

Big Complaints, No Action Marks AFL Convention

By Art Preis

The annual gathering of labor fakers, time-servers and pensioners who head the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions was concluded last week in New Orleans. For almost two weeks some 600 delegates deliberated on the wage-freeze and impending unemployment, world peace, political action, unity of labor and the sins of the CIO. All was staid decorum—except when internal issues of jurisdictional "raiding" and the "Class B" membership status of Negro workers were under discussion.

Never did the AFL, citadel of narrow and divisive craft-unionism, meet under such seemingly favorable auspices. The convention came at the crest of a war-impelled boom which has raised the AFL to a claimed all-time membership peak of nearly 7,000,000 workers. Fresh forces have been flooding into the AFL by hundreds of thousands. But the spirit of the tired, old bureaucrats at the helm has not been lifted in the least.

Vexing problems beset them on all sides. From within, there were the eternal jurisdictional squabbles, the insistent demand of the more than 1,000,000 Negro members for "first-class citizenship" status in their unions, and, above all, the mounting pressure of the ranks for decisive action to break the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.

From without, they "viewed with alarm" the growing strength of industrial unionism as embodied in the CIO and shook their heads dolefully over the dismal prospects of impending mass unemployment. The fears of the craft union moguls on both these scores derived to a certain extent from a single consideration: each factor in its own way constitutes a threat to the steady increase in fees, dues and kick-backs which provide necessary compensation for the toil and trouble which besets the average AFL "labor statesman."

CRITICISM—NO ACTION

At times, both in their resolutions and speeches, the AFL chiefs permitted themselves a degree of petulant complaint and criticism against the Roosevelt administration's anti-labor policies. But it would be a mistake to think these old-line AFL bureaucrats intend to pursue any more militant and vigorous policy than the CIO leaders in defense of labor's interests.

Thus, the convention became momentarily steamed up over the refusal of the administration to modify the Little Steel Formula and the wage-freeze. The resolution committee report, unanimously adopted, called the wage-freeze a "one-man edict" and the refusal of the WLB to recommend its modification, a "shocking spectacle." The resolution even proclaimed that the Little Steel Formula was a "betrayal" of the "understanding" which led the AFL and other top labor bureaucrats to surrender labor's right to strike. But when it came to ACTION, all this heat was dissipated into a proposal to send another AFL committee to the White House to "impress" upon Roosevelt the need to lift the wage-freeze. Meekly, the resolution winds up: "Whichever way the decision goes, we will not rock the boat." The no-strike pledge was demonstratively and unanimously reaffirmed.

"Faith-Healers"

When the N. Y. Times ran an editorial, "Inevitable Socialism?" which evinced concern about the survival of capitalism in Europe, Robert Minor, Stalinist columnist, proclaimed in the Dec. 1 Daily Worker: "More Faith, Gentlemen!" He sought to bolster the flagging convictions of J. P. Morgan's paper by stating: "Considering the matter in the less long-ranged terms of time, as a proposition of our immediate postwar years—I repeat that the Times could afford a firmer and more assured faith in capitalism."

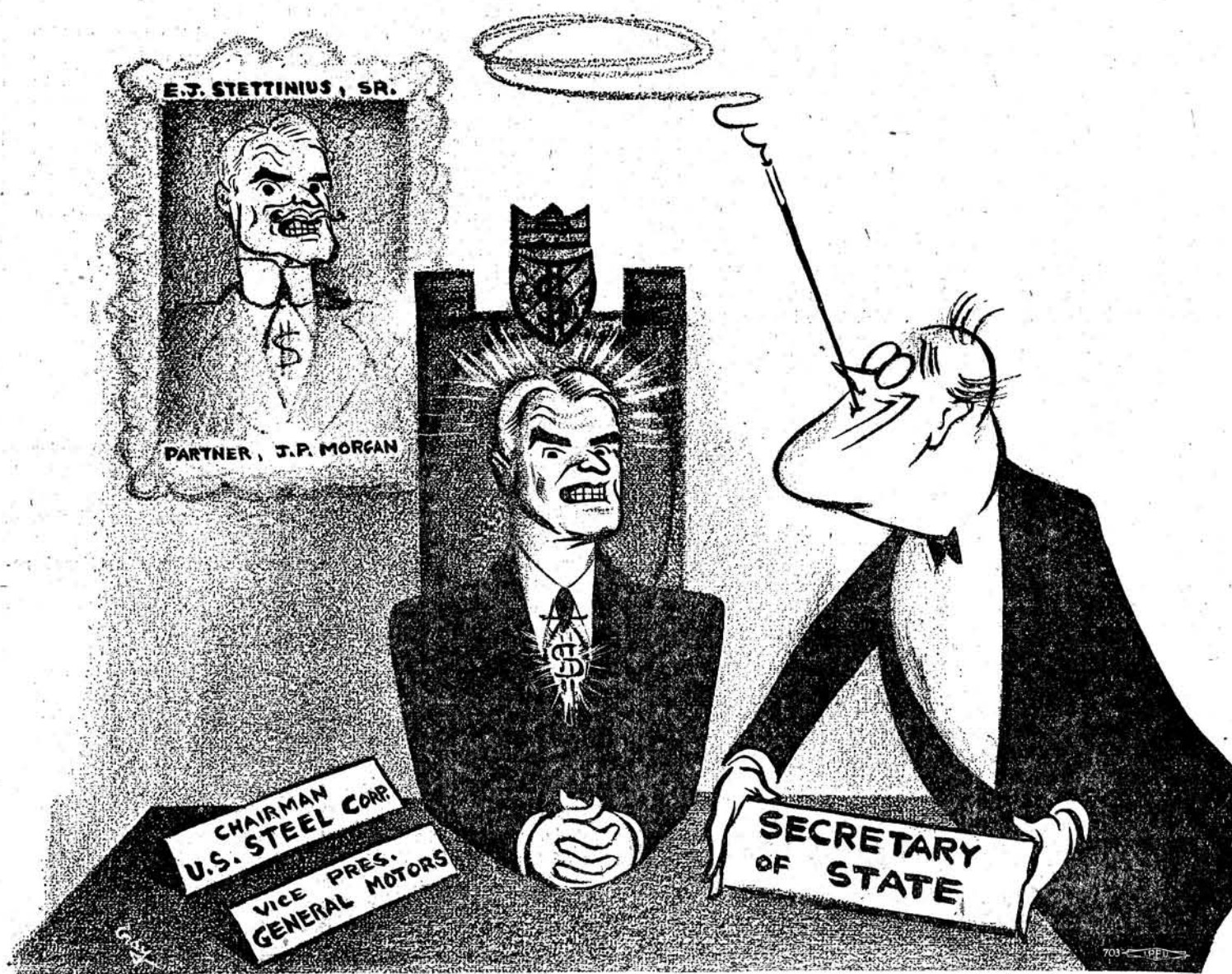
However, not all the incantations of the new Stalinist "faith-healers" will be able to save dying capitalism!

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Allied-Backed Puppet Government Provokes Civil Warfare In Greece

Junior Makes Good



Martin Dies Plans Labor Spy Agency

Unable any longer to conduct his red-baiting, anti-labor racket at public expense, ex-Congressman Martin Dies, of the ill-famed Dies Committee is planning to continue his profession with private capital. He is reported preparing to establish his own super labor spy agency, devoted to selling to corporations the information he collected as a Congressional red-baiter.

Littell Testimony Bares Scandal In Justice Dept.

By Wells Thurber

In the past week the lid was lifted on Roosevelt's Department of Justice, again revealing how its wheels turn in favor of Big Business and the political favorites of the administration. The scandal came to light when Roosevelt fired from government service Norman Littell, Assistant Attorney General.

During the war Littell has found himself three times before Congressional Committees forced to make exposes so sensational that in peacetime they would have rocked the nation as did the Tea Pot Dome scandal of the ill-famed Harding Administration.

First expose made by Littell

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Bureaucrats Shield Roosevelt In 'Wage Stabilization' Fraud

By Harvey Brown

The nauseous role of the labor fakers in screening Roosevelt's responsibility for driving down the workers' standard of living is becoming a stink in the nostrils of union militants. The technique employed by the labor fakers is to direct their criticism at the puppets who carry out Roosevelt's orders. That sanctimonious fraud, "Honest" Phil Murray, gave an exhibition of this technique at the recent CIO convention by attacking George W. Taylor, vice-chairman of the WLB for "originating" the Little Steel formula. "Taylor should resign," brayed Murray amid the cheers of the time-servers and bootlickers who packed the convention. But Roosevelt had demonstratively refused to accept the resignations of Taylor, Davis, Byrnes — the puppets who carry out his policy — just a few weeks before. What about Roosevelt...?

When Roosevelt presented his "seven-point stabilization program" in April 1942, he proclaimed: "I believe that stabilizing the cost of living will mean that wages in general can and should be kept at existing scales." It was on the basis of Roosevelt's counterfeit "stabilization" promise that the WLB established the Little Steel formula. Appended to the formula was the lie that the "seven-point program" would prevent any further rise in the cost of living after May 1942. Therefore, wages were frozen as of that date. Was it Roosevelt's puppet, or the puppet-master himself who pulled the strings and who "originated" the wage freeze?

Again—in the midst of the coal

UAW Officials Plot To Hide Wage Fiasco

By R. Bell

News of a conspiracy to suppress the fact that the War Labor Board had rejected the demands of 75,000 Chrysler workers has just come to light. Parties to the conspiracy were the top leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union, CIO, the Chrysler Corporation and the Roosevelt Administration. The WLB decision, reached three weeks before the November 7 election, was kept secret from the public. To our knowledge, none of the large metropolitan dailies carried any account of the "settlement" of this highly important wage dispute. The only publication that carried a report of the decision, one month after the event, is the magazine *Business Week*, which has a limited circulation among corporation executives and business men.

In commenting on the news

blackout around the WLB action the November 25 issue of *Business Week* says: "Observers on the labor front were perplexed."

(Continued on page 3)

Unarmed Demonstrators Shot Down By Papandreou's Police

General Strike Leads to Violent Clashes Between Workers and British Armed Forces

By Joseph Hansen

The streets of Athens ran with workers' blood as Allied troops sought to consolidate the counter-revolution in Greece. A hail of machine-gun bullets was the Allied reply to protests of the Greek people against disarming of the resistance forces who had fought Nazi occupation and paved the way for the landing of Allied troops. Incipient civil war was

provoked by the Papandreou puppet government backed by the armed might of the British armies of occupation.

The conflict began when Lt. Gen. Ronald M. Scobie, Allied Commander in Greece, issued an order to the effect that if "armed ELAS patrols continued to enter Athens and its environs, contrary to agreement, they would be required by British troops to disarm."

Scobie pressed the ELAS chiefs, principally Stalinists, to give up all arms before December 11. The Stalinists who head EAM signed the agreement. The ELAS heads, not yet sure of their ability to get away with a sellout, stalled for time. When Scobie insisted on disarmament, six members of the puppet Papandreou cabinet, all belonging to the Stalinist-controlled EAM (National Liberation Front) resigned. Popular resentment to Scobie's order was great, for Royalists were parading the streets armed to the teeth.

Defying a ban of Premier Papandreou, the workers of Athens staged a mass demonstration against the counter-revolutionary policies being foisted upon them. Eye-witnesses give a graphic description of what happened on Dec. 8:

POLICE OPEN FIRE
Several thousand persons marched into Constitution Square. "The crowd, carrying flags, was peaceful and was absolutely unarmed. Many carried babies in their arms. Women and children were numerous." As this procession marched into the trap, there were shouts, "Long live Roosevelt," according to the press. Then, as if at a signal, "Greek

The workers, insistently sur-

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CRDC CHRISTMAS APPEAL GETS SPLENDID RESPONSE

Contributions from Labor organizations and individual defenders of civil liberties are pouring into the Civil Rights Defense Committee's \$5,000 Christmas Fund to provide Christmas gifts and relief to the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners and their dependent families. The Christmas Fund will also enable the CRDC to continue the fight for unconditional pardon of all 18 Trotskyist and CIO Truckdrivers Local 544 leaders, who were imprisoned under the Smith "Gag" Act.

Over \$600 was added to the fund last Saturday night when several hundred friends of the CRDC participated in a highly successful Christmas Fund Bazaar held under the auspices of the New York Committee of the CRDC. Many beautiful objects, jewelry and other goods contributed by sympathizers were sold for the Christmas Fund. The affair featured an auction of original paintings, art works and books, including autographed volumes by the noted novelists James T. Farrell and John Dos Passos and the recently-published autobiography of Rose Pesotta, a vice-president of the ILGWU-AFL.

CRDC contributors are sending in heartening expressions of support for the Minneapolis Labor Case victims and the work of the CRDC. One letter states: "Enclosed please find my contribution to provide relief and Christmas cheer for the imprisoned men's families."

America needs more men of this calibre, men who have the courage of their convictions. Let me express the hope that the efforts put forth in their behalf will be abundantly successful. It is the

duty of every thinking person to contribute what is possible to this cause."

A Chicago worker writes: "Enclosed find check to help the unjustly imprisoned workers and their families in the Minneapolis Labor Case. We will wake up some day to realize and understand that this fight is for all workers. Workers who take a stand against this system in their own courts surely deserve help and encouragement from all workers."

From a New York seaman comes the message: "Ever since my belated introduction to the facts concerning the Minneapolis Labor Case I have felt the desire to help its victims. As a reader of *The Militant* I found the article on your campaign and wish to help by contributing the enclosed check."

A letter from Detroit says: "I am enclosing donation for the prisoners. . . Yours for a world without wars, without depressions, without bosses and without jails."

Contributions to the CRDC Christmas Fund should be sent to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

SWP Program Of Expansion

We reprint herewith for the information of our readers a part of the organizational report delivered by M. Stein, Acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to the Eleventh National Convention of the American Trotskyist movement held in New York Nov. 16-20. It deals with the proposed program of expansion of the Socialist Workers Party. These proposals were unanimously adopted by the convention delegates.

By M. Stein

For the next period of our party's activities we are proposing a rounded program of expansion, embracing all aspects of our work. We are proposing a bold program that will mean a great forward leap for our movement. It is proposed, in addition, that we carry out this program by the same Bolshevik campaign methods which have characterized our recent activity.

In introducing this program let us first state briefly the main motivating factors from which the proposals flow:

(1) Our main task, that of breaking out of isolation and steering a course to the working masses, still lies ahead of us. No matter how our program stands the test of events; no matter how correct our ideas; no matter how just our cause, unless we succeed in bridging the gap between our small revolutionary party and the masses, we will never fulfill our mission and will go down in history as another failure.

(2) While in the past our slow, modest growth was conditioned by an unfavorable objective situation, there is a radical shift taking place today, a shift that is bound to offer us great opportunities. The workers are becoming restless under the burdens the imperialist rulers have imposed on them. They are becoming disillusioned with the imperialist war aims. This was reflected in the trade union conventions held in the recent months. It was reflected most vividly in the UAW convention and the struggle against the no-strike pledge. The slogan for rescinding the no-strike pledge, which not so long ago had been our exclusive slogan, has become the slogan of masses of workers.

The sentiment for independent political action among the militants in the trade unions has been growing stronger. Even though

the PAC has succeeded in sidetracking this movement for the purposes of the election campaign this year, we can say confidently that the movement for an independent labor party will grow in strength in the next stage. And this slogan, too, which not so long ago was advanced almost exclusively by us, will in the next period become the slogan of the trade union militants nationally, just as it has already become the slogan of a growing number of trade union militants, especially in Michigan.

(3) In addition, the revolutionary struggles occurring today on the European continent, struggles which are bound to extend to the colonies, and which will grow fiercer with time, are also bound to have their repercussions on this continent.

(4) We do not need any new program. Our American resolution has outlined the political course that lies ahead of us. It indicates the slogans that will become most appropriate at the next stage. This resolution itself makes no pretense of presenting a new program. It bases itself on the program of the 4th International and, in particular, on the program of transitional demands adopted in 1938 and supplemented later at the outbreak of the war with our proletarian military policy. Our course in our agitation for an independent labor party was mapped out in 1942 and this course applies today even more than it did then.

Proceeding from these considerations — i.e. the knowledge that the objective situation will be far more favorable than it has been in many years, and the fact that we are armed, and equipped with the correct program and with the appropriate slogans — we must strike outward to an ever-increasing extent. We must reach out with our ideas to an ever-greater number of the most oppressed and exploited sections of the masses.

1. THE MILITANT

The wonderful reception that *The Militant* has received from the new readers, their enthusiasm for our paper, indicates that *The Militant* is the key to our program of expansion. *The Militant* is the generator supplying the power with which the party and

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

CIO Bureaucracy And The Stalinists

An ominous development for organized labor is the growing alliance between the top CIO bureaucrats, traditional labor lieutenants of capitalism, and the newest and most outspoken defenders of Wall Street's "free enterprise" system, the Stalinists. The recent CIO convention revealed increasing collaboration between the Murray-Hillman leadership and the Stalinists, from whose arsenal of rabidly reactionary slogans and policies the CIO bureaucracy is borrowing to an ever greater extent.

Scarcely a headline of difference exists between the Murray-Hillman CIO convention resolutions and the will regularly poured forth by the Stalinist Daily Worker. These resolutions were drafted, in fact, by Lee Pressman, well-known Stalinist agent and Murray's legal counsel. Indeed, the Daily Worker, Dec. 1, published the main resolutions in a four page supplement, "despite the shortage of paper," as "a guide" to all labor "in the solution of foreign and domestic problems."

This Stalinist disregard of the paper shortage is understandable, particularly when one examines the key CIO resolutions on the no-strike policy and "post-war jobs." These are clearly designed to lay the basis for the permanent no-strike policy openly advocated by the Stalinists.

A short while ago the CIO leaders were attempting to quiet unrest in the ranks by intimating that after Germany's defeat they would "reconsider" the no-strike policy. Now, the CIO leaders demand, on threat of dire punitive measures against the militant ranks, that the "no-strike pledge" be kept as a "sacred obligation" until the "complete destruction of the German and Japanese military forces."

The resolution on "post-war jobs" makes it further apparent that the no-strike policy is intended to be permanent. The "post-war program" looks to nothing less than "sincere cooperation" between the CIO and the "many forward-looking industrialists" who "will respect the rights of labor, bargain with the unions in good faith, and recognize that post-war prosperity must be built upon increasing purchasing power and increased production."

Such a future for American labor, as envisioned by the CIO leaders, is built upon rotten straw, the reactionary fiction of "good-will" and harmonious collaboration between the ruling capitalist class and exploited labor. This is the will-o-the-wisp — the golden "post-Teheran" capitalist era — the Stalinists have been using to lure the workers into the bottomless pit of permanent no-strike surrender to the bosses. It is with this myth alone that the CIO leaders hope to disarm the workers before the grim realities ahead, when the employing class and its government launch the full savagery of their open shop offensive.

This tendency of the CIO bureaucrats to collaborate with and adopt the most reactionary features of the Stalinist trade union line was further strikingly illustrated by CIO United Automobile Workers President, R. J. Thomas. In his Nov. 27 interview with the Associated Press, Thomas reached directly into the Daily Worker cesspool in his desperation to find some weapon to halt the upsurge against the no-strike pledge in his union. He seized upon one of the foulest strikebreaking slanders of the Stalinists, declaring that "the worker who strikes while the war is on is guilty of scabbing... is a 100 percent scab."

This term, traditionally used

to brand strikebreakers, has been perverted by the Stalinists into a slander against the militant defenders of labor's rights. Thomas flings it not only at the scores of thousands of auto workers who have gone on strike during the war but at the more than 2,000,000 loyal union men and women driven by intolerable wages and company provocations to take wartime strike action.

In the past, the CIO leaders usually treated the Stalinists with great reservations, if not suspicions and hostility. Murray and Hillman purged the Stalinists from the steel and clothing workers' unions as "reds" and "radicals." This did not, of course, prevent them on occasion from accepting Stalinist aid against militants. But the initiative in devising policy remained with the old-line "labor statesmen."

Now it is the traditional labor bureaucracy which borrows policies from the Stalinists, who surpass all in their open subservience to Wall Street and its government. In fact, for a brief period the old guard bureaucrats even paraded as "militant" by contrast with the Stalinists. Thus Murray denounced Harry Bridges for supporting Roosevelt's forced labor proposal. CIO leaders condemned Bridges' strikebreaking in the Montgomery Ward strike. R. J. Thomas covered up his own strikebreaking against the auto workers by declaiming against the Stalinist proposal for a permanent no-strike pledge.

The Stalinists during the past period took the lead in advancing the formulas of betrayal because they are less dependent upon the American labor movement as a base. As agents of the Kremlin, they serve American capitalism in obedience to Stalin's foreign policies. The Murrys and Hillmans, however, are direct agents of American imperialism in the labor movement.

But in the end, all the various bureaucratic and opportunist labor agents of capitalism, whatever their "ideological" differences, are impelled toward collaboration. That is determined finally by the needs of the imperialists they serve and the acuteness of the class struggle. Today, the imperialist war has sped up the class struggle on a worldwide scale. In America, the growing class conflict is disclosed by the steady increase of strikes and the revolt against the no-strike policy among the auto workers and other CIO unions.

Their fear of the impending upsurge of labor and their unity in the service of American imperialism is forcing the CIO bureaucracy and the Stalinists into alliance against the militants. These common motives and aims drew Hillman and Browder together in the PAC and united all the top cliques at the auto convention against the powerful drive to rescind the no-strike pledge.

This phenomenon is not new. It recurs in all countries when the struggle between labor and capital approaches an acute pitch. Stalinists and petty-bourgeois "radicals" joined in the French Peoples Front to betray the "sit-down" strikes and revolutionary offensive of the workers in 1936. Anarchists and Stalinists combined against the Spanish Revolution. So today, once more, the labor betrayers of all stripes on both sides of the Atlantic are beginning to huddle together for mutual support. For they are confronted with the greatest menace of all to their bureaucratic interests — the rising European socialist revolution and a resurgence of labor struggle in America and England on a higher plane than ever before.

SWP Plans Big Expansion Drive

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all its institutions will advance. This is why we lay primary stress on The Militant in our expansion program.

(a) Concretely, we propose to transform The Militant into a big national weekly. Our aim is a 50,000 circulation.

(b) That as soon as practicable The Militant be increased to 8 pages. We have seen what a qualitative change has been made in the paper when it was changed from 4 to 6 pages. The addition of 2 more pages will give us the chance to add new popular features to the paper, to brighten it up much more, and to give it proper balance for our needs.

(c) We propose to reduce the subscription rate of The Militant to \$1.00 per year.

(d) We propose to start off in order to achieve the goal of 50,000 circulation, with a campaign for 10,000 new readers — to be followed by a second subscription campaign sometime before the end of 1945.

Our job is to get more and more readers and let The Militant itself do the job of convincing them week in and week out, thus drawing them closer to the party. The stormy events of the next period will help us greatly. Our agitation in our paper will be confirmed by the experience of the workers and will find greater receptivity. Our line will gain plausibility in the eyes of the workers; plausibility which will in time become transformed into conviction.

2. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

For the publishing branch of our activities, we propose to complete as speedily as possible the publications program we have promised earlier. This includes the publication of two volumes of Comrade Trotsky's "Five Years of the Comintern" and Comrade Trotsky's "Man and His Communist Future."

We propose, in addition, that the incoming committee be instructed to outline a program of publishing as many as possible of those of Comrade Trotsky's works which have been out of print — namely, the writings on Germany, France, etc. The new workers joining our party find it increasingly difficult to familiarize themselves with Comrade Trotsky's writings that our movement had published earlier, because most of them are out of print. We must make extraordinary efforts to place these writings, this Marxist treasure, at the disposal of the advanced American workers.

In addition, we propose the publication of popular pamphlets on timely topics. Such a pamphlet on the labor party is now on the press. We are also planning to get out a selection of the "Shop Talks on Socialism" and of Comrade Jackson's column, "The Negro Struggle," and others.

3. FIELD ORGANIZERS

The expansion of our party work must also include an increase in the staff of fulltime field organizers, to provide organizers in those localities where the situation requires it. We will, in addition, have to pay attention to new localities where the possibility for the organization of party branches will present itself. We have seen one example of it most recently in Cincinnati, Ohio, where we have no party branch. A worker on his own initiative sent us seven subs to The Militant and said in effect that he would like to place himself at our disposal to carry on the work of spreading The Militant.

This is no isolated phenomenon. If we are in a position to send out national organizers to such and other localities, it will be possible to form new branches. It may even be advisable to send an organizer into new territory, get several hundred subs to The Militant, and then proceed elsewhere to repeat the same per-



The branches continue to introduce The Militant into working class neighborhoods through our special offer of 13 issues for 25c. For instance, Seattle just sent us 26 trial subscriptions. Our agent writes: "These were gotten last Sunday. A new comrade got 11 of them on his first time out alone. He also sold 29 pamphlets. He could have sold more had he had more with him." Toledo: "Included are two 25c. subs. We would like to have 25 more sub cards for the branch and you can charge these to our account."

Minneapolis: "Will you please send us 15 more 25c. sub cards and some regular subscription blanks for The Militant and Fourth International." Texas: "I am sending a 3-month sub to the paper. This woman is a surprise to us way out in the wilderness. Her father was as she calls it 'Debs Socialist,' from the Middle West and was very active. She agrees with us on the need of a Labor Party."

A subscriber in Carbon, Indiana is going to help us get The Militant into the hands of the

workers in that section. He writes: "I was glad to see the Tribune-Star editorial published by your paper (Nov. 11 issue). We who understand must be ever constant in our effort toward awakening thought and developing leadership against the time which is near when leadership will be sorely needed... I am not financially able to forward price of trial sub cards, but if you send me some I will dispose of them and return the price to you."

Several interesting comments about various columns and The Militant in general have been received:

San Francisco: "Diary of a Steelworker" seems to have quite a great deal of appeal, and one man remarked that he first reads the 'Trade Union Notes' so that he can know what is going on all over the country."

Milwaukee: "I notice the make-up of the paper has been improving and there is much less hodgepodge of conflicting typefaces in the headlines. With the regular excellent cartoons by Grey, caricatures, photographs and illustrations to break up the grey pages of type, The Militant looks 100 percent better."

Another subscriber in Lowellville, Ohio has already sold four trial subs to friends in his neighborhood and has ordered more 25c. cards. We quote from his letter: "Enclosed find money order for \$1. Send me four more 13-week cards and extend my subscription accordingly. I am on your subscription books now. I think The Militant is all right. Its principles suit me fine... P. S. I sold the other four cards."

Our agent in Buffalo forwarded the following comments of trial subscribers who renewed their subs: "One subscriber said, 'I could sit here all day and tell you things I like about that paper.' Another told us, 'At first I didn't pay much attention to it, but I happened to read it once and now I like it fine.' A colored woman told us she is keeping a scrapbook of clippings from The Militant to give her son when he comes back from the war."

First Return On Fund

In the spirit of "Trotskyists do what is necessary, not what is possible," the branches and locals of the Socialist Workers Party are swinging into action to raise the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund. They aim to approximate as closely as possible 100 percent of the total by January 22, 1945, the day the class-war prisoners are to be released.

All the branches tentatively accepted their proposed quotas at the convention. A number have already formalized this acceptance by vote of their membership. Some have revised theirs upward: Boston by \$100; Cleveland by \$100; Milwaukee by \$25 and Newark by \$50.

Despite the heavy expenses incurred by many branches to help finance the recently concluded convention, several have already begun collections and sent in their first payments toward the quotas. They are: Boston, Detroit, Newark, New York Local, N. Y. Maritime Club, Reading, and \$100 from a member-at-large. Youngstown takes the prize this week. The organizer of this branch writes modestly:

"Following our inspiring convention and the reports which were made at our branch meeting of members and friends, we decided to make some improvements in our organization to more efficiently carry out the program of expansion decided upon at the convention. We agreed to accept our quota of \$300 and immediately collected \$316.50 in cash and \$25 in pledges. We expect to considerably go over our quota by January 23rd. Enclosed find check."

To date, a total of \$1,999 has been received by the national office.

formance. The Militant would then do the work of education and organization. The planting of this seed in fertile soil will bring rich harvests.

4. EDUCATION

As this expansion program unfolds and becomes realized, the need of placing greater stress on our educational needs will become more pressing. New members joining the party must be educated towards an understanding of the party program and policies as the only sure way of assimilating them in a Bolshevik party. Our educational proposals, mentioned earlier and elaborated more fully in the Party Builder, must be carried further along step by step. Our plan to establish the Trotsky School system, which would take care of the Marxist educational requirements of the new recruits, promising candidates for leadership, as well as of the requirements of the top leadership and all the categories in between — this plan we propose to put into effect as part of our expansion program.

We propose to build on the experiences of the Michigan Vacation School and to establish next summer a national training school of longer duration where all the stress would be laid on education rather than vacation. It is our proposal to gear the Trotsky School, which is part of our educational project, to the requirements of the summer training school. That is, as soon as we are able to establish the Trotsky School and select the student body which is to devote a period of time to education, it would be the task of the comrades thus privileged to be selected for full-time study of Marxism, to equip themselves as the faculty for the training school in the summer, and prepare the courses for the training school. This will enrich the school and at the same time give the school faculty the necessary experience in teaching others.

5. \$18,000 PARTY EXPANSION FUND

To make this program possible we come before the party with the proposal to raise an \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund. We have set the sum at \$18,000 because the party proved in the \$15,000—15th Anniversary Fund campaign that such a sum is a realistic goal. We furthermore wish to symbolize the imprisonment of our 18 comrades by raising \$1,000 for each of the prisoners. Our expansion program and the \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund will be the best possible welcome home for our comrades when they are released.

The success of our expansion program will require the united effort of the whole party. It will require financial sacrifices of every one of our members. It will require a lot of hard persistent work. But, on the other hand, there is nothing more nourishing than the fruit of achievement, nothing more satisfying than the feeling of a job well done. There is nothing more gratifying than watching your party, armed with your program, march forward in expansion and growth.

Our sacrifices for the party have not been so great after all when you look around and we can see how the capitalist class has imposed the sacrifice not only of money, but also of life and limb of millions of youth and adults in the cause of imperialist slaughter, in a cause in which the people have no interest whatever. Our cause, the cause of liberating humanity from the shackles of exploitation, from the misery of war, deserves all the sacrifices we have made and even the greater sacrifices we will be called upon to make in the days ahead. Only to the extent that the party is infused with all our energies and strength, will the party grow and become powerful.

Let us then unite in the firm determination to fulfill this program of party expansion as another leap forward on the road to the masses. As the party grows, we will have bigger, more audacious campaigns, until that day when we will plan and execute the most audacious of them all, the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the socialist society.

Give NOW to the MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE CHRISTMAS FUND

FOR THE PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

JAMES T. FARRELL
Chairman

CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Here is my contribution of \$..... for the Minneapolis Labor Case Christmas Fund.

Name
Address
City Zone State

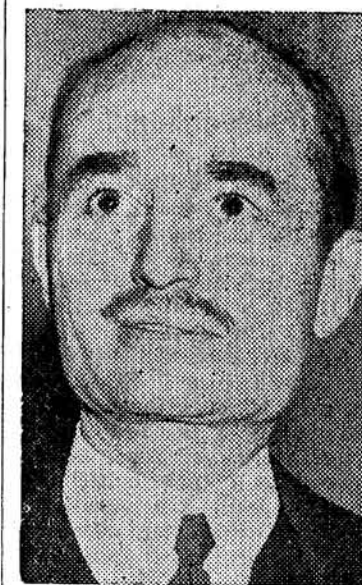
LITTELL BARES SCANDAL IN JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

(Continued from page 1)

was a Navy Department contract which would have given away to Standard Oil priceless government oil reserves at Elk Hills, California.

Second expose made by Littell was a plan of Wall Street stooge Will Clayton, former Surplus Property Administrator, to place government-owned land on the market through big real estate interests who were slated for a juicy commission.

Third expose was an attempt by the War Department to return to private owners the Breakers



BIDDLE

Hotel in Florida at a loss to the government of some \$500,000 a year for five years. The hotel had been leased as a center for wounded soldiers.

BIDDLE'S INTERVIEW

In all three cases Littell was sharply called to account by Attorney General Biddle for testifying as he did before the Congressional committees taking evidence in the scandals. Biddle was "irritated" and "exasperated" over the disclosure of the facts in the attempted oil steal, and "doubted the legality of the contract."

In the notorious Clayton affair, Littell charges, Biddle wrote Clayton saying that his Assistant was "not expressing the views of the department... only his personal views." When the shameful hotel scandal was made known to the Truman Committee, Littell declares, his superior ordered him to "take no further action," and later "sought a devious way to suppress the Littell report."

But Littell didn't take Biddle's hints. He went right ahead when the Maritime Commission requested his department to begin condemnation proceedings against the Savannah Shipyards Co., subsidiary of Empire Ordnance, "because of failures and notorious incompetence." The Maritime Commission, itself notoriously friendly to Big Business, was forced into this action by shocking revelations about Savannah Shipyards before the Truman Committee.

Government appraisers valued the property at \$985,165. Not a bad figure considering that Empire Ordnance, a vast concern of which Savannah Shipyards is one subsidiary, mushroomed on war orders from an original investment of only \$5,000. Empire Ordnance has been investigated for fraud in the manufacture of mun-

itions and the Truman Committee once dipped into its shady manipulations. But Empire Ordnance bears a charmed existence. It is so sure of the power of its charm that it thought \$985,165 not enough in the condemnation proceedings. The charm it depends upon is Thomas G. Corcoran, former member of Roosevelt's brain trust, now peddling influence under the guise of "practising law" in Washington.

CORCORAN AND BIDDLE

As Littell prepared to go to court with the government cash, Corcoran called on his personal friend, Francis Biddle, who also happens to be a Roosevelt favorite. The wheels immediately began revolving to rescue the beleaguered Savannah Shipyards Co. "The Attorney General telephoned to me at 5 p. m. on May 14," recounts Littell, "to ask about settling this case." Littell was surprised. "Out of thousands of condemnation cases, this was the only settlement about which the Attorney General ever called me." Littell feared public scandal would touch his department and stuck by his guns.

Corcoran had succeeded only shortly before as attorney for the defense in settling the anti-trust case against Sterling Products. The stench still rose from that white-wash deal, for Sterling Products belonged to an interna-



CORCORAN

tional cartel, another member of which was the German Trust, I. G. Farbenindustrie. One of Corcoran's brothers is vice-president of Sterling.

"On Saturday, May 22," continues Littell, "... the Attorney General gave a cocktail party at his house." Again the screws were put on Littell to settle this "hot potato" out of court — at a sum above the government figure. But not even Attorney General Biddle's cocktails could sway the Assistant.

On June 31 Littell was summoned to a conference with Corcoran's law patrons, Dempsey and Koplovitz, and his good personal friend Attorney General Biddle. They again put the heat on Littell. Biddle declared: "You settle most of your condemnation cases, don't you? You told me you did!" Littell concurred, but explained there were "factors in this case which I would not discuss in the presence of opposing counsel."

After Littell took the case to court, Biddle began pressing for the resignation of his "unreasonable" Assistant. Talk was heard of replacing Littell with a cog that would run more smoothly in the machinery of justice. Littell reports that the Attorney General at one time was "quite interested in the possibility of promoting one of Tommy Corcoran's brothers who was an attorney in the office of the U. S. District Attorney in New York City." Biddle even argued, says Littell, that Corcoran "ought to be appointed Solicitor General of the United States."

ROOSEVELT ACTS

Roosevelt himself took time out to poke into the gummied-up wheels of justice, writing Littell that he "hoped for his own career he would resign." Littell reports he was even "offered another post in the government if he left the Justice Dept. 'without any fuss.'" He declined the offer.

When Littell filed a 25-page memorandum with the Senate War Investigating Committee, citing the facts outlined above, Roosevelt acted without delay. In a letter to Biddle, the President labelled Littell's memorandum to Congress "insubordination." "This is inexcusable," continued Roosevelt, "and under the circumstances my only alternative is to remove him from office which I have done today."

Wage Freeze Is Topic At Forum

NEW YORK, Dec. 3 — The New York School of Social Science announces that the next forum of its December series, to be held on Sunday, December 10, will be "Labor's Fight Against the Wage Freeze," with Mark Braden as speaker.

Tonight, with news of the Papandreou government attacks upon the Greek masses fresh in their minds, an attentive audience heard Paul Stevens describe "The Crisis in Europe: Why the Allies Seek to Disarm the Masses." Comrade Stevens pointed out that only with arms in hand can the European workers solve the economic and social problems confronting them.

A large amount of literature, including numerous copies of the Fourth International Manifesto on Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution, was sold after a lively discussion period. All readers of The Militant are invited to attend and bring their friends. Forums begin at 8 p. m. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place, N. Y.

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Pierlot Offers Belgian Bases In Exchange For Churchill's Aid In Suppressing Masses

By Paul Abbott

Barely three months after the German armies have been driven from Belgium, the Allies and their political puppets are forcing the Teheran Conference decisions down the throats of the masses with the aid of barbed wire barricades, armed police, light tanks, semi-martial law and the bayonets of the British armed forces.

The capitalist counter-revolution backed by the Allies is entrenching itself in Belgium as part of its preparation to drown the advancing European workers' revolution in blood. On November 30, Leslie Hore-Belisha, former British War Secretary, revealed in the House of Commons that the Pierlot government set up by the Allies had "offered" to Britain "strategic outposts, and economic outposts as well—similar to those we gave the United States in the West Indies."

Hore-Belisha then implied the objectives behind the generous offer to Britain from the Pierlot government: "It is sometimes suggested that any advocacy of economic, political or strategic unity in western Europe is a threat to Russia. . . . There is nothing more challenging in our desire to organize the strength of the nations on our flanks than there is in Russia's organizing the nations on her flanks."

BRITISH AIMS

Just as Wall-Street has established a military shield in the West Indies against Europe, so England wishes to establish a military shield on the European continent to promote its imperialist aims and to protect its interests against the inevitable workers' revolution which will constitute an extension of the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917.

That is why the mass protest of the workers is being met by armed force on the part of the Allies together with an announcement of the Allied High Command that it would support Pierlot "by arms, if necessary, on the issue of disarming members of the resistance movements." An anti-Pierlot demonstration on Nov. 25 led to the wounding of 45 workers.

A strike in Brussels protesting the violence of the Allies and the reactionary policies of its puppet government paralyzed the city November 29. Street car services virtually stopped, postal employees did not report for work, and telephone exchanges ceased to function. Railway men and shop clerks joined the protest. Strikers and sympathizers gathered by the thousands in the downtown area. The strikers demanded wages adjusted to the skyrocketing cost of living, revised working hours, food, coal, and the punishment of Nazi collaborators.

The Allied armed forces stood by to take over the telephone exchange. Steel-helmeted police established neutral zones at public buildings where Allied troops "parked" armored vehicles axle to axle, safe-guarding the Pierlot government from the wrath of the people. Pierlot replied to the masses by banning parades, mass meetings and demonstrations, and by "prohibiting" strikes of public service employees.

According to the December 3 N. Y. Times, disarmament of the Belgian partisans evoked praise from the Berlin radio,

which "agreed" that disorder could not be tolerated along the Allied lines of military communications."

This Nazi expression of class solidarity with the Allied capitalists casts a revealing light on the Belgian political crisis. Nazism is the most bestial incarnation of capitalist counter-revolution. The Nazi agents of German imperialism naturally sympathize with the problems facing Allied imperialism in suppressing the revolutionary upsurge of the working class, since they are confronted with the very same problems at home.

Even the Stalinists, who support the counter-revolutionary aims of the Allies, are forced to admit the reactionary character of the Pierlot set-up. "Pierlot," says the November 30 Daily Worker, "has taken over lock, stock and barrel the Quisling regime which functioned under Hitler until September 1944. It seems that Pierlot's government had appointed a committee of Belgian bankers in 1940, whom it left behind to 'serve as moral guides' under the Nazi occupation and maintain the general output of the nation."

Before the war, the Pierlot government was the executive instrument of one of the most powerful cartels in Europe, the Societe Generale de Belgique which is intimately linked with German cartels and which strengthened these ties during the Nazi occupation. The Societe has vast holdings in the Congo where it stands in mortal fear of a colonial uprising. Last summer strike leaders in a Belgian diamond mine were executed by the Belgian armed forces. An upsurge of the working class in Belgium would inspire the workers in the Congo, undermining one of the principal pillars upholding Belgian capitalism.

In the tense political crisis which followed resignation of three puppet ministers, the Stalinists and Social Democrats are pursuing their consistent policy of betrayal. Paul Henri Spaak, leader of the Social Democrats, did not see fit to resign but is clinging to his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs to the bitter end. His record of betrayal is so black that supporting a government which has fired on demonstrating workers can worsen it but little.

Stalinists, following instructions from the Kremlin, resigned from the posts to which they were appointed by the Allies. But E. Lalmand, secretary general of the Belgian Communist Party insists, and correctly so, that the "Communist Party of Belgium is not working for revolution." When the Pierlot government is thrown in the ash can, the Stalinist leaders hope to replace it with a machine of their own, utterly obedient to the Kremlin, streamlined for murder of revolutionary leaders and treachery to the working class. The Stalinists with their policies of duplicity and betrayal constitute one of the deadliest dangers to the Belgian and European revolution.

Auto Union Leaders Conspire To Hide WLB Wage Rejection

(Continued from page 1)

ed—and somewhat red-faced—that the rejection, though dated Oct. 20, still is generally unknown. Customarily, important decisions of this sort emerge from the NWLB or its regional offices with a fan-fare of publicity. Why did the UAW officials, the government and the Chrysler corporation conspire to conceal this information from the workers?

The Chrysler wage dispute dragged along for a year and a half. Negotiations with the company began in the summer of 1943. The case was submitted to the regional WLB in Detroit for "arbitration" about a year ago after "negotiations" broke down. The regional board rejected the union's wage demands last June, citing Roosevelt's "wartime stabilization policies" as their reason for doing so. The case was appealed to the WLB in Washington which handed down its decision upholding the regional board on October 20. With the insignificant exception of a slight increase in vacation pay, every single demand of the union was flatly rejected!

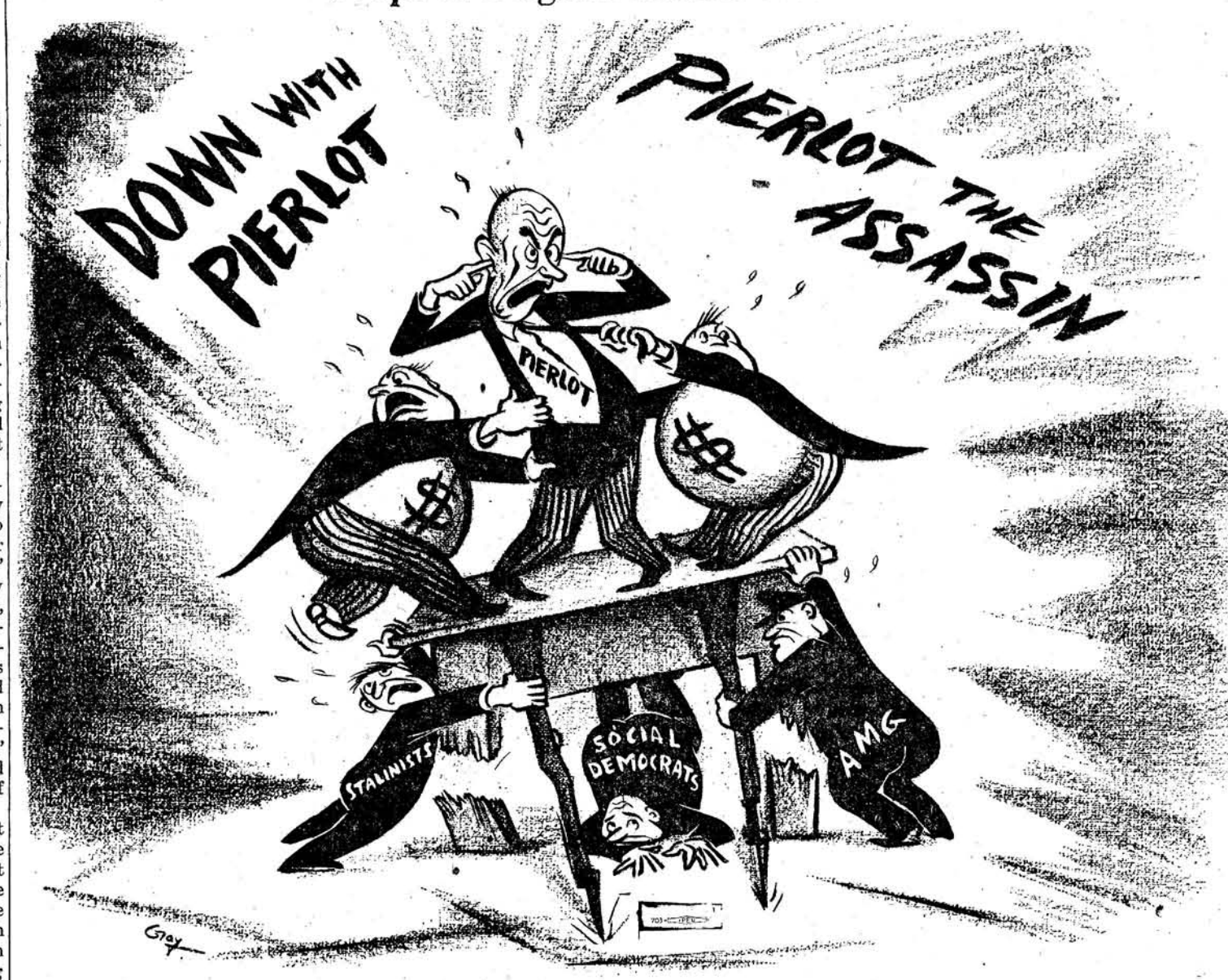
One of the reasons for the conspiracy of silence is indicated by Business Week which states: "During the period of publicity blackout, which apparently both

the company and the union were loath to lift, the contract about which the dispute centered was fast expiring. It ends Nov. 29. Negotiations on a new contract are expected to begin soon." No wonder the parties to the conspiracy were "loath to lift" the publicity blackout! After a run-around that lasted for a year and a half the Chrysler workers were sold out! This kind of "publicity" won't sit very well with the militants of the United Automobile Workers!

The WLB stalled the Chrysler wage demands until one month prior to the expiration of the contract—and then rejected them out of hand. When wage disputes are submitted to the board, the workers are led to believe their interests are protected by Roosevelt's phony "retroactive" clause. Negotiations for a new contract will be based on new demands. The whole process that began a year and a half ago with "negotiations" and ended with the summary rejection of the union demands must now begin all over again—more negotiations! This means that, even if wage increases are won under the new contract, retroactive pay will be allowed only from the expiration date of the old agreement.

This confidence game is passed off as "collective bargaining" by

Props of Belgian Counter-Revolution



Allies Shove Monarchy To Fore In Latest Italian Political Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

ing leftward, seeking leadership capable of guiding them in the struggle for power, are stretching these parties to the snapping point. Commentators in Italy speak about dissident right and left wings in all these parties. While the masses pull these parties in one direction, the Allies jerk the controlling strings in the opposite direction. That is why the Italian cabinets set up by the Allied conquerors gyrate and jump so fantastically.

ROLE OF ALLIES

Italy, converted into one of the major battlefields of the second World War, has been ravished. Her factories are bombed and crippled, her fields sown with mines, her transportation system wrecked, her labor power devastated, her feeble economy truncated and torn between opposing armies. Famine and disease stalk Italy, lashing the people toward revolution. Under these conditions the Allied conquerors cannot set up a stable puppet regime.

The Allied Commission is worried and fearful. Few illusions as to its counter-revolutionary role exist any longer among the people. News of its real role is spreading into the north where German armies still occupy the cities. The slow Allied military advance is giving the industrial proletariat of northern Italy time to understand what Allied occupation means to the nation—and also time to prepare.

Roosevelt and his labor lackeys. And what of the General Motors wage demands which have been pending before the WLB for many months? Walter Reuther, head of General Motors division of the UAW, has been lulling the workers with the fiction that their wage demands were a cinch once the steel workers got "theirs." But the only "fringe" demand granted the steelworkers that means anything was the wage differential for the swing and graveyard shifts—which the auto workers already have.

In actuality, the Chrysler wage demands set the pattern for the rest of the UAW. By its action in the Chrysler case, the wage-freezing, strikebreaking, employer-dominated War Labor Board has established a precedent to be used in knifing the demands of all the auto workers. The auto militants must demand an accounting from the Thomas-Adams-Frankenstein leadership of their role in this conspiracy. A fitting answer to the conspirators would be an overwhelming vote to rescind the no-strike pledge in the UAW referendum. That would be a long step forward in exposing the compulsory arbitration fraud and restoring the independence of the militant United Automobile Workers Union.

That is why the British General Alexander has issued an order to the Italian partisans of the north to lay down their arms and discontinue their struggle against the Nazis. Yet it was the Allies who called for resistance to the Nazis in the north. It was the Allies who promised assistance. Tens of thousands of anti-fascist fighters have been shot down by the Nazis for taking the Allied call for resistance at its face value. Only one interpretation of this order to cease fighting is possible to the Italian workers: the Allies do not come to free us, but to enslave us. The Allies fear the armed workers of northern Italy far more than they fear the Nazi military machine. Bitter protests have poured into Rome from the underground fighters of the north.

HALT PURGES

The Allied Commission further revealed its counter-revolutionary role in halting the purges of former fascist officials. On November 16, General Mario Roatta, hiding from the anti-fascists, was discovered and arrested. Roatta is hated by the workers as one of the cruellest butchers of the Ethiopians, leader of the Italian Expeditionary Forces sent to help Franco in Spain, and bloody head of the secret spy machine whose special assignment was murder of anti-fascists abroad.

The arrest of Roatta was the most important yet made in the purge. For the first time, the High Commissariat for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes, headed by Count Sforza, had dared to arrest a general close to Badoglio. Roatta's trial would undoubtedly reveal sensational facts about the ignominious secret treaty engineered between the Italian monarchy and the Allies.

The Allied Commission thereupon raised its glove and slapped its Italian puppet cabinet in the face. First came an announcement that the trial would not touch the delicate question of the secret treaty. Then the High Commissariat for the Punishment of Fascist Crimes was summarily dissolved. As a final lesson, the British vetoed its head, Count Sforza, as Defense Minister of its puppet cabinet.

PUSH MONARCHY FORWARD

To provide a rallying point for the forces of internal counter-revolution, the Allies are pushing forward the puppet around whom it now hopes to group the Italian agents willing to carry out the shameful terms of the secret peace treaty. This puppet is Crown Prince Humbert of Savoy. Bonomi is conspiring with them in the execution of this design. Although the Italian cabinet set up by the Allies is appointed, not elected; must be approved by the Allies and can be dissolved

at the stroke of the pen by the Allied Commission, Bonomi tendered his resignation to Humbert as if the Crown Prince really headed the Italian government and there were no occupying army astride prostrate Italy.

The House of Savoy stands irretrievably discredited in the eyes of the Italian masses. Bonomi's gesture was calculated by the Allied politicians to give the appearance of life and power to the monarchy. The Crown Prince—like a well-prompted actor—has since gone through the gestures outlined for him by the Allied Commission, calling in the leaders of the various parties and asking Bonomi to form a new cabinet just as his father once asked Mussolini to form a new cabinet.

This whole shoddy maneuver reveals all over again the character of the Allied puppets. They are the most rotten type of bourgeois politicians, outbidding each other to sell their services to the conqueror, leaping with the most revolting alacrity at a finger snap of the foreign masters.

PARTIES OF "THE LEFT"

The parties of the right, the Liberals and Christian Democrats, have openly backed up these machinations on the Allies. The "Socialists," Stalinists and Actionists, knowing that support of the maneuver will further compromise them in the eyes of the masses, hesitate. The hesitation of the "Socialists" and Actionists probably arises from genuine fear. The Allied anxiety to push forward the monarchy means that the "democratic" scenery is being shifted off the stage. The Allies not only do not intend to leave the "democratic" facade standing in face of the hisses and boos of the proletarian audience, but are advancing the props of the right.

The Stalinists, acting in accordance with instructions from the counter-revolutionary Kremlin, have hesitated publicly, but at the same time have been calling for "unity." In the Italian situation that means: relax while the

strangler finishes his job. The Stalinist leaders aim to deliver the proletarian revolution to its executioner in the most efficient manner possible. Hired assassins, old in the game, they have gained a certain skill. They constitute a deadly danger to the Italian revolution. But they too dislike moving the monarchy forward so forcefully while the masses are so agitated and active.

The Allied Commission, however, is pressing remorselessly. All these parties and the figures at their head dug out of political graveyards continue to stand before the public only because Allied bayonets rule southern Italy. Were the bayonets to be taken away, permitting the workers to carry forward their revolution, all these native Allied Quislings would soon be crushed under the feet of the masses.

The "Stalinist," Socialist and Actionist parties thus face a terrible dilemma. If they do not obey the harsh command of the conqueror, they will receive the toe of his military boot. If they do obey, they stand to lose their credit among the masses, who, moving under their own power and according to their own logic, will accelerate the pace to the left, leaving the Allied puppets dangling in mid-air. Still worse, they will be utterly exposed before the "North Wind" has even begun to blow.

The present political crisis demonstrates how the lines of the class struggle are sharpening in Italy. Day by day the intolerable tension makes it more clear that the only way out of the impasse for the working class is the program of revolutionary Socialism. Only institution of a planned economy in Italy can save the nation from the abyss and open up the road to reconstruction. The slogans of revolutionary action are acquiring burning reality for the Italian workers. They can save themselves from the development of counter-revolution only by organizing their Soviets, taking power, and fighting in unity with their fellow workers on the continent for a Socialist United States of Europe.

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A Tribute To One Who Died Young

The following letter, accompanied by a check for \$50, was received last week by the Civil Rights Defense Committee in response to its Christmas appeal for funds to aid the wives and families of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case Prisoners.

"Please accept the enclosed check as a small contribution to your cause. It is given in memory of Richard McLaughlin, 'killed in action' somewhere in France early in November, 1944. Feeling the urge to do something to honor his memory, I know that this is the way he would want me to do it. . . .

"When I came to this country in 1940 as an anti-fascist refugee, Richard McLaughlin, then 21, was my first American acquaintance. I had been in this country but a few days and did not speak its language. He offered his services, claiming that he would like to get some knowledge of German in exchange. He did not ask for any payment. After several weeks, he finally permitted me to refund his carfare for by then he would come to see me quite regularly and was not able any more to hide the fact that he could not spare even the subway nickel. But these were the times we grew to know each other. Soon all these formalities disappeared and Mac, as we used to call him, was a friend to whom our house was open day and night, who enjoyed tremendously to join us for entertainment and discussion, and whom we shall miss beyond words.

"We shall miss his familiar, urgent knock at the door. . . . We shall miss his arguments, his passionate pleading for the causes he had adopted, his intellectual alertness, his stupendous eagerness to learn. He wanted to teach me English? Hell no, all he wanted was to satisfy his passionate longing for knowledge, more knowledge, his yearning to meet people, to conquer a new chapter of history, to gain a new understanding of world affairs, to confirm his established belief that revolution, and revolution only, was the answer to the murderous ways of class society.

"We shall miss his love for all genuine art, especially that of the American colored people whom he regarded as his brothers and comrades par excellence. . . .

"Intellectually he set an example of self-liberation. In evening City College classes which he attended eagerly, he not only made Socialist friends, but he also laid the scientific foundation to those studies he embarked upon later, studies which led him over Thorstein Veblen in the last consequence to embracing the political philosophy of Marxism with the emphasis on Leon Trotsky's works and theories.

"I shall never forget those heated arguments and discussions we had! Almost thirty years his senior, I owe him much of what I know now about America. And I often had to confess that also about Europe he knew more than I. His foremost interest was languages. This Irish boy, born in New York, finally spoke German without an accent. He had a good working knowledge of Spanish, Italian and French. But he would also pick up a Yiddish newspaper, printed in Hebrew, and read to me the editorial in his English translation. . . . He was one of the most gifted young men I ever met.

He Worked To Advance Mankind

"Yet in this 'land of opportunity,' his career ended as an usher at \$11 a week. For he was a genuine proletarian youth. He detested and would not have fit in the smart clothes and the polished looks of one who wants to go places in this society. When others would date pretty girls, Mac would spend his time picketing a bus line which mistreated Negroes. He did not think of the advancement of Richard McLaughlin. He thought of the advancement of mankind. Life had very few smiles for him. He had seen too clearly its abominable grimace, and his mind was made up to fight for changes in a world interpreted long enough.

"The war encroached upon his plans. The tragedy which has ended now in death began at once. . . .

"His basic training was routine. When Africa was invaded, Private McLaughlin rode on a boat carrying an infantry outfit over the ocean. His eagerness to learn never left him. His linguistic and intellectual talents to be sure, seemed to be of no avail to the army. But on African soil he would soon interview the Arabs in their very language about their situation, rather than partake in the usual G. I. canteen entertainments. . . .

"Then, after the invasion of France, he was transferred to a combat unit and soon to Europe. When last heard of, he was in France. His last letter of October 15, 1944 ends thus:

"I may be able to put to use my linguistic ability. I hope so. I have seen some combat and think it's no good for my digestion—when I'm scared I can't eat. Please let me know in a letter what you think of the general world situation in respect to things which concern us."

"That is, that was my friend Mac. If I would know that there are armies of young revolutionists like him around the earth, I would feel better for the future of mankind."

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by Joseph Hansen

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PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Exposes the methods and aims of the politicians who oppose labor's interests, outlines labor's place in politics, shows how intelligent and independent political action today can lead the labor movement forward.

Roosevelt's New Cabinet Member Fortifies Wall Street Control Over Foreign Policy

By Joseph Hansen

Wall Street has begun cashing in the chips of its election victory. This is clearly the meaning of Roosevelt's appointment on November 27 of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as Secretary of State. The placing of this member of America's ruling oligarchy in charge of foreign affairs is another instance of the trend of Big Business political policy in recent years to honeycomb strategic government posts with its own men.

The Nov. 28 N. Y. Times declares, "The President has been understood to view Mr. Stettinius... as a Government official who was reassuring to big business." In an editorial, the Times adds: "The appointment is happily free of all political implications. It is plainly a reward of merit."

What are the "merits" of the 44-year old Stettinius? Surely not his achievements in the State Department; he has been there only one year. His "merits" must be all the more unusual, for he has been placed in charge of the foreign affairs of the United States in the fifth year of the Second World War, precisely when the question of "peace" treaties begins to take precedence over all other phases of the conflict.

A Happy Choice

The first great "merit" in the career of Stettinius was the selection of the family in which to be born. He rejected a working class birth and made the wise choice of a cradle among America's 60 ruling families. His astuteness was further revealed by selecting for his father in this narrow circle nothing less than a partner in the House of J. Pierpont Morgan.

At an early age his natural talents began to assert themselves. According to the newspapers now lauding his "merits," at the university he practised looking democratic by abstaining from riding around the campus in his father's Rolls Royce. He likewise early recognized that brains and education are commodities that can be purchased. He never graduated, but turned his attention to organizing an employment agency for indigent students.

His success at milking indigent students brought his "merits" to the attention of a vice-president of General Motors, according to the press. And so he went to work as stock room attendant at the Hyatt Roller Bearing Works at 44 cents an hour. Stettinius did not pause to organize a union and try to raise this miserable rate of pay. Such were his "merits" that in a little more than three years he became nothing less than a Vice President of General Motors.

Big Business Politics

The auto barons sent him to Washington during NRA days to defend their special interests. His "merits" in this assignment were so conspicuous that Myron Taylor of United States Steel—which like General Motors is dominated by the House of Morgan—invited him to become vice chairman of its Finance Committee. By the age of 37 he had been promoted to Chairman of the Board. The up and coming Morgan lieutenant soon familiarized himself with the international connections of

the steel trust and the problems of ruling the steel industry.

In 1939, as his next assignment in the Morgan empire, he gave up his \$100,000 salary, "resigned" all his connections with Big Business and became a dollar-a-year Chairman of Roosevelt's War Resources Board. A man with such a wholesome attitude could not help prove reassuring to Big Business. Consequently he served in addition on the National Defense Advisory Commission and as director of priorities in the OPM. His "merits" in these posts were so gratifying to Big Business that in 1941 he was made Director of Lend-Lease.

Two years of struggling along on his dollar-a-year salary, handling tens of billions of dollars in Lend-Lease, clinched his "merits" in the eyes of Wall Street. When Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles resigned in 1943, Stettinius was shot into his post.

Thus we can see how justifiable is the conclusion of the N. Y. Times that his appointment as Secretary of State is a "reward of merit." The Times should know—Thomas W. Lamont of the House of Morgan has personal connections with its editors.

Liberals Wring Their Hands

PM, however, representing liberal opinion, has a different view of Stettinius. A Nov. 28 editorial declares: "Not even his greatest admirers claim for Stettinius either outstanding abilities, deep insights, or passionate convictions... his connections with United States Steel mean that he has connections with the cartel structure of the world."

And then PM, one of the most blatant pro-Roosevelt papers in the country, wrings its hands: "The moral for American progressives is a stark one. Here we are at a time when the future of world labor and world democracy will be decided by what happens in international policy, and especially what happens in the American State Dept. and the American Senate. And here we are just a few weeks after a great progressive electoral victory. Yet in the first major appointment after that victory, the progressives have suffered a defeat."

The Real Moral

PM doesn't have the "moral" quite straight. The real moral is that labor took a defeat in the election. Wall Street won. The only way labor could have made headway in the election would have been through an independent labor party. The only reason Roosevelt can make appointments like that of Stettinius is because Hillman-Murray and the other labor lieutenants of Wall Street delivered him the labor vote and blocked the organization of an independent labor party.

Wall Street can place its favorite sons throughout the government and get the almost unanimous endorsement of Congress for its choices only because no independent labor party exists to protest and fight.

The real moral of the Stettinius appointment—and its approval by Congress—is, build an independent labor party.

Labor's Fight Against Low Standard Of Living

By C. Thomas

Roosevelt's pre-election demagoguery reached its height in his Chicago speech when he promised that the capitalist "free enterprise" system would provide 60 million jobs "after the war." His supporters among the liberals and labor bureaucrats immediately seized upon this counterfeit "promise" and are passing it around as good coin. Roosevelt was purposefully vague about how he intended to fulfill his promise of 60-million jobs "after the war" which is 5-million more than the wartime peak. It is obvious that this fraud is intended to divert the attention of the workers

from their present struggle to maintain their standard of living in the face of frozen wages and rising prices.

In a radio speech attacking the Little Steel formula, printed in the AFL News Service (Nov. 14), George Meany, AFL Secretary-Treasurer, tried to convince the employers that it was to their interest to pay high wages. Full employment and prosperity, said Meany, could only be assured on the basis of a high-wage economy which provides the masses with the necessary purchasing power to buy back the products of labor. "Let those who have been talking in terms of full employment after the war," he added, "of full production, of a national income of 140 billion dollars and 60,000,000 postwar jobs look this problem squarely in the eye. There will be no full employment, no high national income, no 60,000,000 jobs unless it is on the basis of a high wage economy. Our American system cannot provide full employment on any other basis."

CLASS COLLABORATION

After advancing his premise, Meany goes on to assure the employers that labor has no selfish motive in demanding higher wages. "Labor's position on this question," he says, "cannot be charged to its traditional desire to get for itself a fairer share of the wealth it produces. The problem here transcends even this age-old objective of labor." The real "problem" that Meany is concerned about is the preservation of "our American" capitalist system. Like the rest of the labor

was by and large, able to satisfy the demands of the upper layers of the workers — and hold out hopes of improvement to the most exploited masses. The working class standard of living continued to improve.

But now the situation is entirely different. American capitalism entered its period of absolute decline after the 1929 crash. It is no longer able to mitigate the class conflict over the division of the national income by granting significant concessions, but seeks to take back those concessions already won by the workers through bitter struggle. To maintain its privileges and profits the American capitalist class unceasingly endeavours to drive down the living standards of the workers.

In this struggle, the unions no longer confront the individual employer, nor even the association of employers, but the employing class as a whole operating through the national government — which functions as its executive committee. The calculated objective of Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" fraud is to reduce labor's share of the national income. Frozen wages in the face of a constant rise in the cost of living has increased the income of the price-gougers and coupon-clippers at the expense of the workers.

In a survey conducted by "Investors' Syndicate" it is revealed that the 1944 national income "as a whole" maintained the same level as in 1943 BUT THE WAGE EARNERS SHARE DECLINED. The decline of labor's share, "reflecting war contract terminations and consequent reductions in hours of work and lessened pay," was offset by increased profits and dividends for the corporations and bankers, stockjobbers and speculators. This means that the unions have failed to perform their primary function of defending the workers' standard of living. This failure can be directly attributed to the

Two Of A Kind



Two leading labor skates, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, and President Brown of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, posing at the New Orleans convention of the AFL.

AFL LEADERS COMPLAIN PLENTY, OPPOSE ACTION

(Continued from page 1)

war jobs, and doesn't see that this evil (the Little Steel Formula) is removed, is telling the people a damnable untruth," belatedly Meany. Later, when asked when he was talking about, Meany weakly said, "a dreamer by the name of Wallace."

Opposition to "government interference" ran through all the querulous criticisms and complaints. But this did not betoken any desire to break with the AFL leadership's traditional policy of collaboration with the capitalist class and its government. Rather it was a nostalgic lament for the uncomplicated horse-and-buggy era of Gompers' "simple trade unionism," when union business agents could walk into a boss's office and make a "deal" without the headaches of government procedure and regulations of today.

SEEK MORE FAVORS

What the AFL fakers really want is a "favored servant" position, which they feel is now occupied by the CIO. Their attacks on the WLB, the NLRB and administration policy generally were burdened with laments about the "favoritism" shown the CIO. If they belittled the role of CIO-PAC in the recent national elections, it was only to boast, as Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamsters Czar did, that the AFL had done more to elect Roosevelt than the CIO.

While accusing the CIO of "raiding" AFL unions and belittling its more dynamic industrial union character and increasing influence, the AFL moguls repeated their annual plea for "labor unity." They called for the CIO "erring ones" to return to the "house of labor." But it was clear they did not mean real unity, on the basis of preserving and extending industrial organization. Their resolution charged the industrial unions with responsibility for the original split, although it was actually provoked by the jealous refusal of the craft union heads to support organization of the industrial workers. Craft unionism remains the dominant "philosophy" of the AFL,

false policies of the union leadership. The class collaboration policies of the labor bureaucrats have been carried through under the slogan of "national unity" which is based on the fraud that the interests of the workers are identical with those of the employers. This deception has served to further enrich the capitalists at the expense of the wage earners. The wartime experience of the American working class has proved again that those who preach the identity of interest between capital and labor are either hypocrites, demagogues or liars.

ROOSEVELT'S HOAX

Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" promise during the war, like his promise for 60,000,000 jobs "after the war," is a monstrous hoax. If the decaying capitalist system survives it can only bring mass unemployment, hunger and despair. In this period, when the struggle over the division of the national income is directed against the government, the

Child Labor Increase

Child labor figures are today half a million higher than they were in 1920, according to the latest report issued by the National Child Labor Committee. At least 3,000,000 children between the ages of 14 and 17 are now employed, while the high school enrollment has dropped 1,000,000 below its pre-war total.

Even these figures, however, do not show the full effects of the war in driving children out of the schools and into the factories. They do not tell how many hundreds of thousands of youngsters are illegally employed in sweatshops, or kept at home to work on farms.

as revealed in the jurisdictional squabbles that broke forth on the convention floor and the call for amendment of the Wagner Act to guarantee "maintenance of craft union integrity."

The utterly reactionary character of the AFL tops was further revealed on the burning question of Jim-Crow segregation of Negro workers into special "auxiliaries" of various international unions. Ugly and insulting words were spoken against A. Phillip Randolph, head of the Sleeping Car Porters, for demanding a resolution condemning and outlawing "lily-white" policies. Resolutions were passed against discrimination in government, armed forces and industry — but not inside the AFL internationals. The AFL leaders, who could commit the entire AFL to a no-strike pledge, pleaded no authority to order non-discrimination within its member organizations.

But the actions of the select few at the AFL convention does not bespeak the real mood and views of the AFL membership. Like the rest of labor, the ranks are growing more discontented, more eager for real action against the wage-freeze, more disgusted with do-nothing, servile policies. Stormy days are coming; the AFL workers will be heard from.

methods of "pure and simple trade unionism" are hopelessly inadequate. Labor can maintain its standard of living only by waging an irreconcilable political struggle against the capitalist government which enforces the wage freeze during the war — and plans to sabotage production in the interest of maintaining monopoly prices and profits, "after the war."

New times, new conditions new problems require new methods. The unions can perform their primary function of safeguarding the material interests of the workers only by taking the initiative in launching labor's own political party with the object of ousting the political agents of Big Business and installing a Workers and Farmers Government. Only such a working class government, armed with a correct program, can ensure full employment, high wages, peace and prosperity.

Union Tops Shield Roosevelt In Wage Freezing Fraud

(Continued from page 1)

fer with the President on Stabilization policy, James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, had advised him that, Mr. Roosevelt did not think the time appropriate, in view of Congressional hearings on the subject."

ROOSEVELT BACKS WLB

Roosevelt didn't even want to talk to his labor flunkies about "the subject." Following this cue, the WLB turned down the wage raise petition because: "Wage stabilization was declared to be a matter for Congress and not for the Chief Executive." After freezing wages by executive decree, Roosevelt washed his hands of the whole matter by referring the labor "statement" — to Congress.

A month later, on April 7, the "Chief Executive" added insult to injury by releasing a "hold-the-line" report repudiating labor's contention that the cost of living had been steadily rising. "Indeed," said the report, "the cost of living as a whole is slightly lower than it was a year ago today." Irony itself stands disarmed before such colossal impudence. The object of the report, of course, was to bolster the WLB in holding the wage freezing line against the workers.

Just prior to the recent national elections the incessant rise in the cost of living gave rise to renewed pressure for an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. As part of the pre-election demagoguery "rumors" were spread that Roosevelt was going to abolish the wage freeze. Philip Murray was the most persistent in spreading this rumor. These rumors precipitated a counter-campaign by the cost-plus patriots and the capitalist press which proved "embarrassing" to labor's "friend" in the White House.

The labor skates were called to a conference by Roosevelt. "There is reason to believe," wrote the labor reporter for the N. Y. Times, "that the President has informed some labor leaders of his reluctance to do anything that would involve any change in the wage stabilization policy in a hurried fashion." The labor windbags collapsed like a pricked balloon! They quit talking about the wage freeze and intensified their frenzied campaign against — Herbert Hoover.

A few weeks after the election the WLB released the "cost of living" report which upheld the Bureau of Labor Statistics index on which the Little Steel formula was based. This report proves again, that while figures don't lie — liars do figure! A week later came the odious directive rejecting the demand of the steel workers for a wage increase of 17 cents an hour as a "violation" of the Little Steel formula. Because of a few "fringe" demands thrown them as a sop by WLB, Murray and his gang are crowing like roosters over their "victory" in the steel wage case — and predicting that their "friend" will enhance this "victory" by revising the Little Steel formula which is now in his hands.

But the President is "reluctant" to do anything in a "hurried fashion." After all, it has only been two and a half years since the wage freeze was imposed under Roosevelt's "seven-point" program! The Washington correspondent for Justice, official organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, writes that "there is every indication that President Roosevelt will await the new Congress before doing anything about the Little Steel formula." Don't rush the President, boys! He doesn't like to be "hurried."

The "new Congress" will presumably be packed with "labor's friends" elected with the aid of Hillman-Murray's CIO-PAC. The Washington correspondent of Justice asks the question, "what can labor expect," and then answers: "Don't expect too much and cherish no illusions." The Militant tells the workers: You'll get nothing unless you fight for it! No dependence on the spurious "friends of labor" in the camp of the class enemy. Only the independent strength and solidarity of the labor movement can smash the wage freeze. Yank the labor zombies off the wage-freezing WLB. Break with the political agents of Big Business! Launch labor's own political organization — the Independent Labor Party.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant



By V. Grey

Slim was sitting on the bench in front of his locker, drawing on his long underwear, looking disgusted and cussing a little bit. "Damn it all," he said "every year when I start wearing these things I swear it's the last time I put in a winter in this refrigeration plant. But here's another winter and here I am again."

Yes, the salamanders (portable stoves) are out on the floor again, and Pop Philiber is busy all day long loading them up with coke, tinkering with the home-made grates to make the fires go. The fellows are wearing their winter caps and mackinaws to work. They take them off only to put three or four old sweaters on under their overalls. A few guys aren't doing this because they know the worst of the cold weather hasn't begun yet, and they want to keep a couple sweaters back as a sort of ace-in-the-hole.

You get cold just to look at the shop this time of year. The gray light that filters in keeps reminding you of the long winter ahead, and you keep dreading it, while you joke about how comfortable it's supposed to be to freeze to death after the first stages are over.

Even now, when it's hardly below freezing, the salamanders don't throw any heat to speak of. The only time they warm you is around starting time or quitting time when everybody huddles around them to toast their hands and freeze their backs. And yet we use about a quarter ton of coke in one of them in 24 hours. It makes you sick to think of all that heat going up to the rafters—enough for a couple of good sized homes, but not enough to make you comfortable six feet away.

Of course it's better here than the open hearth or the blast furnace, where you sweat like hell one minute and turn around to get a zero wind in your face the next. That's as good a way as any to get pneumonia and start pushing up the daisies by springtime. But it still burns you up to hear Scissorbill Sam pass cracks about how healthy it is to work in a good, steady low temperature. It can't be healthy to feel as though your toes were being squeezed with a pliers for eight hours a day, and have your nose running like a leaky faucet.

You can bet the superintendent and the plant big shots don't get frost bite. They take precious good care of themselves, all right. Their offices are a nice even steam heated temperature all winter long. They may have cold hearts, but they keep their fingers and toes warm enough. Just think, they can even take their suit coats off if they want to, and lean back and smoke a fat cigar while they figure out where they'll spend a little chunk of their profits in the evening. Cold? They never heard of it. Out of the office into the limousine waiting at the door—off to the club for a few appetizers before a luxurious dinner in a thermostat heated home.

They might have been cold for a few minutes once last February though. There's a steam pipe that goes through the shop, under and across the roadway, to the offices. And it sprung a big leak. The steam came out in one constant hissing cloud. Everybody working anywhere nearby was kept nice and warm. People walked by kind of slow, to get that good sizzling heat. But the superintendent and his buddies must have felt a bit chilly. Because a bunch of repair men came over right away and fixed the pipe. By the end of the shift, the water from the steam had frozen on the floor, and once in a while you could look over and see the stock boy taking a run and a slide on the ice as he went back and forth on his errands.

IT ALL DEPENDS ON PROFITS

Year after year you get so used to seeing the cold settle down in the shop, you begin to take it for granted and live with it. But you never begin to like it. You never get over that first shudder when you come in from the fresh outdoors to that bleak, chill barn.

Why take it for granted? Is it impossible to heat the place? Do you think it can't be done? Why the furnaces at the Open Hearth are thirty three hundred degrees fahrenheit and you've got chilblains in your toes. The shop's too big? Baloney! What about the big theatres and department stores that they keep at sixty to seventy degrees all winter? Well, of course they have to heat the theatres because people wouldn't spend hard-earned money to see Dorothy Lamour while they sat in an ice-box—of course. The theatre bosses wouldn't make money. They wouldn't make a profit.

And there you have it. In one case heating adds to the bosses' profits, in another case it would take a little away. Your comfort and health are of no interest to the bosses, except on a profit and loss sheet. If there's a profit in it for them, okay you get heat. If there isn't, then it's too bad. You freeze.

That's the profit system. And that's the way it's got to be under the profit system. And you wouldn't let a little thing like pneumonia or rheumatism interfere with a big thing like the profit system, would you?

10 Years Ago In The Militant

DECEMBER 8, 1934

NEW YORK—"Formation of a progressive movement in the trade unions and the selection of concentration points in industry were the two main points of a program of action in the trade unions, adopted by a special conference of trade union delegates and adopted unanimously by the Unity Convention" of the newly created Workers Party of America, The Militant reported.

Thus the new revolutionary party, formed by the fusion of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite), set its first perspectives in the mass movements of the American working class. Specific concentration points for the first months of work were chosen; the textile industry in the East, the auto industry in Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland, the coal mines of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, and the Minneapolis-St. Paul area in which the Trotskyist leaders had already led the workers in a series of successful militant strikes.

CANADA—Greeting the formation of the new Workers Party of America, the Workers Party of Canada (Trotskyist) reported its own progress in major cities of Canada: Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. Analyzing the conditions under which the Workers Party of Canada worked, the article stressed the government persecution of radical parties, pointing out that Tim Buck, leader of the Communist Party, had just been released after "three years in jail on charges of criminal conspiracy against the Canadian Government. The Stalinist Party has been virtually outlawed." (Tim Buck, still the leading figure of the Canadian Stalinist apparatus, today is a supporter of the Canadian Government.)

MINNEAPOLIS—"Seventy trade unions have united in a defense committee to give organized labor's militant answer to a frame-up campaign launched by the Citizens Alliance... directed primarily against the leaders of General Drivers Local 574 (with the objective of) the terrorization of the whole local union movement," said a dispatch to The Militant.

In collaboration with the Minneapolis police, the Citizens Alliance sought to pin onto the leaders of Local 574, responsibility for the death of Arthur Lyman, capitalist playboy killed while acting as strike-breaking deputy sheriff during the May 1934 strike of the truckdrivers.

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Plenty Of Grievances

Bill Peterson, from whom we heard through this column a few weeks ago, says that we have plenty to be burned up about. Here's how he puts it:

"Negro workers have plenty of grievances. In the shops with the cutbacks coming, competition for jobs is leading to unfair race discrimination. To secure upgrading in most shops is almost impossible.

"What all Negroes claim is the inalienable right to be free to exercise first class American citizenship. American 'democracy' throttles the legitimate expression of Negro development. Political officials close their eyes to the injustices meted out to us. The government officials have declared by their actions that Negroes are not competent to be given full citizenship. We deny this strenuously!

"The government has committed many crimes against the Negro. Since 1620 they have done everything to exploit us. They have given us little chance to cope with the environment. If we are deficient in skill or experience necessary to enable us to fit into the management of American affairs, it is because they have never given us the opportunity to develop those qualities. We demand responsibility at once!

"The Negro resents and condemns the constant segregation of the Negro in the U. S. Army. Furthermore, the present government has taken good care to see that, in addition to segregation, the Negroes in the army have very little chance to get equal treatment.

"These two general grievances—political and economic bondage and segregation, are dominant. Beyond them there is almost any number of detailed complaints.

THE REAL RECORD

"American Negroes are starved for education. In the South, where segregation is worse, uncounted millions of state money is spent in public schools exclusively for whites, while a few wretched pennies are spent on public schools for Negroes. In view of this fact it is no wonder that the education obtained is sometimes miserable.

"The American government points to the 'record' in public health and emphasizes the wonderful job it has done. Yet the Negroes' death rate is the highest in the United States. Not less than 20 percent of the entire Negro population is poorly nour-

ished, which means that 2,600,000 Negroes in this America don't get enough to eat.

"Social discrimination is a bitter point. The record in the field of social reform for Negroes is negligible. It is ridiculous that even men like Paul Robeson may not enter many of the hotels in American cities. Yes, American color snobbery has left more than one unpleasant trace.

"The great official power of the various State, County and Municipal governments serves to make complete equality for Negro citizens impossible. Now, even the Federal government does many things to subdue Negroes.

"The white Americans have been taught to feel that Negroes are incompetent, shiftless, bribable and hopelessly chained to religious superstition. They say that the Negroes' 'capacity for equal citizenship' is a fantastic overstatement. It has been stated hundreds of times that Negroes have an 'inferiority complex.' If any Negro has a sense of inferiority it derives mostly from generations of being snubbed and treated like dogs.

"The policy of capitalist 'democracy' in a word, is to keep the substance of full citizenship from the Negroes. Negro policy, in a word, is to defeat this aim. Suppression of a fixed and arbitrary type is no longer to be tolerated. 13,000,000 black workers will no longer take such treatment. Also they can no longer be fooled by false compromises by their so-called friends.

TIME TO FIGHT

"The time to fight is now! If capitalist America has refused to give Negroes equal citizenship during this global war, it is hardly possible that they will do it when the conflict is over.

"We can no longer remain loyal to our open enemies or our false friends. We must give our support to that group whose platform includes that all people be given full citizenship rights immediately."

"The only organization which will bring equal citizenship, beyond a shadow of a doubt, is the Socialist Workers Party. That is so because its program is — union of all the workers against the capitalists who control the government. When Negroes give to that organization full support, then and only then will their grievances have reached the tone of 'sounding brass and crashing cymbals.'"

Allied Powers' Puppet Regime in Greece Provokes Civil War By Its Move To Disarm The Masses

(Continued from page 1)

Allied Commander and Greek Puppet



General Scobie, British Commander of the land force in Greece is shown accompanying the puppet Premier George Papandreou to the Acropolis. Last weekend Scobie's forces were placed at Papandreou's disposal in his massacre of the demonstrating Greek masses.

government police opened fire with machine guns and tommy guns... Crouching behind low walls, lodged on flat roofs and on second floor balconies, police poured thousands of rounds of small arms ammunition into the massed demonstrators...

"As a second body of EAM demonstrators came down the street, police increased the intensity and range of their fire, using heavier weapons, probably mortars and light anti-tank guns...

"A few British armored cars were on the scene when the police first opened fire. Others which arrived later parked among the scattered remains of the demonstrators' banners several of which lay in large pools of blood."

"INCREDIBLE COURAGE"

"Athenians, hardened by eight years of dictatorship and terror, showed incredible courage in the face of these modern weapons of destruction... While the police were firing upon the unarmed demonstrators, the mass of the crowd continued to march on erectly. Only a few sought cover... When the marchers reached the spot where their comrades were killed, they paused for a few minutes to pay homage to the dead. The tanks moved slowly in, ordering the crowd to proceed."

When the police ceased their "wild and savage" firing, 23 dead lay in the streets. More than 150 were wounded. Most of the victims were boys and girls under 18.

MARTIAL LAW DECLARED

On the following day, Dec. 4, General Catasot, acting military governor of Athens, gave armed formations 72 hours notice to quit the area. Any ELAS members attempting to enter Athens after then would be "treated as enemies."

Lieut. Gen. Scobie declared martial law and curfew in Athens and said he was standing firmly behind the Papandreou government. He "intends to treat the action of the ELAS troops as mutiny, to be put down by force if necessary." Drumhead court-martial were set up to enforce the martial law. Three formations of workers, according to press reports, were disbanded by British troops, one group of 300, another of 800, a third of 1200.

Strikes which had begun Dec. 3 spread rapidly. EAM called for a general strike. All shops, factories, ministries and public and private installations were paralyzed. The ELAS seized two police barracks in Piraeus, port of Athens. They were told to withdraw or suffer the consequences. Dock workers in Piraeus, armed with clubs, knives and a few guns. Some demonstrators set up machine-guns in various points.

Greek partisans defied the orders of Scobie and poured into

Athens seizing 21 out of 28 police stations in and around the city. British troops took back two out of four stations in Piraeus reestablishing Papandreou's police. 400 other partisans attacked Anglo-Greek naval headquarters armed with automatic weapons and machineguns. British armored cars repulsed the attack. In the Thessalon district of Athens the ELAS closed on besieged royalists from three sides, battling them for 15 hours. They outnumbered their foes six to one. British tanks rescued the royalists, according to a Dec. 5 INS dispatch, leaving 150 ELAS dead. A whole ELAS division is reported to have infiltrated into the capital in groups.

The puppet cabinet of the Allies abandoned their government offices, fleeing to the Hotel Grande Bretagne guarded by British tanks. Premier Papandreou officially proclaimed a "government crisis." By this he meant he could no longer carry on without reforming his cabinet. On Dec. 5, the puppet government apparently was still without any news of the situation outside the capital.

APPEAL TO SOLDIERS

Meanwhile the anger of the people mounted. By December 5 the general strike was still spreading. All dock work at Piraeus, including the unloading of food, ceased. Workers paraded before the British embassy with placards. "British soldiers! Let Us Choose Our Own Government!" Thousands of Athenians, disre-

garding the Allied proclamation of martial law paraded again to Constitution Square on Dec. 4, waving banners stained with the blood of the victims of Sunday's demonstration. They shouted "Down with the government."

They marched behind 23 coffins. While the funeral services were being held in the packed Athens cathedral, they knelt in the streets, massed a quarter mile outside. When they arose, they shouted, "Revenge! Revenge! Down with Papandreou!"

A MICROCOSM

The savagery of the Allied occupation toward the Greek masses is in glaring contrast to their solicitude for the counter-revolutionary forces of Greek capitalism. The police, protected by the British and escorted to their stations after assaults by armed workers, are the very same police who served under the bloody dictatorship of Premier Metaxas from 1937 to 1941. They are the same killers who served the Nazi military with the same savagery with which they now serve Allied conquerors.

These events in Greece expose the absolutely counter-revolutionary role of Allied imperialism. Allied armies are occupying Greece for the same reason they occupy Belgium — to put down the rising workers' revolution in Europe. The N. Y. Times, mouth-

piece of Big Business, expresses this clearly when it says in its main editorial of Dec. 4, "The present political problem in Greece is in microcosm the present political problem of Europe." The editorial states that British and American armies "once they have recognized any government... are bound to support it if necessary against violence or armed insurrection from any source."

The Times then concludes approvingly, "Hence the British have been thoroughly justified in supporting both the Pierlot Government in Belgium and the Papandreou Government in Greece. To maintain public order and their own authority, both of these, like the de Gaulle Government in France, had no alternative but to demand that the Communists and other resistance groups turn in their arms."

WEAPON OF HUNGER

According to INS, Dec. 5, Lincoln MacVeigh, American Ambassador to Greece, declared, "We will give liberal support to any government the Greek people want, but with civil war hanging over the country, American aid to Greece has had to stop. The ships in Piraeus harbor may have to move out and all our relief work has had to stop. Thus if real civil war breaks out and goes on for some time, the people of Greece may face more months of starvation."

If the masses of Greece and Belgium entertained any illusions about the role of the Allied imperialists, the events in Brussels and Athens are fast wiping out these illusions.

STALINIST BETRAYALS

The main obstacle between the Greek working class and the advancement of the proletarian revolution is now Stalinism. The treacherous role of the Stalinists, however, becomes clearer each day. Instead of opposing Allied imperialism and warning the masses, the Stalinists supported the Allied conquerors, accepting posts in their puppet cabinet. Cold calculation marked their lies that the Allies were bringing democracy and liberation to Greece. When the Allied commander began pressing for disarmament of the workers in the teeth of popular resentment, the Stalinists did not expose his aims, but on the contrary prepared to help carry them out.

"IF NECESSARY..."

In the face of the present slaughter, Stalinist Dimitri Partsalides, secretary general of EAM, declared, "if necessary, we will fight for liberty against Papandreou and his gendarmes." Despite the infliction of civil war on the people, the Stalinists raise the question as to whether or not it is "necessary" to fight! Partsalides added, "after yesterday's clash, the ELAS could not surrender our arms by Dec. 10 as ordered." Although the Stalinists still hope to deliver up the arms of the working class, with the outbreak of armed conflict, their task is rendered far more difficult.

The terrible ordeal into which the Allies have plunged the Greek workers will, however, soon serve to bring into glaring relief the treacherous role of the Stalinist leaders. Then the wrath of the heroic Greek workers will turn upon these betrayers.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Today the steel towns are darkened with smoke. They're murky with the flue dust spewed out of the blast furnaces. In the dawn you look up at the open hearth stacks that loom over the towns, and you see smoke trailing out of them, brown-red, white, and black. At high noon you see it. At sundown it still pours out.

Sometimes as you look, your mind goes back a few years. You remember those same stacks standing there naked, smokeless. At night when you look toward the lake and see the sky suddenly burst into flame as some engineer oyer on the cinder-dump empties the ladles into the water, you may recall that the night skies were once much blacker.

Perhaps if you're a serious sort of guy you may look beyond today and into the gray tomorrow when once more the stacks will be dead, and little groups of men will again gather in front of the corner saloon outside the big gate, repeating with desperate eagerness rumors that two more open hearths are soon to start up, that another blast furnace should be in operation in the near future, or that the rolling mill is going to take on thirty men before long.

Now, with all the talk about returning to the forty-hour week, increasing numbers of steelworkers are thinking of things like this.

To us the five day week is a menacing specter, and the shadow of this apparition is—the depression.

I'll never forget what we had to go through during the last depression. I remember working six or eight days a month and bringing home miserable little paychecks of fifteen dollars or thereabout every couple of weeks. After that there was a period when I worked even less and earned less, but, in spite of that, there was no Relief for us, because I was employed.

How the bills piled up! We used to get coal from the plant on credit; but they didn't give us any bargain price, and, every now and then when we least expected it, they would deduct a good sized payment for it out of our scanty checks. I think that that one thing made us hate the company more than any other action of theirs. I'm not sure, though: there was another thing. After I was laid off entirely, the company "union" got magnanimous once or twice and sent us baskets of food on holidays. The newspapers made a big thing of it—(the less fortunate steelworkers were not being forgotten)—but when you tried to use the food, half of it wasn't fit to eat.

Ah, but that layoff! How I remember that! I don't know now why I dreaded it so much. As long as I was working less than I would have gotten from the Welfare, when you consider the different things that you could get from the Relief Office... if you went down and raised enough hell. I suppose it was just the "foolish" pride of a man who is willing to work and doesn't want to go begging. But whatever it was, I know each day I worked I was in mortal fear of being called into the office to hear the words "We'll notify you when we need you again."

But finally it happened. I couldn't tell Mary. When my next work day came along, that is, the next day I would have been scheduled to work if they hadn't laid me off, I took my lunch and went down to Emil's place, and I didn't go home until shift-changing time. Of course it wasn't long before the truth came out. Hell, you can't keep a secret like that when payday rolls around.

Running Fight With The Welfare People

From then on it was a running fight with the Welfare visitors and sometimes with the people in the Welfare Office itself. One time I even hung around the mayor's office until the cops began to think I wanted to do him some harm and chased me away.

Little Dick was eight then, and Joey was twelve. Both kids needed plenty of milk, but nobody seemed to care whether a couple of little "Polacks" had a chance to grow up healthy or not. It was the same over at the DiRosa house a few doors away. The visitor told them bluntly that the government had enough "American" children to take care of, and anyway Italian kids could get along without milk. It's easy to imagine how the colored kids made out!

I remember how we used to live in the kitchen, because we couldn't afford to heat the rest of the house. I remember on Christmas Eve begging a shabby, drooping little bundle of evergreen branches from a dealer who knew no one would ever want to buy it. That was my kids' Christmas tree!

I remember the way we got to feel then. Except for special things like the remarks that Welfare visitors used to enjoy making now and then, or rotting food in a Christmas basket, we were past anger. Our hearts had been squeezed too dry for resentment. We were conscious only of a dull aching feeling of apathy, a hopeless misery.

Every day was the same. There was no faith in the future and hardly any remembrance of the past. The idea of working, having a steady job and a steady income, was something unreal. We almost doubted that we had ever worked, ever lived like human beings. Out on the streets we would watch the automobiles with amazement, wondering how in the world so many people had been able to save up money enough to buy them. One day I found a dollar on the pavement and rushed home with a lump in my throat. It took a long time for the anger to come back.

Yes, that's what poverty means, in fact that's what capitalism means to the workers. Our scars from the last depression aren't even healed yet, and over our heads another, a greater and more terrible depression is hovering like an immense threatening buzzard that waits to feed on us.

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THE LESSON OF MINNEAPOLIS TEAMSTERS STRIKES OF 1934

There was no essential difference, in fact I don't think there was any serious difference at all between the strikers in Minneapolis and the workers involved in a hundred other strikes throughout the land in that period. Nearly all the strikes were fought with the greatest militancy by the workers. The difference was in the leadership and the policy. In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank and file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overawed by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing or another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top.

All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old-fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the

bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn.

Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 146-148. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 280 pp.; cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, 3, N.Y.)

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
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VOL. VIII—No. 50 Saturday, Dec. 9, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 8, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for 6 months. Bulk orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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— LEON TROTSKY

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A Year Of Teheran

One year ago Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met in strict secrecy at Teheran when they reached certain agreements on their objectives in the Second World War. At the conclusion of their conspirative conclave, they issued a joint declaration which presumed to state their aims.

"We are sure," they said in part, "that our concord will make an enduring peace. . . . We shall seek the cooperation of all nations, large and small, whose people are dedicated to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. . . ."

The supporters of American imperialism together with the liberal and labor lickspittles of Roosevelt took all these deceitful promises at face value and tried to pass them off as sterling silver. The Stalinists ecstatically shouted that Teheran ushered in a new world historical era of progress.

From the very first we took an altogether different attitude toward the Teheran conference and its consequences. On Dec. 18, 1943 *The Militant* stated: "The Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt declaration of Dec. 1. . . is one of the vaguest and in consequence most sinister diplomatic documents that has ever issued from the mills of secret diplomacy. . . . The real reason for secrecy is that the discussions at Teheran are a continuation of the conspiracy being hatched by Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt against the coming European revolution, above all the German revolution. At the same time, it is a conspiracy to subjugate the European peoples. . . . That is the real gist of the Teheran conference."

The events of the past year in Europe have served to expose the shabby lies of the co-conspirators and their choir-boys and to demonstrate that we Trotskyists alone told the truth about Teheran.

In Italy the Allies with Stalin's acquiescence have set up a puppet government composed of the detested monarchy, former fascist generals, and a few political ghosts and traitors to the working class willing to carry out the terms of a peace treaty so shameful that to this day it has not been made public. While the Allies shield ex-fascists and their capitalist collaborators, they have

ordered the armed workers in the North to cease resistance against the Nazis and lay down their weapons.

In France, in Belgium, in Greece the Allied imperialists are imposing their puppet governments upon the people by force of arms while they seek to disarm, subjugate and suppress the insurgent masses who demand bread, peace, jobs—and "free lives untouched by tyranny." Blood has already been spilt on the streets of Athens and Brussels.

Similar facts could be multiplied without end. They all go to prove that, instead of eliminating these scourges as promised at Teheran, the three evil counter-revolutionary conspirators who met there plotted and are working to establish in Europe their own brands of "tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance."

Wall Street's Choice

Emboldened by the abject subservience of the "labor statesmen" in the recent national elections, Roosevelt has moved without delay to strengthen Big Business control over American foreign policy. Roosevelt's appointment of a J. P. Morgan lieutenant, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., as Secretary of State, underscores his aim of furthering the imperialist ambitions of the marauding plunderbund which seeks to dominate the world market and make Wall Street the center of world tribute. The appointment of Stettinius was heralded as the beginning of a general "reorganization" of the State Department. Subsequent appointments have already installed such tycoons as Nelson Rockefeller, son of the oil magnate, and William Clayton, world's largest cotton jobber, in key positions.

The new Secretary of State has been groomed since birth by the House of Morgan to battle for the special interests of Big Business. Along with Rockefeller, he is one of the clan of Robber Barons directly linked with the top ruling capitalist circles. As scions of America's ruling Sixty Families, they are ideally suited instruments to advance the economic positions seized by Wall Street during the war.

Already the press reports that Stettinius proposes to institute a "general rearrangement of foreign economic functions" increasing State Department "jurisdiction in the foreign economic field." The appointment of these moneybags to shape United States foreign policy lays bare the reactionary and predatory aims of Wall Street's war.

Two Conventions

The recent conventions of the AFL and CIO met during a critical period in the history of American labor. The problems which loom on the horizon are of titanic proportions. The two organizations reported a combined membership approximating 13 million workers. Another million workers are probably organized in the ranks of the Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions. The organized contingent of the American working class has achieved giant stature. It represents a power mighty enough to lift the country on its shoulders. Once this power is unleashed, the death knell of capitalist tyranny, exploitation and oppression will have sounded.

Standing at the head of this trade union colossus is a craven gang of pigeon-hearted poltroons, who quail at the very thought of struggle. All their energy and cunning is applied in keeping labor subservient to the exploiting class. In payment for services rendered, the employers and their government, use all means at their disposal to bolster the bureaucratic authority of the labor skates in policing and "disciplining" the ranks.

The authentic voice of the rank and file was smothered at both conventions. This was particularly noticeable at the CIO convention. The CIO arose and developed in conflict with the fossilized bureaucracy of the AFL. In the less than ten years of its existence, the gap between the top CIO leaders and the ranks has widened into an abyss. Not a single echo of the revolt in the CIO ranks against the unconditional surrender policy of the top leadership was able to cross this divide.

The period of war reaction has speeded up the process of bureaucratization inside the CIO. But the CIO top bureaucrats face a far more difficult problem in maintaining their control than their counter-parts in the AFL. The CIO is based on the most dynamic section of the American working class in the mass production industries. These workers have militant traditions of struggle. Capitalism in decay can no longer grant significant concessions but seeks to take away those concessions won in the past decade. More immediately and directly than the AFL, which is still largely based on the aristocracy of labor, the CIO faces a life and death struggle for its very existence.

In this struggle the union militants must understand that the bureaucrats function as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. The government which they support functions as the executive arm of this class. The struggle thus assumes a political character which requires that the workers break decisively with all agents of the class enemy. The labor lackeys who cling desperately to Roosevelt's coattails must be replaced by a new leadership and program. This task is national in scope and political in character.

The auto militants at the recent UAW convention have pointed the road. The organization of a genuine progressive wing in the unions based on a program of working class independent action on the economic and political field can rally a decisive section of the American working class for the fulfillment of its historic tasks. The transitional program of the Socialist Workers Party provides an indispensable guide to the new leadership that will inevitably arise in the next period.

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Telephone Operator Strikes Back

Editor:

The following letter was written to PM, the so-called "liberal" newspaper published in New York, which opposed the strike of the telephone workers.

"I am a telephone operator here and my sympathies were with the strikers. In fact, I'd be quite willing to go on strike myself. Why? Figure it out. How much does the girl operating your switchboard get? No measly \$20 a week, I'll wager. Have you ever tried to live on that kind of money, especially now? We have been asking for a raise in pay for over two years and it has been stalled and delayed at every turn. We have to take all sorts of insults from customers who abuse us and call us names.

"You're on the wrong side this time. You're doing the pushing around. We operators have been too meek and patient too long. I'm glad something is being done at last.

N. S.
New York

"P. S.—My husband is fighting in the Philippines and he's on my side."

Demands Release Of Trotskyists

Editor:

The following letter appeared in the December 4 issue of *The Progressive*.

"I do not see how *The Progressive* can help but put in a few lines each issue condemning the Government for keeping the 18 Socialist Workers Party members in jail. As your paper pointed out—but that was several months ago—these 18 were convicted only for their beliefs: their beliefs being mainly that capitalism is the cause of most of the ills of society today.

"These ills are mainly wars and depressions, and these ills in society will continue and get worse until the people abolish capitalism with socialism. The Socialist Workers Party members, who call themselves Trotskyists, predict that the capitalists will not give up their ownership and control of industry without a struggle, and base their prediction on history. . . .

"What is significant about the

persecution of these 18 Trotskyists is that it is the first step in further persecutions of the working class, or anyone who speaks out against the ruling class. Those who stand idly by and think they are safe from persecution may be next on the list.

"Who knows who will be next? Even *The Progressive* will not be safe because it does such a good job in pointing out the evils existing under the present system.

"So I say, run an item every issue demanding the release of these Trotskyists."

Lorn Keppy,
Huntington Park, Cal.

Policies Decisive

Editor:

Kovalesky's many fine sketches are now topped in my opinion by his portrait of "Terry O'Day"—the evolution of a trade union militant into a cogwheel of the Murray machine. It is just this question which so many workers do not understand—they think in terms of "honest" men and "crooks," and when an official does something wrong, they wonder "how much did he get?"

This is one of the points *The Militant* must continue to explain: it's not a question of "honesty," but the rotten policies of the bureaucrats which are responsible for the mess. We need further elaboration of this idea in the clear and simple terms employed by Kovalesky.

M. B.
Newark

Trotsky Is Author

Editor:

Last week *The Militant* mentioned the pamphlet issued in Italy called "The Life of Lenin," which Stalin had attempted to have suppressed by the Allied officials.

The December 1 issue of *Justice*, official organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, verifies what many of us suspected about the authorship of this work:

"The matter aroused some curiosity in Washington. I am now able to report to you that the author of the pamphlet which the Russians found so objectionable is none other than the late Leon Trotsky."

Garment Worker
New York

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

South Africa

One Negro was killed, six seriously injured and 50 more put in the hospital as the result of a violent anti-Negro riot in Johannesburg in mid-November. Thousands of whites and Negroes were involved in the riot, stated Allied Labor News.

According to the statement of an eye-witness, Rev. Michael Scott, the trouble began after a trolley had run over a Negro. The white trolley driver and conductor chased away the family and friends of the injured man, using abusive language. An angered crowd of Negroes threw stones at the trolley car and a free-for-all started when white youths attacked the Negroes.

Scott declared that police made no effort to interfere with bands of riotous whites who roamed the streets beating up any Negroes encountered. In the name of the Campaign for Right and Justice, of which he is organizing secretary, Scott called upon the Minister of Justice to hold a judicial inquiry.

This assault, like similar incidents that have preceded it, was the product of the vicious discrimination to which Negroes are subjected in South Africa. They have no rights and are treated as pariahs in a land in which they number 7,000,000 out of a total population of less than 10,000,000.

In recent times, the Negroes have begun to assert themselves in organized fashion. They have demanded repeal of the Pass Laws under which they were converted into virtual slaves and an end to the whole system of race discrimination. Replying to the just efforts of the Negroes to win human rights, the white ruling class incites the dregs of the white population to acts of mob violence, bordering on pogroms, in order to terrorize the rebellious slaves.

Commenting editorially on the Johannesburg riot, the liberal

weekly *Guardian*, which is published in South Africa, declared that the country "is heading for a chaos of racial strife" which can only be prevented by a firm and open stand "for the principles of justice and humanity."

The paper points out that "millions of South Africans (the Negroes) starve, go half naked, live in hovels, and die of tuberculosis and syphilis, but never a word of protest comes from the pack of racists in the Dominion and Nationalist parties (parties of the white ruling class) or their hirelings in the church and press."

One could hardly expect "a word of protest" from white imperialist rulers of this British Dominion who profit from the subjugation of the Negroes to abominable conditions. The Negroes can win their freedom and the right to live and be treated as human beings only in vigorous struggle against the oppressors. Their just cause must become the cause of the whole world working-class.

Spain

The "liberal" Spanish politicians who facilitated Franco's rise to power and then fled into exile are casting about for some method of bringing about the downfall of the Franco regime without opening the floodgates of social revolution.

The Republican leader Diego Martinez Barrio, who has described himself as President of Spain since the death of Manuel Azana, addressed a meeting of 3,000 Spanish Americans in New York last week and proposed a "peaceful overthrow" of Franco in order to avoid a "second civil war."

Barrio has observed how the masses of other European countries, having risen to drive out the Nazi invaders, are keeping their arms in order to settle scores with their domestic exploiters and oppressors. The out-

Bosses Profit From Worker's Inventions

Editor:

I am sending a copy of "Labor and Management News," official publication of the War Production Board, for your consideration. This publication is being given widespread distribution in local plants, and since I have never noticed any criticism or mention of it in *The Militant*, I thought it should be called to your attention.

How workers can be so gullible is beyond me. To begin with the name sounds as ironical as a "Lion and Lamb Committee" (as if their interests were mutual also). I have outlined what workers receive "honorable mention" for in this paper:

"At the Oklahoma City plant of Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc., Robert K. Headley's suggestion of splitting sections into four prefabricated assemblies has accomplished savings of 92,000 man-hours per year. Headley was awarded an honorable mention. Another such honor went to Andrew J. Crayer for a metal spacer pin used in heat treating and to Walter D. Wrigley and H. F. Cook for their form block for fin braces. This form block used on a hydro press, cuts an eight-hour job to 36 minutes."

Now for another subject. I have noticed in recent issues of *The Militant* that you make a practice of abbreviating the names of groups or parties. At the bottom of page 1 of the November 11 issue under the article entitled "Mexican Government Launches Violent Anti-Labor Offensive," the CTM, Stalinist, is mentioned. I was unable to identify or define these initials. I would suggest you compile a list with their abbreviations in the corner of *The Militant* for the benefit of new readers in particular who need our earnest consideration.

H. C.
Cincinnati, O.

EDITOR'S NOTE: We employ abbreviations because of space limitations. However, when we use an unfamiliar abbreviation, we try to give the full name at the beginning of the story so that the reader can refer to it at a glance.

The initials CTM stand for Confederación Trabajadores Mexicanos (Mexican Workers Federation).

British Cocoa Monopoly And The 'Four Freedoms'

The exploitation of 800,000 native cocoa producers in West Africa by British imperialism was cited by Roi Otley, noted Negro author, as a sample of the pattern of exploitation the British ruling class intends to continue and extend through the war for the "Four Freedoms."

British manufacturers of cocoa products, who have a virtual monopoly on the world market although the American people are the largest consumers, have been able to extract over \$1,000,000 net profit from the produce of the family farms.

A combine of British manufacturers maintains a purchasing "pool" which fixes the prices of the raw product and compels the native farm-stealers to sell at fantastically low prices. The crop is then divided among the chocolate firms and a portion of the chocolate is then resold to American firms.

Otley reports in the N. Y. daily PM, that "this squeeze play caused a revolt of the African natives in 1937. The farmers refused to sell their crops; some even burned them. They also declared a boycott of British manufactured goods, principally Lancashire cottons."

After an "investigation" by a British government commission, a Cocoa Marketing Commission was established under the British Food Ministry when the war began. It was headed by one of the big cocoa manufacturers! This commission "immediately established prices which were even lower than the Africans had received in the past."

"The pattern is to remain following the war," reports Otley. "The British Government is most firm that wartime 'controls' continue after the war."

Hidden Price Rises Due To Sale Of Shoddy Goods

A "confidential horror story" is what the Wall Street Journal terms a closely-guarded secret Office of Price Administration report about the foisting of shoddy merchandise on the consumers as a means of beating price controls.

According to the recent account in the Wall Street Journal, this OPA report contains such explosive facts that it is unlikely the government will release it to the public. The Journal, one of the most powerful "house organs" of Big Business, disclosed that it had secured a copy of the suppressed document, which deals primarily with the rooking the consumers have been taking on clothing.

The use of poor quality materials in place of former standard grades is almost universal, OPA investigators have found. Upgrading of quality and prices is widespread. Inspection standards have been lowered, workmanship is careless, skimpy measurements prevail. Many garments purchased by government inspectors sold to pieces on the first washing. Shoddy goods are held high above ceiling prices.

One of the means of getting around price controls is the elimination of low-price lines. Wage-earners are compelled to buy at steep price levels "high grade" merchandise, which often is inferior to former low-priced items.

The responsibility for this form of hidden price-boasting—which government statistical agencies have ignored in order to establish phony figures on the rising cost-of-living—lies with the War Production Board, the OPA report is said to declare. The WPB textile division is charged with being run by agents of the big textile corporations. And the OPA has no real enforcement powers.

Academic Liberty Under The Capitalist System

Every once in a while a scandal occurs at some leading institution of "hire learning" which reminds us again that education, ideas and culture under capitalism are nothing but commodities whose manufacture and sale are strictly regulated in the interests of the capitalist ruling class.

A case now attracting national interest is the recent dismissal of Dr. Homer T. Rainey as president of the University of Texas, a state supported institution, and the dismissal or threatened firing of a number of other professors and instructors. The case is of particular importance not only because of the question of academic freedom but because it has a direct connection with labor issues.

There is a long background of conflict between Dr. Rainey and his associates and the big business interests of the state who control the university's Board of Regents. The Board had persistently attempted to regulate the expression of opinion and teachings on economic and social problems. Among other actions, it tried to make the professors fill out an elaborate questionnaire on their social and political views and prevented a number of research projects, including a study of the effects of the Sacco-Vanzetti case on American literature.

In March 1942, the business interests in Dallas called a mass meeting to whip up anti-labor sentiment. They published a big advertisement in the Dallas Morning News declaring "We Want Action!" and asserting that war production was being impaired because "there is a law which says a man should work only 40 hours per week!"

Two university professors, Wendell Gordon and W. N. Peach, wrote the newspaper stating that there was no such law, that work over 40 hours was permitted provided overtime wages were paid. Together with two other professors, Fagg Foster and Dr. D. V. Carlson, they went to the "open" meeting and sought permission to speak. They were denied that right.

They sent a statement of protest to the press exposing the organized anti-labor character of the meeting. Subsequently, by action of the Board of Regents, Gordon, Peach and Foster were fired. An investigation of the dismissals by the American Association of University Professors has thus far resulted in a condemnation of this action. Dr. Rainey's discharge followed the issuance of the AAUP report. He had supported its contentions.