

HUGE UPRISING SWEEPS NORTH ITALY

More Cutbacks, Layoffs Speeded By Government

With the virtual end of the war in Europe, the spreading war production cutbacks and mass unemployment will take on major scope and speed.

An intimation of what the workers face in the immediate future came last week with the ominous announcement of the impending shutdown of the huge Ford Willow Run bomber plant by August. This one layoff, spreading through numerous feeder plants, will ultimately affect several hundred thousands.

Within a few days of the first announcement, Edward L. Cushman, Michigan director of the War Manpower Commission, declared on April 28 that Willow Run production might end by June 1 instead of August. At the same time, Brig. Gen. Frederick Hopkins told union officials that there was only a "remote possibility" that "something would turn up" to save scores of thousands from unemployment.

WPB ANNOUNCEMENT

Behind a curtain of silence, big layoffs are proceeding in the other large plants of the automotive and aircraft industries. As of the latest announcement two weeks ago, there will be a general one-third reduction in working forces at the large Hudson, Murray Body and Briggs plants in Detroit. These figures will undoubtedly have to be revised sharply upward with the latest developments in the European war.

Last week, officials of the War Production Board and War Departments gave little-publicized announcements of large reductions in war contracts and extensive cutbacks.

On April 25 WPB Director J. A. Krug told a House committee

(Continued on page 2)

IN THE NEWS

Their "Post-War Plan"

Speaking on April 18 before a meeting of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc., War Surplus Property Board Chairman Guy M. Gillette stated that certain big industry groups have urged his board to take "into the middle of the ocean and dump them" to maintain scarcity and high prices.

Hurrah! — We're Unemployed

Commenting on a previously published United Press dispatch about the closing of the Ford Willow Run bomber plant, the New York Daily, PM, April 20, explains: "Stories of the 'happiness' of the bomber workers over the projected closing of the plant were the result of interviews rigged, it appears, by the Ford Co. news bureau. Not realizing this, PM on Wednesday ran the United Press story of the interviews."

Too Hot to Handle

An NLRB collective bargaining election at Famous-Barr, biggest department store in St. Louis and fourth largest in the world, was set aside because of company interference, reports Midwest Labor World, April 11. "The NLRB found in the election case that the company ACTUALLY TOOK OVER AN NLRB ELECTION AND RAN IT, DESPITE PROTESTS FROM THE BOARD ITSELF." The union paper adds that this "first-rate news story" was not even reported in the St. Louis papers. "The biggest advertiser was the culprit, and so the story was too hot to handle."

Health Note

Multi-millionaire Gerard Swope, former president of the General Electric trust, issued a statement the other day against making public the huge salaries received by the heads of the big business concerns. Publishing such information, said Swope, "only produces envy and heartburn."

Italian Masses Settle Accounts With Mussolini



A grim warning to all fascist murderers and enemies of the workers—the bodies of Mussolini, his mistress Clara Petacci and 12 other fascists, tried and executed by Italian Partisans, lie in the dirt in the Piazza Loreto at Milan, the industrial center where the fascists committed their worst atrocities against the Italian working class.

Conference At San Francisco Will Not Ensure Future Peace For The People

By Li Fu-jen

At the San Francisco conference of the "United Nations" which opened last week with pious speeches on the need for world peace, the statesmen of the imperialist powers, together with the representatives of the Kremlin, are carrying a stage further their plans for division of the world and domination of its peoples. San Francisco continues the work begun last year at the Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods conferences.

With unbounded hypocrisy and cynicism, scribblers of every political hue are busy "selling" the conference to the war-weary peoples as a bright hope of future peace. Neither the delegates nor the reporters believe this.

Reporter Jonathan Stout, writing in the April 28 Social-Democratic New Leader, stated that "on three occasions within the first two days after we arrived, I heard with amazement delegates make the most optimistic statements about the future of the conference, and then, in private, and off the record, have had them tell me that they were hoping against hope the conference would not lay an egg."

Stout then told this revealing story: "A writer of a nationally-known syndicated column was more plain-spoken. He said he had not yet seen anything to lighten, but a great deal to deepen, his pessimism as to any really

effective postwar peace organization. 'Is that the story you've written?' I asked. 'Oh no,' he replied, 'I don't dare write that story. Why not?' 'Because,' he answered, 'the people don't want to hear that story. The people so desperately want to hear that the San Francisco conference has succeeded that I cannot tell them how badly things have begun.'"

AIM TO DECEIVE

The columnist would have been accurate had he stated that he was writing as he did BECAUSE THE IMPERIALIST MANAGERS OF THE CONFERENCE WANT TO DECEIVE THE PEOPLE INTO BELIEVING THAT THEY ARE REALLY WORKING FOR PEACE AND THAT PEACE IS POSSIBLE UNDER CAPITALISM. Also, that he was writing as he did because the big-business controlled press, which

deceives the people day in and day out, demands it.

The world security organization which is expected to result from the San Francisco conference can be nothing more than a revamped League of Nations. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals which the conference is expected to adopt envisage the creation, not of an organization to preserve peace, but of a political instrument of the Big Powers.

Its purpose, like that of the League of Nations, will be to confirm the victorious powers in the spoils of war and to impose "peace by force" (Roosevelt's formula) on the rest of the world. The unspoken slogan of the statesmen dominating the San Francisco conference is not "Peace on Earth!" but "Woe to the Conquered!" They are bent on dismembering Germany, destroying its economic life, enslaving its people. They intend to Balkanize Europe and fasten the chains of servitude on the teeming multitudes of Asia. They plan to wage bloody war on any people who like the Greeks rise against capitalist oppression and exploitation.

As two terrible world wars have by now amply demonstrated, peace is impossible in a world of imperialist rivalries. At best, it is an uneasy interlude between wars, an interlude marked by a series of little wars.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations did everything but preserve peace. During the 31 years between the close of World War I and the outbreak of World War II, more than a dozen wars were fought. In each instance the imperialist powers were the prime movers. The Turko-Greek war was instigated by Britain after the close of World War I, to further British policy in the Near East. The "peace-loving" British imperialists meanwhile warred on the people of Iraq and the tribes of India's northwest frontier.

More wars followed in quick succession. Britain, France and the United States carried on unrelenting war against the Bolshevik regime in Russia. France and Spain fought the Riffs in North Africa. Japan invaded Manchuria. The Italian imperialists conquered Abyssinia. Japan moved into China.

This was the "peace" that ex-

(Continued on page 5)

Partisans Drive Out Nazis, Execute Dictator Mussolini

Committees of National Liberation Hand Power to Allied Puppet Government in Rome

By Harry Martell

In a mighty demonstration of power the masses of northern Italy last week rose in insurrection and wiped out the remnants of the Fascist regime in its last stronghold. With Partisan fighters as the shock troops, the workers seized control of the great industrial cities in the Lombardy plain. Mussolini and his Fascist aides met the end deserved by all hated tyrants. After a summary trial they were put to death by a firing squad.

Strong Protest Wins Release of Negro Officers

The 162 Negro flying officers arrested at Freeman Field, Ind. early in April for protesting against Army segregation policies were freed on April 26, according to Leslie Perry, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mass arrests of Negro officers of the 477th Bombardment Group followed upon their refusals to sign an endorsement of the Jim Crow plan for separate clubs for white and colored officers at Freeman Field.

Demand that charges be dropped against three Negro officers who were arrested at this same field for "jostling" a provost marshal are also being pressed by the NAACP. The charges were made after the Negro officers attempted to enter an officers' club, which had been "reserved" for white officers.

Further demands of the NAACP are that the War Department remove Major General Frank Hunter and Colonel Robert Selway from their posts and that a thorough investigation—"not a white wash" be made of the Jim Crow set-up at Freeman Field.

According to the April 28 Pittsburgh Courier, Major General Hunter was expected this week to reveal the status of the War Department's investigations into the arrests of the Negro flying officers. Because of the vigorous nationwide protests against this Jim Crow outrage, "it was generally felt that Colonel Selway would be relieved entirely of command of the 477th."

From here on events followed a familiar pattern. The Committee of National Liberation, consisting of Stalinists, "Socialists" and Liberals, received the power which the insurgent masses had wrenched from the hands of the Fascists and Nazis—and promptly handed it over to the bankrupt Bonomi government which rules in Rome by the grace of Allied bayonets. Allied troops immediately rushed in to "restore order" in the liberated cities.

The new governmental power in the north, in its first official statement, pledged itself "to continue the war" at the side of the United Nations, thus flouting the will of the people who, above all, want peace. This treacherous coalition, like their associates in the south, are already trying to disarm the insurrectionists whose struggles liberated North Italy.

In Turin, a general strike was called. Immediately the insurgents occupied the squares and streets of the city, seized public buildings, freed political prisoners, and forced the German and Italian Fascist forces to surrender en masse.

The great port of Genoa fell when the German commander, realizing the hopelessness of his position, surrendered his garrison of 7,000 soldiers to the Partisans. In Venice, the German commander yielded the harbor, with all ships intact, to Partisan leaders. In other cities armed working-class Partisans stormed and over-

(Continued on page 6)

BIG AIRCRAFT LAYOFFS HIT BUFFALO WORKERS

By Bill Gray

BUFFALO, April 23.—This city which for several years has been one of the most critical labor shortage areas in the country is likely to become in the very near future one of the most critical job shortage areas.

If anyone thinks this prediction is too pessimistic or just the product of a point of view that has no faith in the ability of the capitalist system to provide post-war jobs for all, let him ponder over these hard facts.

1. Buffalo employment has been declining steadily since June 1943, which marked the peak of wartime jobs in this area. Workers laid off have either left town or through the controlled Referral Plan forced to take undesirable jobs at lower wages.

2. The aircraft industry, the principal industry in this city, has already dismissed thousands of its employees and this is only the beginning. Bell Aircraft which in the summer of 1943 employed 30,000 now has less than half that number on the payroll. This corporation which in 1939 employed only a couple of thousand workers is strictly a wartime industry. Bell is now planning to close its Buffalo Plants and confine its production to the smaller Niagara Falls plant. It is not unlikely that this corporation will cease production entirely when Germany falls. The Curtiss-Wright Corpora-

tion, the larger of the two airplane manufacturers in this area, has had mass layoffs running up to several thousand workers in the past few months. Louis J. Mayer, President of the I.A.M. District 585-AFL, recently stated that Curtiss-Wright executives had informed him that a one-third reduction in production resulting in discharge of many additional thousands of workers would go into effect any time now. The company has refused to reveal the extent of the contemplated reduction!

Numerous smaller plants making airplane parts, engines and other war products have already

(Continued on page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

Detroit UAW Elections 2
Coast Guard and Seamen 3
UAW 'No Strike' Referendum 3
Hawaii Workers Vote CIO 4
Sidelights on San Francisco 5
The Republic in Italy 5
British Policy on Atrocities 5
Allied Censorship 6

COLUMNS AND FEATURES

Trade Union Notes 2
Diary of a Steelworker 3
The Negro Struggle 4
Grace Carlson 4
International Notes 5
Sidelights on Socialism 6
Military Army 7
Pioneer Notes 7
Workers Forum 8

Real Aim Of Campaign Around Atrocities

Now that the Allied armies have occupied large parts of Germany, the full story of the crimes and abominations of the Nazi regime is coming to light. They are being revealed in a torrent of reports and pictures in the press. Gruesome pictorial evidence of Nazi atrocities is being unreel before movie audiences.

Nazism, which rescued German capitalism from the revolutionary wrath of the German masses, now stands exposed in all its monstrous infamy. The captured Nazi concentration camps at Buchenwald, Dachau, Belsen and elsewhere have yielded up their ghastly secrets.

The nauseating cruelty of the Nazi barbarians has been a matter of public knowledge ever since

Hitler seized power twelve years ago. Torture and death were the lot of the Jews and of all the known German workingclass opponents and other critics of Hitler and his gangsters. Victims who managed to escape abroad spread the truth. But there were many horrendous deeds not known until now.

VICTIMS OF NAZISM

For long years, the "democratic" imperialist leaders were indifferent to Nazi atrocities. They treated them as an exclusively German concern—until German imperialism challenged THEIR interests. Some of them, such as Churchill, openly proclaimed their admiration for Hitler's regime. The same Churchill just as ardently praised Mussolini for "saving" Europe from Bolshevism. The American imperialists, by

means of loans and cartel agreements, helped the Nazis to consolidate their brutish rule against the German people.

Now—today—with final German defeat in sight, Nazi atrocities are being publicized with great fanfare. The Allied victors

The British Government "Discovers" Atrocities

— See Page 5 —

are exploiting the horror revelations of the concentration camps in a frenzied campaign to whip up popular hatred, not just against the Nazis, but against the German people as a whole.

If the people of the "democratic" countries can be made to believe that the Germans are a nation of

sadistic beasts, they may acquiesce in the robber peace, the super-Versailles, planned for Germany. So calculate the Allied leaders.

IMPERIALIST DESIGNS

These self-styled champions of democracy have openly proclaimed their intention to dismember Germany, to destroy what remains of its principal industries, to place the country under lengthy military operation. Their purpose is two-fold:

1. To make it impossible for German imperialism again to challenge its victorious rivals either in commercial competition, or in war, which is the end result of such competition.

2. To head off, and if need be crush by force of arms, any attempt of the German working class to take its destiny into its

own hands by destroying capitalism and building a new Socialist society.

For the successful execution of these designs, the Allied victors need at least the passive assent of their own peoples. Mass opposition to the enslavement of Germany would upset, and perhaps frustrate, their plans. The campaign around the atrocity revelations is intended to still any public protest and provide moral justification for the criminal "peace" planned by Washington and London and endorsed by the counter-revolutionary Stalinist gang in Moscow.

ULTERIOR PURPOSES

The systematic, streamlined character of the campaign, the determination of the propagand-

(Continued on page 6)

Result Of Elections In UAW-CIO Locals Reveal Sharp Discontent Of Auto Workers

By E. Kennedy

DETROIT, April 23.—The increasing discontent of the auto workers that finds expression in the continuing strike wave here has also been revealed in the results of the recent local union elections of the CIO United Automobile Workers.

This year, as was the case a year ago, the officers of scores of UAW locals have paid for their inability to win any real gains for the workers by being voted out of union office.

An outstanding example of the trend was the results of the primary elections at the huge Ford Local 600. The Stalinist machine which dominated the local for several years suffered an outright defeat for the posts of recording-secretary and secretary-treasurer. The opposition, as reported in *The Militant*, April 28, won pluralities for the other posts and is in a favorable position to win the run-offs.

ELECTION CHANGES

Among other leading locals which have witnessed the defeat of the old administrations are the following: Ford Willow Run Bomber Local 50; Briggs Aircraft 742; Chrysler Tank Arsenal Local 833; Plymouth Local 51; Ford Highland Park Local 400; Murray Local 2; Continental Motors Local 280; Flint Chevrolet Local 659; Flint Fisher Local 581; Flint AC Local 651. In Briggs Local 212, the old administration's slate lost out for the two top posts. This list could be greatly extended.

Naturally, all locals did not elect new leaderships, although most elections were very close. Chrysler Local 7 retained its incumbent president, Cunningham, a Stalinist. Frank Donley was voted again at Motor Products Local 203. Mike Novak continues as Dodge Local 3 president by a narrow vote margin. Hammond of Detroit West Side Tool and Die Local 157 was also reelected.

A Stalinist-Reuther-Addes combination in Flint Buick Local 599 was strong enough to reelect Ben Woodward against Geiger, who

was backed by John McGill, a former vice president of 599. Detroit East Side Tool and Die Local 155 remains under the control of Stalinist John Anderson and his machine.

A. Hughes, national secretary of the UAW Rank and File Caucus which led the fight against the no-strike pledge, and his entire slate were elected at Dodge Truck Local 140. Bill Jenkins, Highland Park Amalgamated Local 490, was reelected president and his entire slate was also elected. He is chairman of the Greater Detroit UAW Rank and File Caucus. The entire old progressive leadership of Fleetwood Local 15 was reelected without opposition.

The tendency to change officers reflects the frustration of the needs of the rank and file. Although the Rank and File Caucus put up a splendid battle at the last UAW convention to restore the fighting policies of the UAW, the program of retreat and capitulation of the top UAW leaders continued to rule.

CONDITIONS IN PLANTS

This has meant the intensification of speed-up, wage cuts, and the breakdown of bargaining procedure. The WLB has rejected all basic wage demands. In recent months the corporations have put on a concerted union-busting drive of provocations and firing of local officers and militants. Now cutbacks and layoffs are beginning on a mass scale.

Being a local officer or committeeman has been no picnic under these conditions. In fact, it is important to note that many local posts were uncontested, testifying to the fact that under today's conditions many feel that doing a conscientious job in a union post is but a step to draft induction or discharge. Also, the more conscientious militants are aware of their limited ability to gain anything for the workers under the general cowardly policies of the International leadership and they wish to take no responsibility for these policies.

The ranks had little opportunity to give positive expression to their dissatisfaction because the Rank and File Caucus did not intervene actively as an independent factor in the local elections. Larry Yost, former president of the Ford Local 600 Aircraft Unit and national chairman of the Rank and File Caucus, attempted to get the Reuther caucus in Local 600 to adopt the militant program of the Rank and File. When he was defeated in this, he withdrew from active participation in the election, and did not run for reelection in his own unit.

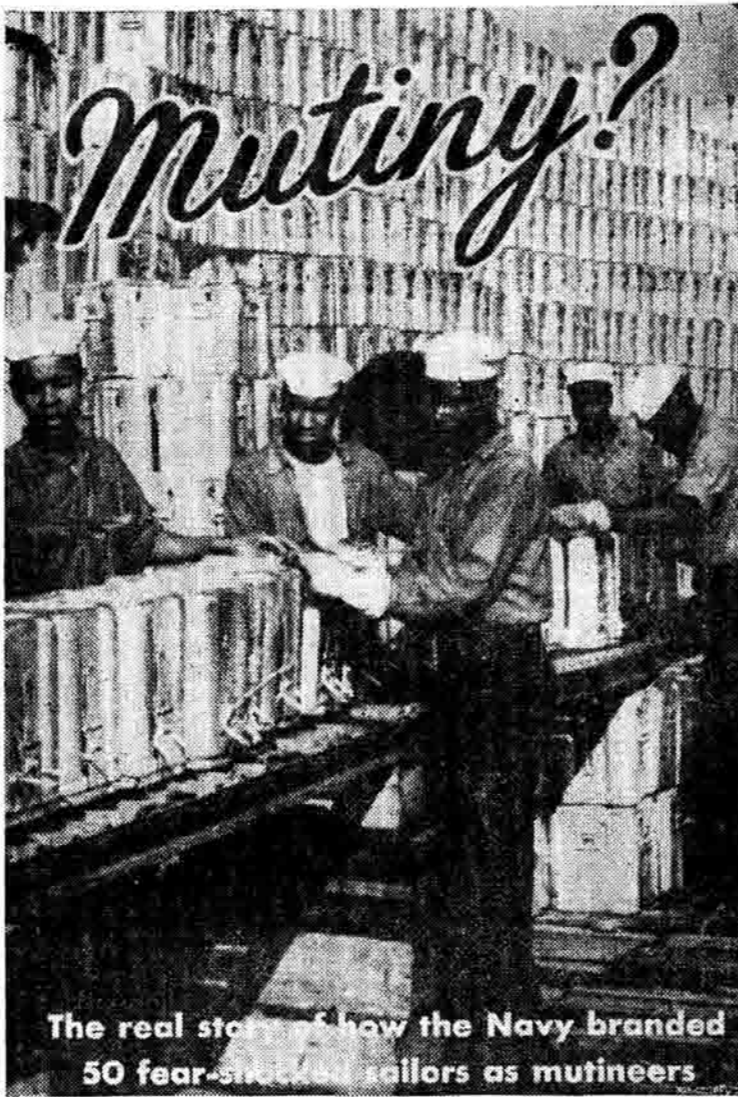
RANK AND FILE CAUCUS

John Zupan, secretary of the Detroit Rank and File Caucus, sacrificed the question of opposition to the no-strike pledge in order to run on a Reutherite slate in Bomber Local 50. He was rewarded for this by being the only unsuccessful candidate on the slate.

The failure of the Rank and File Caucus to push its program in the local elections and carry its fight to the ranks is recognized by its leading supporters. This has spurred plans of the caucus to conduct a real organizing campaign in the period ahead, with the aim of electing Rank and File delegates to the next UAW convention.

The Rank and File Caucus demonstrated great power at the 1944 convention, although its delegates were elected on a hit or miss basis. In the next convention elections, the caucus intends to intervene actively to win a majority at the convention against the old leadership and policies.

New NAACP Pamphlet



The real story of how the Navy branded 50 fear-shocked sailors as mutineers

Reproduction of the front cover of the pamphlet "Mutiny?", showing Negro navy ammunition loaders like the men who were blown to bits in the Port Chicago disaster. This pamphlet, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is reviewed in this issue of *The Militant*.

Negro Workers Give Evidence On Jim Crow In Boilermakers

LOS ANGELES, April 27.—Garner V. Grayson, Jr., formerly acting secretary-treasurer of the Boilermakers Local No. A-35, Negro local, was one of the key witnesses during the past week for the six Negro workers who are attempting, through court action here, to force the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, AFL, to admit Negroes into the union as full members without discrimination and without segregation.

Their testimony revealed that they have been compelled to pay initiation fees and dues into San Pedro Local 92 of the Boilermakers, as a condition of employment in the shipyards, although they have never been admitted into that local and instead were eventually shunted off into a Negro auxiliary.

This Negro auxiliary does not have control over its own affairs. It is controlled instead by Local 92 in which the Negro workers have no representation. Due to discrimination against them on the part of Local 93, they have been barred from many of the better paid jobs, and in general have been relegated to an inferior status.

GRAYSON'S TESTIMONY

Grayson testified that he had been appointed acting secretary-treasurer of the auxiliary Local A-35, at the time this segregated local was set up in the spring of 1943, by E. V. Blackwell, secretary-treasurer of Local 92, and later confirmed by the international offices of the Boilermakers. Appointments of all other officers of the auxiliary were made by Grayson after prior consultation with Blackwell. None of these appointments were confirmed by the membership.

Although Grayson retained his position as an officer for more than a year, no election of officers was held during that time. He asserted that in April, 1944,

he called a meeting for the nomination of officers, but was subsequently informed by officials of Local 92 that there were certain irregularities in the way the nominations had been made. He thereupon sent a petition to Local 92 and the International Office requesting that a new meeting, conforming with all technicalities, be held for the nomination of officers to the Negro auxiliary. But he was called to a conference in Blackwell's office, where Thomas Crow, International Vice-President of the Boilermakers, informed him that he didn't consider this the proper time for holding elections in auxiliary local A-35.

A short time later, early in June, 1944, Grayson said he received a letter from Blackwell of Local 92, arbitrarily dismissing him from his post as acting secretary-treasurer of A-35.

Further testimony of Grayson showed that on various occasions the bulletin board of Local 92 listed openings in the yards for such jobs as ship-fitters and burners, but that calls for filling these jobs were not transmitted to the Negro auxiliary, though there were qualified Negro workers available.

JIM-CROW AUXILIARY

In previous hearings before the court, Eri Jacobs, one of the plaintiffs, stated that he had paid initiation fee and dues to Local 92, and had been notified to appear for initiation. When he appeared, he said, he was told that the notification had been sent him in error and that the scheduled initiation was for white boilermakers only. He was never initiated in Local 92.

Another plaintiff, A. Williams, said that when he refused to pay dues to the Jim-Crow auxiliary he was fired from his job for failure to maintain his membership in good standing.

The case now before the Superior Court of Los Angeles was brought by six Negro boilermakers on their own behalf and on behalf of other workers similarly situated against the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and its Local 92. The six Negroes, through their lawyer, have made it plain that they do not oppose the closed shop contracts held by the union. Their lawyer stated that if they would be admitted to full membership in Local 92, he would stipulate for a dismissal of the case immediately.

PAMPHLET BARES NAVY FRAME-UP OF NEGROES

By Grace Carlson

"Mutiny?", a 16-page pamphlet just published by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, is a powerful indictment of the Jim Crow system of the United States Navy. The cover of this pamphlet is a reproduction of an official Navy photograph, showing Negro sailors loading ammunition. Against this background, the title of the pamphlet takes on added meaning—"Mutiny?": The Real Story of How the Navy Branded 50 Fear-Shocked Sailors As Mutineers.

"Remember Port Chicago?" the pamphlet begins, and goes on to give a dramatic recitation of the tragic events of the Port Chicago case. On July 17, 1944 in this little town on San Francisco Bay, over 320 American sailors were blown to tiny fragments . . . in less time than it takes to say "Jim Crow."

Every one of the 320 casualties was a Negro sailor, who had been loading ammunition. Every one of the commissioned officers who had been charged with the lives and welfare of these men was white.

Eight or nine hundred Negro sailors survived the Port Chicago tragedy—dazed, bewildered, nervous, shocked by the sights, sounds and smells of "the worst home front disaster of the war." When attempts were made to return them to loading ammunition, hundreds of them rebelled.

UNJUSTLY PUNISHED

Negro sailors were learning "that civilian longshoremen in the Bay Area had, on a number of occasions refused to work on the same ship where Navy personnel were loading . . . ; that the Longshoremen's union wouldn't permit a white driver to work on ammunition unless he had had years of experience on other loads . . . ; that the Navy had ignored an offer by these same unions to send experienced longshoremen to train them in the safe handling of explosives."

Hundreds of these Negro sailors, protesting against the vicious Navy discrimination which consigned only Negroes to the dangerous, dirty work of loading ammunition, were shipped to the South Pacific. Two hundred and fifty seven others were arrested. 50 of these were tried "for conspiracy to mutiny" at the largest mass trial in Naval history.

Government Speeds Cutbacks in Nation's War Production Industries

(Continued from page 1)

as his own "speculation" that war procurement contracts will be cut 15 percent within three to four months. Within a year to 15 months war production — the backbone of present employment — will decline by 40 per cent, he said.

He further admitted that cutbacks will proceed so swiftly that "reconversion plans" will be unable to keep abreast of them. There will be "a great many local

Army Brass Hats Burn Wright's Book

In a letter to *Time* magazine April 30) on airman at the Army Air Field in Deming, New Mexico, writes:

"Book-banning Boston has nothing on this Army Air Field. Our Commanding Officer ordered the one Post Library copy of Black Boy by Richard Wright destroyed. Though we be in the Army, what man has a right to try and dictate what we will or will not read? What century is this?"

Richard Wright is the well-known Negro writer. His book tells in unvarnished fashion the story of his youthful life in the South and is a terrible indictment of the white supremacy tyrants who persecute, terrorize and lynch Negroes. That's why the brass hat ordered it destroyed — because it tells the truth. Who said that it was only the German Nazis who burned books?

spiry to mutiny" at the largest mass trial in Naval history.

In the record of the six-week long trial, as the NAACP pamphlet points out very correctly, there is "not one word of the most important issues of the case . . . not one hint that while these 50 bewildered youngsters sat for six weeks in a courtroom as the 'accused,' the real offender was the 'accuser'—the Navy."

Long prison terms was the "justice" meted out to these Negro sailors—half of them under 21 years of age. Ten of the men were sentenced to 15 years in prison; 11 to 10 years; 24 to 12 years; and 5 to 8 years. Through Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel for the NAACP, a brief was filed for all 50 sailors with Judge Advocate General of the U. S. Navy. This was done at the written request of the sailors themselves.

"The pointless, meaningless deaths of 320 Americans must be given a point, must be given a meaning—for the living" says the NAACP writer in conclusion. "Meaning for the living" lies in militant support of the campaign to free these 50 Negro sailor-victims of Navy Jim Crow—a key case in the fight to end discrimination and segregation in the armed forces.

Big Layoffs Hit Buffalo Workers

(Continued from page 1)

cut down their employment rolls. Some are laying off workers with two or more years seniority. The Buffalo Arms Corporation, unable to secure additional contracts, closed its doors and turned out over 2,000 workers some time ago.

These small plants depending on subcontracts are doomed as cutbacks in prime contracts increase every day. Here in Buffalo, where only a year ago every available inch of space was jammed full of working machinery, one already sees plants that hummed 24 hours a day on three shifts, dark and deserted.

3. While lay-offs have not as yet struck the steel industry here, significant changes are taking place. Contracts for landing barges, pontoons, etc. are running out, cancelled or cut-back. Workers on these jobs, which have been mostly piecework, are now for the most part back on the lower-paying hourly basis. With the demand for steel and steel products declining steadily, it is only a matter of time before the workers in the steel mills take their places behind the aircraft workers in the rapidly growing army of unemployed.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Phone Girls OK Contract

Meetings of New York Local 101, Federation of Long Lines Telephone Workers, on April 24 ratified a wage contract, approved by the WLB, which grants average wage increases of \$3.88 per week, plus retroactive pay amounting to \$2,500,000. It will also give maximum pay of \$37 weekly after 8 years service, instead of the former \$34 peak after 12 years.

The new agreement, which is also being acted upon by the local operators in the Traffic Employees Association, was won after both unions voted overwhelmingly to strike against the flat \$3 a week raise originally granted by the WLB. The unions had demanded \$5; a special WLB panel had also recommended \$5. The company had finally agreed to \$4, but the national WLB pared it to \$3.

A new schedule of wages gives beginners \$23, plus certain fringe concessions, instead of \$20 weekly. This increase is raised to \$4 after 15 months, \$5 after 35 months and \$6 after 48 months. The militancy of the telephone girls, who were just about to go on strike when the final contract was signed, forced the WLB to accede to the higher awards.

Less Take-Home Pay

Over 100,000 shipyard and ship repair workers in the New York area face large cuts in their weekly take-home pay as the result of an order by the War Shipping Administration directing operators to reduce hours and eliminate overtime and premium pay. The order was announced on April 24.

It was also revealed that there have been "moderate layoffs in recent weeks" although "no mass dismissals," says the April 25 N. Y. Times, "are expected before three or four months." That's a way of breaking the news "gently" that there are huge layoffs pending during the summer.

All Sunday work at double-time is eliminated, except by special WSA order. This is a terrific sock at the workers' weekly income. The shipyard workers depend upon this overtime to carry them through because of high prices, taxes and other war expenses. They will be permitted only one hour of daily overtime instead of two, which most of them worked before. This in itself means a loss of from \$9 to \$12 pay a week.

The CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers is planning to demand wage increases in June when the present contract expires.

Six-to-One for Strike

Now that the War Labor Board has been compelled to approve the soft coal miners' contract granting increases of around \$1.25 per day, the hard coal miners, centered in Pennsylvania, are going after substantial raises when their contract expires at the end of April.

Like their brothers in the soft coal mines, the anthracite workers on April 27 showed they mean business by voting six-to-one in favor of strike action if the operators and government don't agree to an acceptable contract. The United Mine Workers has demanded a 25 per cent wage increase.

The National Labor Relations Board reported the complete returns of the strike poll as follows:

For strike, 41,952; against, 6,697.

When the coal miners take a strike vote, it's no mere gesture or empty threat. That's what the boss press said about the previous vote of the bituminous miners — until they walked out by the scores of thousands even after the old contract was extended for a month. A lot of miners figured an old contract is no contract — and no contract, no work! Then the operators and government acted fast.

Textile Local Sued

A suit for damages of \$259,680 from the United Textile Workers, AFL, has been filed by the American Enka Corporation, Asheville, North Carolina, in the Buncombe County N. C., Superior Court. The company is trying to knock down this huge sum from the union for alleged losses it claims it sustained during a strike of 3,000 workers last February. The company claims the strike, which ended in a government "seizure" on February 18, violated a no-strike clause in the contract.

The real intent of this suit is to smash the union. Since August 18, 1944, the company has been defying a regional WLB order directing it to arbitrate the union's demand for shift differentials and paid lunch periods. The company refused, raising the pretext that by opening the contract for renegotiation of these issues it was reopening the whole contract. A second WLB order was likewise rejected. But it wasn't until the workers struck, months later, that the WLB "got tough" — not against the company, but against the workers by initiating a strikebreaking plant "seizure."

If this suit is successful, it may set loose a whole wave of attempts to bust unions by collecting strike "damages" through the help of pro-corporation courts.

What—No Peace Pact?

The April 6 Toledo Union Journal, organ of the Northwest Ohio CIO says editorially: "Obviously if management does not have the intelligence, the tact and willingness to settle its unimportant differences with labor during these war years when the welfare of the country hinges upon unity and cooperation, how can we expect it to show a sudden birth of reason once the emergency has passed?"

We don't know about those "unimportant differences." That's what the union leaders called them — but not the bosses, who have fought labor bitterly on every point during the war. But it's a cinch, as the Toledo union paper states, that the corporations aren't going to take it easier against labor with the war drawing to a close.

Philip Murray and William Green may sign their capital-labor "peace-charter" — but to the bosses that's just a way to get labor to lower its guard and stick out its neck for a rabbit punch.

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A Review Of The UAW Referendum

Characterizing the recent UAW referendum on the no-strike pledge as a "mess" in which "less than one-sixth of the membership voted to support the International," an editorial in the April issue of "Hi-Flyer," official publication of UAW-CIO Local 6, Melrose Park, Ill., goes on to explain what the pledge has done to hamstringing the auto workers. We reprint the editorial below.

LOOKING OVER THE REFERENDUM

The recent referendum on the no-strike pledge, conducted by the UAW-CIO, was one glorious mess. Final "official" figures were 63.4 per cent for retention, 35.3 per cent against and 1.3 per cent of the ballots were void.

How many thousands of those ballots were phoney, no one knows. The ballots were sent out to people on the subscription list of the United Automobile Worker, the International paper, rather than to the lists of the membership. As a result quite a few people got two, three and even five ballots, while many others got none. People who had left the UAW-CIO a year or two ago were still sent ballots. Many employers, who regularly get the paper, had ballots mailed to them, like the head of the Olds Company in Lansing, Mich. The no-strike pledge never was given a "for or against" wording, either at the convention last summer or on the ballot. The referendum committee was divided according to the Auto Worker, into three positions on the question. What three positions? If there were three positions, why wasn't the ballot so worded?

Less than one-sixth of the membership,—even if you concede everything was on the up-and-up, which is conceding a lot, voted to support the International policy of collective bargaining! Most of the other million members just showed their disgust. They're disgusted with the long run-arounds on grievances through the present government set-up; disgusted waiting for the War Labor Board to do something about raises.

Everyone knows what the attitude of the membership is on the no-strike pledge. A lot of members couldn't reconcile their feelings about the war by voting against the pledge, but at the same time they refused to vote for the no-strike pledge either. Look at the thousands of "quickie strikes" taking place throughout the country! The membership in the older locals know that you can't beg anything from General Motors, Ford or Chrysler. They've had too much experience with these babies—back in 1936, 1937 and 1939—to forget that. They knew too that the WLB is stacked 100 per cent against us. It's O.K. for instance, to bounce a guy out of a plant without asking the WLB for permission, but if a worker is fired and he wants to appeal the case he has to hold his breath for two years while the WLB or the umpire "investigates."

The UAW Membership Want Action

If Thomas and Reuther really wanted to know what the membership thinks, the referendum proved it to the hilt. The membership is sick of the WLB, sick of the lies about "equality of sacrifice." It wants action. It needs action. Thousands of people are already being laid off in the shipyards and elsewhere. Hours are being shortened and will be shortened considerably when VE day comes around. Take-home pay is bound to fall.

And once there are a large number of unemployed, the employers, and the WLB will just sit back and thumb their noses at us. "Quit if you want to," they will say, "there's plenty more where you came from, Buddy."

That's where the no-strike policy has led us. Even the WLB admits that we've taken a licking. They claim that there's been a rise in the cost of living of some 30 per cent, but a rise in wages of only 20 per cent. Doesn't that mean we've taken a 10 per cent wage cut? Why should we have taken such a cut when the profits of the big corporations are four times as large as they were four years ago? Where's that "equality of sacrifice"? Everyone knows, of course, that the cost of living has gone up more than 30 per cent. Try to wear a pair of \$10 shoes one-half the time you used to wear one of those old Tom McAn's. Try that quality on all merchandise. And remember the black market and much higher taxes. The cost of living has probably doubled. But wages have gone up only 20 per cent. That's where the no-strike pledge took us. We took a CUT IN PAY.

The no-strike pledge is responsible for such fascist measures as "work or jail"; it is responsible for the dictatorial freeze of jobs and all the other monkeyshines we've been given under the lying excuse of "war emergency."

We'll never get anywhere on the policy of begging—except possibly begging on the breadline or selling apples in the street. The rank and file of our local and all other locals must work together to see that we go back to some good old-fashioned union militancy and union collective BARGAINING (not begging).

No-strike means no wages and no decent conditions. Let's rescind the no-strike pledge at the next convention, or better yet, this coming year—that's still the best advice we workers can take.

Workers Answer Provocations By Five Strikes In Allentown

ALLENTOWN, Pa., April 27 —Five strikes in the last four days is the answer of the union workers here to the stalling and chiseling tactics of some of the leading Allentown employers.

On Monday, April 23, the entire No. 4 assembly plant of the Mack Truck Manufacturing Corporation went on strike when the company refused to settle a seven-week old grievance. The next day some 3,000 members of Local 677, CIO United Automobile Workers, at eight Mack plants, three warehouses and two maintenance shops were out in solidarity and in protest against the WLB-company delays on classification grievances and contracts.

Members of Local 2806, CIO United Steel Workers, went on strike at the J. F. Grammes & Sons plant against payment of substandard wages. Protesting a contract sent to the WLB con-

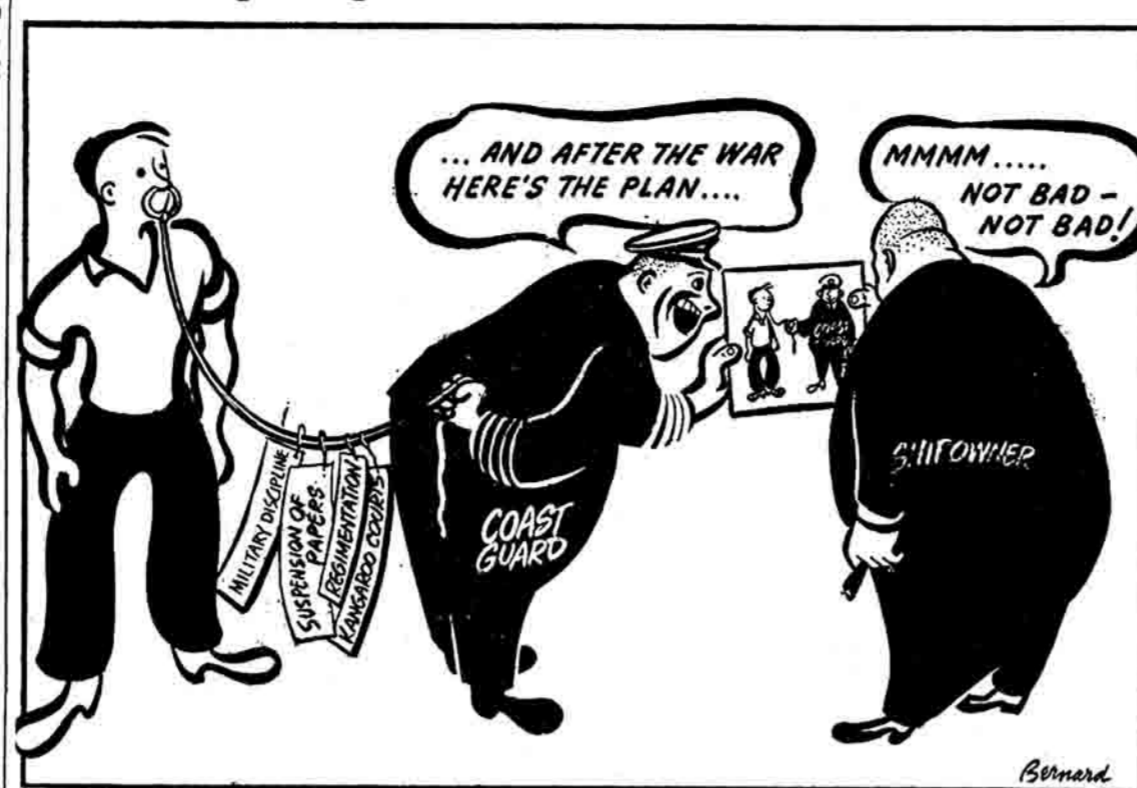
J. PIERPONT MONEYBAGS Says: "JOBS FOR EVERYONE?—WHY, THAT'S SOCIALISTIC!"



The maintenance workers at the Allentown plant of Consolidated Vultee are also on strike. None of the daily papers here has so far printed a line about this strike. It is evident the employers and their press are anxious to suppress all information about this strike and its issues.

This strike was precipitated when the company transferred 10 workers seven weeks ago from the assembly line to experimental work on commercial buses in a different plant. Instead of put-

Preparing 'Post-War Plan' for Seamen



Reprinted by courtesy of "Seafarers' Log".

Chicago Buick Local 6 Votes For Strike Poll

By Mike Bartell

CHICAGO, April 17.—At a huge protest mass meeting at the Lion's hall here yesterday noon, 5,000 members of Buick Local 6, CIO United Automobile Workers, voted overwhelmingly by secret ballot to petition for an NLRB strike vote under the Smith-Connally Act. Over 87 per cent of the ballots favored strike action.

The plant management expressed "surprise" in a press statement about the "unusual" amount of "absenteeism" on the day of the mass meeting — when 5,000 of the 6,000 workers on the day shift failed to report for work. But the workers—and the company—knew why they were "absent."

They were at the greatest labor protest demonstration in this city since Pearl Harbor. Buick workers were jammed into every square inch of space at the meeting hall to prepare a program of militant action against the company's repeated deliberate provocations. These provocations were climaxed by the firing of a union district committeeman. This finally touched off the explosive protest.

COMPANY MOVES

At Buick, as throughout the automotive industry, the company in the past months has adopted a "tough" policy designed to beat down and undermine the union. The management contemptuously refused to settle the grievances pouring into the union's shop committee at an unprecedented rate. Only two out of 100 grievances were settled satisfactorily.

To all intents and purposes the contractual seniority and upgrading provisions have been voided. The company finally "bargained" with the shop com-

mittee by sending in only "office boys" without authority except to say "no" to all the committee's demands.

The company then made its next move—the firing of a committeeman on the pretext that he had refused to accept an arbitrary transfer into another plant district at pay below the scale for the job. He accepted the transfer the first day. But as the elected representative of the workers in his district, he justifiably refused on the second day to leave his own district. He was laid off a day, and then fired on the third day. The whole company action was clearly premeditated.

But the workers didn't just fold up under this blow. At the protest meeting yesterday, the aisles were jammed from the platform to the back walls. Workers were hanging in through the windows and thousands listened to the speeches over the sound truck outside. So aroused and defiant were the rank and file, that not even the finky Stalinists dared voice opposition to a strike vote. No one mentioned the no-strike pledge. No one waved the flag. The representatives of the International union were very conspicuous by their absence—this potato was a bit too hot for them to handle.

The solidarity between the Negro and white workers was inspiring. It was demonstrated when a report came in that a restaurant in the building was discriminating against the colored brothers. A roar of protest greeted this and a motion to boycott the restaurant was passed unanimously.

Only one sour note crept into this militant demonstration. The local leaders weakened under company pressure, despite their profession of a progressive program at the union's last elections. They posted bulletins throughout the plant at the last moment, late Saturday afternoon, which gave the impression that the workers were not to meet in a body at Monday noon as already announced, but would dribble into the meeting hall all afternoon and evening after their shifts. This caused considerable confusion, but the demonstration was a tremendous success in spite of it.

Events at Chicago Buick follow the pattern of the offensive against the auto locals everywhere. It is part of a conspiracy to smash the giant UAW. But Local 6 has a militant and progressive tradition. This was most recently shown when it unanimously rejected the new General Motors contract which contained no basic gains.

It passed a resolution calling

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Shipowners Plan Post-War Military Control of Seamen

By Art Sharon

Brass hats of the United States Coast Guard are determined to extend their domination over the merchant seamen. Given jurisdiction for the duration through an executive order, they and their shipowner sponsors have now begun a campaign to maintain their military stranglehold in the "post-war" period.

Last week the Coast Guard called a public hearing on their proposal to transfer all functions of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation from the Department of Commerce to the U. S. Coast Guard. Present at this hearing were "Blackie" Meyers and Joe Stack, Stalinist spokesmen for the National Maritime Union, Winocur of the Radio Operators, John Hawk of the Seafarers International Union and several shipowners' representatives.

As expected, the Stalinist finks and shipowners went into raptures over the Coast Guard proposals. Only Hawk, representative of the SIU, fulfilled the elementary obligation of a union representative to oppose this ominous plan. The SIU served notice on the Coast Guard and the shipowners that if they went ahead with this plan and attempted to get Congress to make it law the SIU would call upon the entire labor movement for support in "smashing a military plot."

COAST GUARD "GESTAPO"

The shipowners want military control as one more weapon in their hands against militant unionism. The Stalinist support it for essentially the same reason. Rank and file seamen of all unions have had a bellyful of military control during the war, of "kangaroo courts," arbitrary suspension of their seamen's papers, and other "Gestapo" methods.

The Coast Guard has waged a continuous campaign to break down the elementary solidarity existing between shipmates. Coming aboard ship when it docks, they pass quietly around picking up all loose gossip of possible "friction" between departments or between men and their officers. They induce young and inexperienced seamen to relate all that takes place on the trip in an effort to carry out their snooping function.

Needless to add they put their weight behind many a bucko mate or labor-hating skipper. The Coast Guard "Gestapo" has earned the hatred of union seamen everywhere.

mediately . . . (and) stop advocating participation on any other so-called impartial Board." The action of Local 207 here, as well as those of the Chicago locals, indicate how little the GM workers rate the "substantial gains" of which Reuther boasts. Those "gains" listed by Reuther include:

A 2½ per cent increase in night shift bonuses, retroactive to October 1943. This represents "far-reaching precedents for which GM workers have blazed the trail," according to Reuther, although this and the vacation pay clause are still being negotiated.

MINOR CONCESSIONS

Smoking privileges are now "to be accorded to workers." This is a privilege which the workers had long since won in practice and which was gradually withdrawn along with other privileges when the company started to "crack down" after the no-strike pledge was imposed on the workers.

International union representatives are permitted to enter the plants — a "precedent" UAW workers won as far back as 1937.

Agreement of the company to "arbitrate" questions of seniority and transfers.

It can be seen that even these much vaunted concessions represent no substantial gains—only secondary points that the company has agreed merely to "negotiate" or "arbitrate." So far as actual economic gains are concerned, the contract, in the opinion of most GM workers here, represents zero.

For a Rising Scale

Of Wages to Meet

Rising Living Costs

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

Spring has come to the steel plants. It has also come to the Loop, Park Ave., and Lake Placid, but that's a different story.

All winter long, we have shivered in our freezing sweat up on the furnace floors, wondering if it would ever end. We have gotten up long before dawn and trudged to work through the drifted snow, elbowed our way through the moaning, shrieking winds that lacerated our faces and numbed our hands and feet. We have sat in stuffy, dim-lighted buses that struggled and bumped over the snowy roads in the darkness of early morning. And we have worked for an hour or two at the beginning of each day shift before the cold gray morning light grew strong enough for us to see.



And all winter long, there have been new men from time to time on the furnace gangs, taking the places of workers who lay home in their beds with pneumonia. Sometimes the new men stayed on the jobs. We thought it could never end.

Then, somehow or other, it came. The snow in the yard began to melt. The yard was no longer white with black tracks cut into it where the engines pulled the ladies in and out. The yard became reddish-brown once more, and the sun dried up the pools of dirty water and began to bake the red-brown mud into a hard crust that scuffed up when you walked on it and powdered your shoes. The bitterness sifted out of the wind, and life became good for a little time.

On the first clear, warm day of this spring, you could see the shore line of the lake for miles as it curved around past the steel plant. I watched it out of the bus window as we sped along toward the smoky haze and spotty flares of the plant. Far, far away I saw what looked like thick green forests covering the hills. In the vagueness of the distance, I thought I could see cliffs that swooped down into the breakers of the lake. And suddenly an overwhelming discontent swept over me, and I was filled with a longing that said, "Don't go. Don't get off the bus at the steel mill. Go on, far away into the distance where the forest is green and the sunlight flutters down through the shifting leaves and dances on the warm earth. In the forest there is a deep, green pool where the stream widens in the rocks, and the fish are biting. The sun is warm on the hill, and the breeze is soft. Don't go to work on the furnace on such a day as this."

A Worker's Longing for Freedom

The bus sped down the concrete highway. Number 1 furnace slipped and fogged the bright air with great clouds of flue dust. Over at the coke oven the little clusters of orange-yellow fire jerked angrily. A locomotive hooted as we drew near. The men standing in the aisles lurched against each other as the bus slowed down and stopped at the gate. I got up scowling and left the bus. As I walked through the gate, the breeze fanned my face, and again I felt the longing for the hills and the trees, the longing for freedom from the everlasting grind. But I kept on going over the tracks, up the road to the locker room and the furnace.

I thought of the Loop and Park Ave. and Lake Placid. And I knew that there were people there who could know the spring-time as I never could; because when spring's longing came upon them, they could go out into the forests . . . while I went to work on the furnace.

Cleveland Diesel Local 207 Turns Down GM Contract

By B. Kingsley

CLEVELAND, April 15 — The Cleveland Diesel workers today voted unanimously against ratification of the new General Motors contract which Walter Reuther, CIO United Automobile Workers vice-president and director of the union's vast GM division, had termed a "substantial victory." This action was taken at a special membership meeting of all three shifts of Diesel Local 207.

This contract, presented to the GM workers after two years of negotiations and WLB hearings, was opposed because it contains no wage increases and only a few picaune contractual concessions designed to help pacify the increasingly rebellious rank and file.

REASONS FOR REJECTION

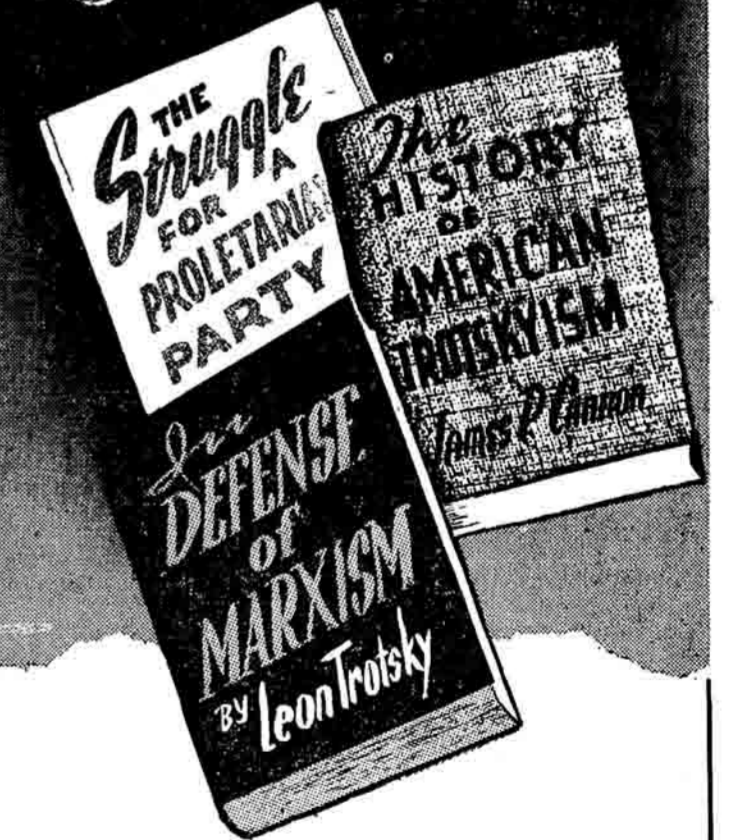
The action of the Cleveland Diesel local was in line with the similar decision of Electro-Motive Division Local 719, Chicago, Ill., which in a statement sent here and to all other GM locals reported it had completely rejected the contract. Reflecting the views of the GM workers here, the Local 719 letter declared:

"1. A contract without a wage increase in a period of inflated living costs is incomplete and only half a contract; and

"2. The changes in the WLB directive order on the new contract still leave the document heavily weighted in the interests of the corporation and leaves the union in a woefully weak position."

Another resolution, received from Buick Local 6, Chicago, calls on the UAW international executive board for an "immediate strike vote." It further demands "that the International Executive Board quit stalling and withdraw its members from the WLB im-

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Did Roosevelt Curb Monopolists?

By Felix Morrow

The most important single question to answer, in analyzing Roosevelt's domestic role, is: what was the end-result of his denunciations of "the malefactors of great wealth," the "gold-plated anarchists," the "economic royalists?" Did America's Sixty Families lose ground during the twelve years of Roosevelt's administration? Or did they strengthen still further their grip on the American economy?

None of the mourning eulogists have dealt with this question. Yet, whatever may be claimed for the New Deal in the way of reforms aiding the "forgotten man," if the clans of Big Business have meanwhile still further swallowed up the economy, then the net result is a situation in which the Sixty Families wield more economic and political power than ever.

"Equality of opportunity as we have known it no longer exists," said Roosevelt during his 1932 campaign, and promised to recreate equality of opportunity. The enemy of such opportunity was indicated by Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, in a famous speech on December 30, 1937. America, he said, had been "controlled at least until 1933 by monopolies that in their turn are controlled by a negligible number of their stockholders."

Ferdinand Lundberg's book, "America's Sixty Families," published in 1938, showed that behind the abstraction Big Business was the very living reality of sixty families who controlled the monopolies. Ickes in his speech borrowed Lundberg's title, and declared that the fight is "between the New Deal and the Bourbons of the sixty families who have brought the rest of the businessmen in the United States under the terror of their domination."

What Ickes did not borrow from author Lundberg was the latter's conclusion: "It is safe to predict that when the New Deal is over the poor will be no richer, the rich no poorer." (p. 449)

The NRA Aids the Trusts

"Practically all of our greatest historical figures," said Ickes in that same speech, "are famous because of their persistent and courageous fight to prevent and control the overconcentration of wealth and power in a few hands." But since he himself admits that the Sixty Families ruled "at least until 1933" it means that Theodore

Roosevelt, Wilson and Roosevelt's other "trust-busting" predecessors had failed in their "fight." Neither Ickes nor Roosevelt ever tried to explain what new methods they were using which their predecessors did not; and indeed there were none.

The end-result of decades of "trust-busting" was shown in the study of Berle and Means: at the end of 1929. The 200 largest nonbanking corporations in the country controlled some 49 per cent of all corporate wealth. If the same relative rate of growth was maintained by the larger and smaller concerns, then the 200 largest corporations would have 70 per cent of the nation's corporate wealth by 1950.

That this rate of growth was at least continuing, if not speeding up, was shown in a study, "The Structure of American Economy," published in 1939 by the government's National Resources Committee. It showed that from 1929 to 1933, the 300 largest corporations had increased their hold of all corporate wealth from 49.4 per cent to 57 per cent! At this point the National Resources Committee study (published, note, in 1939) becomes silent, with the explanation (p. 107) that "with the small staff of technicians available" it had been unable to "carry the compilation and estimating beyond 1933."

How the Monopolies Thrived

But we will find convincing figures elsewhere. What was the result of "trust-busting" Roosevelt's famous NRA experiment?

After 1912 the main form of monopoly practice had become that of trade associations. Instead of bringing the main productive plant of an industry openly into a single corporate monopoly, obviously violating the anti-trust laws, Big Business got virtually the same results by banding the main plants together in a trade association.

The one weakness of the trade associations was the surreptitious means they had to employ to coerce some maverick corporation into line. Under Franklin Delano Roosevelt the NRA gave these trade associations the force of law, enabling them to use government enforcement to keep dissenters from violating the price-fixing and production limitations decreed by the trade associations.

The two years of NRA ended when it was declared unconstitutional in 1935. But it had done its work. Never had the big corporations held so large a section of every industry.

Some graphic figures will illustrate this. The

figures are the government's own, for 1937, (TNEC Monograph No. 27), analyzing who controlled the output of 1,807 representative products:

The four largest concerns, in the case of more than three-quarters of these products, accounted for more than 50 per cent of the total output.

The four largest concerns, in the case of nearly half these products, accounted for more than 70 per cent of the total output.

The four largest concerns, in the case of more than a quarter of these products, accounted for over 85 per cent of the total output.

In the case of 291 products, the one leading manufacturer controlled between 50 and 75 per cent of the output.

Obviously, these figures show, Roosevelt had done nothing to bring equality of opportunity back for most of the 300,000 corporations, not to speak of the unincorporated small businessman, the worker and farmer.

Of the corporations reporting to the Bureau of Internal Revenue in 1935, less than 4 per cent of them received 84 per cent of all corporate net income. One-tenth of one per cent owned 52 per cent of the assets of all those reporting, and realized 50 per cent of all the profits.

Nor did the amount of these profits suffer at the hands of the New Deal. This is indicated by the fact that dividends in the boom year 1929 were \$16 billions and in the depression year 1938 were \$15 billions. Contrast this with the fall of wages from \$63 billions in 1929 to \$54 billions in 1938.

Monopolies During the War

What happened when war production began can be told in a few concise facts.

In his report for the fiscal year 1941, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold reported that "three-fourths of all our vast war contracts have been let to 86 concerns."

On January 20, 1942 the Vinson (House Naval Affairs) Committee reported that 15 large companies received over 60 per cent of all navy contracts. On February 5, 1942 the Small Business Committee of the Senate reported that 56 corporations now have 75 per cent of all war contracts.

One indication of the effect on small business is the change in the metal-working industries, reported by C. F. Hughes in the August 6, 1944 N. Y. Times: "Plants employing 2500 workers or

more in 1939 produced approximately 23 per cent of the nation's shipments; in 1943 they ran well over 55 per cent."

The general effect on small business in the postwar world was indicated by the Truman (Senate Investigating) Committee already in 1941: "It is clear that their [the big corporations] competitive position in the economy of the nation is being vastly improved by the war, and at a time, moreover, when tens of thousands of small businessmen are being forced to stop production while they watch the value of their plants destroyed and perhaps see their machinery seized and transplanted to the plants of large defense contract holders."

The Triumph of Monopoly

War-time profits, after taxes, are double the 1936-39 average. But this is only part of the booty. Twenty billion dollars worth of new industrial plants have been built by government money for war production. Five billions of these is already privately-owned, by means of five-year tax-amortization certificates. For example, Bethlehem Steel ordinarily computes depreciation on a steel plant as 2.8 per cent annually; under the tax amortization certificates, however, it has been able to charge off 20 per cent annually! The other 15 billions of government financed plant, now "leased" to their operators, will be "bought" by them for a song, we can be sure, whenever it suits their purposes.

The magnitude of these figures will be realized if we recall that the entire industrial plant of this country before the war was valued at 26 billions.

In November 1940 the Truman Committee warned: "A large number of small businesses are already closing their shops. . . Great care must be taken to assure that we do not destroy the American way of life by adopting the wrong methods of defending them. . ."

But that "American way of life," the "free enterprise" so vaunted by Roosevelt, already admittedly non-existent in 1933, could not be brought back. The record shows that Roosevelt's twelve years in office were another stage in the triumph of monopoly.

(This is the second of a series of articles on Roosevelt. The third will appear next week.)

Big Bankroll Provides Best Immunity To The Dread Scourge Of Tuberculosis

By Grace Carlson

Some day in the future, I expect to have one of my grandchildren say to me, "Grandma, what is tuberculosis?" Then I'll answer her, "Well, Dorothy, tuberculosis is a disease that used to kill lots of people in olden times, but under Socialism we have almost wiped it out. That's why you haven't heard very much about it."

But I don't suppose that Dorothy will be put off with an easy answer like that. "But Grandma, it says in this old pamphlet that I found in your trunk that people who died from tuberculosis were 'victims of social neglect.' What does 'social neglect' mean?"

"That's a pamphlet the National Tuberculosis Association put out way back in 1944. They tried to tell the people then that doctors knew how to cure tuberculosis, but that—"

"What I was trying to tell you, Dorothy," (I'll have to be firm with her) "is that the doctors knew how to cure tuberculosis

back in 1944 but there were so many poor people who didn't get enough to eat and couldn't afford the right kind of medical care that nothing could be done for them if they got tuberculosis. That's what 'social neglect' is—when Society keeps from the people the things they need to make them well and happy."

"Then why didn't the well people see that the sick people got what they needed?" Dorothy will demand to know. It will be very difficult for the child trained under Socialism to live by the Marxist principle, "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs" to understand the cruelty and irresponsibility of the capitalist system.

Even today, medical scientists who are active in the fight against tuberculosis express their disgust that a preventable disease like tuberculosis should still exist and kill so many thousands of young people. Considerably more than half of the 57,000 deaths from tuberculosis which occurred in 1943 were of individuals in the age range of 15 to 45, that is, individuals in the most productive years of life.

CAN BE WIPED OUT

Called by one medical writer, "the ancient enemy of mankind," tuberculosis has left its characteristic marks on the bones of persons who died before history was recorded. Over the centuries tuberculosis has killed more people than wars have. Up to 1900, tuberculosis was the lead-



ing cause of death in the United States; today, it is in seventh place. But it could be wiped out completely! No one should die of tuberculosis in 1945 when medical science has perfected so many ingenious techniques for treating tuberculosis patients.

But thousands of people will die from tuberculosis in the United States this year. The vast majority of them will be workers. The National Tuberculosis Association has gathered some interesting statistics on this point, which they present under the heading, "The Worker's Chances of Dying from Tuberculosis."

- 2 times as many farmers die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 4 times as many bakers die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 4 times as many plumbers die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 5 times as many truck drivers die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 7 times as many miners die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 9 times as many waiters die of tuberculosis as do bankers
- 11 times as many laborers die of tuberculosis as do bankers

If a case of tuberculosis is discovered in an early stage, it is not difficult to cure the patient and restore him to productive life. But workers do not get the benefits of early treatment. Their general bodily resistance to disease is already weakened by their bad living conditions—crowded, poorly-heated homes, inadequate clothing, insufficient food. So they are an easy prey for tuberculosis germs.

HOW TO PREVENT IT

The great majority of workers continue at their jobs for weeks and months after they show signs of illness before they seek medical advice. Even where there is a union, little sick leave is granted by the employer. Long periods of illness for the breadwinner of the family mean hunger, cold and worry for the worker's wife and children. Struggle along at their heavy jobs for a long time with the burden of coughing, indigestion, pain in the chest and other symptoms of tuberculosis rather than risk un-

employment. By the time they get treatment, it is often too late.

Dr. H. E. Kleinschmidt, Education Director of the National Tuberculosis Association, said two years ago, "Tuberculosis is only one of the evils growing out of greed and social injustice but it alone is enough to justify zealous crusading for the day when every family will be assured a decent standard of living."

But these doctors who know so much about how to cure tuberculosis don't know how to prevent it, because they don't know how to "assure a decent standard of living" for every family. But in the Socialist Workers Party, we know how that must be done. And when my little grandchild says to me some day, "Grandma, what did YOU do in the war against tuberculosis?", I won't have to turn MY head away!

3 Anti-Fascists Railroaded to Prison in London

Three of the four London anarchists arrested by the British government for their anti-war views and working-class activities under charges of alleged "sedition" were sentenced to nine months imprisonment each on April 26, according to a UP dispatch.

The three who have been railroaded to prison in open violation of the rights of free press are: Vernon Richards, 29, publisher of War Commentary, anarchist organ, Dr. John Christopher Hewson, 32, and Philip Richard Sansom, 28. Marie Louise Berneri, 26, wife of Vernon Richards, was acquitted.

The persecution, arrests and imprisonment of these well-known anti-fascist fighters followed a series of police investigations and raids, similar to the political persecution and imprisonment of the four English Trotskyist leaders last year.

Hawaiian Trade Unions Win Important Victory

By Nadine Collins

The most important victory ever won by the trade union movement in Hawaii is the recent favorable NLRB decision enabling most of the workers in the sugar industry to organize under the provisions of the Wagner Act. The driving force behind this tremendous movement is the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Over 95 per cent of the Big Island sugar workers balloting in a series of NLRB elections have cast votes for representation by the CIO Union. Moreover, through the CIO's Political Action Committee organized labor is for the first time taking part in Hawaii's political affairs, especially in the legislature which has heretofore been dominated by the Big Five vested interests.

Labor is thus beginning to challenge the domination of the Big Five monopolists. The traditional Big Five are Castle & Cooke, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors, Alexander & Baldwin, Theo. H. Davies, all "Ltds."

BIG FIVE CONTROL

The extent of the Big Five domination of Hawaiian economy is staggering. Banking, shipping, communication, public utilities, transportation, amusement are all Big Five property. 90% of retail stores purchase their supplies from Big Five wholesalers. Due to the Big Five monopoly of land, 85% of all foodstuffs has to be imported on the Big Five Line—Matson Shipping—at an increase of 25% over mainland (U.S.) prices. Hawaii is actually an enlarged company town.

Big Five control extends into every phase of Hawaiian life. Pressure is exerted on schools to teach a glorified version of the Sugar and Pineapple Barons to the end of keeping the children on the plantations. . . "the sugar interests are your interests." The public opinion industries—news-papers, radio stations, printing houses—are all Big Five voices.

Cheap plantation labor is the other side of the Big Five picture. The Organic Act of 1900 freed the laborers from the penal contract system. (The first large scale immigration was Japanese in 1868, at \$4 a month for a three-year period under a penal labor contract.) At 25 cents an hour freedom is but a word. But labor there has never been submissive. Strikes have developed into bloody endurance battles. And striking in a company town with ensuing effective blacklisting is no light matter.

The war boom has accentuated the trend of the workers leaving for cities in the quest for higher living standards. The demand for labor has been an aid in the present organizing campaign. Union organization is progressing very rapidly at this time of writing.

THE RACE PROBLEM

Closely interwoven with the class struggle is the race problem. Hawaii is a varicolored pyramid of races, topped by a

Any Different from Nazi Atrocities?

While the American capitalist press brims over with stories about the atrocities of the German and Japanese imperialists, an occasional item appears which shows that the American imperialists themselves are not averse to perpetrating atrocities in this war.

In a newsreel being shown from coast to coast, Admiral William F. Halsey boasts: "We are drowning and burning the bestial apes all over the Pacific, and it is just as much pleasure to burn as to drown them."

The desperate resistance of trapped Japanese troops and their choice of suicide rather than surrender may well be due to their fear of becoming atrocity victims. If so, it is a fear that has proved costly to American lives. And in what sense does Admiral Halsey's "pleasure" at "burning" Japanese workers and peasants in uniform differ from that of the Nazi torturers?

The basis of the race problem is the plantation system which is the breeder of inequality, discrimination and prejudice. Residential segregation of the different immigrant groups is enforced on the plantations. The unspoken system of white superiority is inextricably interwoven with the system of labor control. "The white man's floor" is more than a popular saying.

Yet among the common people there is a strong feeling of racial equality. The high rate of intermarriage, inter-mingling, and a sense of unity against the white bosses is an indication that racial solidarity will be a weapon for progress. That is one of the main reasons for the growing strength of Hawaii's labor movement.

THE MILITANT
may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

What About the Colonial Workers?

Just as the Negro workers in America are doubly oppressed under capitalism, so also are the 750 million colored workers of the colonial countries twice damned by the scourge of imperialist exploitation. Not only is the economy of the countries bled white by these international leeches but the workers are virtually enslaved by dozens of laws restricting civil rights and, more often, by the use of outright force and violence.

It is an inspiration to the Negro in America to see that, in spite of the repressive measures used against the colored colonial people, they are giving unmistakable evidence that they intend to take their destiny in their own hands and throw the imperialist thieves from astride their burdened backs.

The West African, Nwafor Orizu, in his book "Without Bitterness" says: "Imperialism contradicts all the fundamental political principles of democracy . . . government by Order-In-Council such as the British practice . . . is an unadulterated brand of dictatorship."

In this connection, the sell-out policies of the trade union bureaucrats in the "Big Three" countries was carried over onto the international field in the World Trade-Union Conference recently held in London. Although over half a billion dark-skinned workers of the world are harnessed under the yoke of colonial enslavement, the conference refused to make any clear statement on the elementary democratic demand of self-determination for the colonial people.

JOHNSON'S VIEWS

While the Conference as a whole played the part of labor "Uncle Toms" to the ruling class by sanctioning the division of spoils as dictated by the "Big Three," colonial voices were heard which reflected opposition to capitalist imperialism, the system which is responsible for the oppression of over half the workers of the world. One was the voice of Wallace Johnson, the delegate from West Africa and Sierra Leone.

"I need hardly stress," said Johnson, "the oppression that is being meted out to us in the British colonies and in West Africa in particular. If this Conference is to achieve anything, it must be prepared to fight against British and other Colonial imperialism which, to us in the colonies, is even worse than fascism."

Wallace Johnson is not mouthing hearsay. He learned the hard way. According to M. Naidu, writing in the Socialist Appeal, British organ of the Fourth International, Johnson came straight to the Conference from prison. He was sentenced in 1936 and remained in prison until a few months ago.

In 1936, Johnson published the story of a Negro who was tied and flogged by a British agent until he died. The facts were clearly established and could not be

denied by the Government. But to publish them was "sedition" and so Johnson was put behind bars.

MILITANT SPIRIT

He had been sentenced to a term of one year. But in the colonial countries, once a man is imprisoned for a political "crime," whatever the term of the sentence, it is a long time before he gets out. So this African fighter for the liberation of his people remained in the prisons of the imperialist thieves from 1936 till the beginning of 1945. As soon as he was released, the Nigerian workers showed what they thought of the Government by electing Johnson as delegate to the World Trade-Union Conference.

It is significant here to compare his type of spirit which had not weakened in principle in nine years behind prison bars with our local weak-kneed Uncle Toms who are trying to maintain their seats in the plush chairs by preaching the doctrine of "the less you demand, the more you will get."

Johnson militantly called for the immediate abolition of segregation, discrimination in employment, forced labor, Jim Crow unions, the pass laws, flogging and all types of slavery. Representing one of the two greatest iron-producing sources in the world, he said: "One of the main causes of modern war is the conflict over colonies." The solution of this, he made plain, was granting the inhabitants the right of self-determination—that same right that was so gloriously "promised" in Article 3 of the still-born Atlantic Charter.

Militant mass action in the form of strikes and protest demonstrations have been reported from Bombay and Johannesburg. This type of action is obviously the only type that will pay off the colonial people in freedom's coin. The imperialist powers, in spite of their spouting of democratic slogans, are already scrambling over the spoils of this war with the zest of a pig rooting for truffles. As Kumar Goshal shows in his column in the April 21st Pittsburgh Courier: "It is absurd to imagine that any of these imperialist powers would voluntarily give up an inch of their colonial territories. In fact, they may even tighten their control. . . Under these conditions the exploited colored workers will ONLY GET THEIR FREEDOM WHEN THEY TAKE IT!"

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE WORKERS' NEXT JOB IS TO BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

A pessimist might feel that organizing an independent labor party is hopeless. "Look how the cards are stacked," he might complain. "Against us is Wall Street, two political parties, powerful labor lieutenants, and worse than anything the gullibility of the public."

Powerful as these forces might seem, however, Wall Street lacks the decisive weapons. First, truth is against them. They are forced to lie. Second, the economic interests of the majority are against them. With these two mighty weapons, the truth, and the interests of the majority, a number of resolute, militant, intelligent trade unionists can start the process going which will surely end in the organization of an independent labor party enrolling tens of millions of supporters.

There were pessimists who thought labor would never organize industrial unions. Wall

Street opposed such unions. Republicans and Democrats opposed them. So did the labor lieutenants like William Green. But the job was done despite this array of forces. Once started, nothing could stop the organization of the basic industries into industrial unions.

American labor today stands at the beginning of a similar development on the political field. The auto workers who found out how to get together to buck General Motors, Chrysler and Ford; the maritime workers who defeated the shipping moguls; the steel workers who cracked the Steel Trust—workers such as these will likewise find a way to close ranks against the political machinery of the bosses.

(From "American Workers Need a Labor Party" by Joseph Hansen, p. 35. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 44 pp. 15 cents. Order from Pioneer Publisher, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

NEW YORK

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Admission Free

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10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 4, 1935

TOLEDO, O.—Conducting the first strike against the powerful General Motors Corporation, auto workers at the Toledo Chevrolet plant were winning support throughout the area. "Riding rough-shod over the stalling and cowardly policies of Bill Green and his official machine," The Militant reported, "the Toledo strikers have already sent strike calls to all locals of the United Automobile Workers Federal Union (AFL) in General Motors Corporations."

The strike call informed workers in other plants of the 100 per cent walkout in Toledo and urging them to take similar action. It had already forced the shutdown of Fisher Body plants in Cleveland and Norwood as well as the Chevrolet assembly plant in Norwood.

ST. LOUIS—As the strike of the St. Louis Gas House Workers continued into its second month, the St. Louis Central Labor Trades council came to the support of their brother unionists. The council, after voting financial support of the strike, passed a resolution instructing every union man in the city to order the gas turned off in his home until the strike was settled.

"The union will fight on until the company is brought to its knees," said the Daily Strike Bulletin of the Gas House Workers. "We will fight until our battle is won and our demands are granted."

NEW YORK—The biggest May Day march New York had seen since the First World War was described by The Militant. Over 100,000 trade unionists and members of working class organizations paraded from 15th Street to Columbus Circle to celebrate the international working class holiday.

British Documents, Long Withheld From The Public, Show German People First Victims Of Atrocities

By Joseph Hansen

The propaganda campaign unleashed by the Allies over atrocities in the Nazi concentration camps is in strange contrast to their former official attitude. Although they were fully informed about these atrocities, they at first maintained a conspiracy of silence. They did not find it expedient to disclose the facts—because then the atrocities were committed almost exclusively against the German people. Later in the opening stage of the war they blamed the atrocities on the Nazi regime; not, as they do now, on the victims of that regime.

This is revealed by the Papers Concerning the Treatment of German Nationals in Germany, an official publication issued by the British Government in 1939.

In the introduction to these official documents, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declares: "These documents were not written for publication, and, indeed, so long as there was the slightest prospect of reaching any settlement with the German Government it would have been wrong to do anything to embitter relations between the two countries. Even after the outbreak of war His Majesty's Government felt reluctant to take action which might have the effect of inspiring hatred." Here out of their own mouths the British imperialists admit that they had no serious objection to the savage regime of Hitler so long as it did not intrude on British prerogatives!

PREWAR REPORTS

The capitalist press is now filled with pictures showing the bodies of victims of Buchenwald. The British Consulate at Dresden, filed a report dated February 2, 1939, describing this camp according to eyewitness accounts. Here are some excerpts: "He was taken to a concentration camp (Buchenwald, near Weimar) where there were about 10,000 Jews confined. There was not even enough water to drink, and there were only twenty lavatories for 10,000 men. . . Herr V. said that to the people in charge of this camp there were two classes of people, alive or dead, and that no consideration was paid to people who were old or sick." These victims were Germans.

Another report filed February 18, 1939, declares: "In present-day Germany no word strikes greater terror in people's hearts than the name of Buchenwald. . . In Buchenwald the number of deaths, both of Jews and of Aryans, was far greater than in

any of the other camps." These victims were Germans.

The prisoners at Buchenwald "included first of all the 'politicals' . . ." That is, the political opponents of the Nazi regime. Another important category "were many poor devils" at Buchenwald accused of having spoken abusively of the sacred person of the Führer.

In this official British government pamphlet, the blame for the savagery of the Nazi regime is not at all placed with the German people.

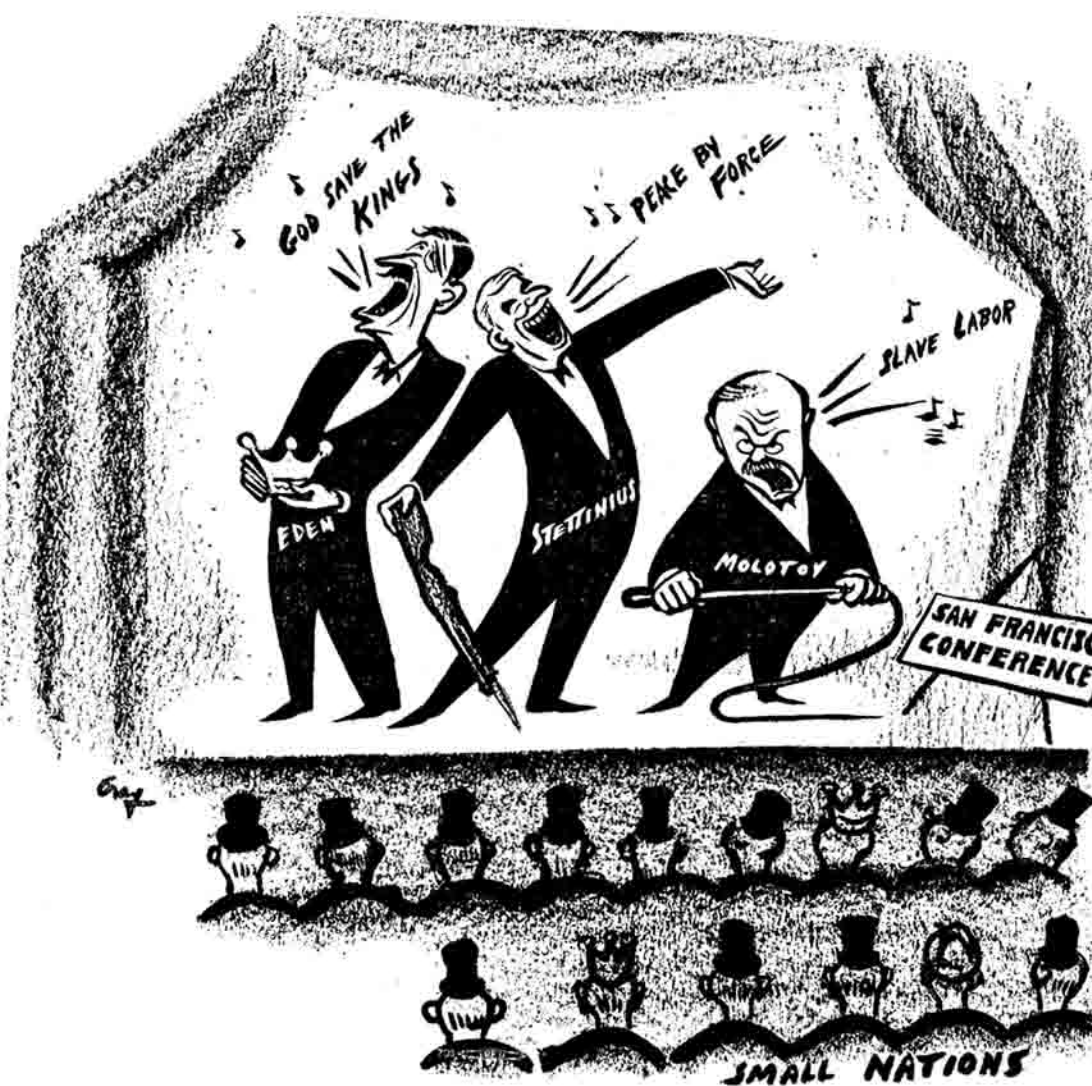
Bell, Consul-General at Cologne, on November 14, 1938, sent two anonymous letters to his superior in the belief that "the writers have so well stated the views of many Germans that I think them worth transmission."

"The German folk have had nothing whatever to do with these riots and incendiarism," declares the anonymous writer referring to a Nazi pogrom. "The population of Cologne had absolutely nothing to do with this murderous arson and condemn it, as does also the whole German nation. These actions were ordered by the Government in Berlin. . . Please take information amongst the Cologne people, and you will convince yourself that the German nation had nothing to do with these crimes and dissociates itself from this action of their Government."

The British Consul-General at Frankfurt-on-Main, Smallbones, reported December 14, 1938: "I am persuaded that, if the Government of Germany depended on the suffrage of the people, those in power and responsible for these outrages would be swept away by a storm of indignation if not put up against a wall and shot."

Thus as long ago as 1938 the British Government admitted that the German people were prepared to handle Hitler in the same way the Italian people handled Mussolini and his gang last week.

Putting On the Show



Revealing Sidelights On Golden Gate Parley

You can't organize world peace if you have to live in a dingy rooming house and eat in hash houses. Secretary of State Stettinius knows that. At San Francisco, columnist Drew Pearson reported, Stettinius "spared no detail in looking out for personal arrangements, asked for the penthouse on the Fairmount Hotel for his own quarters plus the 4th

and 5th floors as offices plus a yacht plus a private dining room at the Pacific Union Club every day."

Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked the U. S. delegation at San Francisco to demand an "equality for all races" declaration in the world organization charter before the United Nations conference. They want a bill of rights for all people of the world and abolition of the colonial system.

Walter White and Dr. W. Du Bois put forward this proposal for the Negro organization. Don't they know that Eden and Halifax, the British delegates, would be maddened by such a suggestion? Churchill has sworn to uphold Britain's colonial slave empire. Eden and Halifax do his bidding. Besides the U. S. delegation is kin of the southern poll-taxers who don't intend to grant equality to Negroes even in this country—if they can help it.

Soviet Union

The Socialist Courier, a Russian Emigre Menshevik paper, reports that Christian G. Rakovsky died a "natural death" in prison. Rakovsky was one of the most prominent figures of the Russian Revolution. He was the first President of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. He also served the Soviet Union in the diplomatic field. A member of the Trotskyist Opposition from its inception in 1923, he capitulated to Stalin in 1934. He was condemned to prison following the Moscow frameup Trial held on March 2-13 1937.

They also report the death of Karl Radek, one of the most outstanding journalists of the Soviet Union, ex-member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1919 to 1924. Radek was condemned to death in the Moscow Trial held on January 22-30 1937.

While out on a walk, Radek died in mysterious circumstances soon after he was sentenced. He was killed by a revolver shot fired at him by one of his guards, a member of the GPU. One rumor says that the assassin was wreaking personal vengeance on Radek, who was supposed to have given a compromising "information" about one of the relatives or friends of the guard. According to another version, the assassin is alleged to have been part of a conspiracy determined to prevent Radek from making new "revelations."

India

A British soldier stationed in India writes the following comments to the Socialist Appeal, British Trotskyist paper. "The Communist Party is very unpopular and members are

attacked almost daily. They say that their members have been physically stabbed and assaulted. (Undoubtedly by revolutionary workers indignant at the Stalinist support of British imperialist policy in India—ED.) A poor effort to counteract such unpopularity is made by boasts about increases in party membership and sales of party newspapers. A little item appeared in the daily paper to say that a peasant union had decided to change its flag from red to Congress.

"The workers in this area only earn about 30 cents a day which makes them very poor. The cost of living for eggs alone has increased 500 per cent from peace time. The rupee in all can be likened to 5 cents in 1939 values. Everyone in the family, young and old, are forced to labor as the result. Yesterday I saw a child of three years learning to balance a load on her head. Women dig roads alongside men, but this is not always the case. Their usual job is carrying baskets of rock to the primitive builders.

"Things are so antiquated. Working hard, a motor took hours to load with gravel, and the way they did it was to scoop gravel into the baskets and carry them to the lorry. A couple of good 'shovel men' could have done it in an hour. The rich Indian contractors do not put much capital into modern machinery. Massive undertakings are carried out with such backward methods. The hours worked are usually near the 12 mark each day of the week."

S. F. Conference Will Not Ensure World Peace

(Continued from page 1)

isted between the two world wars. Political middleheads are fond of referring to the "failure" of the League of Nations to prevent or stop wars. They imply that there was some flaw in the League organization. These middleheads deceive the people. They seek to create the impression that the League was created to preserve peace. In reality it was merely an instrument of the Big Powers, intended to serve their predatory interests. It served these interests and was discarded when its usefulness was outlived. Lenin called the League the "Thieves' Kitchen."

Another "Thieves' Kitchen" is now being constructed at San Francisco by the cynical imperialists and their Moscow ally. It will differ but slightly, and mainly in its external features, from the League. It is to be called the "United Nations." Its executive body will be a "Security Council." It will revive the useless International Court of Justice and an Economic and Social Council will replace the impotent International Labor Office of the League.

"PEACE BY FORCE"

The one really new feature of this revamped edition of the League is the proposed Military Staff Committee which is to be the instrument for imposing "peace by force." It will consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent dominating members of the Security Council, namely, U. S. A., Britain, the Soviet Union, China and ("in due course") France.

Against whom is "peace by force" to be directed? Germany and Japan will be unable to make war. Is it not clear that the Security Council will loose the horrors of war against small nations, against subjected colonial peoples who dare to challenge the oppression of the big imperialist powers? And who will restrain the Big Powers if they decide to make war on each other?

The hollowness of the whole arrangement as an instrument of peace can be seen in the proviso that the Security Council may take no action to restrain any state from warlike action where

The Chinese delegation, headed by T. V. Soong, has decided to "vote unanimously with the United States delegation in all matters, regardless of their nature," a Hearst reporter wired from San Francisco. Is it just a coincidence that the Kuomintang regime has "just received renewed and more definite assurances of a heavy American loan to solve China's economic troubles?"

Hush, hush! Employees of the Hotel Mark Hopkins in San Francisco received a circular from the management on the eve of the conference, urging them to be "gracious and polite" to the many "creeds and races quartered there and to refrain from engaging "in any political discussions at all, with guests of the hotel or with fellow workers." Why? Because it would be "extremely ill-mannered for any one of us to express an opinion about any nation, any nation's representative, or any nation's policies."

Are they afraid of irreverent comments from the "common herd" about the shady trickery of the "peace-loving" statesmen?

"The typical G.I. would be a two-headed calf at a world conference for dignified study of a confusing situation," says Stars and Stripes, official magazine of the Army in response to demands from the front for soldier representation at San Francisco.

Two-headed calves, it seems, are competent only when it comes to the "undignified" study of bridge building under fire, flying B-29s over Tokyo, driving Mark IV tanks across mined fields or establishing a beach-head on Okinawa.

Twin Cities Forum

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Minneapolis Headquarters
Socialist Workers Party
10 South 4th Street
Come and Hear

"The News Behind the Headlines"

ON ITALIAN SLOGAN: "FOR THE REPUBLIC"

By M. Morrison

In *The Militant* of March 17 there was published the program of the Workers Communist Party of Italy, the party of Italian Trotskyism. The first demand of that program was the abolition of the monarchy and institution of a democratic republic.

I am of the opinion that our Italian comrades are absolutely correct and have followed the best traditions of revolutionary Marxism in making the demand for the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of a democratic republic, at the present time, one of the basic demands of their platform. The American party has taken no position on the question and since there are differences of opinion among the party members, I wish to emphasize that I am speaking only for myself and those who agree with me in giving whole-hearted support to the slogan for the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of a democratic republic.

Accepting, as we do, the term "democratic republic" as indicating a capitalist democratic republic, is there not a contradiction between the fact that the Italian Trotskyists stand for a Soviet republic in Italy and for a Socialist United States of Europe and their demand for a democratic republic? Absolutely no contradiction whatever. Just as there is no contradiction in fighting for the abolition of the capitalist system and at the same time struggling for higher wages under the capitalist system.

When the German army was driven out of Naples in October 1943 and when Rome fell to the Allies in June 1944 the Italian masses clearly showed their hostility to the monarchy. The capitalists, the church, the Allies rallied to the support of the monarchy, basing themselves on the proposition that the monarchy would constitute a rallying center for all the conservative and reactionary layers of the population to struggle against any possible revolution.

RELIC OF FEUDALISM
To the masses the monarchy was especially hateful because it was closely tied to their hated enemy, fascism and Mussolini. The King had supported Mussolini and only when he saw that the war was lost did he consent to the ousting of the fascist regime. The masses had to tolerate the monarchy only because it was supported by the bayonets of the Allies.

That Trotskyists fight with the masses against such a reactionary institution as the monarchy must be taken for granted. We are for greater and ever greater democracy for the masses. The institution of an hereditary monarchy is a relic of feudalism and contrary to all principles of democracy.

If a democratic demand is important for us under normal circumstances, how much more important does it become when the masses are aroused over it and are willing to struggle to achieve it? That our Italian comrades gave the demand for a democratic republic first place on their platform is an indication that the Italian masses deeply resent the continued existence of the monarchy. Our comrades in Italy, understanding the mood of the masses, had no hesitation in raising the slogan for the abolition of the monarchy and the institution of a democratic republic. It is undoubtedly one of the most important slogans from the viewpoint of setting the masses into motion to struggle against the capitalist class and all its open and veiled supporters.

SLOGAN CORRECT
As I write the German army is rapidly evacuating Northern Italy. Millions of industrial workers will enter upon the scene of Italian politics. They do not want the monarchy and they may settle that question very quickly. They may settle it in the best way possible — by establishing their own power. The situation may develop to a point where our comrades in Italy will no longer give the slogan for a democratic republic the important place they have given it up to now.

The slogan may be dropped altogether, for under conditions when the masses are ready to take power, the slogan can acquire a reactionary content. But all that is a matter for the future—even though the immediate future.

When our comrades adopted the slogan in favor of the democratic republic they were correct in doing so, under the conditions then prevailing. They have thus shown the ability to judge events and conditions and to adopt the correct slogans at the proper time.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Albania

Another chapter in UNRRA's history as the counter-revolutionary agency for distribution of Allied relief has been written in Albania. On April 14th in this column we quoted Drew Pearson's exposure of the British attempt to intimidate Albania into allowing 1200 British officers to "administer" UNRRA relief.

Now Pearson supplements his previous reports by a description of the brutal, arrogant methods whereby British imperialism—in collusion with American representatives—tried to impose their domination on Albania. Col. Warner, the British officer in charge, visited Col. Hoxha, head of the Albanian government. Referring constantly to Albania as a "British beachhead," Warner proposed his relief plan which carried the title: "Order of battle." When Hoxha with the example of Greece before him rejected the plan, the British officer denied the legitimacy of the Albanian government and threatened to deal directly with local authorities. But Hoxha was not cowed and the threat failed.

Now we hear the sequel to the story. The Albanian commission of UNNR has disbanded because the plan to quarter a British battalion on Albanian territory was "unacceptable to the Partisan government as so constituted." The American UNRRA commissioner for Albania, Dr. Laurence H. McDaniels, packed his belongings and returned to the United States where he has assumed the post of chairman of the Greater New York Victory Garden Council.

Meanwhile the Albanians go hungry.

Japan

The Japanese people are "thoroughly war-weary," reports Eric Hammarlund who just arrived in Finland after five years in Tokyo. They are fed up with the bloodletting and destruction into which they have been plunged by the desperate military clique and the four plutocratic families who rule Japan. Hammarlund confirms what has many times been written in *The Militant*: the Japanese masses are kept in the war by fierce government and extra-government repression operating in part through the militarist-fascist Black Dragon society.

He reports that shortage of food has reached famine proportions. Not a single store or restaurant is open regularly in Tokyo. Workers feed on "microscopic quantities of rice eked out with soy a oatmeal and washed down with hot water. Green tea has disappeared from the market. . . Practically no sugar cargoes have reached Japan recently as a result of the American submarine blockade. Shoes on the black market are priced at the equivalent of \$135, far beyond the reach of Japanese workers who make 4 cents an hour.

Hammarlund states that entire city blocks were laid waste by American air-raids in Tokyo last February. The Japanese government officially reported that there are now 3,000,000 "disaster victims" of B-29 bombings. Frequent cabinet reorganizations indicate

the deep political crisis of the Japanese ruling class.

For an excellent study on the political, social and economic situation in Japan, readers are referred to Li Fu-jen's articles, "Japan Faces the Abyss" in the February, March and April 1944 issues of *Fourth International*. Copies may be obtained by writing to the Business Manager at 116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

Soviet Union

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A British soldier stationed in India writes the following comments to the Socialist Appeal, British Trotskyist paper. "The Communist Party is very unpopular and members are

NEW YORK Socialist Youth Group

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Allied Censorship Is World-Wide

By Ralph Graham

While political spokesmen for the Allied powers continue to babble about a "free press," as one of the essential guarantees of a "healthy democracy," the press of the great "democratic" nations becomes less and less free. Government censorship often suppresses news and comment outright. Press dispatches are doctored, mutilated, twisted. Newspapers and news agencies are told what they may or may not publish.

A sharp reminder that censorship in America is more potent than ever was the action taken April 5 by Byron M. Price, director of the Office of Censorship in Washington. Price was appointed by the late President Roosevelt, who made "freedom of speech" (including freedom of the press) one of the celebrated "Four Freedoms" enshrined in the Atlantic Charter.

From Price's office came a memorandum cautioning against publication or broadcast of speculation "regarding the probable intentions of Soviet Russia toward Japan" in connection with Moscow's denunciation of the Soviet-Japanese neutrality pact. Price's censors promptly blocked transmission from this country of Congressional and editorial comment on this new move in the dark diplomatic schemings of the Kremlin oligarchy and the "democratic" imperialists.

Press censorship, introduced at the beginning of the war "for reasons of military security," has grown into a hardened system. Where originally it was supposed to cover only military affairs, it now pervades the broad spheres of politics and diplomacy.

CENSORSHIP SYSTEM

Eric Sevareid, a CBS war correspondent who has felt the heavy hand of the censors in various parts of the world, describes the system of censorship as an "intricate, cunning mechanism," world-wide in its scope. He tells some of his experiences in The Nation of April 14.

In New Delhi, on his way to China, he found that British and American military censors "would pass no copy describing the amazing social life that went on in this headquarters town.... Full reporting of India's political problem was out of the question. American military officers turned over to the British all American dispatches which dealt with British or Indian affairs in any degree... nobody has been able to tell the whole truth about India."

When he got to Chungking, Sevareid thought he would be able to send out dispatches on his findings in India, but he felt the hand of the New Delhi censor even in the Chinese capital: "By arrangement with the American military in Chungking any copy by any American reporter which dealt with far-off India had to be given to British officers in Chungking for approval. If you went back to New Delhi and wrote

about China, your stuff had to be passed by the Chinese commissioner there."

The systematized character of the censorship was impressed on the reporter even more forcibly in Cairo where he "discovered the neat little system of interlocking agreements between governments working without a hitch. Whether you wrote about Egypt or Yugoslavia or Greece or Syria, your material would be passed around to all the interested officials for everyone to get in his whack with the blue pencil. Naturally the full story about the 'mutiny' of left-wing Greek soldiers in Egypt did not get out. The detailed story of British plans for Greece was not related, day by day, step by step, during that period."

When Lord Moyne was assassinated by young Jewish political terrorists, the Cairo censors "refused to let correspondents reproduce the courtroom speeches of the two defendants, dismissing them as 'mere political bombast' of no interest to the world." Thus the world was permitted to hear only the voice of the British imperialist oppressors. The voices of their opponents were silenced by the censors.

SUPPRESS TRUTH

Back in America, Sevareid wrote and presented for censorship "a long, carefully documented account of China at war, written, I thought, with full sympathy for a nation I much admired. The War Department refused to pass it." There were lengthy negotiations which revealed that Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, who frequently protested that his department imposed no political censorship, had asked the War Department "to deliver up to it any dispatches by returning war correspondents which dealt with China."

Finally, after he had left the country again, Sevareid's story was passed for publication, but—"so mutilated by the censors it was unfit for print." The American people were not permitted to know the truth about the vile, reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek. Why? Because Chiang is an ally of American imperialism in the great "war for democracy." Former Time correspondent Jack Belden, in his excellent book *Still Time to Die*, told of censorship in Algiers at the time of the North African campaign: "On the correspondents' bulletin board

Italian Partisan Action



Group of Partisans attacking Nazi police units in a North Italian town last year. These Partisans are the same heroic fighters who last week seized control of the main cities in North Italy from the Nazis and Fascists.

in Algiers I saw a notice posted there by the authorities: 'There will be no more political censorship.' It was a lie. Should you write a message in any but the official American-British version of events, more often than not, when tracing it down, you would find it streaked with many marks of blue, and pencilled with the legend, 'as censored by Mr. Murphy.' Should you question that august personage, that representative of the mighty American state, he would blandly assure you: 'There is no political censorship.'

Such denials speak volumes for the hypocrisy of the "democratic" imperialists and their censorship servants. Censorship operates, not to eliminate falsehoods from the news, but to hide unpalatable truths about the imperialists and their war aims. Its purpose is to deceive and befuddle the people. Honest politics and honest diplomacy require no censorship. The imperialists and their accomplices employ censorship because, far from carrying on a war in the interests of the peoples, they are conspiring against the interests of the broad masses in every land, including America.

Allies' Real Aim In Their Campaign Around Atrocities

(Continued from page 1)

ists to compel a nauseated public to drain the cup of atrocity stories to the dregs, is testimony to the ulterior purpose of the organizers.

One turns the pages of his daily newspaper or weekly news magazine to be confronted, day after day, with horrendous pictures. There are open graves filled with nameless human corpses, their bony limbs grotesquely tangled in death. Other pictures are of single victims or small groups, faces contorted teeth protruding, their glassy, sightless eyes staring horrors. Many of the corpses were disinterred so that pictures of the victims' frames partly denuded of flesh by earth's corrupting agencies, could be taken to heighten the public horror and revulsion.

As if the pictures alone are not enough, news writers, editorialists and columnists dilate in detail on the pictorialized horrors, with sly insinuations of GERMAN guilt. In a single issue of the New York Post last week, no fewer than six pages contained material on Nazi atrocities. A newsreel of the horrors, taken by army photographers, is now making the rounds of the country.

RAMMING IT DOWN

Compulsory viewing of atrocity films is reported from London. Said Time magazine last week: "In London, queasy moviegoers, unable to stomach atrocity newsreels, started to leave the theater but were turned back by Allied soldiers in the audience."

Just as the people of Britain and America are having anti-German hate propaganda rammed down their throats, so the people of Germany, who were and have remained the principal victims of Nazism, are being strong-armed into viewing the evidence of Nazi villainess in an effort to induce in them a psychology of guilt for the infamies of a regime which they loathed and resisted.

Here, however, the atrocity campaigners sometimes overreach themselves and lift a corner of the veil of falsehood from the face of truth. At Weimar, Gen. George S. Patton ordered 1200 German men and women to be "taken through Buchenwald and shown its obscenities." Time reported. They "walked unwillingly through the camp and wept, retched, fainted. A young Hitler Madchen sobbed: 'How awful!'"

MYTH EXPLODES

This single report explodes the myth of German guilt. If the German people as a whole were the aides and accomplices of the Nazis, as Allied propaganda would have us believe; if they knew and approved all the revolting crimes of the Nazis, thus becoming responsible for them—why did the men and women of Weimar evince feelings of horror and revulsion at what they saw, and not the brazen approval, or at least the indifference, that might have been expected? Their reactions were not different from those of the audience in the London movie theater.

But the campaign of hate against the Germans rolls on. British parliamentarians and American congressmen have been touring the captured concentra-

Huge Uprising Sweeps North Italy; Mussolini Executed

(Continued from page 1)

whelmed the German and Fascist garrisons, forcing them to surrender or flee.

Milan—"Red Milan"—center of the great revolutionary working-class actions which preceded Mussolini's rise to power—was the white-hot focus of last week's stirring mass uprising. The transport workers gave the signal by going on strike. A general strike of all workers in Milan was then set for May 1, the traditional socialist holiday of the international working-class.

But events dictated a faster tempo of action than was contemplated. Observing the precarious conditions of the German military establishment and the fear and confusion which had seized their fascist enemies, the Milan workers advanced the date of the general strike to April 25.

ACTIONS OF WORKERS

With transportation and industry paralyzed, the workers moved into action. Enemy barracks were stormed, strategic buildings and public places occupied by the armed people. Everywhere the Fascist scum were routed.

The Nazi command, caught in a hopeless situation, surrendered to the insurgents. Through Cardinal Shuster, Mussolini started negotiations for surrender with the Italian Committee of National Liberation.

This treacherous, class collaborationist leadership, dominated by the Stalinists, instead of proceeding to arrest the Fascist dictator, allowed him to slip through their fingers. Mussolini requested an hour's grace to discuss the Committee's terms with his colleagues. Then he sent word that the terms were "unacceptable" and fled to Como where he tried to cross the frontier into Switzerland.

Rank and file Partisans quickly rectified this "error." Mussolini was dragged out of his automobile on the shores of Lake Como and taken prisoner. Word of his capture was sent to Milan and a Partisan detachment hastened to Como.

JUSTICE TO MUSSOLINI

Without hesitation, a tribunal, presided over by the Communist Partisan leader Cino Moscatelli, dispensed working-class justice against the vicious dictator whose hands were stained with the blood of innumerable Italian working people done to death by the infamous Fascist regime.

The sentence of "death" was pronounced by this court of justice and promptly carried out. Mussolini, together with his mistress, was shot by a firing squad. Forty-five leading members of Mussolini's staff of Fascist cut-throats, butchers and hangmen were also tried and executed.

It was with good reason that the revolutionary workers acted with the dispatch they did. They had reason to expect that their vacillating leaders in the Committee of National Liberation would act like the German Social Democrats who permitted the Kaiser to escape, or the Russian Mensheviks who sheltered the Czar, or the Bonomi court which allowed the Fascist gangster Roatta to escape while on trial.

As subsequent events confirmed, the apprehensions of the workers were entirely justified. The Partisan prefect of Milan revealed that an order had been

tion camps and will return home to swell the poison current of hate propaganda.

The hate campaign is compounded of half-truths. It can succeed in no other way. The propagandist effort is concentrated on showing what the Nazis did to their FOREIGN victims—Britons, Americans, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Frenchmen, etc. Concealed by careful omission is the fact that the most numerous victims of Hitlerism were GERMAN, fighters against Nazism, critics and opponents of Hitler's regime, who were numbered not by thousands but by millions.

WHAT THEY CONCEAL

Completely ignored, for example, is the well-established fact that the Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps, in particular, were from the beginning and throughout their notorious existence prisons, torture chambers and death houses—for GERMAN. At least until the outbreak of the war, Germans were its only inhabitants.

By hiding this fact, by concentrating on the atrocities committed against non-Germans, the imperialists are trying to perpetrate a monstrous deception. Their purpose—let us repeat again—is to saddle the entire German nation with guilt for Nazi barbarism and thus facilitate their plans for dismembering Germany, destroying its economy, and enslaving its working people.



By V. Grey

Sometimes you hear somebody say, "These accidents are the fellows' own fault." And it's not only Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) who says it, either. Shorty said it once, and Breezy makes cracks like that too.

At the last safety meeting the foreman said, "There's no such thing as an accident." Everything is carelessness, he argued. And he mentioned how a girl and a fellow had both hurt their hands in just the same way on the same machine. They both wiped the shavings off a drill-press table with one hand while they were bringing the drill down with the other.

There's no excuse for that, the foreman said. They had a stick to clean off the shavings with. They didn't need to use their hands and get hurt. Of course the company never got around to installing an air line to blow the table clean. But it's no trouble to pick up a stick, as the foreman says. You only have to do it once every three and a half seconds.

Well, maybe there isn't any excuse. Maybe these people did it on purpose. Maybe they wanted to see what it felt like to tear a hole in their hand. Maybe they were so dumb they thought it would be a big enough accident so they could get compensation and retire.—And maybe not.

It's a funny thing. But fellows and girls have been running that drill-press ever since it was put in the shop two and a half years ago, and nothing happened to them. But all of a sudden there are two accidents in a row. How come?

DOES THE LAW OF AVERAGES EXPLAIN IT?

Well, maybe it was the law of averages. Mathematicians figure it out by the law of chances, or something. They figure that a drill-press has one accident a year in its system. So if two years go by without an accident, there are two accidents coming up, you know. The same way they figure if you flip a coin a thousand times it will come down heads 500 times. But maybe not exactly 500 times in a row—as every bettor knows.

You never can tell. The law of averages might explain it all. But it's too bad the law got enforced just when they started to make money on the job.

Oh yes, I forgot to mention that angle, didn't I? The first two years and five months the drill-press was only used for shop repair

Read V. Grey's Article on

"Modern Welding and The Welder"

In the April Issue of Fourth International

work and other day-work jobs. But for the last couple of weeks the operators have been on steady PIECE-WORK on the drill.

NOW they can make nine-fifty a day! Maybe ten bucks if they get good stock and quick crane service. Of course they work four or five times FASTER than day-work to get the dough. But hell, that's piece-work, isn't it?

Take a girl who got 78 cents an hour yesterday on a clean-up job. She may have run the drill a couple of times before for 81 cents an hour. Now there's a piece-work job. The boss gives her a break, and puts her on the drill. She has the chance of making a dollar and a quarter an hour. All she has to do is work four or five times harder and faster.

And maybe that's why she decided to drill a hole in her hand, and push a broom for the rest of the month.



Profits of Oil and War

Standard Oil of New Jersey, one of the Rockefeller dynasty monopolies, reports 1944 as the most profitable year in its history excepting 1920. After deducting charges, taxes, reserves for depreciation and depletion and \$12 million for "contingencies," the books still showed net profits of \$155,396,460. In 12 months current assets jumped from \$859,800,039 to \$1,027,711,965 while current liabilities rose less than \$57 million.

These fabulous profits were made possible by the war expansion program, explained Eugene Holman, president; "One out of every five planes of the United Nations was flown on Jersey-made fuel during the year."

Despite the enormity of these profits, they represent but a small portion of the fortune reaped by the Rockefellers from the Second World War.

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Questions Discussion

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The Difference Between Blue Blood And Red

By Bill Morgan

Red blood or blue blood? There's a difference. A big difference. You got to know your stuff on this question—especially when it comes to dealing with the Germans or the Japanese.

Take plain, ordinary red blood for instance. Working-class blood. The kind that stains the sand of South Pacific islands, the decks of destroyers and the mud of European battlefields. It's tricky stuff. Can't be trusted. It has a powerful tendency to recognize itself despite different uniforms and languages.

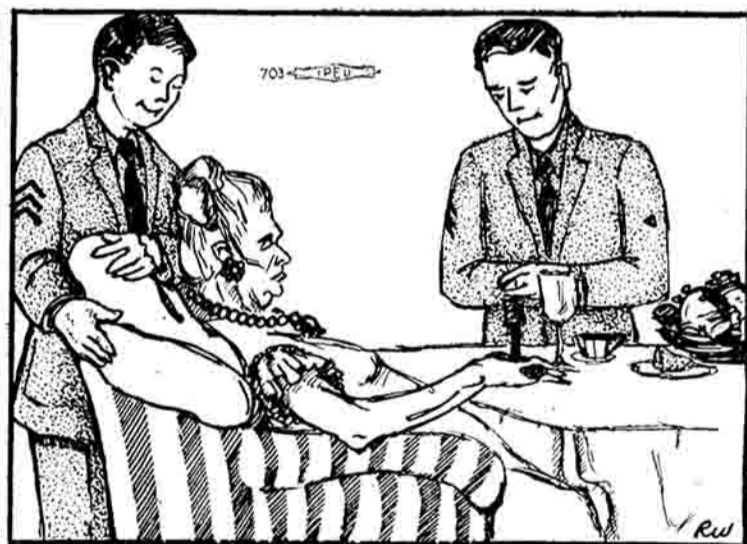
That's why American soldiers are fined sixty-five bucks for exchanging a word or so with German soldiers and workers. That's why American and British and Australian troops are taught that the Japanese soldiers, workers and peasants in uniform, are not human beings but monkeys. That's why German bosses and Nazi officials howl that the Russian soldiers are butchers, that the French workers are dogs, that the American and British troops are stupid. That's why the Japanese war-lords and industrialists chant songs of hate and nationalism to their slaves.

THE KAISER'S WIDOW

"Kill the bastards!" yells Wall Street. "Shoot the swine!" growl the Himmmlers and Krupps. "Destroy the white dogs!" scream the Togos and Mitsus.

But what happens when blue blood meets blue blood? Ah, fellow worker, there's a difference. Blue blood is exempt from all the hate, prejudice and nationalism.

Take for instance Princess Hermine, widow of Kaiser Wilhelm, "the Beast of Berlin" in the first World War. She is now a "prisoner" of the American Army along with half a dozen other Hohenzollerns and former royalty. She is permitted to remain in her eighty-four room castle. When



she asks for coffee and cigarettes no one laughs or growls at her.

Ah, no. She is allowed to tell American readers of the press her sad story. "The Americans have been so attentive to me," she said. "They have not bothered us at all. I was walking in my garden April 12 when I heard American convoys running past. The next thing was an American Lieutenant. He walked in and said: 'We must take this for a command post.' He was very nice. He was attentive to us, and so are all you Americans."

HER SAD STORY

By "us" she meant her sister, Princess Ida; the Princess Carmo Hartung, her niece; Prince Christoph-Martin; the Countess Therese of Stolberg and the Countess children, Prince Franz Joseph and Prince Ritz.

She had been living in tranquility at her Silesian castle... But let her tell her own sad story: "I was ordered to move by the German Army. That was Feb. 21. I left in such a hurry that I had to leave behind many of my precious personal souvenirs.

"I had to leave some of my jewels and some of my horses. I didn't want to go... We had only a few cars left... There

were thousands of refugees on the road. It was a terrible sight..."

That's the way to treat a blue-blooded prisoner. Be nice. Be attentive. Attend to her comforts. Spread her sob story all over the front page. And, above all, don't sneer when she asks for American coffee. And don't forget her poor, blue blooded grandchildren and nieces.

Blue blood is precious stuff. Something to be conserved. Red blood is cheap and expendable.

AKRON

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LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES AID BOSSES

The following letter is sent to us by an auto worker reader of *The Militant*. He describes from his own personal experiences how the so-called "labor-management" committees function only in the interests of the company.

Editor:

It seems to me that the bosses are more and more getting the representatives of the workers to do their dirty work for them.

Before the war, whenever our Bargaining Committee met with management, we always heard the complaint that the Committees were not doing right by the company. The company said the Committees were supposed to see that the men they represented put out a day's work and didn't take too much time going to and from the rest room or going too many times to the water fountain, to put out good work, keep right on the job until the quitting whistle blew, be there to start working when the starting whistle blew, not to eat on the job, never to rest while on Company time, and a mess of other rules of the same nature.

What they were doing was trying to get the Committees to do the dirty work that the foremen were getting paid to do. I must say that they were successful in convincing some of the Committees to do just that. I even witnessed the unbelievable incident of a "representative" of the workers bawling out a worker for being late. The foreman even called the Committeeman over to do the bawling out instead of doing it himself. This Committeeman thought he was a dictator. When other Committees pointed out to this small-time dictator that his job was to defend the workers and not to work against them, he said he was elected by them and he was giving the orders in his district while he was the committeeman. This fellow discredited himself so that he was not reelected.

The thing I want to point out is that this fellow fell for management's baloney and went about doing the bosses' work. What this leads up to is that the employer is still practicing the same method today and a lot of boys are falling for it because they are afraid that they will be called unpatriotic, radical, red or something if they don't.

At the start of the war when Labor-Management Committees were first established the fellows who understood the class struggle were opposed to them and called them speed-up committees. But the International leadership compelled the Bargaining Committee to serve on this Labor-Management Committee also. It was not very long before it was apparent to the boys that it was

only a farce, as we didn't have any way to enforce what we wanted and the bosses had all the cards stacked in their favor as usual. They started right in by putting in their man as Chairman and started their baloney again that Committees should see that everyone worked harder and harder.

But nothing was said about more pay. They emphasized that we had to win the war and we should forget all about our differences and produce, produce, produce. But when some of the Committees made remarks such as "If we win the war will you give us a raise?" the bosses' faces got red. They didn't know what to say and accused the Committees of "Trotskyism."

By using the patriotism angle, the company split the Committee between the ones who wanted to fight for the workers and the ones who were less class conscious and wanted to go easy on the workers' rights. The management said we were all one now under this emergency. But when the Committee said, "In that case, if we are all one, you should allow us to see the books," management was horrified and said that was socialism. Then the fight started on what this Labor-Management Committee was going to do. The company's idea was to use it to do the workers' dirty work for them just as the government utilizes its labor lieutenants.

Well, management tried to get the Committees to go for the speed-up, etc. The Committees who knew the score attempted to use the same Committee for enforcing safety rules, to get better meals in the cafeteria at a lower price, to set up a commissary to sell work clothes at cost, etc. It wasn't long until the Labor-Management Committee was defunct.

I am writing this letter in the hopes that you will publish it because yours is a labor paper and I hope some shop Committeemen see it and quit doing the bosses' dirty work for them, such as speeding up the workers spying on them, etc. Let the foremen take care of it. He and not the shop Committeeman represents the boss. Let them push the speed-up as it is their war and they're making all the money. Just look at their profits reports and then look at who is doing the dying, sweating and suffering. Not the bosses by a long shot.

An Auto Worker,
Los Angeles

13,497 New Subscribers To "Militant" As Campaign Reaches 132 Per Cent Mark

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

There has been no slackening whatsoever in *The Militant* Subscription Campaign even though the 10,000 national quota was passed two weeks ago. Last week the branches of the Socialist Workers Party obtained 1,637 new worker-readers, the third highest weekly total to date. This raises the national total to 13,497. This is 132 percent of our quota.

FROM THE BRANCHES

"We would like to express our appreciation of the magnificent job the New York Branches are doing with the tremendous task of sending out *The Militant*."

Doris Hilson of Akron thus expressed the gratitude we all feel to those comrades who are shouldering the huge task of getting *The Militant* out each week to our thousands of new readers. They are Naomi Kane, Sara Ross, Margaret Worth, Mili Adams, Connie Locke, and scores of other comrades without whose weekly assistance the regular staff would be swamped. These are hard-working disciplined comrades of whom we are all proud.

Mike Warren, leading national Pace-Setter, has stated that he is aiming for 1,000 subs by the end of the campaign.

Ruth Haddon, San Francisco: "Jim Long is our Campaign Director for this campaign and was also the director of the previous campaign. He has done a fine job of organizing the work and is also one of our fine sub-getters. The record of the national campaign is wonderful. And those Trail-Blazers truly deserve the name."

Jeff Thorne, Flint: "Send another 50 cards. We sold 34 subs today and are cleaned out."

Sylvia Moran, New Haven: "Enclosed are seven more subs. Let me tell you that I didn't get those subs I sent in a couple of weeks ago by myself. Comrade Bert, who is located about ten miles away, and myself got them."

P. Davidson, Boston: "Enclosed are 17 subs. This brings us well over the 100 percent mark."

Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "Our score for the week is 203. As you can see there has been no slackening of the campaign. In the past few weeks participation has reached its highest point. We have also had more friends participate in the work since my last monthly report."

A. Alma, Rochester: "Enclosed are 21 more subs. We miss having the Trail-Blazers here very much."

Rose Stevens, Seattle: "We have been dividing our forces in order to cover workers' areas in Tacoma as well as Seattle. Our final scores will be almost half and half between the two cities."

Herb Newell, Allentown: "Tell Akron we just had our seventh inning stretch. From now on in they'll catch our dust. Please send us 50 more sub cards immediately."

Al Lynn, Los Angeles: "Our subscription activity has already involved a wider base in the local than any other form of activity we have ever engaged in, including the election campaign. Our work during the rest of the campaign will be to widen still more the base of sub campaigners. From this will flow an increase in subs. I don't expect any phenomenal increase in the next month, but do expect enough of an increase so that we should end up our campaign with about 2,300 subs. Jack Gail of Southside Branch is now leading the local with a score of 72 and Comrade Leo has 62. Mike Warren sure has us all thrilled. Also the other Pace-Setters with their fantastic scores. That box was a wonderful idea. The Trail-Blazers are also inspiring the comrades."

Maggie McGowan, Toledo: "The Toledo Branch is proud of the magnificent job the party has done in this campaign. If you take Jerry Kirk's report in last week's *Militant* about 'those Trotskyists selling subs all over the city' and multiply it by all the branches, you have an accurate picture of 'those Trotskyists selling subs all over the country.' The party's record in this campaign is only further verification of the tremendous vitality of our ideas. That exploded thermometer is a tribute to the determination and enthusiasm of comrades who, when a task is before them, accept it as a challenge and carry it through in the Trotskyist tradition."

FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

Again we want to thank our new readers for the aid they are giving us in this campaign by getting their friends to subscribe to *The Militant*. This week the following readers sent in trial subscriptions:

C.O.W. of St. Louis, Mo.; B.D. of Pine Bluff, Ark.; W.H.H. of Chicago, Ill.; R.M.H. of Arlee, Mont.; and L.S. of Newark, N. J. Have you told your friends about *The Militant* and have you asked them to subscribe?

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Mike Warren	West Side, New York	650
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	318
Paul Kujac	Chicago	221
Howard Mason	Detroit	171
Ernest Drake	Detroit	158
Doris Hilson	Akron	151
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	145
E. Logan	Detroit	139
Marion Winters	Brooklyn	138
Joe Simpson	Minneapolis	125
Bill Horton	Detroit	124
M. Kennedy	Detroit	110
Ruth Grayson	N. Y. Trotskyist Youth Group	103
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	100
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	100
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn	98
Kay O'Brien	Detroit	95
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	95
Robert Kendall	Toledo	92
Maggie McGowan	Toledo	90

SCOREBOARD

Akron	85	327	385
Allentown	50	166	330
Flint	50	151	300
San Diego	50	116	232
Cleveland	200	417	209
Toledo	250	458	183
Milwaukee	100	183	183
Detroit	1000	1823	182
Youngstown	300	514	171
Rochester	50	78	156
St. Paul	100	153	153
Reading	75	109	145
Minneapolis	300	432	144
Buffalo	350	476	136
Philadelphia	150	189	126
New York	2500	3141	126
Chicago	1000	1111	111
Boston	200	210	105
Bayonne	150	150	100
San Francisco	350	344	98
Newark	350	329	94
Seattle	400	346	87
Los Angeles	2000	1338	67
Group, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	249	178
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)		683	
TOTAL	10,200	13,497	132



Every member of the Socialist Workers Party who has ever gone from door to door to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* will appreciate the following experiences.

Al Frank of Detroit: "I have to work most of the nights and every other Sunday. I have managed to get to three Sunday mobilizations during the present drive and have sold forty subs. As I walked along one day selling subs I thought to myself, 'Only a couple of years ago if someone told me I'd be canvassing a neighborhood selling papers, I'd have told him he is crazy.' I dislike going out selling, but once I get started I don't mind and as a matter of fact, almost enjoy it. Of course, it is just the realization that this aspect of the work is very vital and necessary that makes me go out, for I never did relish selling anything at any time."

Louise Falk of Cleveland: "Going on my first sub campaign I had an interesting experience. After my stage fright was swallowed down in great big gulps, I rang my first door bell. It was in a Negro neighborhood and I was just preparing my speech on how *The Militant* stands for Negro equality, when the door opened. I was greeted friendly and was asked if this was the *Daily Worker*. I assured the woman that it was not. She told me that the Russians had the right idea. She was very eager to buy the paper which really fights for a higher standard of living—not like the *Daily Worker*. I sold five subs after that."

I. Cope of Youngstown reports that subscription sales are made easier when stories of local situations appear in *The Militant*. "The printing of articles on local situations is a great selling point. We sold countless numbers of subs by merely pointing out our activity in the city. For instance, the article on the NAACP asking for the removal of the Chief of Police here. You can be sure many Negroes know of this and they were happy to see someone acting on it."

"Due to the small population here, we're having difficulty finding new neighborhoods. In fact, some homes we do approach are already receiving *The Militant* and there are many others who have very definitely heard about it, in which case we get a new subscriber. Our paper is certainly making the rounds. Before we leave a house, we ask them to pass *The Militant* on to their friends and also show them the blank for a six-month sub which their friends can use."

A successful distribution is reported by Doris Hilson of Akron: "Two comrades and a friend went

to the A. Clayton Powell meeting last night. We distributed over 150 *Militants* and sold 12 'Struggle for Negro Equality' pamphlets—all we had brought with us."

This letter from J. L. of Toledo is additional proof that our worker-readers are telling their friends about *The Militant*. "The purpose of this letter is to request a complimentary copy of your weekly newspaper entitled, *The Militant*."

"During the past two or three months I have heard much good comment regarding your newspaper. Therefore, I desire a copy of your paper gratis and if it is all my friends claim for it, I will place a subscription."

Pioneer Notes

Our new pamphlet *American Workers Need a Labor Party* continues to sell widely and is getting increasingly enthusiastic response from the workers. The following letter from Detroit gives an example of how the pamphlet is being used in the trade unions.

"A Detroit UAW-CIO Committeeman, who is also a member of his local union educational committee, made a report to the other members of the educational committee on the value of workers' educational material being put out in convenient pocket-size pamphlets."

"In his report he used Joseph Hansen's pamphlet *American Workers Need a Labor Party* as his example of what he thought was a convenient size, attractively printed and written to hold the worker's interest."

"He reported that workers could not find time to read thick books and most often would not take a book out of the union library because they had not cultivated the habit of 'wading through a whole book.' But if the first two pages of a pamphlet contained something to catch their attention they would go on reading the pamphlet. The size of the pamphlet, he stated, was very important as workers stuck it in their pockets to read in the plants, on the buses, streetcars, etc."

"In summary he told the committee that workers are more willing to buy and read this type of literature than ever before. They want to know the answers to what's coming tomorrow with the cutbacks of thousands of workers in their immediate vicinity . . . meaning an army of unemployed, and bread-lines and hunger."

"He stated that the Labor Party pamphlet had sold like 'hot cakes' around the local union and as he walked through his plant he saw workers pull it out of their pockets and read a few pages whenever they got the chance."

American Workers Need a Labor Party by Joseph Hansen, 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

'TRAILBLAZERS' REPORT ON VISIT TO MINE TOWN

With a total of 683 new subscribers to *The Militant* obtained up to April 30, the Trail-Blazers, Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, are now in Pittsburgh. They write regarding their first few days' work in that area:

"Although Pittsburgh is a huge city housing tens of thousands of industrial workers, we couldn't think of beginning anywhere except among the coal miners we've been talking about for so long. So we 'moved' into one of the close-by mining towns where our local campaign got off to a flying start."

"Forty-four fighting miners are *Militant* subscribers now as a result of one day's effort. And we've only covered a third of the families in Covedale. Almost every miner we met looked the paper over with keen interest and took an introductory subscription. Even among the older folks who themselves read only papers in their native language, many bought subs to *The Militant* for their children."

WOMEN'S OPINIONS

"Women whose husbands were away at the mine when we visited their homes seemed as interested in our program as the men we talked to. Some of them took the paper for their men after we showed them some of the 1943 copies we carried with us. They liked the way *The Militant* published their side of the story in the tough fight of two years back. These women also showed keen interest in *The Militant* article that exposed the profiteering and black market dealings of the big meat corporations."

"Limited to Covedale's company-run store for their groceries, they are all hard hit by the man-made meat famine. They are of course aware that the meat their hard-working men folks sorely need is being diverted into black market channels where higher prices prevail. But they were indignant to learn from our paper that the belly-robbing meat monopolists are skimming off additional millions through government subsidies."

"Most of the men agree that their recent negotiations with the operators and the government gained them but a slight improvement in wages. They all pointed out that no increase will be realizable until they start working beyond their traditional 7 hour day. And many of these miners, who have been hoaxed and chiseled before, implied that they might have to strike yet to insure the concessions they are supposed to have won. They all agree that only their constant vigilance backed up by the strike threat prevents the operators from snatching away the conditions and chipping down the wage-scales that have already been established."

"The older men are not inclined to talk much; they seem quietly assured that theirs is an entirely just struggle—and one that is by no means ended. The

younger miners are full of fight, indignant at the abuse that is continually heaped on their people, and eager to prove that justice is on their side. Among the younger miners the interest in *The Militant* was quickly indicated but as we reported practically all of those we saw have subscribed."

"There is a general desire among these mine people to make the hazards of their work known to the rest of the labor movement. Dozens of them told us that only the day before one of their number had been brought up from the pit with his skull crushed from a falling timber—dead, of course, by the time the company doctor came around."

"In the last household we visited we found the family circled around a young fellow in his early 20's. He is a discharged veteran of World War II, who had been carried out an hour before with his foot smashed by a backsliding iron coal truck."

"Even though these people were wrapped up in the grief of their family catastrophe, all were warm in their greeting, and talked eagerly with us about *The Militant*'s program. The injured lad wanted the subscription as soon as he had scanned its pages. He spoke up angrily against the miserable campaign of the capitalists and their prostituted press to contrast the dangers risked by the armed forces with the supposed security of the workers."

PERILS OF MINING

"He pointed to his own crushed foot as proof that the coal miners face maiming and death every day of the year, and he told us that the soldiers he had fought beside had learned of these things from him. We left with him a copy of Joseph Hansen's pamphlet on the Labor Party to read while he is laid up and promised to call back for another visit soon."

"We could repeat dozens of stories and comments from these people—and all would be interesting as well as enlightening. We feel that here we have met some of the finest working people in the whole country. They have the dignity of people who have suffered a lot but who have never lost courage nor the will to see their fight through. We will hear from these miners who are now readers of *The Militant*."

Two New Trailblazer Teams Report Inspiring Success

The success of the Trailblazers, Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, in introducing *The Militant* to new localities has inspired two of the Socialist Workers Party branches to follow their example on a larger scale. Last week Youngstown sent a team of Trailblazers into Pittsburgh, and Detroit sent a crew to Pontiac, Mich.

The report from Youngstown states: "In about two hours of concentrated work from door to door, eight of us received 80 subscriptions, which we are sending along together with 19 subscriptions received here locally. We found our new subscribers so eager to read our paper that some of them even subscribed for friends of theirs. In fact, there were four subscriptions sold in one house in this way. Our Negro comrade was tops with seventeen subs received in two-hours."

"There were many who had no money at the time, but we left a subscription blank with them and they promised faithfully they would send for the paper. We believe that this should give our comrades in Pittsburgh a good start, not only in obtaining new subscribers but in following them up with more literature and building themselves a base on which to work in the future."

"Locally, one of our comrades sold a subscription to a reader of the *Daily Worker*. When our comrade revisited him, the new reader said that he was cancelling his subscription to the *Daily Worker*, or at least wouldn't renew it upon its expiration, because he found *The Militant* much more inspiring and said it was a real workers' paper."

The Detroit comrades report excellent results from their first trail-blazing expedition. They write: "We were spurred on by

the results of the Trailblazers. So last week we sent a crew of seven comrades and one sympathizer to Pontiac, Mich., an industrial General Motors town 30 miles from here. Inasmuch as we were working in this area for the first time, we made it an all-day expedition. The results that we obtained are excellent. Our score at the end of the day was 139."

"We established a directing center for our work in a colored restaurant, meeting there to eat lunch and to discuss results and plan further activity. It was a great sight to see colored and white workers eating, joking and talking seriously together. We obtained a dozen subscriptions in this restaurant alone."

"Among the white workers, when we explained to them that in a General Motors town the papers print only the news that the bosses want them to see, we would immediately evoke interest in our paper. And when we showed the workers that *The Militant* exposes General Motors Corporation activities, how it coins profits from its plants in Germany as well as here in the United States, the workers invariably pull out a quarter for a subscription."

"We believe that we have laid the groundwork for further activity and work in Pontiac. In the meantime *The Militant* will continue its job of organizing for us."

Buy 'The Militant' Here:

AKRON

News Exchange, 51 S. Main
'Militant' Bookshop, 6 Everett Bldg, Rm 405.

BUFFALO

SE corner Main & Mohawk

CAMPBELL, O.

Eidelman's Newsstand, Wilson Ave. near Sheet and Tube Employment Office.

CHICAGO

Ceshinsky's Book Store, 2750 W. Division
Socialist Workers Bookshop, Room 317, 160 N. Wells.

DETROIT

Family Theatre Newsstand, opposite theater
'Militant' Bookshop, 3513 Woodward - Room 21.

LOS ANGELES

Downtown: NE corner 5th and Main; 326 W. 5 St.; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; Workers Book Shop 232 So. Hill, Room 200.
Tesslers' Newsstand, 335 1/2 South Hill Street; Corner 5th and Spring Sts.; 128 W. 3d St.

Boyle Hgt.: corner Wabash & Evergreen; 2210 1/2 Bklyn Ave.

Hollywood: Stands at Hollywood and Cahuenga, Hollywood and Los Palms, Southwest: corner Robertson & Pico Blvds.
South Gate: South side Book Shop, 8026 Seville Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS

Labor Book Store, 10 S. 4 St.
Shinder's News Agency
Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave., South; Happy's Stand, 8th St. and Nicolet.

MILWAUKEE

N.W. corner, Wisconsin Ave. on Third St.
Militant Bookshop, 926 Plankinton Ave., Rm. 21.

NEW HAVEN

Nodelman's News Depot, 106 Church St.

NEWARK

Downtown — Newsstand at 11 Springfield Ave.
Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield.

NEW YORK

Manhattan: 14th St. between 2nd Avenue and Sixth Ave.
Newsstands on 42nd St. between 5th and 6th Aves.; 116 University Place.

PHILADELPHIA

Germantown and Lehigh Aves., N.W. corner 18th St. and Market St.
Labor Forum, 405 West Girard.

READING

Herman's Newsstand, 131 Buttonwood St.
Paddy's Smoke Shop, 201 Franklin St.

SAN DIEGO, CAL.

242 Broadway

SAN FRANCISCO

Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.; Duncan's Newsstand, 1986 Sutter St.; Ray's Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81 - 3rd St.; San Francisco School of Social Science, 305 W. Grant.

SAN PEDRO

Johnson's Pool Hall, 531 Beacon St.; LaRue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific St.; Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 S. Gaffey.

SEATTLE

Eckert's, corner Washington St. and 1st Ave.; Bishop's Drug Store, 507 Jackson St.; Raymer's Book Store, 905-3rd Ave.; Pool Room, 500 Main St.; Liberty News, 3rd and Pike.

TOLEDO

Branch's Sports Center, 908 Washington St.
Main Drug Store, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.
905 Jefferson, Rms. 228-230.

YOUNGSTOWN

Terrace Confectionery, 1947 Jacobs Road

THE MILITANT

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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

Mussolini's End

In the manifesto on "The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution" written for the Fourth International in 1940 just before his assassination, Leon Trotsky predicted: "Before the judgment bar of the proletariat all the present rulers will answer" for plunging humanity into a Second World War.

Mussolini is the first to be brought to judgment by the workers. He answered with his life.

In carrying out this stern act of justice the Italian masses demonstrated that they are the sole power capable of purging the country of the fascist vermin and meting out retribution to the criminals who inflicted such misery and tyranny upon Italy. This time they took no chances on Mussolini eluding judgment. They rightfully mistrusted the Allies and the present heads of the government for they have seen how they have treated the fascists and their accomplices.

Instead of purges and punishments, the Allies have retained many of the most prominent upholders of fascism in positions of power and shielded them from the wrath of the people. They strengthened the monarchy which lifted Mussolini into power and placed the dictator's right-hand general Badoglio at the head of the government. The present Premier Bonomi permitted the hated butcher Roatta to "escape" with British connivance during his trial. Above all, the workers remembered how Mussolini had once before been "rescued."

Having seen how the Allies and their quislings handled the fascists, the workers of Milan drew the proper conclusion and took care of Mussolini themselves.

How justified they were in their suspicions! For, according to the Partisan Prefect of Milan, an order had been issued by the authorities holding up the execution of Mussolini.

The actions of the workers in the past week give the most dramatic proof of the real attitude of the Italian people toward fascism. Since the war Allied propagandists have propagated the lie that the Italian and German masses supported fascism and should be held responsible for its crimes. But when it comes to the critical test, it is the Italian workers themselves who do away with the fascists—while the Allied leaders try to protect them!

The deeds of the Milanese workers are in the best traditions of the Italian and German proletariat. In both these countries the workers did all they could to prevent fascism from coming to power. When they were defeated and crushed because of treacherous leadership and the international combination of the capitalists, they continued to struggle from the underground. They suffered privation, misery, imprisonment, torture, death, but they never accepted fascism.

Now the workers of North Italy have given incontrovertible evidence that it is only necessary to free their hands to bring fascism to a swift end. Given the right leadership and socialist program, they can march forward on the revolutionary road and uproot the capitalist system which imposed the savage fascist regime upon them.

Program For Jobs

Production cutbacks, and their accompanying mass unemployment, are coming at a faster and faster pace. Hundreds of thousands of war workers are already laid off. Millions more face the same grim prospects. This process of "demobilization" and "disemployment" will now be immediately accelerated by the end of the war in Europe.

The capitalist press and government have met this critical development with a conspiracy of silence or deceptive assurances about "reconversion to civilian production." They have suppressed

or minimized the facts of hundreds of mass layoffs throughout the country, which *The Militant* alone has reported from week to week. WPB Director Krug even expressed regret at his "mistake" in announcing in advance the pending shut-down of the huge Ford Willow Run plant.

This conspiracy of silence or misinformation is dictated by the fact that the capitalist government has no program to maintain employment and job security for all the workers. The only program the monopolists and their government agents are advancing is to sell the vast, modern government-owned plants as scrap to the big corporations or shut them down. While the capitalist war profiteers are guaranteed their profits in war contracts terminations, the workers are to be dumped jobless into the streets.

So far as the big-business government is concerned, the unemployed workers can either starve or scrape along miserably on the doles of state unemployment insurance, which in some instances is as low as \$2 per week. That is the program enacted in the George Starvation Bill, signed by the late President Roosevelt.

This is the reward facing the workers who have done all the sweating and sacrificing in this war, whose labor and taxes built and paid for the huge government plants. But they cannot permit themselves and their families to be reduced to beggary. They have every right to demand, and to enforce the demand, for full employment and job security at the wages of decency, comfort and health.

There is only one program which can begin to meet this demand effectively. That is the program based on the bed-rock premise: NO IDLE FACTORIES AS LONG AS THERE ARE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS!

Against the schemes of the monopolists to buy up for a song, and scrap the vast productive apparatus built at public expense during the war, the organized labor movement must counterpose the demand for the full operation of all government plants and equipment under workers' control to provide jobs for all and consumers' goods for the people.

Together with this indispensable first step, must go the demands for the sliding scale of hours with no reduction in weekly income. All the labor unions are on record for the 30-hour week. Now they must open a full-scale, determined struggle for the reduction of the work week, as against mass layoffs, with the maintenance of existing weekly wages.

Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, speaking in Boston on April 23, said he was all for the labor-capital "peace charter" signed by Philip Murray, William Green and Eric Johnston, Chamber of Commerce head.

But—Mosher doesn't like it "as it now stands." The NAM opposes any "truce" which would "uphold the legislative status quo" on labor. Specifically, he thinks any agreement not to "modify" the National Labor Relations Act threatens to "accentuate, rather than eliminate" the struggle between capital and labor. And the "modifications" which the NAM seeks are its projected 5-point legislative program to outlaw strikes, protect strikebreakers and legalize the closed shop.

In short—when the bosses shout "peace, peace!" with labor, they mean nothing less than unconditional surrender by labor.

Miners Show Way

It is generally acknowledged that the soft coal miners have won important wage gains by contrast with the War Labor Board's miserable awards to the steel, auto, packinghouse and other organized workers.

Naturally, the War Labor Board and the government have attempted to minimize these real gains by stressing the claim that miners' awards remain within the formal limits of the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.

But as the New York *Sun*, rock-ribbed Republican paper of the Morgan interests, pointed out editorially on April 27: "Lewis executed a neat pincers movement on the 'little steel' formula. He obtained for his miners more money in the pay envelope. They are not likely to quarrel over the name that economists give to that extra money. It will buy meat, shoes and eggs just as surely as if it were 'little steel' money. Not even the most intricate language of the economists serves to disguise the extent of the Lewis victory."

Moreover, that victory did not come after a protracted runaround by the WLB and other government agencies, such as the steel, auto and other unions experienced. With the approval of William Davis, Economic Stabilization Director, on April 30, "this procedure rounded out the Government's processing of the United Mine Workers' contract in record time." (New York *Times*, May 1)

Why have the miners been able to win more than the other unions? Why have they been able to get such prompt action from the employer-dominated WLB and the other wage-freezing agencies?

The answer is indisputable. The miners didn't go into negotiations meekly explaining they didn't under any circumstances intend to strike. On the contrary, they showed by their overwhelming strike vote, and even more by their widespread walkouts, that they were determined to put up a fight for their demands against the mine operators and the government wage-freezing agencies.

In this fashion, the miners have given another convincing demonstration to American labor that the only way union workers can defend their interests and win even a part of their demands is through organized militant struggle conducted with the most effective methods, especially the strike weapon.



"These peace reports are very upsetting."

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.

Indian Woman Likes 'Militant'

Editor: As further proof of the fact that *The Militant* sells itself, I am sending the following incident which happened on our sub drive in Tacoma.

I knocked on a door in the housing project. An Indian woman answered. After I had tried to sell the paper, she said she was too busy taking care of her house and her grandchildren and didn't have a chance to read. Before going I left her a copy of the paper and went on to the next house.

When we were finished in that district and were getting into the car, this woman came out of her house and called to me from her doorstep. She invited me in and said she was very much impressed with the paper and with the fact that it told the truth about things—about the food profiteers, about the high cost of living, about government bureaucracy.

She had come from a reservation in a neighboring state, which she said was run by civil service employees who did nothing but eat the best kinds of food, ride around in big cars, had an unlimited supply of gasoline, and run the affairs of the Indian people as though they were incapable of managing their own lives. She wound up by taking a subscription, several extra copies for her sons in the shipyard, and urging me to go to her daughter's house to sell her a sub.

R. D.
Seattle, Wash.

Masters -- Or Slaves

Editor: I have observed that some people, new to going house to house selling *Militant* subscriptions, feel that it is an undesirable, difficult task. This reaction is caused by the fact that they are not always favorably received by the person who comes to the door.

Actually, we have no reason to feel depressed if we are not received with open arms at every door. We give the person visited an opportunity to learn the way out of his present and future difficulties. From that point of view, we are really doing him a service.

The workers are the victims of monopoly capitalism and all of its oppressions. We are attempting to show them how they can be the masters of their own life rather than slaves of the boss.

J. L.
San Francisco

New Inventions Under Capitalism

Editor: In Milwaukee the Gas Company and the Solid Fuel Institute are fighting over the question of introducing natural gas. The *Milwaukee Journal* has opened its columns to the conflict and thus created some public interest. Various letters written in the interest of one or the other sections of big business were printed but typical of the capitalist press they did not print the following letter I sent.

"The rapidly decaying 'free enterprise' system, contrary to its apologists and spokesmen, cannot even furnish jobs for 40 million workers, not to speak of the vote-catching cry of 60 million.

"Every new invention, every improvement means not less toil, more leisure, and an improvement of the standard of living but increasing unemployment and fattening of the bulging bank-

books of the wealthy. The present conflict over natural gas brings up this point. Natural gas, which is cleaner and cheaper, (i.e., less work is needed to make it available) would mean lay-offs and firings.

"The March 28 *Journal* had an editorial opposing cash relief because of the impending postwar depression. Where are the laid-off Gas Company and coalmen to go? You yourself envision a sliding back to the prewar days of unemployment.

"We Marxists see no way out for the working class other than an United Socialist States of the World organized for production for use. New inventions and natural benefits would thus become labor-saving, not labor-firing devices."

William C. Crane
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Italian Prisoners Hear of Trotskyism

Editor: The other day I had the opportunity of talking with some Italian prisoners. Since Italy has become a "co-belligerent" of this country, the Italian prisoners are allowed a little liberty.

These fellows are mostly pretty young, 21 to 24 years old. Some of them haven't been home in 4 to 6 years, and the one most obvious thing about them is their dejected, dependent manner. They just didn't seem to care about anything.

As they came up to us, there was an exchange of cigarettes and those who could speak a little English engaged in conversations. I got to talking to one who had been a student before he was drafted into the Italian army.

We were discussing Italy and the situation that country is in today. I told him what the conditions there were from reports I had read in *The Militant*. After we had talked awhile I said that it looks like the only solution for the workers of Italy was a revolution.

QUESTION BOX

Q: What is the rate of illiteracy in the United States?

A: The 1930 census showed that 4.3 per cent of the American people can neither read nor write. The highest rate, 9.6 per cent or almost one in ten, was in the region including Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana. The lowest rate, about two per cent, was in the industrial area of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and eastern Minnesota. The 1940 census did not include figures on illiteracy.

Q: Were white workers ever held in slavery in America?

A: Yes, in the colonial period. White workers were sentenced to slavery for a specified number of years to pay off debts; orphans and illegitimate children were sentenced to slavery up to the age of 30 years. All could be sold on the market by their owners. Terms of slavery were often extended indefinitely by the courts as punishment for some alleged offense.

Q: How extensive is the British Empire?

A: The British Empire covers one-fourth of the world's land surface and rules one-fourth of the people of the world. Of the 557,631,812 people of the British Empire, only 47,888,958 live in the United Kingdom—that is, the British Isles proper.

tion like they had in Russia in October, 1917. He looked at me in amazement.

"I didn't think anyone in America thought that way," he said. So I told him about our party, the Socialist Workers Party, and its program, and I told him about the Fourth International and how it was started by Trotsky when the Stalinist-degenerated Comintern had capitulated before Hitler in 1933. And I told him about the Trotskyist party in Italy. And did he get excited! He turned to his fellow prisoners and started talking, rapidly and excitedly in Italian, telling them the wonderful news that I had just told him.

What a change took place in the attitude of the men! From a dejected, downcast group, they were filled with enthusiasm and hope for the better day to come.

The next day I saw them before they saw me, so I started to whistle "Bandiera Rossa." Immediately they all turned around and when they saw me, their faces broke out into broad, happy smiles, and they waved, called hello, and came over for more talk about the revolution and about socialism.

I think we can rest assured that, even under 20 years of fascist terror, the revolutionary ideas and traditions of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky have penetrated into the hearts and minds of the Italian youth, and that from this youth is coming the most loyal, the most courageous, the most determined people of the Italian Trotskyist Party.

'Militant' Reader
Baltimore, Md.

London Conference

Editor: An outstanding aspect of the World Trade Union Conference, recently held in England, which was not generally publicized in the capitalist press, was the speech delivered there by Ken Hill, Negro representative of the Jamaica Trade Union Council, the most progressive section of the organized workers' movement of that Caribbean colony.

George Padmore, in the April issue of *Crisis*, magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, says, "There is no doubt that he (Ken Hill) brought to the deliberations of the Conference a comprehensive vision and international outlook as refreshing as it is rare at such gatherings."

Mr. Hill stated clearly and unequivocally to this conference of swivel-chair bureaucrats and capitalist apologists that "We must use the influence of the international working class movement to discontinue the system of imperialism and capitalist domination, whatever shape or form they take."

We can just imagine the reception to this speech on the part of a group like Hillman and Murray who are breaking their necks to apologize for the wrongs of this system and constantly fighting attempts on the part of the Negro and white workers of this country to advance themselves economically through the unions and politically through a labor party.

More power to you, Mr. Ken Hill! Yours is not a lost cause. Your speech fell on deaf ears at the Conference in London but the workers of Jamaica, the United States and the rest of the world know and are becoming more conscious of the fact that the international working class must rid itself of the system that brings it nothing but wars and oppression.

A. Williams
Bayonne, N. J.

The Most Tragic Victims Of The Imperialist War

Europe's children are the capitalist war's "most tragic victims," writes Gene Rea in an article entitled "Italy's Children" in *The Nation*, April 14.

The fate of Allied-occupied Italy's children mirrors the conditions of children in the rest of Europe.

"In Italy," Gene Rea reports, "hundreds of thousands of children . . . (are) wandering about everywhere, on the roads and in the cities and the fields." The Italian puppet government and the Allied agencies have "tried to register them" but "not much has been accomplished."

Of some 300,000 children orphaned by the war, only about 50,000 have been placed in orphanages. These are "so short of supplies that the children more often than not have no shoes to wear, few clothes and hardly decent sleeping quarters . . . beds made of burlap bags stuffed with straw."

"Malaria, tuberculosis and typhus are spreading havoc in their weakened bodies." Official health measures of the Allies, Vatican and Italian government "are unfortunately entirely inadequate." Of 2000 children tested in the Liri Valley, 99 per cent had malaria.

"The highest death rate for children under one year of age throughout Italy was recorded in Naples (first big city sized by the Allies). Allied official figures differ from those of the Italians. The Allies give the rate as 45 per cent; the Italians as 65 per cent. The main causes of death were malnutrition, tuberculosis and pneumonia."

The school system has not been functioning for over four years. Children under ten "become beggars, thieves, shoe-shine boys or procurers . . . start smoking when seven or eight years old."

In the Liri Valley and northward, "human beings live like animals." Children dig for roots in the fall, work from "dawn to sundown" in the fields in spring and summer. Many are "blown to bits by unexploded mines."

No food and no transport to distribute it. No medical supplies. Those not orphaned are little better off than the orphans because their parents have no work. The few schools that are opened are without heat, books, equipment. Teachers and pupils are "dull and listless" from hunger and disease.

Billions spent for destruction have done this. But the imperialists intend to spend not even a fraction of such billions to save this war's "most tragic victims."

Industrial Accidents Take Huge Wartime Toll

Over 53,500 American workers have been killed on the job since Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. Nearly 300,000 have been permanently disabled due to industrial accidents. Over 6,500,000 have suffered injuries.

These figures recently released by the U. S. Department of Labor and the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education reveal the toll of speedup, bad safety conditions and hazardous methods caused by the employers' insatiable drive for war profits.

The kept press didn't headline these figures—these casualties of the workingclass in the factories, mines, railroads, WHICH WERE SEVEN TIMES GREATER THAN THE AMERICAN MILITARY CASUALTIES.

The boss press screams about strikes—but buries the fact that during the war industrial accidents cost 47 times more lost time than strikes.

Industrial accidents are part of the toll of the class war of the employers against the workers. This savage war goes on at all times. It has merely been intensified because of the profit opportunities that the imperialist war has provided.

Lawyers, Bankers, Editors Predominate in Congress

From kindergarten on we have it pounded into our heads that this country has a "representative" government. But who does Congress really represent—the ninety per cent of the population who are wage-earners and working farmers or the ten per cent who live handsomely off the working population?

A recent occupational survey of the present U. S. Senate and House of Representatives discloses that there is not one—not one—who is a real wage-earner or working farmer.

Of 96 Senators, 70 are lawyers—73 per cent. These lawyers are in the main corporation lawyers—selected to represent various big business interests in the legislature. In December 1941, there were 60 lawyers; today there are 10 more. Many of them also list banking and "farming" as side-lines.

Of the 23 non-lawyers in the Senate, 10 are newspaper editors and publishers, who rose to their present positions by knowing how to respect the wishes of big advertisers. There are seven businessmen, three farmers (gentlemen variety) and stockmen, four professional politicians, one educator (that's all he'll admit) and a radio crooner.

The House of Representatives, which is supposed to be the "really democratic" body, has 239 lawyers—53 per cent—among its 435 members. That's an increase from the 230 lawyer-members three years ago.

Of the remaining minority of Congressmen, 78 are businessmen, 27 list themselves as "educators," 26 are editors and publishers. 25 call themselves "dirt farmers" (it's good for votes in the rural areas, even if the farm is a 5,000 acre side-line run like a factory). 15 are professional office-holders or seekers, six doctors, three engineers, two dentists, two actresses, two pharmacists, and a veterinarian.

The Senators or Congressmen who started in a log cabin, or claim as much, are virtually extinct. Only one Representative, from Louisiana, boasts birth in a log cabin. Almost all of them started rather high up on the ladder, with parents well-to-do enough to send them through school and college.

Real representative government—representing the interests of the vast majority, the workers and working farmers—can come in this country only through a Workers and Farmers Government. The first step in that direction will be the organization of an independent labor party.