere and his children in an orphanage.

Another layoff is now taking place at this same aircraft parts plant. Stories of what happened to those previously laid off have circulated and the workers are really beefing. Those who accepted lower skilled jobs in the previous layoff are now the first to go. The company is classifying them on their referral cards at the lower skill and not at their original classifications.

What Can American Labor Expect From President Harry S. Truman?

(Continued from page 1)

play a decisive role in shaping his policies, "might be accurately described as 'a little right of center.'" In more concrete terms, Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the reactionary Republican New York World-Telegram, wrote on April 14: "The stock market yesterday gave President Truman a splendid vote of confidence... businessmen have confidence in him."

This confidence of Big Business is based on its conviction that Truman will effectively advance its program and protect its interests. This is amply demonstrated by a review of his background and political record.

More will be written about Truman's boyhood on his father's 600-acre Missouri farm and his activities as an artillery officer in the last war than about his political rise through the notorious Pendergast machine in Kansas City and his record as a loyal machine man in the Democratic Party councils of the big city bosses and Southern poll-tax politicians. The latter affiliations provide the real clue to his political role.

After the last war, Truman got his political start with the Pendergast gang — a number of whom, including the big boss himself, were sent to prison in 1937 for vote-fraud, graft and corruption. He was introduced to Tom Pendergast, the big boss of Kansas City politics, by Pendergast's nephew who had served under Truman in the army.

PENDERGAST PROTEGE

Through Pendergast's support Truman was elected as county judge, a post he occupied as a faithful henchman of Pendergast until 1934. In that year he was hand-picked by boss Pendergast for election to the U. S. Senate from Missouri.

To this day, as the New York Times points out: "Trained in the Tom Pendergast school of politics, President Truman is a party man, with small regard for dreamers in government who

have no definite political affiliations." Marshall Field's professional liberal daily, PM, while trying to squeeze Truman into a "liberal" mold, confesses with misgiving that he is "fiercely loyal to old political associates... does not break old political school ties easily." This was written apropos of his present connections with James Pendergast and reports of his intention to draw into influential posts a number of those machine politicians who helped boost Truman to the top.

In short, as one commentator expressed it with evident satis-



TRUMAN

faction, Truman will bring to his appointments the traits of a "good, shrewd horse-trader" — that is, of a practitioner of the political spoils system.

The liberal press and the union leaders are trying hard to represent Truman as a "practical liberal" on the scant record of his activities in the Senate from 1934 until his elevation to the vice-presidency after he got the backing of the late President Roosevelt, the big city bosses and the Southern poll-tax politicians at the 1944 Democratic convention.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

His record of routine support for "New Deal" measures does not weigh in the scale with his vote on two decisive measures. He vot-



BYRNES

ed originally for the Smith-Conally anti-strike law. He supported the last tax bill which Roosevelt himself was compelled to characterize as "relief for the greedy." He headed the Senate war investigation committee — which skimmed the surface of some of the more glaring scandals, but did little to halt the more than fifty-billions in graft that Comptroller General Lindsay Warren admitted has been made in this war beyond "reasonable profits."

The real tip-off on Truman's future policies lies in his associates and advisers and in his relations with Congress. The present Congress, in the opinion of almost every liberal and labor commentator, rates as one of the most reactionary in American history. Truman's accession to the presidency, according to conservative commentator Arthur Krock, means "that Congressional influence will once again loom large in the American government, and the voice of the Sen-

ate will sway Executive decisions." That is to say, Truman will act in harmony with the reactionary character of Congress.

This is more than borne out by the men associated with Truman and those he is expected to draw into his intimate administrative circle in the future.

TRUMAN'S CLOSE ADVISERS

First and foremost will be James F. Byrnes, former War Mobilization Director. He was the first man called back to Washington to advise Truman. A hardened Southern "white supremacy" reactionary, a target before his resignation of the most bitter attacks from all sections of the labor movement, Byrnes looms as Truman's closest and most influential adviser, who is said to be slated for the key post of Secretary of State.

Others in the retinue of Truman's advisers and possible new cabinet members include John Snyder, Hugh Fulton, Robert Hannegan. Snyder is a St. Louis banker, described by one of his friends as "holding about the same views as Emil Schram," president of the New York Stock Exchange. Fulton was formerly associated with Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine and Wood, a wealthy New York corporation law firm associated with some of America's most powerful corporations and cartel interests, including U. S. Steel and the House of Morgan. Hannegan is chairman of the Democratic Party National Committee, spokesman for the big city bosses.

These few facts cited here give a warning to labor of what it can expect of Truman.

SWP CANDIDATE GIVES ANALYSIS OF ELECTION

LOS ANGELES, April 8 — The following statement was issued by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, after the primary elections held on April 3.

The mayoralty campaign in Los Angeles is now concluded. It was the first election campaign conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles. As our first intervention into the local political struggles, the vote of 581 was quite significant. This vote represents purely a vote for Trotskyism. As this election was non-

Government Hides Growing Cutbacks By News Blackout

(Continued from page 1)

concludes the labor reporter for the New York Post.

These are but a few of the hints that have crept into the press despite the hush-hush imposed by the government. This policy is designed to lull the workers into a false sense of security. By making it appear a tough cutbacks and shutdowns are merely local or isolated incidents, the employers and their agents in Washington hope to ward off a national movement of labor to defend its living standards.

The administration is repeating the tactics employed last year. Their "conspiracy of silence" was basted then by the dramatic sit-in of the Brewster Aircraft workers, who converted an "isolated" cutback into a militant demonstration that attracted national attention. The Brewster sit-in caused a flurry of Congressional activity whose sole result was the adoption of "demobilization" legislation protecting the interests of the employers.

Here is how one reporter summed up the net outcome of government action at that time: "The only demobilization legislation so far approved by Congress provides for the termination of our contracts, but does nothing about taking up the slack in production and providing full employment after the war. It does nothing either about providing decent unemployment benefits for workers necessarily made jobless."

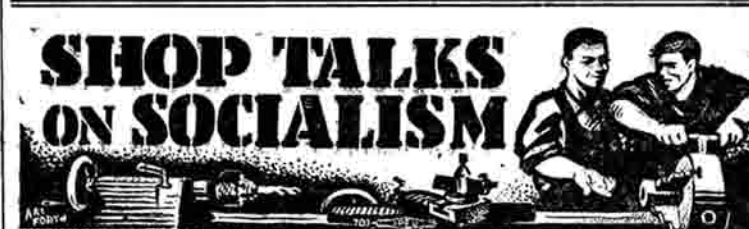
This was written on June 3, 1944, almost a year ago. In the ensuing year the government has done nothing, literally NOTHING, to cushion the shock of "demobilization" to the workers. The whole record proves that the political agents of Big Business have no intention of doing anything — unless they are jolted out of their callous indifference by the independent action of the labor movement.

partisan — the candidate was not identified on the ballot as socialist which meant that all votes were cast by workers who had been reached by our campaign literature. This also meant that many others who would vote socialist against the capitalist politicians could not know there was a socialist choice on the ballot.

The vote in actuality represents a rock-bottom support of the Trotskyist program in Los Angeles. The total vote can easily be multiplied many times for a more accurate estimation of the support won in the course of our campaign. For example, in one neighborhood where 26 workers subscribe to The Militant, only 6 were registered. These six were visited the day of the voting. Three had voted Trotskyist, the other three were going to do so that afternoon. Among other lessons, this election campaign has taught us the necessity of a special drive to register all our sympathizers. Further it has shown that the subscription campaigns for The Militant are laying the basis for effective electoral activity in the future, not only in Los Angeles, but throughout the country.

We want to thank everyone who voted for us in this election campaign. Your vote was a principled one. At a time when the bosses have their way without serious challenge from the labor movement, your Trotskyist vote was a demonstration of working class militancy.

In the course of this campaign, the program of the Socialist Workers Party has become widely known and you who voted for that program lead the working class in political consciousness. We have just begun. Our vote will be multiplied many times as, more experienced, we fight again, and as the workers awaken to their historical tasks.



By V. Grey

"You're never gonna get people to stick together enough to fight for Socialism—much less to keep it after you get it," Scissor-bill Sam (the bosses' man) opened up.

At first nobody disagreed. Because nobody knew exactly how to prove he was wrong.

Slim opened up his sandwiches to see if it was baloney again, and he said, "I don't know about that. Any of you fellows remember when Republic came around town in the thirties looking for men to run a new plant they said they were puttin' up?"

"Gee, I remember that," laughed Tony. "They offered a free bus trip to their new plant in Ohio. Everybody in town was out of work. So what did we have to lose?"

"Were you in that gang too?" Breezy booted, "What a beautiful job that was."

"Yes, it was a beautiful job, all right," Slim continued. "They took about seven bus loads out of this town. None of us had a cent in our pockets. The company supplied the meals. We had all been desperate for a job. And we had just packed into those buses. But after we'd been riding most of the day we had been talking and talking—wondering how come they went so far from this Ohio town to get workers."

"Then we all started saying it was damn funny that they didn't have any people out of work in this town we were going to. And an idea started to trouble us. But no one dared to speak it out loud."

"I was in the first bus that stopped by the gas station," Breezy put in. "I remember exactly the way that guy came out from behind the building. 'Where do you fellows think you're going?' he says. 'Why, over to work at the Republic plant', we tell him. 'Like hell you are!' he says. And he was up against the whole bus load."

WE HAD SENSE ENOUGH TO STAY UNITED

"Well, he could easily see we weren't a bunch of scabs," argued Tony. "Besides, don't you remember that other gang of strikers nearby in the woods?"

"Not when I was there," Breezy insisted.

"Anyhow," Slim went on, "I remember all the fellows in the first bus load got out on the road and stopped all the rest of the buses themselves. First we were going to drive the buses right back home ourselves. Then some faint-hearted guys let the drivers call up the company agent, and he hot-footed it over with a couple of lawyers. They argued for an hour about the contracts we signed. But it didn't do 'em any good."

"Finally they persuaded us to stay overnight in a hotel at their expense. We knew damn well they wanted to work on us again the next day. But we were all tired. The only thing I was afraid of was that we'd all have to hitch-hike back. But we took care of that by making the bus drivers bunk in with us. And every last man of us went back in the morning."

"Remember how we made the drivers pick up all the hitchhikers on the road back?" gloated Breezy.

"The point is..." Slim closed up his lunch basket, "that hardly any of that gang had even been in a union at that time. They hadn't even started to organize Bethlehem in the CIO then. But we had sense enough to stick together with those guys we never even saw, no matter how green or hard up we might have been."

Steel Corporation Fosters Race Hate To Weaken Union

By Mary Steele

YOUNGSTOWN, April 14 — The Republic Steel Corporation by its policy of racial discrimination precipitated a walkout of 28 women in the Youngstown Bessemer plant on April 2nd.

The women, most of them crane operators, left their jobs in protest against sharing the same dressing room with Negro women, who were employed in the plant for the first time since women have worked in the steel industry.

Prior to the walkout, known company stooges were stirring up the racial prejudices of the white women. At the same time they were playing on the backward sentiments of the men in regard to the "special" category in which they place the women as separate and apart from them as workers.

The Negro women were

brought to the plant on a special job in the capacity of bricklayers' helpers, an exceedingly hard and tedious job. They have been employees of the company for some time at its other Youngstown plant.

The local union of the Bessemer plant is known for its militancy. With this bit of Jim Crow provocation, the company hopes to weaken the union.

The company showed its duplicity in that, while they played the role of the party that insisted on equality, they refused admittance during the walkout to any woman who desired to work. In many instances they telephoned the female employees telling them not to come to work until notified. The agreement finally arrived at with the aid of a government mediator was: Negro women will use the same dressing room until their job in the plant is done; then they will return to the other plant. In the future, if Negro women are hired, a separate dressing room with equal facilities is to be built.

The mediator assured the local grievance committee that this was not discrimination. Naturally, from the fact that the government itself practices Jim Crow in the armed forces, flows the concept that segregation is not discrimination.

The local leadership took the mediator's word at its face value and thus the walkout ended after sixteen hours, with the women returning to work.

This agreement mistakenly supported by the local union is exactly what the company wanted. They have weakened the faith of the Negro worker in his union and, at the same time, taken the workers' minds off the problem of unsettled grievances.

The Republic Steel Corporation knows full well and plays upon the prejudices of the workers. On the one hand stirring up racial trouble, and on the other setting the women — themselves a minority — in a separate category.

This must be recognized and fought against by the union members. The task now is for the Negro women together with the local, to fight discrimination. With the CIO in the district backing up the fight for equality, this attempt on the part of management to weaken the local union can be repulsed. Then once more, strengthened by this solidarity, the union can gird itself in unity for the coming struggles with the steel corporations.



The Gravy Train

Here's the gravy just one investor scooped out of the auto industry. Mrs. Rosetta V. Hauss, sister of the late Michigan senator James Couzens, "got in on the ground floor" in 1903 with an investment of \$1000 in Ford Motor Company stock.

In 1908 she bought 20 more shares out of her five-year profits. When she sold her stock back to Ford in 1919, she received \$260,000, plus \$90,000 in cash dividends—a total of \$350,000, on an initial outlay of \$1000. This was 3,500 times her investment!

(From April 15 "United Automobile Worker," official organ of UAW-CIO).

Celebrate This May Day With The Trotskyists In Your City

THE MILITANT invites all its old friends and thousands of new readers to observe May Day, the international holiday of the workers, by attending the meetings of the Socialist Workers Party branches listed below. The Trotskyists are the only group in America who are celebrating May Day this year in its true spirit of workers' solidarity and struggle.

New York

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON
ALBERT GOLDMAN
WEBSTER HALL

11 St. Between B'way and 3rd Avenue

Toledo

Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Joseph Andrews
Organizer, Akron Branch SWP
Roi Davis Building
905 JEFFERSON AVENUE
Rooms 228-230
Admission Free

Boston

Sunday, May 6, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Grace Carlson
Workers Educational Center
30 STUART STREET

Newark

Sat., April 28, 7:30 p. m.

"Czar to Lenin"

Historical Film of the October Revolution

Speaker:

Sylvia Stein
423 Springfield Avenue
Buffet Supper Admission 75c

Twin Cities

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Max Goldman
10 SOUTH 4th STREET
MINNEAPOLIS

Cleveland

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speakers:

T. Black David Lands
Auspices: Cleveland Branch, SWP
Carnegie Hall
1220 HURON ROAD

Chicago

Thursday, May 3, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Vincent Dunne
Buckingham Hall
59 EAST VAN BUREN ST.
Admission 25 cents

Buffalo

Sunday, April 29, 8:30 p. m.

Speakers:

R. Riley Bill Gray
950 MAIN STREET
Room 5
Admission free

Philadelphia

Sunday, May 6, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

George Grant
Labor Forum
405 W. Gerard

Los Angeles

Sunday, April 29, 3 p. m.

Elks Lodge Hall

4016 SOUTH CENTRAL AVE.
Auspices: Los Angeles Branch, SWP

Milwaukee

Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Mike Bartell
926 N. Plankington Avenue
Room 21 Admission 25c

Allentown

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Grace Carlson
Hotel Allen
ALLENTOWN, PA.

San Francisco

Meeting and Social

Sunday, May 6

8 p. m.

305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

Detroit

Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Jeanette Lane
Auspices: Detroit Branch, SWP
3513 WOODWARD AVENUE
Room 21

Egyptian Socialist Front Enters Election

For the first time in the history of Egyptian elections, socialist candidates this year were able to secure a place on the ballot and conduct a widespread campaign to popularize the principles of socialism. The Mid-March issue of *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain (Trotskyist), tells of this unprecedented campaign culminating with the January 8 elections, and of government attempts to intimidate and suppress the socialists.

In Cairo, Dr. Fathy el Ramly ran for the constituency of Mahkamet el Sayeda, in opposition to a fascist candidate, Ahmed Hussein, a leader of the "Green Shirts" who advocate a military dictatorship.

A "Socialist Front" formed in support of Dr. Ramly at first included two Stalinist organizations in addition to the Trotskyist movement in Cairo. But as the electoral campaign took on the predominantly internationalist and socialist character advocated by the Trotskyists, the Stalinists withdrew. Unaffiliated university youth and advanced workers rapidly filled the gaps caused by the Stalinist betrayal. The entire Trotskyist movement has gained in membership and influence as a result of its election activities...

SOCIALIST PROGRAM

The Socialist Front presented a program of transitional demands including the establishment of wage-minimums; a sliding scale of bonuses to meet rising costs of living; workers' control through trade-union delegates over the execution of all social legislation. It also advocated social insurance and old-age pensions; a nationwide housing program; equality for women; abolition of martial law and of all semi-fascist police regulations. The Socialist Front proclaimed complete solidarity with all working class movements against imperialist rule and capitalist domination.

International solidarity of the working class was the central slogan on many campaign banners, which read: "Down with Fascism and Imperialism!" "Long Live the Workers of Germany!" "Full Support for the People of Greece!"

So popular was the campaign that the government, ten days before the election, issued orders to halt the Socialist Front propaganda. Meetings were disrupted and many supporters of the Socialist Front arrested; posters were destroyed, demonstrators roughly disbanded. Finally a huge mass meeting already authorized by the government was cancelled.

'Penny An Hour' For Indian Women

Questions in the House of Commons addressed to Secretary of State for India, Amery, revealed that women are working in Indian mines for a penny an hour and up. Amery admitted: "The rates of pay are, of course, low but they compare favorably with rates in other industries in that part of India." Asked whether expectant mothers were prohibited from going underground Amery "understood" that they were kept out of the mines a month before and after the birth of the child and received maternity pay during the period.

"Is there any intention," an Independent Laborite queried, "of abolishing this abominable form of slavery in India?" Amery replied: "I demur to the word 'slavery' because work in the mines is entirely voluntary."

Voluntary, indeed! Work in the mines or starve to death!

On the day of the election representatives of Dr. Ramly were expelled from the voting sections. In subsequent manipulations of the count Dr. Ramly was "given" a token count of 23 votes. "In reality," reports the *Socialist Appeal*, Dr. Ramly had secured "at least 200 votes out of the 1,000 balloted in the constituency," or one-fifth of the vote. Conducting independent campaigns on less radical programs, two other working class candidates secured significant votes in other parts of Egypt. Fadaly Abdel received 800 votes at Shubra el Khayma and Mohamed Mustafa received 230 votes in Alexandria. Thus the working class opposition to the reactionary government of Egypt is beginning to express itself clearly despite repressions and persecutions.

In the past few years more than 60 militants have been jailed. One of the most popular socialists in Egypt, Anwar Kamel, has spent more than two years in concentration camps since 1941.

myth ... and Reality

The CIO NEWS

Weekly Publication
Of the Congress of Industrial Organizations
Vol. 8, No. 14 April 2, 1945

Labor, Management Agree
It's Industrial
Peace For the
Postwar Period!

BUSINESS WEEK

WASHINGTON BULLETIN

PREPARING FOR A FIGHT

Labor made up its mind to fight the Wagner act (R.V.-Mar. 1935). Industry, on the other hand, was not so sure. It was not until the Wagner act was passed that industry began to prepare for a fight. It was not until the Wagner act was passed that industry began to prepare for a fight.

over into the postwar period. If unionism of the future doesn't touch off the fight, there will be higher wage rates, or efforts to maintain unionism. The Wagner act was passed that industry began to prepare for a fight. It was not until the Wagner act was passed that industry began to prepare for a fight.

Bosses Push Open-Shop Despite "Peace Pact"

(Continued from page 1)

doing signing a "peace pact" with Murray and Green?

These facts cannot be ignored even by some of the blind union officials. As they spout from the right side of their mouths about the new era of "industrial harmony," out of the left side they are forced to wall about the embarrassing lack of "good will" being displayed by the employers. Thus, Richard Frankenstein, vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, charged on April 11 that "certain" employers "have started an all-out drive to attempt to destroy or greatly impair the usefulness of organized labor."

"INDUSTRIAL HARMONY"

The "certain" employers to whom he referred happen to be every single corporation in the automotive, aircraft and farm equipment industries—that is, the employers of about a fifth of the CIO membership.



It seems that so far all the "good will" is inside the heads of Murray and Green and any deceived workers who may be softened enough to lower their dukes while the bosses are swinging hay-makers at their chins.

The open proclamation of the leading corporations that they are wheeling up their heaviest artillery for a further grand offensive against labor is not helping the Murray-Green sales campaign. It's pretty tough trying to sell the workers a bill of goods about a "peace pact" when the workers are so busy trying to dodge the blows of the open shoppers.

So the labor leaders are shifting into a faster line of sales talk. It seems, according to them, there are two kinds of employers—"progressive and die-hards." The workers must line up with the "progressive" bosses, represented by Eric Johnston of the C. of C. against the "die-hards" like the NAM, the auto, steel, rubber, bakers, etc.

And that's really something fishy! As a labor commentator for the New York Post—which hailed the "peace charter"—observed: "Somebody is pulling a squeeze play on the nation's usually shrewd leaders. . . . Everybody believes that at least one section of American industry has reformed and created itself in the image of the pleasant and progressive Johnston. Hardly. For Mr. Johnston's C. of C. is tied closely to the NAM."

"One part of the day Johnstons men are pounding Green and Mu-

ray on the back with a hail-fell-labor's-swell benevolence. And later in the afternoon they are NAM leaders campaigning for the outlawing of strikes and what sounds mightily like a ban on closed shops."

Who are these C. of C. leaders who are supposed to be so chummy with labor? "Some of the C. of C. key committees are headed by labor's most bitter enemies—men who are working closely with the NAM to which they also belong."

One of these is James Rand, of Remington-Rand, author of the notorious strikebreaking "Mowhawk Valley Formula." "Another is the head of a huge publishing firm which has not knowingly hired Jews or union people; or one who has fought big AFL unions for years; another whose firm was cited for its employment discrimination policies and anti-labor attitudes. . . . and one has defied a federal collective bargaining ruling since 1943."

In short—the real leaders of the C. of C. are also among the leaders of the NAM who are vowed open shoppers and openly intent on smashing the unions.

"Who's being kidded here?" asks the Post commentator. Not Murray and Green, as he would have us believe. They know what they're doing. They're playing a conscious and deliberate role. They're essential and willing part of the mechanism of this capitalist "squeeze play."

It's the old game of disarming labor to make it easier for the bosses to slug the workers. "You hold him—while I sock him!"

Certain spokesmen for the employers, with the connivance of the labor leaders, aim to tie labor's hands with a phony "peace charter," while the employing class as a whole winds up for a knockout against organized labor.

And just as Murray and Green have put over such treacherous policies as the no-strike pledge behind the backs of the union members and without their voice or consent, so now they are hastening to shove the "peace charter"—the charter of unconditional surrender—down the throats of the unwilling workers.

Stalinist Betrayal Of Belgian Masses Shown By Record

A sensational exposure of the treachery of the Belgian "Communist" (Stalinist) Party to the workers and partisans of that country has been made public by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist), Belgian section of the Fourth International, in the Dec. 2 issue of their weekly organ, *La Voie de Lenin* (Lenin's Road).

Last November the Belgian Stalinists summoned the masses to protest against the order by Pierlot (then Premier) that the Resistance fighters be disarmed. Four workers were killed and 88 wounded by police who fired on street demonstrations. British tanks were held in readiness to come to the assistance of the police if necessary. The Stalinist minister resigned from the cabinet. But—

Four days before Pierlot's police shot down the workers in cold blood, the Stalinist Minister Dr. Marteau drew up and signed his name to a decree which gave Pierlot dictatorial powers under which he proceeded against the armed workers! The following is the text of the decree as it appeared in *Le Monde* (the Belgian Congressional Record) on November 15, 1944, page 915:

November 14, 1944.

Charles, Prince of Belgium, Regent of the Crown.

To all present and to come, Greetings!

In view of the decree-law dated May 9, 1944.

In view of the Royal decree of May 10, 1940 declaring a state of siege, etc.

On the proposal of the Ministers of Justice, National Defense, Interior and Public Health (Dr. Marteau).

We have decreed and decree: Art. 2. The Minister of National Defense (the reactionary

NOTICE

The National Educational Department of the Socialist Workers Party is anxious to secure the following literature in English, German, French or Russian: Theses of the first 3 congresses of the Communist International. All copies of the magazine "The Communist International" of 1922 in which articles by Zinoviev appear. Zinoviev's writings on the Italian Socialist Party, January-July 1920.

If you can give, loan or sell these to the National Office, please write to: Charles Carsten, National Educational Director, SWP, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

M. Demets, instigator of the coup d'état against the Resistance movement) may:

1. Exercise all police powers, and especially those relating to the maintenance of order and for the use of the communications system;
2. Order the surrender of arms and munitions; deliver temporary authorizations for their retention and to order officers and judicial police to proceed in search and removal of same;
3. Proscribe public meetings;
4. Supervise, withhold or seize correspondence;
5. take the necessary measures to prevent the circulation, sale and distribution of periodicals, pamphlets, writings, drawings or photographs calculated to favor the enemy or to shake the morale of the army or the population.

Art. 6. The Head of the Mission of Civil Administration, the provincial governors in the jurisdiction of their provinces, the district commissioners within the jurisdiction of their districts, and the administration of State Security may, under the direction and responsibility of the Minister of Justice, order officers and judicial police to proceed to day or night searches in the domiciles of citizens or to bodily search, under the conditions set forth in article 4, etc.

New York
SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM
Friday, April 27, 8 p. m.
"Russia Today"
Questions... Discussion
Speaker: JERRY ALBERTS
116 University Place
Free Admission

The Allied Conference At San Francisco

By M. Morrison

Representatives from more than forty nations will begin the staging of a show on April 25 at San Francisco. Its purpose is to convince the masses throughout the world that an organization will be created for the purpose of settling future disputes between countries and thus avoiding armed conflicts. The "United Nations Security Conference" will commence its sessions and the game of assuring the gullible that peace on earth will be our lot forever after will begin.

In reality only three big powers will run the show and everything they agree upon will be accepted with a barely audible grumble here and there from some small nation. The most powerful nations call the tune and all the delegates fall in line. As a matter of fact everything important has already been decided. No small nation was in attendance at Dumbarton Oaks where the proposals for the coming conference were first formulated. At Teheran and at Yalta the nations that have the most powerful armies and navies paraded out the world. At San Francisco the organization will be created to place the stamp of approval upon the decisions of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin.

At the very time that "peace" is being organized the great powers are taking care to guard their own interests. They have no faith in peace machinery. They continue making separate agreements. Britain and France have each made their own alliances with Stalin; the United States has gathered around her the nations of the Western Hemisphere. New and more powerful armies and navies are contemplated. For the first time in the history of this country compulsory peacetime military training is seriously planned by all of the ruling groups. What is all this if not the recognition that the machinery which is supposed to keep peace is nothing but a sham?

AIM TO DUPE MASSES

It is mainly for the masses that the show is being staged. They have lost millions of dead; more millions remain to go through life, crippled, blind, disfigured. Victims of World War I are still alive to behold their ranks increased by the victims of World War II. The cynical rulers are holding out a hope that World War III will be prevented. For they fear that if the masses lose faith in the ability of the rulers to avoid another slaughter, they will not be able to keep the people in subjection. To fool the masses, to give them hope where there is no hope—that is the primary purpose of the grand hoax to be staged at San Francisco.

Not that everyone recognizes that, in case of any serious conflict between the big powers, the organization for peace would be completely helpless. The new League of Nations could no more prevent war than the old League could. The struggle for votes in the Assembly is simply a struggle for support of other powers in case of a serious controversy.

CANNOT STOP NEW WARS

No matter what its form and no matter how the votes will be apportioned the new League can under no circumstances act on behalf of peace. Here and there a conflict between minor powers may be averted but only under circumstances where the major powers are not yet ready to go to war. Just as the old League was an organization of the victorious imperialist powers to keep the status quo arrived at after World War I, so the new League is an organization to maintain the conquests of World War II. As the old League did not prevent World War II, so the new League will not prevent World War III.

The play is the same; only the actors have changed. Now the United States assumes the first role. Now there is no Lenin and Trotsky at the head of the Soviet Union to warn the masses against the wars that the League is powerless to prevent. There is instead a Stalin dominating the Soviet Union who helps the imperialists fool the masses and keep them under subjection in order to guarantee the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The revolutionary section of the workers of the world will struggle against the aims of the new League just as they struggled against the aims of the old. They are in a better position than they were before to prove that not a League of imperialist states and their accomplices but only a World Union of Socialist Republics will guarantee the existence of peace.

Belgian Miners Blast Imperialists

At a delegated conference of miners from the coal mines of the Charleroi basin in February, the following dramatic exchange took place between the mine workers and Allied officers who were attempting to prevent an extension of the strike to the Charleroi area.

"What a difference," the officers said, "with September 1944! Then you were giving us drink and presented us with flowers. Now you are sabotaging the war by striking."

One of the delegates replied: "Gentlemen: it is true that we joyfully acclaimed your arrival because we saw in you our liberators. Alas! we see now that like the Germans you are supporting the exploiters."

Another delegate continued: "When Hitler's armies came to Belgium the workers were not inclined to look on that too badly, believing that they were going to put the bosses in their place. But when they saw that the German authorities, on the contrary, supported the bosses against the workers in order to obtain the most possible coal, then we began to sabotage. Today, like Hitler, you are also supporting the bosses. And you are surprised because we are thinking of going out on strike?"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Italy

The story of what happened to the Duke of Aosta, cousin of King Victor Emmanuel and ranking naval admiral, is a fitting sequel to the mysterious "escape" during his trial of General Roatta, Mussolini's chief of staff. It is another indication of how the Bonomi regime (in which Togliatti, the Stalinist leader, sits as Deputy Premier) coddles and protects the rat-nests of fascism beginning with the Royal family itself.

At a dinner party of gold-brains at the Taranto Naval base the Duke declared that if he had his way he would have shot the judges at the trial of Roatta and Suverbi, former Fascist Ambassador to the United States. The information leaked out accidentally through a chance remark of a British correspondent present at the dinner and was published in the *Socialist paper*, *Avanti*.

As a result of the furore created, the cabinet met—with the exception of Togliatti who was supposed to be at the Communist Party convention—and voted to remove the Duke from his naval post. And that was all! The N. Y. Times correspondent ironically stated that a

report that the Duke had been sentenced to six months in a fortress by Prince Humbert was "most wishful thinking."

The Duke was not only one of the chief lieutenants of Mussolini but he was crowned as Tomislav II over the German-Italian puppet state of Croatia in 1941.

England

The strike of 10,000 London dock workers, reported in the *Militant*, March 17, was a major rank and file revolt against vicious practices and intolerable working conditions imposed by the government and enforced by the trade union bureaucrats in collaboration with the Stalinists, according to reports just received from the British labor press.

One of the grievances that provoked the strike was the suspension without pay of men who refused to go to a moment's notice to jobs they were assigned in ports scattered all over England. Another was the suspension of longshoremen—up to 24 days without pay—for leaving a job they had been working on under compulsion for 16 days in a row from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m., with no meals provided.

The press reports that when the union officials attempted to speak at a mass meeting to get the men to return to work they were howled down by the longshoremen who refused to allow them to continue speaking. The vigorous action of the rank and file brought the strike to a partial victory, despite the sabotage and opposition of the union leadership.

A union committee was set up to investigate the practices of the government dock corporation. If the report is not satisfactory the dockers decided to strike again. In the meantime suspended workers are to return to work pending negotiations.

In discussing this dock workers strike the London *Tribune* makes the following significant comments on recent strike movements in England.

"What is most amazing in these disputes is the almost universal reports that the 'men's' leaders were howled down." This is the most dangerous factor that has emerged in the Trade Union world for a decade, and it requires more than bad temper to explain it away. It is true, naturally, that they are tired and irritable because of bombs, loss of homes, rest and sleep. But that does not explain it all away. There has

been case after case among sections of the working-class movement where the 'howling down' business has been reported. Does this signify that the Trade Union leadership has lost control of the membership whilst controlling the machinery of the unions more effectively than ever? Or does it show that the rank and file are in revolt against the method of appointing the officials who are sent to tame them to return to duty?"

Greece

The following letter was received by the *Socialist Appeal*, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) of Great Britain, from a British soldier stationed in Italy.

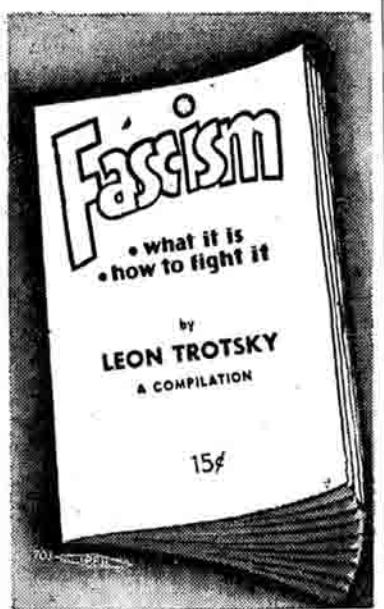
"About a week ago I met a paratrooper who had just returned from Greece. The subsequent chat I had with him brought some interesting facts to light. It seemed that there were quite a number of lads who refused point-blank to take up arms against ELAS and no amount of threats and persuasion could make them change their minds."

"Of the majority who did fight, well, it seems that they were absolutely confused as to what it was all about. I think that the majority must have realized in a hazy way the class nature of the struggle, because the officers who gave the pep talks constantly referred to the role of Russia."

"Their main arguments were 'these people couldn't possibly be communists but only brigands from the hills' for surely if they were real communists 'how could it be that Russia—Communist Russia—should stand aside and not assist them?'"

"Of course it is easy to see how most of the British soldiers had the illusion that the Soviet Union is still communist in the revolutionary sense, not having any indication of the changes in Russia. I can quite imagine how they were confused by the Greek flare-up. Nevertheless the fighting, bloody as it was, certainly set many minds working on the 'whys' and 'wherefores' as the above facts prove."

We have reported in a previous issue of *The Militant* a mutiny of Indian Gurkhas who, when ordered to fight against the Greek people, deserted to the side of ELAS.

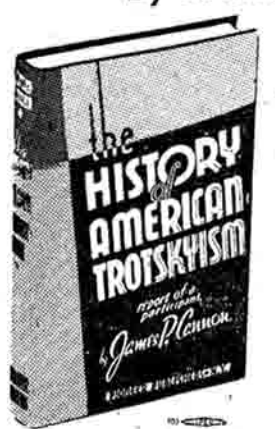


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The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

—KARL MARX

Answering A Powell Supporter

In a recent column we exposed the fact that Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Congressman from New York, is "no longer interested in liberating the Negro masses but only in advancing his own prestige among the ruling class." We reminded the readers that he spoke and voted (with Rankin) AGAINST a non-discrimination amendment to the reactionary slave-labor bill, thus clearing the tracks for the ruling class just as an opportunistic flunky would do. We quoted his own column from his own paper showing how he "excused" his actions with the flimsy claim that the FEPC covered the field and that no additional protection against discrimination was necessary.

His Detroit speech, where he advocated changing the word "colored" in NAACP to the word "common," was quoted to prove that he wants us to forget about the Negro struggle as such. This would mean accepting that part of the kicking around which is due only to color discrimination. Our charges that Powell is "giving full support to the very system of capitalism which makes Negro oppression profitable" and is "whitewashing the role (in this war) of American imperialism" cannot be questioned by an honest observer.

A New York reader, however, took heated objection to our position. The main part of this letter follows:

"I will frankly tell you I think you are completely wrong, foolish and lack understanding of what his Honor Congressman Powell is doing in Washington for the colored people and working class white people as well. To begin with, Adam Clayton Powell started out some years ago during the depression, formed a picket line and led it in person demanding food and relief for needy people in Harlem. . . from that time he has been a courageous fighter for civil rights, better and more jobs and against race discrimination."

POWELL IN CONGRESS

"In Congress what short time he has been there he has introduced two new bills against Jim Crow. . . one concerning colored WAVES and the other against separation in railroad trains."

"I will further say he will accomplish more. . . if he continues to have the proper support from the people he represents. Here is a man who challenges Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans. . . although not a member of the Socialist Workers Party he fights against the people who are against Socialism and all it stands for. He fights for the working class and tells the worker what to do to better himself. What more could you want in three months at the White House?"

"As for yourself, stop condemning and look around and study conditions. . . Line yourself up with the people who are doing things, who are fighting and demanding things. . . Maybe you will get more members in the SWP."

"I buy The Militant every week."

Pioneer Paragraphs

CAPITALIST MANIPULATIONS CAUSE RISE IN FOOD PRICES

Besides the open price increases, there are numerous ways in which the capitalists increase their prices and evade the ceilings in an underhanded fashion.

The main form of hidden price rises is quality deterioration. While there is no increase in the price, the article is of a poorer quality than before. We have already mentioned the case of bread. There are many other such examples. You buy meat now and have to pay for those bones and fat which were previously trimmed away.

A variation on quality deterioration is "upgrading": the selling of an article of a certain quality at the price of a better quality product, and thereby evading the price law. The working class housewife has to pay Grade A prices for a Grade B meat.

Recently a prominent canning company placed a new "improved" soup on the market. The improved variety cost three cents a can more than the unimproved type. However, the only change in the can of soup was the label on it. It had the word "improved" in big letters printed across it. And that was the only place any improvement could be noted.

A third way by which the manufacturers raise prices is by dropping cheaper lines of products and selling only more costly

You may put my letter in your paper if you like or answer me through a letter.

Edgar Banks,
235 W. 110 St., New York City.

OUR POSITION ON POWELL

We say to Mr. Banks: Our paper, different from all others, has neither love nor hatred for any INDIVIDUAL. We are only interested in a man's ACTIONS and his PROGRAM. When Powell led a picket line during the depression that was beneficial to the working class and the Negro minority we absolutely supported that ACTION. Regardless of how fine a man he may be personally, when he fights an equality amendment and supports a fascist-type slave labor bill, he is acting AGAINST the interests of those for whom we are dedicated to fight and we must expose and condemn such ACTIONS. If, overnight, he starts fighting in part or in whole for an effective transitional PROGRAM such as you will find listed on the editorial page of this paper, then he would regain our support.

A good example is John L. Lewis. When on the economic field he leads a militant strike to gain for the mine workers a better share of the pie which they produce, we support his action. When on the political field he tries to sell the votes of these workers into the capitalist camp through the Republican or the Democratic party, we expose and condemn such action.

In the case of Negro representatives we even go a step farther. This minority is so obviously the victim of special political inequality that, in places where there is proportionately insufficient colored representation, we support ANY Negro candidate who has the O. K. of the Negro people, regardless of that candidate's stated program. For example, in the recent councilmanic race in Los Angeles, the Negro people sponsored and had confidence in Mrs. Charlotta Bass. While stating clearly the fundamental differences between our program and her present position, the Trotskyists nevertheless, through thousands of leaflets, speeches and radio broadcasts urged the supporters of their candidate for mayor, Myra Tanner Weiss, to vote also for Charlotta Bass for councilman.

Following our policy of always telling the workers the truth, we support Powell's progressive actions and condemn his reactionary actions.

Why Fraternization Is Prohibited

By Harry Martell

"You are entering Germany. Fraternization is an offense." So read the signs posted on the frontier by the Allied High Command. The penalty for Allied soldiers caught associating with any German is a fine of up to \$65.

REASONS FOR POLICY

The motives behind this official proscription of fraternization are unmistakable.

First: the Allied imperialists hope to identify the German masses with Hitler and the crimes of the Nazi regime.

Second: by thus persuading the Allied soldiers of the "war guilt" of the entire German population, they aim to justify their plans for the partition and plundering of Germany and to use the occupying forces as a willing instrument for the decapitation and subjugation of the country.

Third: by erecting a wall between the Allied soldiers and the German masses the High Command hopes to hide from the rank and file the real anti-Nazi sentiments of the population and thereby facilitate their plans to suppress any revolutionary movements of the workers.

And finally, with the pretext that all Germans are tainted with the Nazi brush anyhow, the Allied Military Authorities are already using former Nazi party members and police for posts of civil administration and to help in "keeping order" in capitalist Germany.

BAN WON'T WORK

But the ban on fraternization isn't working. Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times military authority, says it is "unenforceable." American and British soldiers conscripted into the war without their consent cannot help but feel deep sympathy and understanding for a people who are no less the victims of the greed and ambitions of an imperialist ruling class than they are themselves.

"One G. I. looking disconsolately," writes a British reporter, "out at the muddy road watched the German boy, and then I saw him reach into his pocket and toss out what I suppose was a bar of candy."

"Here you little bastard," he said.

Another American soldier helps



an old woman push a handcart across the road. When he spies the correspondent, he apologizes: "We can't have this junk blocking the road." Then looking up and down the street he drops the rose, smiles and says: "Well, what the hell?"

These incidents are repeated a thousand times over. An American sergeant summarized the attitude of the men in the ranks with great clarity: "We're supposed to hate people, to be very tough customers, but as soon as the fighting is over it begins to work 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 can't scare him with a \$65 fine."

CLASS AIM OF ORDER

Little by little the class meaning of the non-fraternization order begins to penetrate the consciousness of the soldiers. In Cologne they see factories owned by Ford and the British textile magnate Courtauld that have been producing instruments of death for the Germany army all

through this war remain intact, untouched by Allied airmen.

In Saarbrücken the owner of a network of 140 mines worth \$4,000,000, who sweated and exploited German miners to produce coal for the Nazi war machine, still wore his Nazi button when he arranged with American army officers to continue the same exploitation—but now for the Allied war machine.

In villages and towns the soldiers see miserable, poorly fed German workers in labor gangs while well-dressed Germans do nothing but sit at windows and walk in the streets. The Allied-appointed burghmaster exercises "discrimination" to exempt "respectable" Germans from this drudgery. One of the soldiers comments: "It seems to me that we pick on the same Germans the Nazi kicked around to do the dirty work."

"There are a great many soldiers who frown on the brass-hat doctrine," says Canadian B.B.C. correspondent Stewart Macpherson, "they regard it as a brass-hat doctrine, and they are going to talk to them, order or no order."

Poverty Robs Many Women Of Right To Health And Beauty

By Grace Carlson

"The way to a man's heart is through his stomach," say the cook book publishers, hoping to increase their sales to girls and women, who are trying to attract a husband or perhaps, hold on to one. But sooner or later, most women discover that there are other ways "to a man's heart." Even women who are good cooks will agree that no one is ever handicapped by having a pretty face, smooth, lustrous hair, a slim figure and attractive clothes.

And so the struggle to be beautiful has absorbed the attention of women throughout the ages. The cosmetics industry was an old and flourishing business at the time of Cleopatra. Its chief customers have always been women, because the business of being beautiful has been one of woman's main occupations. This is due to the fact that for centuries women have been barred from so many fields of competition—Music, Science, Literature, Politics and even today do not have full and equal rights with men in these fields, although they have made some important gains.

DEEP-SEATED DESIRE Although "vanity," as it is called, is supposed to be an exclusively feminine trait, the facts do not bear this out. Who buys the hair oils and tonics which are "absolutely guaranteed to cure baldness in 30 days or your money will be cheerfully refunded?" The manufacturers of various scented shaving soaps and cream and expensive after-shaving lotions certainly find plenty of male buyers, and these are only a few of the



cosmetics and "beauty aids" sold to men.

The truth is that the desire to look well—"to put one's best foot forward"—is possessed by all members of the human race, whether male or female. It is part of the individual's feeling of self-respect and of his, or her, sense of personal dignity.

Recognizing this deep-seated human need, a popular woman's magazine published an article in a recent issue, called, "The Right To Be Beautiful." "Whether you live on a wind-swept farm in Nebraska, in a crowded flat in Chicago, or in a penthouse apartment in New York, you have the right of every American woman—the right to be beautiful," the article begins. In fact, the article goes on to say, "there's no longer a fragment of excuse for the girl, who facing her mirror, mutters, 'I'm not pretty and there's nothing I can do about it.'"

Suppose the working-class girl or housewife, facing the mirror and seeing a too-thin face, with dark circles of weariness under the eyes, hair and skin that need attention, and teeth that require dental care decides to do something about it. If she had a few thousand dollars left over after paying the rent and buying groceries, she could have herself completely made over.

"Before and After" pictures are shown in the magazine of so-called "ugly ducklings," who were transformed in a week's time into glamour girls. All it took to do the job was a series of trips—"to

the theatrical make-up man for face and hair restyling; to a dentist for temporary porcelain caps to fetch front teeth into alignment; to an instructor for lowering the voice a good three tones; to the dress designer for the appearance of curves we hadn't the time to cultivate naturally; to Saks-Fifth-Avenue for a new outfit of clothes."

Well, since she is lacking the necessary cash to go through this transformation process, perhaps she can try some of the "home remedies" advised in the article. And so, she reads, "For a clear skin, for good teeth, for lustrous hair, for a shine in your eye, eat plenty of meat, fish, eggs, milk, fresh fruits and vegetables." This isn't going to be so easy either, she thinks. With prices of these foods so high, she can't even get enough of them for the children.

What's next in the line of beauty advice? "Hands to have and to hold must be smooth, soft and white. Rub some rich hand cream on at night and wear white lisle mits to bed." At this point, the working-class mother is likely to throw the magazine down in disgust, knowing that no one could change the baby's diapers several times during the night or bring innumerable drinks of water to the older children, while wearing "white lisle mits."

Poor women do not have the much-talked-about American rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," to say nothing of the "right to be beautiful." Only women of wealth can feel secure in this right.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

The floor shuddered. There was a sort of muffled WHOOOOM that was indistinct and yet all around us, filling the air, tearing our attention away from the things we had been talking about as we sat waiting for the iron ladles to come in.

The stove man leaped to his feet and raced to the wheel. With a rush and a roar we heard the blast as he pulled it down, sending the pressure howling out into the atmosphere. The engine house signal rang out. Intently the stove man watched the pressure gauge before him. Then, satisfied that the furnace had finished "slipping," he swung his weight around the wheel once more. The roar died down and squeaked off.

"Damn furnace been slipping all day long," he grunted, coming back and sitting down on the bench. "Rolling and heaving to beat hell."

"Bad furnace," Jimmy said.

"Never know what'll happen when she gets like this."

The Old Man put down his coffee bottle and reached for his pipe. It was a terrible pipe, black, half burned away, half chewed up, and strong as a team of mules. It was said that the Old Man locked his pipe up when he wasn't using it so it wouldn't get up and walk away.

The Old Man packed some Five Brothers into the poisonous bowl of his pipe and said reflectively, "I seen one of them blow up once."

We looked at him. "Where, Old Man?"

"Down Alabama. They had a pig-bed there; didn't cast into ladles like up here. Fifty, sixty men working on the pig-bed. Killed 'em all."

Young Lonnie's eyes were wide. "How'd it happen, Old Man?" he asked.

The Old Man was filling the room with pungent smoke. Jimmy made a face of disgust, held his nose, and moved away from him. The Old Man looked coldly and levelly at Jimmy for a moment and then turned back to us.

"Don't know, son," he said to Lonnie, "Can't say what goes on inside of one of them big furnaces. All I know, she was bad. Sloppy. Rolling and heaving all day. Trying to come back in the tuyeres. Bad furnace. BAD!"

What I Thought About the Old Man's Story

He paused, but nobody interrupted the Old Man. We waited for him to speak again. He had the floor.

"I was going home that night. I didn't work on THAT furnace," he added modestly to show that he was not the hero of a hair-breadth escape, "but I worked a little down the line. And all of a sudden I heard a big rumbling and roaring, and I looked around, and it looked like the whole world was lit up! I started running, and I guess everybody else did. But then I come back."

A pause. More bitter smoke from that terrible pipe.

"Killed every single one of 'em," the Old Man murmured. "Looked like some of 'em ran HALF a MILE and fell over dead! I swore I'd never go up on another furnace as long as I lived."

There was another silence.

"Never know what's going to happen when a furnace's running bad," the Old Man said, and he added, ". . . like this."

I looked at the Old Man. I saw him, a worker, poor, and a Negro as well, denied opportunities, driven by the whip of economic needs, hounded and driven back to that very place of terror that he had fled from. And I thought of the rest of us, chained to our jobs by the decrees of the government as well as the needs of our families and ourselves, and, worst of all, earning on these jobs a dollar an hour or less in the world of 1945. And I thought of the profits of the steel companies.

I started to speak, but then once again the floor shuddered. There was a muffled WHOOOOM, and the stove man leaped to his feet and raced to the wheel.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 20, 1935

SACRAMENTO—Eight militant workers, found guilty of "criminal syndicalism" by the California courts on April 1, were sentenced to indeterminate terms of one to 14 years, as anti-labor Judge Lemmon denied motion for a new trial.

Two of the convicted leaders of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union, recommended for probation, scorned the clemency of the capitalist court. Said the Trotskyist Norman Mini: "Our conviction is the logic of the class struggle. But the same class struggle that results in our conviction will some day sweep everything this court and this state represent away forever. . . We know that the future belongs to us."

NEW YORK—The United States and Japan are openly girding for their coming conflict, The Militant reported. "In June 150 American battleships and 500 planes will maneuver over 500,000 square miles of Pacific Ocean in the most extensive naval 'games' in peacetime history. The government estimates the cost at \$1,250,000. In July the Japanese navy will play 'games' over the same area."

OHIO—The National Unemployed League continued its task of organizing hundreds of thousands of workers to fight for union recognition and better conditions. In Alliance, Ohio, relief workers struck for grants of coal; in Waynesburg, for the right to organize; in New Lexington, mass picketing closed down all work projects in protest against a proposed wage-cut of 5 cents an hour.

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NEW YORK

THE MILITANT invites you to join the MILITANT READERS' DISCUSSION CLUB Held under the auspices of Socialist Workers Party First Meeting

Wednesday, April 25, 8 p. m.

French Colonial Society Hall
225 West 116th Street

Meetings will be held every Wednesday night—Admission Free For further information call GR. 7-9317

NEW YORK

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Argentina

No recent action has more clearly exposed the hypocrisy of the Allies' claim that they are waging a "war for democracy" than the circumstances surrounding the abrupt shift in Argentina's diplomatic relations. The moment Argentina declared war upon the Axis, this so-called "fascist state" and "Nazi satellite" was welcomed into the company of the United Nations. Through Secretary Stettinius the State Department promptly announced that "normal diplomatic relations" would be resumed with the reactionary Farrell-Peron government. Argentina is expected to apply for admission to the San Francisco conference and it is reported that its request for a place among the United Nations will be backed by Washington.

Argentina's ruling class preferred to stay out of active participation in the war for the same general reasons of material interest which now make it expedient for them to enter the conflict. Until now the big capitalists, the ranchers and their government and military agents felt that they had much more to gain for themselves by remaining neutral.

This demonstration of independence on the part of a South American country was taken as an intolerable offense by the Yankee imperialists. Imitating the methods used by Hitler to whip the smaller European nations into line with Nazi foreign policy, the Allied powers set about to break down Argentina's neutrality. They exerted economic pressure; uttered threats of military intervention; ruptured diplomatic relations. These moves were accompanied by a torrent of inspired propaganda in the press, the movies and over the radio, whipping up popular sentiment against this holdout by depicting Argentina as the chief base of operations for the Nazi "fifth column" in the Western Hemisphere.

Now this is in the process of being forgotten and forgiven, although nothing has been changed save the shift in the foreign affairs of Argentina's rulers. The iron fist of the Farrell-Peron military dictatorship still grips the throat of the Argentine people. The Argentine Socialist paper "Vanguardia" recently reported that there are "hundreds if not thousands" of political prisoners in Argentina's

jails. Independent trade unions are outlawed. But all that counts for nothing in Washington's eyes. There is an equally conspicuous absence of democracy and freedom for labor in Argentina's neighbor, Brazil, not to speak of other members of the United Nations.

These examples show how easy it is, by the standards of the imperialist hypocrites and liars, to become transformed from a "fascist" into a "democratic" state. A simple and subservient declaration of war turns the trick.

Two Methods

The methods employed by the coal miners in conducting their negotiations with the operators stand in glaring contrast to the feeble, chicken-hearted, defeatist routine which has become the standard practice of the leadership of the CIO and AFL. Compare, for example, the negotiations of the United Mine Workers with those of the United Automobile Workers—two of the most powerful unions in the country. Both unions have militant traditions. Both were built in the course of bitter struggle with the employers and their agents in the government. Tested in numerous battles, the membership of both organizations have demonstrated beyond question their fighting capacity and willingness to struggle.

It is an enormous advantage for union officials to enter negotiations knowing they can count on the support of a militant membership. The method of the miners is to use this advantage to wrest concessions from the bosses. Their representatives entered negotiations fully armed with a mandate to strike if the bosses rejected their demands. Negotiations were carried on in the open in full view of the public. There was no crawling or cringing before the profit-bloated coal operators or their political agents in Washington. And just to convince the skeptics that they aren't fooling, the miners began walking out of the pits when their contract expired in accord with their famous fighting slogan: "No contract, no work!"

Contrast this method with that of Thomas, Reuther and the entire top leadership of the UAW. In preparation for negotiations with the most arrogant, ruthless, union-hating gang of corporation pirates in the country, they iterate and reiterate their total, irrevocable and slavish adherence to the no-strike pledge. The auto barons are thereby handed a declaration of unconditional surrender at the outset. Thus disarmed in advance, the auto workers' demands are buried in the government's graveyard of grievances, the War Labor Board. After a year or more of stalling, the WLB hands down a decision—binding on the unions—rejecting the demands of the auto workers. By that time the contract has expired and the whole farce is begun all over again.

The final test of a method of dealing with the bosses is the results obtained. The method of the miners gets results because everyone knows they mean business. The method of Thomas-Reuther-Addes-Frankenstein leads to frustration and impotence. That is why the auto militants in the Rank-and-File Caucus are striving to rearm their union with those methods of militant struggle which built the UAW-CIO and made it the most progressive union in the country.

CIO And 'Peace Pact'

The CIO Executive Board meeting in Washington on April 12 has ratified the industry-labor "Peace Charter" which aims to extend the wartime no-strike, compulsory arbitration policy into the "post-war" period. This "charter" supports the "principle" of the profit system and endorses the "right" of capital to exploit labor. As usual, the labor "democrats" denied their memberships their "right" to express any opinion.

In exchange for surrendering labor's birthright, the pact expresses the pious hope that "the fundamental rights of labor to organize and to engage in collective bargaining with management shall be recognized and preserved, free from legislative enactments which would interfere with or discourage these objectives."

Only a few days before the CIO heads put their seal of approval on the "Peace Charter," a director of the National Association of Manufacturers disclosed that the employers were already advancing a "five-point" program of "legislative enactments," aimed at outlawing strikes and instituting a nation-wide open shop.

Despite the announced intentions of the employers to initiate an open-shop, strikebreaking campaign, the CIO labor "statesmen" rushed ahead with their "peace" plan which serves to disarm the unions in the face of the impending union-smashing drive. The total bankruptcy of the top union officialdom has never been more glaringly revealed.

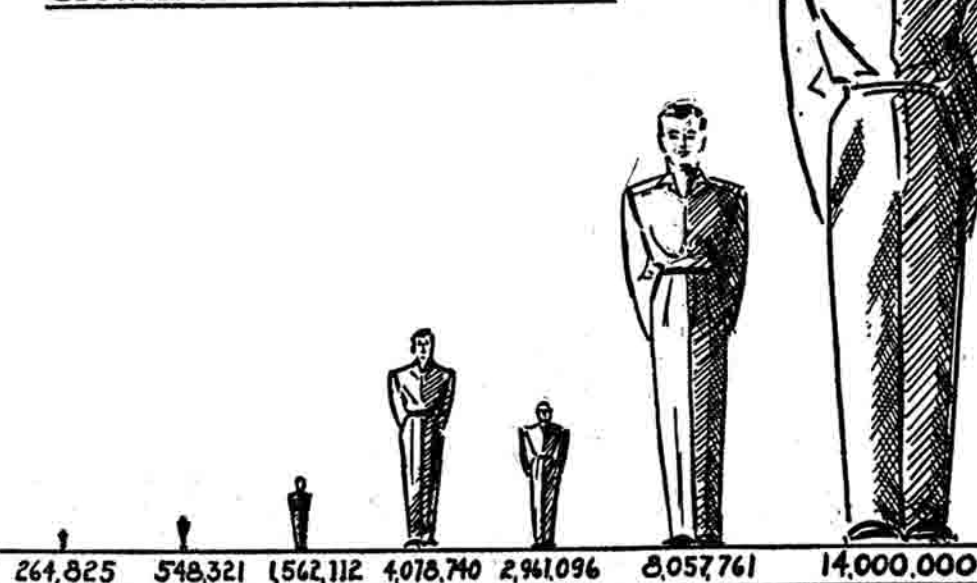
This policy of unconditional surrender in advance never won anything for the workers and never will. It is up to the union militants to organize around a program of struggle to defend the unions against employer-government attack. It is impossible to defend the gains of the unions or preserve their existence without first regaining independence of action. Rescind the no-strike pledge! Withdraw the union representatives from the employer-dominated War Labor Board! Build the Independent Labor Party!

These are the key points in a program that will rearm organized labor for the period ahead; re-inspire the disillusioned ranks; and guide them in the inevitable battles with the bosses. Along this road the labor movement will not only be able to protect itself from the assaults of the employers and their agents but it can lead the masses forward to a progressive solution of their problems.

Growth of Unionism in the U. S.

1897 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1943

Growth of the Labor Movement



From a pamphlet issued by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Greetings from Young Scottish Socialist

I have been reading your paper now for about six months, and I was greatly impressed by all the articles which were very well put. I would like to know more about the fight that labor is putting up in America against the capitalist society.

I am 18 years old but have been studying the class war since I was 15, so I think I must hold a bit of a record so far as ages go. I have also taken part in two strikes.

I am a follower of the late John McLean, the Socialist leader in Glasgow during the last war, and hope to live up to him in this one. Well, Comrade, I must say goodbye now. Yours for the revolution.

S. J.
Glasgow, Scotland

P.S. If you have any young Socialist willing to write me, I will gladly correspond.

Wants Program For Veterans

As a discharged veteran of the present war I have for some time been carefully watching The Militant for a statement of the Socialist Workers Party's attitude towards the veteran problem. Outside of some general statements and remarks I have not found any clearly formulated and definitive program.

I feel that the veteran problem is one of the major problems of post-war America. The labor movement has completely neglected the returning veteran. This is both an indictment and a warning for the AFL and CIO. Their neglect has been criminal. The dissatisfied and psychologically unstable veteran is, unfortunately, ripe material for the numerous proto-fascist and panacea movements which are bound to arise after the war. If the unions had not neglected the veteran, they would be in a position to channelize this discontent and frustration into constructive militant unionism. As it now stands, the veterans are entering the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars in droves. There is no other organization they can turn to.

There is also the American Veterans Committee sponsored by the Nation-New Republic group. To my knowledge it has a small handful of followers and is of negligible importance. Thus the old reactionary organizations are swallowing up the veterans.

The veteran problem is definitely not a post-war problem. There are already over a million veterans. We cannot wait till demobilization day to formulate a program for the veteran. It must be done well in advance of that day, not only to be prepared for demobilization day, but also as a program for veterans already discharged.

The veterans of my acquaintance are restless and discontented. They are antagonistic to women who have entered the factory and

earn in a week what they couldn't earn in a month while in the service. They would just as soon put all women back into the kitchen. They are quite antagonistic to men who have managed to stay out of service. A clever political opportunist could easily channelize such feelings to his own advantage in a post-war period of uncertain economic conditions. A "man-on-horseback" promising exclusive jobs on government projects to veterans is a real danger.

I cannot say that there is any real understanding of the causes and nature of the present war either among the service men or the veteran. Discontent of a vague sort, yes. But any understanding that this is an imperialist war—no. Thus, the discontent can easily be channelized into an American anti-labor and incipient fascist movement.

I should very much like to see the Militant publish a program for the veteran. It will soon be the number one problem for the labor and political movements. Should the veteran join the existing veteran organizations? What should his attitude be towards women workers, towards non-veterans? Who can he affiliate himself with? Should he favor wholesale handouts for veterans exclusively from the government?

Several of my friends, as well as myself, would like to see the Militant publish a veterans' program, and are waiting to see this letter printed.

Arthur Endicott
Boston

QUESTION BOX

Q: What evidence is there that small businesses have been squeezed out during the war?

A: The rate of industrial and commercial failures for the war years (1939 to 1943; figures for 1944 not yet prepared) show an average of 10,531 failures per year. In the two preceding years failures were at the rate of 9,500 per year, or a thousand less. The first two years of the war alone resulted in over 25,000 business failures in America.

Q: What is the "Equal Rights" bill?

A: It is a proposed constitutional amendment which, under the guise of legally declaring women to have "equal rights" with men, would really deprive them of the protection of all special legislation in regard to hours and working conditions. Its sponsors come from big industry and it is backed by clubs of wealthy women.

Q: When was the IWW organized?

A: The Industrial Workers of the World were organized in 1905 by representatives of the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union, the United Metal Workers, and a few local labor organizations at a conference held in Chicago.

Stalinists Sanction Capital-Labor Pact

If anyone at the Earl Browder meeting held here in Cleveland April 6 had maintained with Marx and Lenin that "The history of all hitherto existing society is a history of class struggles," the president of the Communist Political Association would no doubt have refuted it in the same listless tone in which he refuted the present class struggle.

For an hour Browder tore into Senators Taft and Vandenberg (straw dummies to the 2,000 party people and sympathizers who gathered in the Masonic Auditorium). It seems that these two arch-reactionaries had the temerity to skeptically question the motives of the recent Japanese-Soviet breach. This disbelief was, to the CPA, tantamount to a betrayal of the Allied cause.

But the finale to this speech was the CPA's sanction to the CIO, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and AFL peace treaty which gives capital the right to exploit, and labor the right to be exploited—peacefully.

"Labor must seek more collaborators of this kind," Browder counseled, doing Eric Johnston the distinct disservice of being called a "collaborator."

Of course no meeting of the Communist Political Association would be complete without slandering the miners. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one-time an honest devoted leader of labor, had the gall to oppose the miners' struggles for higher wages and better working conditions not on the basis of their economic or political maturity, as the Stalinists have done in the past, but because of their "mental backwardness!"

If the miners are MORONS for fighting their exploiters, so were the Russian masses in October, 1917, the French proletariat in 1879 and 1848, and the entire world working class who will inevitably overthrow their oppressors.

The Communist Political Association has now openly declared war on the U. S. working class.

B. K.
Cleveland

Revolutionary Heroes

One of the subs I sold to a young steel worker who was formerly a mine worker. He asked our comrade if he had read the "Daily Worker," stating that he had read it himself for a while and in his opinion, "it stinks."

He was very interested and discussed many of the problems facing the workers today and in the immediate future.

One subscription was bought by a Mexican working in steel. In the course of our discussion I mentioned reading a book about Zapata. He brightened up with pride and obvious admiration for this revolutionary fighter of his country.

This affirms the correctness of the suggestion that The Militant carry articles on the revolutionary heroes of the U.S.A. and other nations.

H. Newell
Allentown, Pa.

Profiteers Scuttle OPA Plan For Cheaper Clothing

Early last February the WPB and OPA simultaneously announced they were putting into effect orders which would grant priority to low-cost clothing production and reduce price ceilings for clothing the average wage-earner buys.

But don't look for any lower-priced clothing. The textile and clothing manufacturers have already blasted this program full of holes. Through the revision of a clause here and the trimming of a phrase there, the WPB and OPA orders now look like a program of price-raising.

For one thing, the WPB's priority order applies to the clothing and not the textile industry. The clothing manufacturers can produce lower-cost clothing—if the textile manufacturers give them lower-cost materials. But the textile manufacturers are saying—nothing doing.

The original OPA price-ceiling order fixed as the base period for determining prices the last six months of 1942 and the first six months of 1943. Now it is based on the period of 1943, when profits and prices were much higher. In fact, from April 1943 through December 1944, clothing prices, according to the extremely conservative government figures, rose 16 per cent.

The OPA price order, however, which was supposed to bring cheaper clothing by this fall, hasn't yet gone into effect. It is still being "formulated"—that is, revised continually under the pressure of the textile and clothing manufacturers, aided by their Congressional hirelings.

A "hearing" on the low-cost clothing program was scheduled for next Monday before a subcommittee of the Smith House Select Committee, which is supposed to investigate the acts of government agencies which "exceed their authority."

Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia, heads the committee. He is the author of such anti-labor legislation as the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Law and Smith "Gag" Act. He is also a notorious friend of the textile manufacturers. His committee is going to "investigate" in particular a charge made by the head of the American Wool Council that the low-cost clothing program is aimed at "regimenting the textile and clothing industries." What do you think Smith's committee will "find?"

Westinghouse Electric Linked to Nazi Cartels

On April 12, the War Labor Board rejected the wage-increase demands of 200,000 members of the CIO Electrical and Radio Workers, including Westinghouse Electric's employees. This decision conformed to the demands of Westinghouse Electric, which has been making phenomenal profits during the war.

On the same day that the WLB did this chore for Westinghouse, the Department of Justice filed a civil suit against the company in Federal District Court, Newark, N. Y. The charge: maintaining a restrictive international cartel agreement with two German corporations which blocked the expansion of the electrical industry in this country during wartime.

The Department of Justice doesn't want the Westinghouse officials shot for treason or even sent to jail. All it wants is that the court declare illegal Westinghouse's contracts with the two Nazi firms, Siemens-Schuckertwerke and Siemens-Halske. This contract divided up the world market between the American and German corporations.

Particularly, the government is begging the court to compel Westinghouse to release vital patents and information which the company has been withholding in order not to "violate" its cartel agreements.

How Government Aids The Aluminum Monopoly

When workers, driven by intolerable conditions, go on strike, all the forces of capitalist government are used to crush them and whip them back to work. But when a powerful corporation deliberately blocks war production to maintain its monopoly and super-profits, what happens? Well—look at the Aluminum Corporation of America!

Testifying on April 11 before the Senate Small Business Committee, Will Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State and former high official of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, admitted that when an aluminum shortage for planes existed last year, ALCOA was an "unwilling seller" to the government. It opposed the utilization of existing idle plant facilities in this country because "it would have no post-war interest in a greater capacity than 5,000,000 pounds."

"Therefore," Clayton stated, "ALCOA felt that facilities which might be added for the war demands should be paid out of the proceeds of the aluminum sold (to the government) and that it was not in a position to finance more facilities."

Instead, Federal Loan Administrator Vinson, acting on the instructions of the War Production Board, last month signed an agreement to purchase 250,000,000 pounds of aluminum from ALCOA's Canadian subsidiary. This was an extremely profitable deal for ALCOA, because of its cheaper labor and taxes in Canada. A large part of these Canadian facilities were financed by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The government contract with ALCOA guaranteed to buy a minimum of 100,000,000 pounds of aluminum even if the need should be only 1,000,000 pounds. The contract further agreed to pay a 3-cent-a-pound premium over the base price because "if production costs went down the aluminum would cost us less." This never happened.

ALCOA was permitted to use its own auditor, as Clayton admitted, and the government never found out what the production cost of the aluminum was. "We wanted an independent auditing firm, but they didn't, so we gave in," said Clayton.

Vinson signed the contract, he said, because "a manpower and fuel shortage exists in the U. S." But Representative Walt Horan, of Washington, frankly told the Senate Committee that ALCOA had a big labor turnover because of its vicious "labor policies." "It's high time they raised their standards so the men will work in their plants."