

CHURCHILL ADMITS IMPERIALIST DEALS

CIO Ranks Back Montgomery Ward Strikers

Auto Workers Join Picket Lines to Support Fight Against Nation's No. 1 Open-Shopper

By John Saunders

DETROIT, Mich., Dec. 16.—Backed officially by their own international union and the mighty ranks of the auto workers and all other CIO unions in this area, over 2,000 members of Local 332, CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, today entered the second week of their militant strike at four Montgomery Ward stores here. The strike was provoked by the failure of the Roosevelt administration to enforce long-standing WLB directives against Sewell L. Avery, Montgomery Ward head and the Nation's No. 1 Open-Shopper.

Brushing aside the no-strike pledge for the first time since Pearl Harbor, virtually all CIO locals here have gone on record pledging "moral, financial and physical support" to the Ward strikers. With the fighting auto workers in the lead, unionists from every CIO-organized industry are demonstrating their solidarity on the Ward picket lines. Since the beginning of the strike last Saturday, the struggle has grown to embrace over 90 per cent of the Ward workers.

Once more the Ward workers are throwing a national spotlight on Roosevelt's kid-glove policy toward the open-shop employers. For over two years, the Ward corporation has brazenly defied WLB orders to grant a union maintenance-of-membership contract. Over eight months ago, Roosevelt broke the Ward strike in Chicago by his "plant seizure," which ended with the property returned to Avery, who has never complied with the WLB orders.

The spark that touched off the Detroit Ward strike was Avery's brazen announcement that he would continue his non-compliance, after the U. S. Supreme Court itself on November 13 denied his plea for enjoining the WLB from issuing directives to the Ward company.

SPRIT OF '37

Some of the fire and spirit of the great upsurge of '36 and '37 seems to pervade this area once more. The CIO ranks are acting as if a tight noose had been removed from their necks. Hundreds

of auto workers have joined the Ward picket lines from early morning until 9 P.M. when the stores are shut. Today, Saturday, the picket lines were so large, the Ward officials were compelled to close all stores at 5 P.M. The Royal Oak store had to be closed at that early hour yesterday. Although it is the height of the Christmas shopping season, these stores are almost empty.

When customers in this union town refused to pass the picket line at Royal Oak, the Ward manager appealed for state police aid from Governor Kelly. In contrast with the government's paralysis in moving against Avery, the Governor sped state troops to the aid of Ward in jig time. A capitalist court hastily issued an injunction against any union "interference" at the Royal Oak store, although the pickets were completely peaceful.

GOOD OLD DAYS

For the first time in years, you could see the enthusiasm of the good old days on the picket lines. Hundreds of workers marched back and forth, singing "Solidarity Forever" and "We Shall Not Be Moved." Workers from the Aircraft Unit Ford Local 600, led the lusty singing at the Dearborn store. At the Grand River store, pickets staged a burlesque of the removal of Avery by troops from his Chicago plant eight months ago. Under the pressure of the militant auto union ranks and the CIO workers generally, even CIO and

(Continued on page 4)

Hunger and Black Markets Provoke Rome Food Riots

Food riots, one of the most significant signs of revolutionary ferment, have been recurring in Rome. Driven by acute hunger, crowds numbering as many as a thousand aroused housewives have recently stormed stores and market places, smashing windows and stalls in protest against black market prices.

A typical outbreak occurred on December 7 in the Testaccio district, one of the poorest in the city. Word spread that police were being sent to visit merchants in an effort to induce them to charge official prices. Soon a thousand women and children gathered and bought up everything in sight at official prices.

Then they decided to "assist" the police. They went from street to street compelling the black market food merchants to sell their goods at "reasonable" prices. The police finally intervened and "restored order." The reason for the riots, according to Rome's Chief of Police Morazzini, was one word, "Hunger!"

According to the December 7 N. Y. Times dispatch from Rome: "Hunger because of scarcity must perforce be borne, but hunger because of profiteering provides the elements for a popular uprising and this was what happened today. For instance, a year ago sugar cost 300 lire a kilo; today it costs 700 lire. The official price is 15 lire."

The Allied puppet Premier Bonomi on December 17 admitted in a broadcast that there was "little hope of improved economic conditions," but appealed to the hungry Italian masses to "fight to win the war" for the new imperialist masters of Italy.

surgents, revealed December 13 that Britain had a secret agreement with Moscow. "Russia undertook to stabilize Rumania, and we undertook the main problem in Greece in accordance with this agreement with Russia," Bevin affirmed the truth of Churchill's declarations concerning Roosevelt's role in these secret deals. "Proposals regarding Greece were submitted to President Roosevelt at Quebec and were initiated by him," Bevin even admitted the imperialist aims motivating British policy. "The British Empire, whether we like it or not, cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean."

Neither Moscow nor Washington has denied the truth of Bevin's revelations.

These sinister agreements were made under the cloak of secret diplomacy and covered up with the most cynical declarations about freedom from hunger and freedom of the "liberated" peoples to choose their own governments. These secret deals were not debated in the U. S. Congress or the British Parliament. That would have exposed them and such deals cannot stand light, any more than could the imperialist deals of the Czar which were exposed by the Bolsheviks after the October 1917 revolution.

The AFL and CIO bureaucrats demand a labor representative at the peace conferences which the imperialists claim will be held on the cessation of armed hostilities. It would be difficult to say whether the stupidity of this proposal outweighs its fraud. The character of the "peace" has already been decided upon by the imperialists and their lackies. The details of the "peace" are being written right now in the secret conclaves of the diplomats. It is being decided behind the backs of the workers and farmers dragged into fighting the war. Only the first details are coming to light now as Allied troops begin imposing this "peace" by force and violence upon the masses of Europe.

Opposition to secret diplomacy is thus opposition to the imperialist deals which, if permitted to continue, will surely bring on a Third World War far bloodier and more destructive than the Second. Opposition to secret diplomacy is opposition to capitalist anarchy, capitalist famine, capitalist wars. It is opposition to the predatory rule of utterly reactionary cliques who slaughter millions to preserve their privileges. Down with secret diplomacy!

Secret Diplomacy



Roosevelt's New Draft Decree Tightens Job Freeze Shackles

By R. Bell

Following a rabid labor-baiting campaign whipped up by the Roosevelt administration, the White House released a "Statement on Manpower" embodying a new "work or fight" decree freezing workers to their jobs at frozen wages. As *The Militant* warned last week, the hysterical ballyhoo about an alleged "munitions shortage" has been used as a pretext to tighten the chains of forced labor on the American workers. Under an order issued by "Assistant President" James F. Byrnes, workers must

get permission from their local draft boards before leaving their jobs. Failure to do so carries the threatened penalty of being drafted. The forced labor decree is directed primarily at men in the 26-to-37 age bracket.

It is publicly admitted by Selective Service officials that the Roosevelt-Byrnes "work or fight" decree is intended to "put teeth" into the job freeze. The Army has repeatedly announced that it does not want men over 26 for military service. A general order was issued to this effect some time ago. It remained in effect until the spurious "munitions shortage" ballyhoo was initiated by Roosevelt and his generals a few weeks ago. This provided the pretext for reviving the campaign to conscript labor for work in private industry. Under cover of this campaign the White House order instructed the draft boards to resume the induction of men from 26 to 37 who leave their jobs "without permission."

When asked if the "work or fight" decree would increase the number of inductions in the 26-to-37 age group, Colonel Keesling, Selective Service legislative officer replied: "I don't think it will net us very many... The new policy," Col. Keesling said, "will tend to keep these men in their war jobs, and that is its purpose." The N. Y. Times, one of Wall Street's fervent advocates of labor conscription, approvingly reports that Keesling "has at least two additional steps in mind."

(1) To bring the 4F's within the "work or fight" decree and (2) the 38-to-45 age group. The same Keesling fathered the "4F plan" last March to impose compulsory service in labor battalions on men physically disqualified and over age.

As part of the new forced labor plan the Army has granted "furloughs" to thousands of men for work in private industry. The N. Y. Times reports that: "Men up to 26 who have been released from the armed forces for war work have been sent to specified plants in the understanding that if they did not remain on those jobs they would be subjected to immediate recall to armed duty." In commenting on this action, the Washington correspondent of the *New Leader* says:

"Instead of drafting men

(Continued on page 5)

Tresca Meeting

Memorial meetings in honor of Carlo Tresca, editor of the anti-Fascist Italian-American weekly, *Il Martello*, will be held throughout the United States and in Italy, England, Mexico and Cuba, on January 11, the second anniversary of his death. Tresca for decades a noted fighter for labor's rights, was shot to death on a New York street by an unknown assassin. At the time both the Fascists and Stalinists were conducting a vicious slander campaign against him.

Friends of the murdered labor martyr will attend the memorial meeting in New York City to take place in Webster Manor, 119 East 11th Street. Similar meetings are being arranged in Sulmona, Italy, Tresca's birthplace, London, England, Havana, Cuba, San Francisco and other cities.

CRDC Groups Spur Aid For Imprisoned 12

Local Civil Rights Defense Committee groups throughout the country are stepping up their activities in the \$5,000 Christmas Fund campaign to provide Christmas cheer and relief for the 12 imprisoned Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners and their families. This fund will also enable the CRDC to continue the fight for unconditional pardons for all 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison last New Year's Eve under the Smith "Gag" Act. Six of the 18 terminated their sentences recently.

The New York committee, after concluding a successful bazaar in which \$800 was raised for the fund, has concentrated on the sale of the special Minneapolis Labor Case Christmas seals, selling more than \$100 worth already. CRDC members are visiting union locals to acquaint them with the case and secure contributions. Seattle last week presented a special showing of Sergei Eisenstein's great film classic, "Thunder Over Mexico," to a packed house of 130, who contributed \$100.

Chicago is planning a New Year's Eve dance which is expected to top all its previous highly-successful affairs. San Francisco held an affair netting \$80, and has scheduled a Christmas dinner to raise additional funds. Cleveland is holding a New Year's Eve Frolic. Youngstown is having a big social on December 17, with a special performance of "Trial By Fury," burlesque skit of the Minneapolis trial. Detroit will hold a January social, with the showing of the films of the Minneapolis defendants. Boston has two public meetings scheduled for early January, at the Workmen's Circle center and at Harvard University, with Oscar Shoenfeld, one of the 6 released prisoners, as a speaker.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions were received last week from the following organizations: CIO United Automobile Workers locals 250, 202, 114, 900, Detroit, 662, Anderson, Ind., and 566, Buffalo, N. Y.; CIO United Rubber Workers locals 151, Norwood, O., and 133, Hawthorne, N. J.; AFL Ladies Garment Workers locals 76, Chicago, and 99, N. Y. C.; United Warehouse Employees, CIO, Local 543, St. Louis; United Bakery and Confectionery Workers, CIO, Local 40, Detroit; CIO Oil Workers Local 390, Muskegon, Mich.

All contributions should be sent to James T. Farrell, Chairman, Civil Rights Defense Committee, 106 5th Av., N.Y. 10, N.Y.

Tells How Allies Agreed at Teheran To Carve Europe

Slaughter in Greece Previews 'Peace' Plan

By Joseph Hansen

The Allied slaughter of Greek workers and peasants — like the Allied counter-revolutionary activities in Italy and Belgium — gives us a preview of the "peace" worked out in the secret conferences of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Teheran, Casablanca, Cairo and Quebec. In their eagerness to get their hands on the booty over which they are fighting, the imperialist gangsters are moving in even before their main rivals for imperialist domination of the world have been definitively beaten. This booty consists of territories, markets, spheres of influence, military and economic bases, communication lines, colonies, natural resources.

The rivalries among the Allied powers, coupled with the great popular indignation over the "unexpected" turn towards civil war in the ostensible war for "democracy," have begun to bring into the light some of the secret deals. Churchill revealed on December 5 that Roosevelt and Stalin had handed over Greece, Italy and Belgium as "spheres of influence" to British imperialism as its share of the spoils of war. Churchill again took the floor in the House of Commons December 12 to reveal in part how the "Big Three" at Teheran had decided to carve up Germany and Poland.

PARTITION OF GERMANY

According to Churchill, the Soviet Union is to get "one-third of Poland," including the "Pripet Marshes, a most desolate region which, though it swells acreage, does not add to the wealth of those who own it."

Stalin wants this territory as a buffer against future attack whether from Germany or the Allied imperialists. In return, Churchill reveals, whittled-down Poland will get "East Prussia south and west of Koenigsberg, including Danzig, one of the most magnificent cities in the world, famous for centuries and the great gathering place for the trade of the Baltic and indeed of the world."

The plot to carve up Germany and Poland includes "the disentanglement of peoples in the west and north and transference of several millions of people... the

(Continued on page 2)

Secret Diplomacy

An Editorial

The outlines of the imperialist "peace" are becoming manifest. Far from being a peace arrived at democratically, it is a "peace" agreed upon by bandits in the dead of night.

First Churchill announced in the House of Commons on December 8 that British imperialism was allotted Greece as a sphere of influence. "At the Quebec conference it was proposed by the combined chiefs of staff that the British should prepare the forces to occupy the Athens area and pave the way... for the installment of the Greek Government which we and the great bulk of the United Nations had formally recognized." British troops landed to protect the interests of British imperialism by putting down the masses and upholding the puppet Papandreu Government.

Belgium was likewise handed to the British as a sphere of influence. Churchill, explaining who bore responsibility for shooting down Belgian workers, revealed: "I have no hesitation in saying not only did we obey General Eisenhower's orders, but we thought those orders were wise and sensible."

The same kind of secret deal was made by the counter-revolutionary bandits concerning prostrate Italy. "We have a joint arrangement with America about Italy," Churchill told Parliament. None of Churchill's revelations have been denied by Roosevelt or Stalin.

Second, Count Sforza, permitted to return to Italy by the U. S. State department, revealed December 11 that he signed a letter dated September 23, 1943, written by the U. S. State Department, pledging support of fascist general Badoglio's regime. The Count further confessed that when he passed through London, October 11, 1943, Churchill spent "the largest part of the two-hour conversation" persuading him to "accept King Victor Emmanuel III regardless of his heavy responsibilities with Fascism, with the war against Britain and with the consequent calamitous defeat."

Churchill admitted December 14 the truth of Sforza's revelations. Roosevelt has not denied them.

Third, Ernest Bevin, Labor Minister of Britain's imperialist government, trying to beat down the opposition at the Labor Party Conference to the government's policy of murdering the Greek in-

National Negro Organization Protests Jim-Crow Court-Martial Of 50 Sailors

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, leading Negro organization, has launched a protest campaign against the Navy's Jim-Crow court-martial and imposition of 8 to 15 years' prison sentences on 50 Negro sailors for alleged "mutiny." These men refused to load ammunition at the Mare Island, San Francisco Bay depot where 327 men had previously died in a catastrophic explosion.

An appeal has been addressed by the NAACP to President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Navy Forrestal to review these convictions. The NAACP protests the Jim-Crow nature of the trial and the anti-Negro policy which led to the court-martial.

The convicted men were among hundreds of Negro sailors who had been in the explosion and had been compelled to clean up the scene afterwards. Several had just been released from hospitals after recovery from explosion injuries. They were immediately

reassigned to the dangerous job of handling munitions loading on the scene of the explosion. This work was assigned almost exclusively to segregated Negro "labor battalions."

Thurgood Marshall, legal counsel for the NAACP, in a review of his findings after attendance at the trial of the convicted sailors, addressed a series of searching questions on the case to Secretary Forrestal:

"Why, at the time of the explosions at Port Chicago, every man loading ammunition there was a Negro?"

"I want to know why the Navy disregarded official warnings by the San Francisco waterfront unions — before the Port Chicago disaster — that an explosion was inevitable if they persisted in using untrained seamen in the loading of ammunition."

"I want to know why the Navy disregarded an offer by these same unions to send experienced men to train Navy personnel in the safe handling of explosives."

"I want to know why men with the lives of over 300 of their

friends, survivors were left in the ruins of Port Chicago, given no leaves — not even survivors' leaves — and in fact, told that they would not be given any leave until after they had gone back to loading ammunition."

Marshall pointed out that over 400 survivors of the Port Chicago explosion, all Negroes, had participated in the original refusal to load ammunition. "Just what kind of reasoning was used by the 12th Naval District in selecting an even 50 men out of the 400 and deciding that they and their alone should be tried for their lives?"

The answer to this last question is obvious. The Navy brass-hats arbitrarily chose 50, as an "example" to uphold the authority of the officers' caste and reinforce martinet "discipline" with an act of ruthlessness.

Organized labor is duty-bound to come to the defense of the 50. Trade unions must pour their protests into the White House and to Secretary Forrestal. They must raise the demand: Free the 50 Negro sailors!

"I would like to know why after a disaster which snuffed out

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The national membership referendum on the no-strike pledge, which the CIO United Automobile Workers convention on September 14 voted to hold "within 90 days", has finally been permitted by the international officials to get off to a start. On January 4, 1945, the special referendum committee will begin mailing 1,100,000 ballots to the membership.

All the ballots will be mailed, according to a statement of the international board, by January 27. The deadline for return of the ballots by mail will be midnight of February 17. UAW members in the armed forces, to whom ballots are also being sent, must mail them back no later than February 28. If nothing further intervenes, the final tabulation of the vote will be announced some time in March—six months after the convention motion was passed.

Naturally, the entire top leadership, which united in supporting reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge at the convention, was not anxious to expedite the vote. Their first move was to stall the referendum until after the presidential election. Then to wait for the CIO convention to go on record re-endorsing the no-strike pledge as further pressure on the auto workers to vote "right."

Instead of a simple wording to retain or rescind the no-strike pledge, the motion on the ballot itself intended to arouse patriotic sentiment in favor of the no-strike policy: "Do you favor the action of the Ninth Convention of the UAW-CIO, which reads as follows: 'Resolved, That this convention reaffirms for the duration of the war the no-strike pledge to the Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces and our country?'"

The convention motion specifically forbade the union officers from utilizing the union's funds, press and other facilities for propagandizing their anti-strike position. But the international board utilized the December 15 United Automobile Worker, containing the announcement of the referendum rules, to publish a full-page article supporting the no-strike policy. This was in the guise of a report on the CIO convention no-strike resolution and a big slug of Philip Murray's speech.

If the UAW officials' hands are somewhat tied by the motion restricting their use of the union's facilities for pressing their no-strike policy, they nevertheless have plenty of other means. The anti-labor capitalist press is giving them a nation-wide medium for spouting their views. UAW President R. J. Thomas was quoted nationally by the Associated Press when he called all wartime strikers "scabs," a slander not only against the scores of thousands of auto workers who have been forced to strike for their rights since Pearl Harbor but against some 2,000,000 loyal union workers who have also engaged in wartime strikes.

The UAW bureaucrats also have the most eager no-strike campaigners as aides—the Stalinists, who advocate permanent no-strike surrender to the bosses. Inside the UAW, the Stalinists are taking the lead in trying to get out the vote for the no-strike pledge. Stalinist-controlled locals in Detroit and elsewhere and Stalinist UAW officials, according to the Daily Worker, are "drawing upon all their patriotic resources" to defeat the militants in the referendum.

The Daily Worker, December 14, gives a big spread to the action of the Cleveland District Auto Council, dominated by the Stalinists, in calling on the auto workers to vote "yes" for the no-strike pledge. In this way, the Stalinists are spearheading the drive within the UAW for reaffirming the servile anti-strike policy which has enabled the corporations to put over their union-busting provocations.

CIO Textile Workers Union leaders have been concentrating all their efforts on securing passage of Senator Pepper's resolution to authorize the WLB to make 65 cents an hour the minimum for "substandard" wages. Emil Rieve, TWU President, appeared before a Senate subcommittee hearing on the resolution. He pointed out that over 11,000,000 American workers now earn less than 65 cents an hour, \$26 for a 40 hour week. The textile workers are notoriously among the most sweated wage slaves.

In an editorial, "Nailing a Lie," the December issue of Textile Labor, states that the TWU officers at the Senate hearings "nailed . . . one of the biggest lies of the war, a truly Hitlerian lie . . . the infamous falsehood that 'labor is getting rich through the war.' Rich on 45 cents an hour? Rich with a take-home pay of \$18.50 a week? Rich when you're not able to buy a suit of clothes more often than once in 18 years?"

But how do the TWU leaders propose to fight this frightful exploitation in the fifth year of the "war for democracy"? The fact that a Senate subcommittee has condescended to hear union testimony on the Pepper resolution, according to Textile Labor columnist John W. Edelman, is for the "American textile worker . . . a simple lesson on 'What the reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt means to me.' Because, you see, 'within a very few days after the election, the press carried stories which indicated that the Administration had decided to move towards boosting minimum wages up to 65 cents an hour for as many workers as could be legally reached by legislative or executive action.' Depend on Roosevelt, the TWU leaders state.

The questions which must leap immediately into every textile worker's mind are, "How come we're getting 45 cents an hour after 12 years of Roosevelt's rule? Why must our union officials plead before Senate hearings for a special law to permit us to reach the miserable level of 65 cents an hour?" The answer is indicated in the fact that a special panel of Roosevelt's War Labor Board, in conformity with his wage-freezing policy, turned down the TWU demand for a 10 cents an hour general wage raise and a 65 cents an hour minimum scale in the key American Woolen Company case.

The truth is that the TWU leadership has seized upon the Pepper resolution issue in order to cover up their failure to put up a militant fight against the Little Steel Formula and Roosevelt's wage-freeze. While the bosses peddle the "Hitlerian lie" that "labor is getting rich from this war," the TWU heads are misleading the workers with another lie: that the election of Roosevelt was a "great progressive victory" and that the sweat-textile workers can depend upon a "grateful administration" to secure their wage demands.

SWP Expansion Fund Drive Gets Good Response From Membership

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

The Trotskyist movement, from its very inception, conceived of itself as a combat army on the march, its goal being the complete emancipation of the working class; the establishment of a world free from tyranny and oppression.

Leon Trotsky wrote in the Program for the Founding Conference of the Fourth International, September 1938: "In the midst of abundance, with a productive apparatus which could, well organized and directed, cover more than all the present requirements of humanity, capitalism dooms millions of men to unemployment, miserable doles, or to starvation . . . we want to make a new world, where everyone works and is proud to work well, to know his job down to the smallest details; a world where everyone will eat according to his hunger, for production will be regulated according to the needs of the workers and not those of profit; a world where everybody must constantly learn, in order to better subordinate the forces of nature to the will of man; a new world; a new man who can make real all the hopes and powers he bears within him."

The Socialist Workers Party conducts every phase of its activity with this goal constantly in mind.

The manner in which the recent convention of the party was carried through, is testimony to the optimism, enthusiasm and energy of our movement. The decision to raise the \$18,000 Fund is further proof.

The membership throughout the country is rallying to the support of the fund campaign in true Trotskyist spirit, making the necessary sacrifices to complete it in record time.

We are sure of its success.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Akron, Buffalo, Reading, Rochester, Toledo and Milwaukee branches have promised to complete their quotas by January 23 to greet the return of our class-war prisoners.

Twin Cities, Minnesota, accepts its quota and says: "We believe it will take three months to raise this sum, but we will of course do everything possible to raise it by January 23rd."

Detroit writes: "As announced at the convention, we accept our quota and will try to raise it by January 23rd."

Chicago: "On the fund campaign—at the meeting last night, more than half of our quota was pledged. The pledges averaged ten per cent over our estimates. We will fulfill our quota."

New York, West Side Branch: "Comrade L. Allen has heavy personal responsibilities and could not make a pledge based on her regular weekly wage. She therefore decided to put in two to four hours overtime daily up to Christmas and made a \$25 pledge."

Dayton member-at-large says: "In the absence of any definite quota assigned me, I pledge myself for the sum of \$25 and will try to contribute more."

The Founding Conference of the Fourth International sent greetings to Leon Trotsky as follows: "There is the certainty that the enemy's blows, however heavy, will not prevent the doctrine of the socialist revolution from becoming the living reality of to-morrow."

Two years later, comrade Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's GPU.

The man is dead. His ideas, his spirit, his party lives! All the to-morrows are ours.



The bulk of correspondence received, both from our readers and agents, attests to the growing popularity of The Militant and the real need workers feel for a paper that tells them the truth. We quote from only a few of the letters received.

Cambridge, Mass.: "I should like to own James P. Cannon's book, The History of American Trotskyism, for which I enclose \$2. I also enclose 25c. in coin for a trial subscription to The Militant. I owe my first real insight to the Chinese situation to a sample copy of the latter publication."

Milwaukee Wis.: "Enclosed are two 25c subs and one \$1 sub, which incidentally was sold on the basis of Jack O'Connell's article, Two Kinds of Socialists." (This article appeared in the December 2 issue of The Militant.)

St. Paul, Minn.: "Thank you for informing us of the subscriptions sent to you by a subscriber here. I reported that last night and the comrade who secured the sub reported that this young

Italian worker's first comment was, 'How can I join that party?' You can be sure we'll follow up on the sub. Here are enclosed two more trial subs a comrade secured on the job."

Los Angeles, Cal.: "We sold 10 sets and obtained 8 renewals on this Sunday's mobilization. Increasingly, as the readers get a chance to read the paper more thoroughly we find that the amount of renewals increase."

One of our New York agents has been very successful in getting subscriptions from workers who attend the Forums. Others will have the same success if they employ this method: "There are many people who come to our forums because they are attracted by our advertisement in The Militant on a timely subject. Our comrades come to the forums not only to hear the lecture but also for the purpose of meeting just such contacts, but unless they make it a point to notice who the strangers are, introduce themselves, and get into a conversation with them, they are very likely to miss a good opportunity. It is very simple once you have started a conversation to ask for a subscription. Anyone who has taken the trouble to come to our forums by himself indicates an interest in our organization. I have had very good results in selling subscriptions at the N. Y. Forums because I have made it a point to notice strangers, sit next to them, become acquainted and ask them to buy a sub to The Militant."

San Francisco, Cal.: "Enclosed find \$1 for a six-month renewal of a trial sub. This subscriber when originally revisited for renewal bought pamphlets but hesitated about renewing. We kept him on the subscription list and he came up to our forum Sunday night, showed great interest and turned in his renewal."

Youngstown: "Enclosed are four subs. Please send us by return mail 50 sub cards. Our branch is having a mobilization this week and we expect to get quite a few new subs, so we will need these cards."

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	300	316	106%
Akron	300	145	48
Reading	75	35	47
N.Y. Maritime Club	3000	1260	42
Toledo	300	118	39
Buffalo	400	103	26
Newark	450	106	24
Detroit	1250	263	21
Boston	400	76	19
Cleveland	250	45	18
New York	3000	506	17
Bayonne	400	0	0
Chicago	2500	0	0
Los Angeles	2500	0	0
Milwaukee	100	0	0
Philadelphia	200	0	0
Rochester	50	0	0
San Diego	150	0	0
San Francisco	1500	0	0
Seattle	1000	0	0
Twin Cities	1000	0	0
Members-at-large and Friends	300	115	38
TOTAL		\$3089	17%

Pioneer Notes

The trial pamphlets continue to find a ready market. In the past two weeks the branches alone have ordered 600 of these pamphlets to supplement stock already on hand, for the experience of the literature campaign proved once again their great value in telling the story of the Minneapolis trial and in answering questions of socialism.

Los Angeles has put considerable effort and displayed great imagination in the distribution of the trial sets. An interesting report from the literature agent there states:

"This week we sold 27 sets on our mobilization. In addition we sold 5 sets on one of the news-stands and 8 Socialism on Trial on one of the others. In the next period we are going to attempt to place the set on stands all over the city."

Individuals who have read the trial pamphlets are buying sets for their friends. A Cincinnati reader sent an order this week: "I am enclosing a check for four of your pamphlet cases. Maybe I should order more, but I certainly wouldn't want to waste time."

The new Labor Party pamphlet is just out and is now on its way to the branches. New York had an advantage in being able to receive it "hot off the press" and we have heard many enthusiastic comments. "The liveliest looking pamphlet we have ever put out." "The new makeup, the two color cover, the illustrations—that is just what our pamphlets need."

"That cartoon on the cover and the good type combined with the popular subject and simple writing will make this a cinch to sell to workers." "The cartoons alone speak volumes. We'll find those cartoons on many a plant bulletin board."

Report On SWP Local Activity

NEW YORK — Joseph Hansen author of "Labor's Need—An Independent Labor Party," spoke on December 17 at the New York School of Social Science 116 University Place, explaining "Why Wall Street Opposes a Labor Party."

Comrade Hansen analyzed the influence which a Labor Party would exert on both domestic and foreign policies of the government, and how the formation of such a party would impel the American workers to take the road to state power. A large audience was present and asked many questions concerning the labor party and its prospects.

There will be no forums on Christmas Eve or New Year's Eve. The first of the January Sunday Night Forums, to be held January 7 at 8 P. M., will be "Civil War in Greece."

Minneapolis, Minn.—Under the slogan of "Nothing is too good for the Twin City Forum," Minneapolis and St. Paul comrades went to work last week with paint brushes, sanding machines and other equipment to transform the meeting hall where the forums are held each week into a place of beauty. Walls were painted, floors sanded, drapes remodeled and tinted to blend with the new paint job. The painting and decorating treatment was also given to the library and reading room which adjoins the meeting hall.

Today marked the beginning of the eighth consecutive year of the Twin City Sunday Forum, sponsored every year by the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the Socialist Workers Party. The renovation of the Minneapolis headquarters, where the forum is held, was completed on schedule to coincide with the opening of the forum season.

A capacity audience attended the first forum addressed by Dorothy Schultz, who spoke on the "Workers Revolt in Europe."

Greek Slaughter Is Preview Of Imperialist 'Peace' Plans

(Continued from page 1)

total expulsion of Germans from the areas to be acquired by Poland." The murderous-minded Churchill envisages no particular difficulty in making this "clean sweep," for he expects the German population to be so decimated by war that there will be plenty of "room." Churchill declared "these matters were first discussed at Teheran." He added that since then President Roosevelt has been "aware of everything that has passed and of what is in the minds of the Russians and British."

Why has Churchill made these revelations of the sinister deals at the present time? The December 16 N. Y. Times suggests Stalin wants Churchill to commit himself publicly in support of the carving up of Poland. Business Week, December 16, suggests Stalin is now raising his ante as a result of Soviet victories, bidding for an outlet to the Mediterranean at the expense of the former British sphere of influence.

Behind the curtain of secret diplomacy, the Allied powers squabble over their share of the booty, jockey for readjustments, strive to seize an extra plum, at times come to loggerheads over the division of the plunder of war. Such is the reality of the "Peace Aims" of the Allied Powers.

Meanwhile the bloody civil war continues to rage in Greece. Allied bullets ripping into the bodies of heroic Greek workers continue to speak with infinitely greater authority than the smoothly-turned phrases about democracy and freedom released by the imperialist thieves in their official proclamations.

As the civil war deepens, the Papandreou cabinet is exposed as merely the clerk of General Scobie and his invading army. Papandreou having exhausted his usefulness as a cloak for British imperialism, intrigues are already being set afoot to set up a new puppet regime. Out of the political boneyard, Churchill has now dug up three new candidates: General Plastiras, a former dictator, the doddering Sophoulis, 85-year-old leader of the Liberals, and Archbishop Damaskinos, all notoriously servile agents of the London banks.

Harold MacMillan, British Resident Minister in the central Mediterranean area, and British Ambassador Reginald Leeper have been in almost constant conference with Papandreou, announcing first they hoped to establish a "regency" and then before anyone could determine what they meant by this, changing it to a "regency council." Such a dictatorship would require

Protest Demonstrations

A wave of bitter resentment over Allied counter-revolutionary policy in Europe is sweeping the world labor movement. Labor protest has been particularly strong in the British Empire.

An estimated 200,000 workers in more than 200 Scottish shipyards and aircraft plants on December 18 demonstrated against Allied slaughter of the Greek masses.

In London 20,000 people gathered in Trafalgar Square in the largest demonstration since 1942, shouting "Hands off Greece!" Protest rallies were held on December 17 in Manchester, New Zealand unions, Montreal aircraft workers and scores of British unions have passed strong protest resolutions.

a change in the constitutional government which Churchill is trying to thrust down the throats of the Greek people under the guise of it being the only "legal" government. But this legal obstacle can easily be removed since the puppet king, George II, is now at beck and call in London, ready to change the constitution by a stroke of the pen.

ELAS leaders are reported to have submitted "peace" terms to British commander Scobie, agreeing to withdraw the ELAS from Athens as demanded, provided that the Papandreou troops likewise be withdrawn temporarily from the same area, all the gendarmerie be sent home and placed on reserve and former collaborators with the Germans be purged, and British troops in Greece "be employed exclusively in the execution of the missions defined under the Caserta agreement" and the "political world of the country be left uninfluenced." What is meant by "missions defined, etc." remains unspecified. The ELAS "peace" terms further urged the formation "as speedily as possible of a Government of real national unity." These "peace" terms are the terms of betrayal.

General Scobie responded by reiterating his demand the ELAS give up its arms. Once this is done, Scobie declared December 12, Field Marshal Alexander will "initiate the necessary steps to put an end to the present turmoil in Greece." With this thinly veiled threat, Scobie makes clear he will follow Churchill's announced policy of blood and iron to its horrible end. The imperialists always and everywhere follow the policy in the class struggle of striving to disarm the workers.

The Militant

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

This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 3-Month Subscription to

THE MILITANT

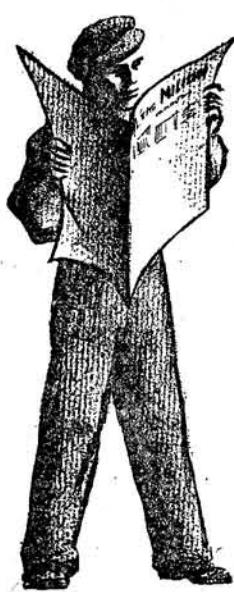
A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth
about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your
INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 13 issues for 25c.
I enclose 25c (coin or stamps).

Name
(Please Print)
Street Apt.
City Zone
State



Timely Pamphlets on SOCIALISM and the LABOR MOVEMENT

- FASCISM: What it is! How to fight it! Leon Trotsky 15¢
- Socialism on Trial James P. Cannon 10¢
- In Defense of Socialism Albert Goldman 10¢
- The Struggle for Negro Equality Parker & Saunders 10¢
- Negroes in the Post War World Albert Parker 10¢
- Your Standard of Living... What's Happening to it? C. Charles 5¢
- Wartime Crimes of Big Business George Breitman 5¢
- End of the Comintern James P. Cannon 10¢
- American Workers Need a LABOR PARTY Joseph Hansen 15¢

Order from:
PIONEER PUBLISHERS,
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

'Liberation' Movements Of Europe And Trotskyist Tasks In The Coming Revolutionary Struggle For Socialism

By E. R. Frank

Europe today, ridden with famine, pestilence, death, is in a blind alley. There is no way out of the catastrophic crisis except by the destruction of capitalism and the rebuilding of the economy on socialist foundations. Europe is already in the throes of revolution. Civil war is raging in Greece and has already broken out elsewhere on the continent.

We Trotskyists take our stand everywhere on the side of the insurgent masses and against all the forces of the counter-revolution, whether they be the European capitalists, the arch-reactionary monarchs, the Catholic hierarchy, Anglo-American imperialism or the Kremlin bureaucracy. We support every genuine fight, every struggle of the masses against their enslavers, even though the struggle is carried out in an inconsistent and incorrect manner, even though Stalinist and Social-Democratic scoundrels stand at the head of the masses at the present time, even though the present struggles are conducted under a program that is inadequate and more often false and reactionary.

We Trotskyists, however, are not mere commentators of the class struggle; we are not simply platonic "friends" of the insurgent masses, we are not merely sideline enthusiasts of the proletarian revolution. We understand—and we dare not permit ourselves to forget for a moment—the prime importance of the element of consciousness, therefore of program and tactics, therefore of the creation of a broad mass revolutionary party in the present revolutionary crisis in Europe. We know—and the lessons of all the tragic defeats of the working class in the last 20 years leave no room for argument on this score—that the proletarian revolution that is now unfolding and is on the order of the day in Europe cannot triumph unless it has revolutionary leadership. Unless, in other words the 4th International, the only genuine working class revolutionary organization today, wins the masses to its banner.

Mere enthusiasm for the unfolding revolutionary struggles, mere sympathy with and support of the rebellious masses, mere singing paeans of praise for the embattled proletariat, does not suffice therefore to discharge the responsibility of the revolutionary vanguard. We have the duty to scientifically analyze the class forces on the continent, their character and role, in order to clearly, unambiguously, forcefully teach the masses who are their friends and who are their enemies, correctly point to the revolutionary tasks ahead, and intervene decisively in the fast-moving events.

It is not necessary here to deal with the character of the war, the role and aims of Anglo-American imperialism or of the Kremlin bureaucracy. This has been analyzed time and again by our press and is fully dealt with in the convention resolutions of our party to be published in the December issue of Fourth International. What we are primarily concerned with in this article is the situation in the working class movement in Europe.

Workers in Revolutionary Mood

The working class of Europe and to a considerable extent, even the petty bourgeoisie are in a deeply revolutionary mood. The big capitalists, as a whole, stand thoroughly discredited, because of their collaboration with the Nazis and Fascists. The masses want them "purged." So widespread are the demands for socialization of industry, for abolition of private ownership, etc. that even the representatives of capitalist reaction, like de Gaulle, are forced to pay lip service to this program and make half-hearted gestures toward carrying out these demands.

Judge Gary, the head of the U. S. Steel Corporation and the man who broke the great steel strike of 1919, once made a statement which has become notorious in American labor history. Asked by a newspaperman his opinion concerning socialism, he cynically replied: "We are all Socialists now." That is the situation in Europe today: monarchists, fascists, royalists, Catholic reactionaries, monopoly capitalists, thieves, bankers, black marketers—they all proclaim themselves for "socialism" today, so deep, so widespread, so threatening is the revolutionary crisis. And the revolutionary crisis threatens not one country alone. It is sweeping across Europe from one end to the other.

Politically, the revolutionary mood of the masses expresses itself by the fact that the working class in its decisive majority is throwing its weight behind the traditional working class parties, the Stalinists and the Social-Democrats, primarily the Stalinists. Why? Because the masses still mistakenly believe that these parties will lead them forward in the revolutionary struggle for Socialism. Thus we find, at this initial stage, that the European masses, who are imbued with revolutionary aspirations, who want a decisive revolutionary change, are supporting "working class" leaders who have counter-revolutionary aims, who are working for the imperialist war and the preservation and upholding of the Capitalist status-quo.

This explains why the class struggle, which is flaring up so sharply in Greece, Belgium, France, Italy, is carried through under programs, banners, slogans and demands of such a "tame," "naive" and often such a reactionary nature. Lenin said in April 1917 that the masses were ten times to the left of the revolutionary leaders. In Europe today the working masses are ready to storm the barricades; their present Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders are not only to the "right" of the masses—they are outright betrayers, cynical agents of counter-revolutionary Allied imperialism and the Kremlin autocracy. There is a crying contradiction and a widening gulf between the aims of the masses and the aims of their present "working class" leaders.

Peoples Fronts of 1936

In the one year and three months that has elapsed since the downfall of Mussolini, the revolutionary crisis has engulfed one country after another. Yet, to our knowledge, Soviets, such as appeared in Russia in February 1917, have not been organized nor do they exist anywhere in Europe today. Instead we are confronted with the emergence throughout Europe of the so-called "Liberation" movements, which are occupying the center of the stage in the current political events. What precisely are these "Liberation" movements? Are we confronted here with a brand new phenomenon, new types of organizations and new methods of struggle? How do these "Liberation" movements affect our analysis of the European working class movement and its tasks?

In studying the "Liberation" movements of Europe today, we are immediately struck with their basic, their fundamental political similarity with the People's Fronts in Spain and France of 1936. These "Liberation" movements have a common feature: they are a political bloc between the Stalinists and Social-Democratic leaders and the leaders of the bourgeoisie, or a section of the bourgeoisie. In Italy, the Committee of National Liberation is formed by the bloc of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats with the Sforzas, Bonomis, Actionists, Catholics, etc. In France the "Liberation" movement is comprised by a bloc of the Stalinists and Social-Democrats with the de Gaulles, who even include in their ranks outright royalists, semi-fascists, etc. In Greece, the EAM consists of a bloc of Stalinists and Social-Democrats with various Liberal and Venizelist groups. And so on down the line in Yugoslavia, Belgium, Rumania, Bulgaria. Thus their political essence is class collaboration or the subordination of the working class to the capitalist class and its aims. The program of these "Liberation" movements is invariably nationalistic, class-collaborationist, pro-Allied, pro-imperialist war. The "Liberation" leaders attempt at all times to stifle, sidetrack and confine the mass movement to the utopian fight for bourgeois democracy—again com-



Stunned and horrified, unarmed demonstrators point in rage to the bodies of two of their marchers, a man and a woman, lying where they fell under the assault of British and Papandreou troops. The large banner at the right reads "Death to Fascism."

pletely in the manner and spirit of and with programs similar to, the Peoples Fronts of 1936.

The reactionary character and role of these People's Front blocs, the reactionary consequences of this policy, are already clearly discernible. It is precisely these blocs that have provided the "mass base" for all the reactionary hand-picked class-collaborationist "governments": the Bonomi cabinet in Italy, de Gaulle in France, Pierlot in Belgium, Papandreou in Greece, etc. It is precisely the Stalinist and Social-Democratic "Liberation" leaders who have moved to refurbish the capitalist regimes and to sidetrack the struggle once again into the channels of the imperialist war, of chauvinism, of class collaboration, of national unity. It is precisely these "Liberation" leaders who have entered the Badoglio, Bonomi, de Gaulle, Papandreou, Pierlot, Rumania's Sanatescu and Bulgarian Fatherland Front cabinets. It is precisely these "Liberation" leaders who provide the "democratic" facades for the military dictatorships propped up on the bayonets of the Allies and the Kremlin oligarchy. The masses are throwing their support to the "socialist" and "communist" leaders in order to advance the struggle for socialism. These traitorous bureaucrats, in turn, move to enmesh the masses within their perfidious Peoples Fronts. Thus, the working class which is seething with revolution, which aims to smash the rule of the capitalists, finds itself through the medium of the "Liberation" movement in a political bloc with this self-same capitalist class under the capitalists' program, and reinforcing the capitalists' government.

Stalinists Took the Lead

These "Liberation" movements were organized, we know, in the underground, when Europe lay prostrate under the Nazi heel. The Stalinist traitors, still appearing before the European masses as the supporters of the October Revolution, exercised the greatest influence over the broad masses. It was the Stalinists who took the lead in solidifying the anti-fascist underground and shaping the "Liberation" movements, in alliance with the pro-Allied bourgeois politicians.

The treacherous nature of these blocs was at first concealed from the masses because of the prevailing underground conditions. The hostile class forces within the bloc could not unfold their programs fully and reveal to the masses in practice the full implications of their positions. The working class, however, even under Nazi occupation, was organizing for no purely national struggles. They favored, just as the pro-Allied petty bourgeois elements, the fight to drive out the Nazi oppressors. But as far as the working masses were concerned, the fight for national freedom was fused with the social struggle against the capitalist exploiters, against the native "collaborators." Today with the retreat of the Nazi armies and the rise of the revolution, the utter futility, the reactionary character of the "Liberation" bloc between the working class and the bourgeoisie stands thoroughly exposed. The working class wants peace, arming of the masses, a purge of the "traitors"—which means the whole of the Big Business circles, the destruction of capitalist rule, the reorganization of society on new socialist foundations. The Bonomis, the Pierlots, the de Gaulles, representing the European capitalists who are today "pro-Allied," want to rehabilitate capitalism, disarm the armed formations and thrust the masses again into the bloody maelstrom of the war. That is why this unnatural alliance is already beginning to burst at all seams.

Treachery of the Stalinists

The capitalist class, we know, has various political parties, forces, groups, agencies, like the different tentacles of an octopus, representing its rule. Depending on the general situation, the relationship of forces, etc., it pushes to the fore now one, now another political group, to guarantee the preservation of the Capitalist status-quo. The peculiar feature of the present political situation in Europe is that the capitalist class as a whole has discredited itself by its collaboration for the past five years with Nazi imperialism. The native capitalists in France, Belgium, Italy, Greece were able to preserve their rule only with the support of Nazi bayonets for five years. Today, these capitalists have turned to the new imperialist overlord, who is engaged in occupying the continent. Now they are the clerks for the colossus of Allied imperialism. Their regimes are propped up by the bayonets of the Allies.

In the light of these facts, the treachery of the Stalinists and

their Social-Democratic shadows takes on gargantuan proportions. The Stalinists "explained" the wisdom of forming the Peoples Fronts of 1936 by the necessity of forging an alliance of the working class with the petty bourgeois masses. That is how they alibed their treacherous bloc with the Herriots. [Herriot was a petty bourgeois political leader in France.] But the Herriots of today—the Sforzas, Bonomis, Pierlots—have no popular following whatsoever. They are all ghosts of a bygone day. Their only strength is derived from their role as Quislings of the Allied conquerors. The Stalinists and Social-Democrats are therefore attempting through the formation of these "Liberation" blocs, to rehabilitate these capitalist politicians, rescue them from their fearful isolation from the masses and provide them with a semblance of popular support. This is the role of the present "Liberation" blocs which are supporting the wretched Peoples Front cabinets in Europe, the "democratic" facades for the military dictatorship of the Allied conquerors.

From this political appraisal, the revolutionary vanguard draws the conclusion that it is necessary to begin a large scale and bold agitation exposing the criminal character of the bloc of the working class with the bourgeoisie. The task is to expose the perfidy, the utopia, of a fight limited to the goal of bourgeois democracy, to strip the veil from the counter-revolutionary character of this class-collaborationist alliance and the governments that it supports. The revolutionary vanguard will preach the necessity of breaking the bloc with the bourgeoisie inside and outside of the government. It will counterpose to this bloc the necessity of forging working class unity by setting up, on the broadest possible basis, workers' farm laborers' soldiers' Soviets. The masses will rally to this program because they are already instinctively rebelling against this class-collaborationist policy, against the treacherous bloc with the bourgeoisie.

Socialist U. S. of Europe

The "Liberation" leaders today seek to saddle the masses with Allied oppression as against the previous Nazi oppression. The revolutionary vanguard will cut through all this treachery by unifying the struggle around the program of the Socialist United States of Europe. The Trotskyists will show how all talk of national freedom is a fraud, a lie, if capitalism is permitted to continue its domination, if Europe becomes a vassal of the Allied conquerors. National freedom can only be won by the destruction of capitalist rule, the driving out of the Allied overlords, and the free collaboration of the peoples of the continent under the aegis of the Socialist United States of Europe.

In every country the masses are already struggling against the very counter-revolutionary governments which their own "working class" leaders helped set up, which their own "working class" leaders pitched battles. The imperialist war is turning into the civil war between the classes, the war of the revolutionary proletariat against counter-revolutionary capitalism. We must not imagine, however, that the heroism of the masses, their readiness to sacrifice and struggle, automatically guarantees the victory of the workers' revolution. Not at all! Revolutionary victory can be assured only when the conscious Trotskyist vanguard connects itself with the rising revolution and wins the masses to its program and banner.

Despite their fearful betrayals of the proletariat before and in the course of the present war, the Stalinists and Social-Democrats still remain the leading parties of the working masses. The Stalinists, it is already clear, have the greatest following, wield the greatest authority, exercise the decisive influence. Even in a country like Belgium, where the Social-Democrats until the war held hegemony in the working class movement, the Stalinists have emerged as the main influence in labor ranks. Therefore it becomes one of the key tasks of the revolutionary vanguard to expose the Stalinist leaders, to show them up for the counter-revolutionary rascals and scoundrels that they are, to smash their influence, destroy their authority, break their hold on the labor movement.

Tactics and Principles

Naturally, we Trotskyists are not adventurers. We do not propose to jump over our own heads. Today, the movement of the 4th International still represents a tiny minority of the European working class. We must therefore take Lenin's advice and "patiently explain." We will do our "explaining" however, not in the spirit of sideline commentators, of literary wise-acres, but of revolutionary

Treachery Of Stalinists In The Greek Civil War

By Wells Thurber

Before the Teheran Conference where Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt reached an agreement regarding spheres of influence after "peace" is declared, the Greek Stalinists opposed the Glucksburg dynasty. No one could hope to gain a political following in Greece who did not muster at least a semblance of opposition to the detested regime which brought the Metaxas dictatorship into power. The Stalinists, who had the largest mass following, dominated the EAM (Greek National Liberation Front) and its armed contingents, ELAS.

While still following their line of opposition to the monarchy, six representatives of the EAM underground movement appeared in Cairo in May 1943 to ask the King for a declaration he would not return to Greece when the Germans were driven out. These representatives were immediately placed under arrest by the British, held incommunicado and finally hustled back to Greece.

NO ASSURANCE

Again in August 1943, a delegation of EAM leaders came to Cairo to demand assurance from the British that they would not permit the King to return to Greece until a plebiscite had determined on the future constitution. This delegation failed to gain such assurance.

In the Greek underground, Churchill supported Colonel Zervas, a notorious agent of the Glucksburgs. "I am going to send him supplies as far as possible," declared Churchill.

Fursuing the traditional policy of British imperialism, Churchill did his best to strengthen the hated monarchy. When George II began reorganizing the regular Greek army in Egypt, imposing on them the most notorious fascist officers, sixty percent of the army rebelled. Practically the entire Greek navy joined in the rebellion. British troops put down the rebellion in blood.

Premier Sophocles Venizelos resigned, and George II appointed a Social Democrat, George Papandreou to replace him as head of the cabinet of the government-in-exile. Churchill issued a peremptory statement, pledging "all support" to the Greek king and his new government, declaring "no one has the constitutional right to stand between him and his duty."

The Greek Stalinists, on orders from Moscow, changed their line after the Teheran Conference, to support of the monarchy. At the end of May 1944, they held a four day conference at Beyrouth, Lebanon, for the creation of a "Pan Hellenic coalition" which would serve under the king who was then busy running the Greek mutineers through court martials, executing some, ending up with more than 4,000 in British concentration camps.

AGREEABLE LETTER

The Stalinists, represented through EAM and ELAS heads, dispatched a message from the conference to Churchill thanking him for his "interest in Greece and its future . . . we will do all in our power to achieve national unity." (N. Y. Times, May 22.) On May 24 Churchill told Commons he had received a "very agreeable letter" from the conference.

Thus the lead in bolstering up the British puppet Papandreou government was taken by the Stalinists in accordance with the secret deals made at Teheran.

Upon returning to Greece, however, the Stalinists apparently encountered difficulty in putting over their sell-out, for they did

not take posts in the Papandreou cabinet until September 3 when five members of the EAM came out of the Greek mountains to be sworn in as ministers at Cairo. To ease pressure from the ranks, the EAM at the same time announced a program that included nationalization of the railroads and public utilities that constitute the surety for the \$400,000,000 national debt held by British bankers.

As the German armies prepared to withdraw from Greece, a correspondent of the London Observer remarked September 17, "the problem is to prevent civil war from developing. This could be achieved by the dispatch of an Allied force to the areas in Greece that have been evacuated by the Germans."

PEOPLE TOOK OVER

As the Nazis retreated, the Greek people took over, organizing distribution of food, arresting capitalists and landlords and other reactionary elements who had collaborated with the Nazis. British troops then landed. They were welcomed by the Stalinists, and when the Papandreou cabinet shortly followed Churchill's bayonets into Greece, they continued as ministers in the Allied-backed government.

First act of Papandreou was to appoint a military governor of Athens. On October 16 the governor issued an order "calling on all civilians to hand over their arms to the police and warning them to refrain from further demonstrations." The armed masses however, refused to turn in their arms. The Allied commander, General Scobie, then began to exercise military measures to disarm the workers and peasants.

Seraphis, Stalinist head of the ELAS, accepted a post as deputy chief of the regular army. ELAS was incorporated into the army, ending its independent existence and making it possible for any resistance to Scobie's arms to be labelled as "mutiny." The Stalinist heads of EAM signed an agreement with Scobie to disarm the ELAS although royalists were walking the streets armed to the teeth and the British were shipping more and more troops into Greece, including royalist detachments of the Greek army that had been used on the Italian front.

General Scobie, then began to exercise military measures to disarm the workers and peasants. Seraphis, Stalinist head of the ELAS, accepted a post as deputy chief of the regular army. ELAS was incorporated into the army, ending its independent existence and making it possible for any resistance to Scobie's arms to be labelled as "mutiny." The Stalinist heads of EAM signed an agreement with Scobie to disarm the ELAS although royalists were walking the streets armed to the teeth and the British were shipping more and more troops into Greece, including royalist detachments of the Greek army that had been used on the Italian front.

IRON HAND

The ELAS heads, however, demurred at signing immediately and asked for more time. Scobie's response was to order all arms handed in before December 11. He was clearly ready to begin suppressing the Greek people with an iron hand. Up to this moment the Stalinists had done their utmost to support the British and the Papandreou government. Only with the coming of civil war, did they resign from the cabinet in order to maintain their leadership of the masses.

On December 3 the police, still in office from the days of Metaxas, opened fire on an unarmed demonstration that included women and children. This brutal provocation plunged the country into civil war.

The Stalinist general secretary of EAM instead of sounding the alarm at this late date and calling for an effective defense against the counter revolution, apologized to the British, saying, "after yesterday's clash, the ELAS could not surrender arms by December 10 as ordered."

The record thus shows that from the beginning, the Stalinist bureaucrats sought leadership of the Greek workers and peasants in order to deliver them at the appropriate time to the British executioner.

men of action, of Leninist militants. Our criticism of the Stalinists and exposure of their crimes, is only part and parcel of the struggle to intervene in the revolutionary events; to raise the proper slogans in order to release the proletariat from the straitjacket of the Peoples Fronts; and to set it on the high road towards Soviets and their consolidation on a national and Europe-wide scale.

Revolutionists work in all labor organizations when they assume a mass character. The Trotskyists in Europe will work indefatigably in the factory committees and councils, in the trade union organizations, in the ranks of the armed militias, and in the working class sections of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic worker rank and file. The Trotskyists will display the greatest flexibility in questions of tactical approach. But they will remain irreconcilable on matters of program. They will refuse to conciliate with any and all varieties of opportunism. The parties of the 4th International unfurling their banner of the Socialist Revolution, of the Soviet Power, of working class internationalism, will grow rapidly if they know how to connect themselves with the masses and their struggles.

READ

'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Stalinist Finks Lend Aid To Open-Shop Offensive By Attacking Ward Drive

By Art Preis

The Detroit Montgomery Ward strike against Sewell Avery, No. 1 Open-Shopper, has evoked universal sympathy from militant American labor. Not a single official voice of organized labor has thus far dared to attack the strike. In Detroit, heart of the automobile industry, auto workers are walking the picket lines in solidarity with the striking members of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees.

But Avery has found one group of rabid supporters in the ranks of labor. That group is the Stalinists. Repeating their scabby performance in the Chicago Montgomery Ward strike of last April the Stalinists unleashed a vicious slander campaign against the Detroit Montgomery Ward strikers and the millions of loyal unionists who support their struggle.

This Stalinist strikebreaking campaign was formally launched in a December 12 *Daily Worker* editorial, entitled "Stabbing the CIO's Pledge." The title ought to have read, "Stabbing American Labor in the Back—Stalinist Style!" For the editorial is an outright appeal to strikebreaking and scabbing against the Montgomery Ward strikers.

AGAINST STRIKES

Avery's vicious role is dismissed in a couple of sentences. The failure of the Roosevelt government for more than two years to enforce the WLB directive is not even mentioned. The editorial is directed against the strikers and their leaders, and in particular, against the CIO auto workers who have demonstrated elementary labor solidarity toward the Ward strikers.

Calling the strike a "provocation from the union side," the editorial describes it as "a flagrant violation of the no-strike pledge" of the recent CIO convention. This strike, the desperate climax of more than two years' struggle to preserve the union against Avery's union-busting, is attributed by the *Daily Worker* to "those Trotskyite and allied elements who want the no-strike pledge rescinded." Every slimy device—even the dirtiest weapon of the bosses, red-baiting—is used by the Stalinists to smear the Ward strike.

But the editorial discloses the real reason for the Stalinists' hysterical finkery. "It is not an accident," screams the *Daily Worker*, that the strike leaders "chose" the strike "in the nation's auto center at the very moment when the United Automobile Workers is beginning its referendum vote on the (no-strike) pledge." Thus, Avery's provocative refusal to obey a WLB directive affecting the Detroit Ward

workers at the "very moment" when a strike is most effective, the Christmas shopping season, becomes in the fantastic version of Stalinism a "plot" to inspire the auto workers to vote against the no-strike pledge.

NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

No doubt, the strike will have that effect to some extent. And that is what infuriates the Stalinists, who are taking the lead within the UAW in organizing the reactionary forces to put over a majority vote for continuation of the no-strike surrender policy. This fear that the militant auto workers will grasp their most effective weapon, the right to strike, becomes the strident keynote in further *Daily Worker* strikebreaking diatribes against the Ward workers.

The *Daily Worker* does not stop at mere condemnation of the Ward strike. It has its own axe to grind—the permanent no-strike pledge. The Stalinists, as the most unrestrained defenders of capitalism within the labor movement, have a "new" "up-to-date" method of "defending" labor's interests, based on "the belief that strikes... would be unnecessary even in the postwar period." George Morris, ace Stalinist hatchet-man and Trotskyist-baiter, tells about this "streamlined" method in the *Daily Worker*, December 13, under the title, "The Bridges-Pact vs. Wolchok's Strike."

BRIDGES' CONTRACT

It seems that Stalinist Harry Bridges recently signed for his San Francisco Warehouse men's Local 6—without a strike, mind you!—a "new agreement which points to a new era of labor relations."

What boss won't sign a contract which pledges the union against strikes under any conditions for three years, which yields to the bosses on the major demands, and only after the union leadership has withdrawn the key wage demand for a 15 cents an hour increase "in the interests of settlement?" What boss won't willingly sign a contract which gives away the basic rights of a union? And that's what the Stalinist *People's World* calls winning "a union security never before attained."

In one article, the *Daily Worker* indignantly objects to the fact that Stalinist union leaders like Bridges are "pictured as 'strikebreakers.'" It is the honest workers fighting for their rights, according to this fink sheet, who are "actually the scabs." But no intelligent worker will be deceived by this perverted double-talk. The latest Stalinist anti-labor outrage will only further convince the workers that Stalinism is the most treacherous and dangerous blight within the labor movement. It must be scourged from labor's ranks!

CIO Ranks Back Detroit Strike at Ward Stores

(Continued from page 1)

UAW officials who have taken the lead in upholding the no-strike policy were compelled to put in an appearance on the picket lines.

Sound trucks of Briggs Local 212, Detroit West Side Local 174 and other UAW locals blared forth music and advised shoppers all day long to do their Christmas buying elsewhere. Most customers, mainly workers, sympathetically heeded the advice. Many who had been unaware of the strike, flashed their union cards and joined the picket lines. Very few customers violated the picket lines and they had difficulty trying to get "service" from a handful of inexperienced part-time "bobby-sox" school girls, the only sales-help Avery could dig up.

WAVE OF MILITANCY

The intense wave of militancy and solidarity invoked among the CIO workers, particularly in auto, impelled all CIO and UAW leaders here, except the Stalinists, to give at least verbal support to the Ward Strike. Following official authorization of the strike by international officials of the striking union, more than 100 CIO local union presidents and representatives met last Wednesday evening at the Book-Cadillac Hotel and pledged unqualified backing to the strike. Many of these local union officials came with checks of \$100 or more as contributions for strike aid and



Samuel Wolchok, President of CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, who gave the first CIO authorization for a wartime strike in the Detroit Montgomery Ward walkout.

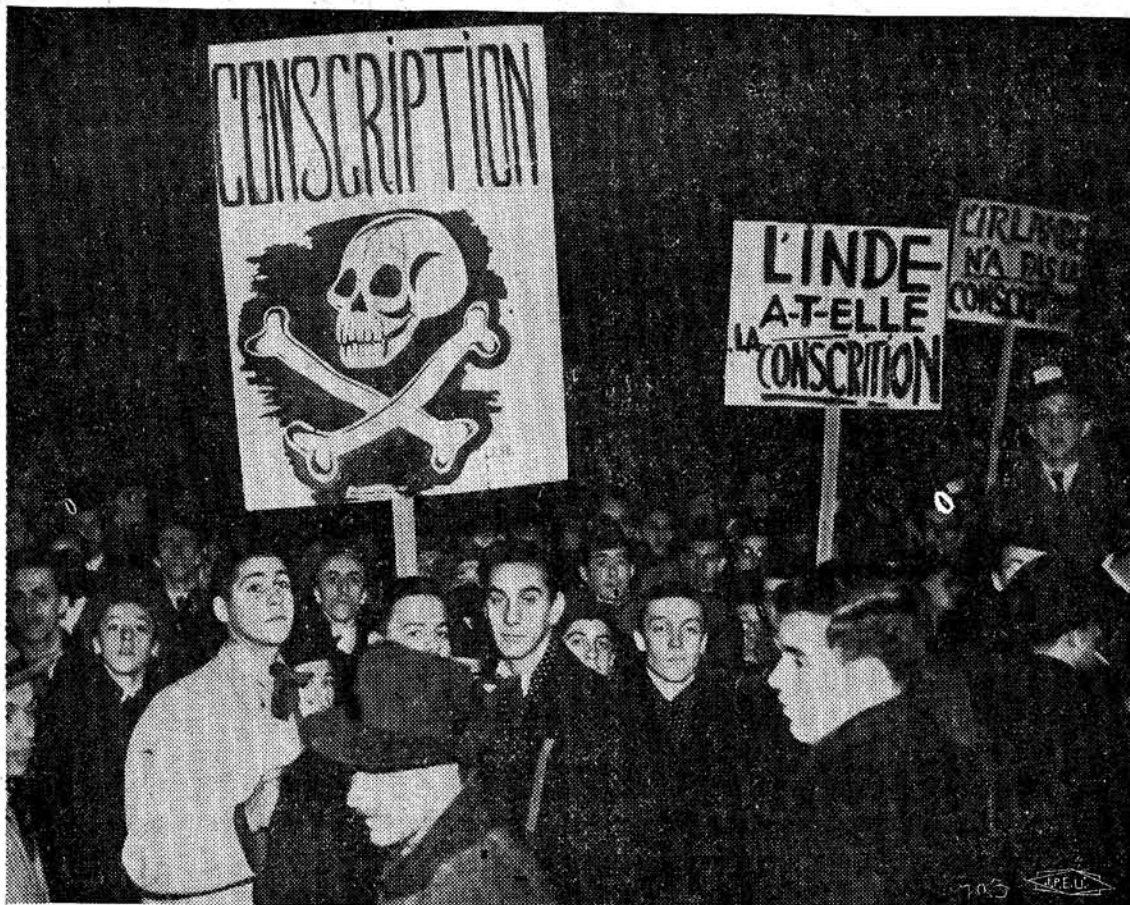
promised that these were but "preliminary" payments. A fifteen-man committee to assist the strike was established.

There can be no doubt that most of the top UAW and CIO leaders have gone along with the Ward strike in order to bolster their waning prestige with the discontented workers and because they can justify their seeming violation of the no-strike policy on the grounds of Avery's flagrant disregard of the WLB orders. Only the Stalinists have dared to voice open opposition and hostility to the strike.

At the Book-Cadillac meeting, only Hodges Mason, Stalinist president of Bohn Aluminum Local 208, spoke against the strike. But he was literally hooted down when he started flag-waving about the war effort and the "detrimental" effect endorsement of the Ward strike would have upon the results of the coming national UAW membership referendum on the no-strike pledge. The reception accorded Mason silenced the other Stalinists present. The night previously, however, the Stalinist-dominated Wayne County CIO Council Executive Board voted down a resolution for unqualified support of the strike. It passed a substitute resolution calling on Roosevelt to end the Detroit strike by a "government seizure," as he did eight months before in Chicago.

"HOT POTATO" While supporting the strike on the pretext that it does not involve "war work" the top CIO and UAW officials are also appealing to Roosevelt to use his "wartime powers" to take over the struck Ward stores. Their motive, of course, is to get rid of a "hot potato" and halt the strike as quickly as possible. The Ward workers and the CIO ranks are not unmindful of how Roosevelt has used "plant seizures" simply to break strikes. They have the particularly vivid recollection of the Chicago Ward strike, when

Anti-Conscription Demonstration



"Death to Conscription," are the slogans on banners in the anti-conscription demonstration in Montreal. Thousands of workers marched in protest against use of conscripted men for overseas fighting. Photo by News Pictures of Canada.

Lessons Of Bass Group Defeat In Rubber Local

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, O., Dec. 10. — A run-off election December 7 for executive board posts completed local union election of officers at the URWA-CIO Goodrich Local 5. The former local union leadership was defeated decisively for every post from president to sergeant-at-arms. This local leadership, headed by George Bass, led the fight against Sherman Dalrymple at the last URWA convention. The new officers who will take office in two weeks are representatives of a pro-Dalrymple-Stalinist bloc.

It is necessary that union militants in rubber thoroughly understand why this defeat for the anti-Dalrymple forces occurred.

Every anti-labor force in Akron undoubtedly plotted to destroy the Bass leadership in Local 5. It is known that the Stalinist union-busting apparatus was busy at work sowing the seeds of dissension in the union. The Akron *Beacon-Journal* kept up a daily peppering of invective against the militant local leadership. Sherman Dalrymple and the whole international union machine used its influence against the local leaders who had fought against the no-strike pledge and the dictatorial actions of the URW president.

But none of these enemies of progressive unionism could by their own efforts engineer the defeat of Bass and his supporters. Nor can the defeat be blamed upon the fact that almost 6,000 workers, the overwhelming majority of whom never attend union meetings, turned out to vote. It is a typical ignorant and bureaucratic habit to blame the backward workers for defeats.

PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE

The fact that these thousands of unionists turned out to vote at the union hall has profound significance for thinking militants. There is a good reason why these workers do not attend union meetings—and an equally good reason why they went to the polls this time and voted. They are getting disgusted and aroused at the state of the union in the plant. Grievances are not being settled. They can't get any action, and they find it increasingly unbearable to put up with the speed-up campaign of the company.

The army moved in, herded the workers back on the job, kept the company's profits rolling in as usual and then retired to leave Avery to his continued union-busting and defiance of government orders.

Now, faced once more with a situation threatening to upset the administration's carefully built-up compulsory arbitration machinery, the government, through the WLB, is once more threatening to take over Avery's strike-bound stores. The Ward workers have shown however that it takes strike action to stir the WLB to even verbal "toughness" against employers like Avery. Strike action alone gives the Ward workers the possibility of forcing Avery to abide by the WLB directive for wage increases of \$2 to \$5 weekly, retroactive to December 8, 1942, a seniority system, grievance arbitration machinery, maintenance-of-membership and the voluntary dues check-off.

These thousands of workers, not too well-informed to be sure, and misled by rumor-mongers and professional liars, voted against Bass and his group, in order to seek some way out of the impasse confronting the union.

That is the explanation for the Bass defeat. It carries a lesson. In hundreds of CIO local unions from coast to coast. In recent elections, the "ins" are out and the "outs" are in. This occurs regardless of the program of respective groups. In some local unions conservative and Stalinist elements are ousted, and in others, as in Local 5, progressive types are bounced.

What is occurring is a stirring of the rank and file who can no longer bear the frustration forced upon them by the no-strike policy of the National CIO. They merely vote, at this stage, against the local union officers who seem to them immediately responsible for the piling up of grievances, delays in bargaining, and for the impotence of the union in the face of corporation provocations.

FIRESTONE LOCAL

Proof of this is the fact that just across town in Akron, at the Firestone Local 7, the local officers who were pro-Dalrymple, a super-patriotic conservative crew—were roundly defeated and replaced last week by a militant group led by "Ike" Watson who fought Dalrymple at the URW convention in September.

What does this mean? The union membership has not yet learned that at the root of all their troubles is the surrender policy of Dalrymple, Murray and the top CIO "labor statesmen" who gave away the right to strike. The workers have still to learn that no matter how progressive a local union leadership may be, it is confronted with this no-strike policy and is stymied at every turn.

The defeat of the Bass group was a heavy blow against the militants in Local 5, but it reveals an awakening of a dissatisfied membership. The Bass group, and all militants in Local 5 must now redouble their effort to explain the consequences of the no-strike pledge, and fight energetically to educate the rank and file and mobilize the union around the fighting program for which they fought at the URW convention.

John Saylor, newly elected president, and his conservative-Stalinist supporters will not be able to solve the workers' problems with their policy of "respectability" and their subservience to the official CIO surrender policy.

In NEW YORK

Join With Us in a Festive Evening of Socialist Comradship

NEW YEAR'S EVE

Sunday, Dec. 31

Dancing - Singing Refreshments

Joint Auspices:

Militant Publishing Assn. and Socialist Workers Party, Local N. Y.

116 University Place (corner 13th St. between B'way and 5th Avenue)

Subscription \$1 per person (Includes Buffet Plate)

The discontent of the 6000 members who voted against the former officers will rise during the next year.

BASS GROUP

The Bass group, it must be stated, was by no means blameless in its own defeat. Had it fought more openly and vigorously against the no-strike pledge, explaining its true effects, and thereby making it clear to the members why grievances had piled up, and placed the blame where it properly belongs—in the lap of Dalrymple and Company, it might have staved off the opposition. But such a consistent fight would have required a clearer political understanding than the Bass group has. George Bass and most of his supporters are pro-war, pro-Roosevelt, and are constantly confronted with the contradiction between their support of the Roosevelt regime and their fight to defend the union.

If the militant element is to reform its battle lines in Local 5, and mobilize the increasingly restive rank and file, it must fight without hedging, for a clear cut militant program.

It will also be necessary more than ever before to be on guard against the vicious Stalinist machine which will attempt to isolate and victimize the militants. The Stalinists have gained ground in the Rubber Union. They have moved in under cover of seemingly non-political groups, keeping their program in the dark.

The only way to defeat these elements, to constitute a militant opposition in the local and in the international, is to conduct an alert and militant fight around a program of sound unionism: union democracy must be staunchly defended in the URW in view of the sinister campaign of the Stalinists, who are renowned as the most vicious hatchet men against militants.

Allies Promise "Free" Unions

In return for "unconditional surrender," German labor "will be allowed to form democratic trade unions," Gen. Eisenhower promised in a broadcast to Germany last week.

However, as the message explained further, there will be certain limitations placed upon such "free economic association and combination of workers."

The German workers can form "free" unions "provided that they do not assume any political complexion." That is, provided the German workers don't try to organize against capitalist political rule.

They may engage in "collective bargaining," but "strikes threatening military security directly or indirectly will be prohibited." Thus, the German masses will have no more power than under Hitler to enforce their demands against the German bosses.

And "wages will be maintained as under the most recent German regulations." That is, at the worst starvation levels fixed by Hitler, Himmler and the Nazi industrialists.

In short, the German workers will have a tough time distinguishing between the Nazi "Labor Front" and the Allied "democratic unions."



By V. Grey

File-it-high Patterson is a phony. He's a phony because he makes out to be a big shot, which he's not. But what about the big shots themselves? They don't have to pretend, do they?—And yet they're phony. Phony as a nine-dollar bill. Because they do pretend to be something they're not—capable managers of industry. They pretend they know what it's all about. And they don't.

The biggest of the big shots don't do anything, don't know anything, and don't have to know anything. They have engineers to engineer, superintendents to superintend, salesmen to sell, managers to manage, and stool pigeons to stool. All that's left for the big phonies is to think up ways of spending money. And if they're too dumb, or the job is too big, they hire social secretaries to do that for them, too.

But even their highly paid stooges reflect the weakness and dopeness of their masters. Many lower caste salary men, such as engineers and certain foremen, really have to know their stuff, of course. But the division superintendents and big department heads are usually friends, relatives, or friends-of-relatives of the higher-ups. Their job has nothing to do with production—it's just a family relationship on a cash and carry basis.

They talk all day long about the price of liquor and the quality of champagne. From one week-end house party to the next, they hardly ever come around to the shops they are supposed to manage. And they don't feel any pangs of conscience when they draw their fat checks, either.

And yet they like to think they know all about the business. And they like other people to think so, too. They become fooled by their own titles. They assume that because they are rich and higher up, they just automatically know more than the next man. Everybody else has to assume it, too, or take the consequences.

You'd think their big salaries and soft living would be enough to make them feel good. But no. They have to show off their ignorance to their brother-phonies in order to impress them, and to the workers who know more than they do and are not impressed, but have to take it—like slaves.

Day after day a workingman (who begins to know a little something about his own job, after working at it a few years) has to listen to some inspector or foreman tell him what he already knows, or worse still, what he knows isn't true at all. Then the superintendent or some other big cheese has a red-letter day and comes out in the shop with the same bull—only worse, because they know less than anyone else about the work that keeps them in fifty cent cigars. When they put on this superiority show and try to give you some advice about the job, it's usually funny enough to repeat in the washroom for weeks afterward.

THEY'RE YOUR BOSSES

But you don't laugh in their faces. No Sir. And you don't very often explain where they're wrong. They're the ones who are supposed to know their stuff, not you. You're just a worker with an eighth grade diploma, or maybe high school, if you're lucky. But these guys—the big bosses—are miracle men. They're so smart that they don't handle a machine, a burning torch, or riveting gun. They handle a billion dollar business between them. And THEY'RE YOUR BOSSES. So you're not going to point out their mistakes in reading a blueprint. Hell no. You wouldn't want to hurt their feelings. Besides, you want to keep your job.

It wasn't so long ago that we were making some big ventilation units for Bethlehem ships. They were kind of complicated—curved casings, with big blower fans in them and all that. We made them from blueprints. Nobody in the shop is exactly an expert at blueprints, except the engineer in the shop office. But you get a working knowledge after a while so you can do things out pretty well, and we caught on to these particular prints too, even if they did look like a Chinese puzzle at first.

Well, the first week or two we were on that job a lot of the big shots were buzzing around looking important and walking up and down with the general foreman. One of the guys who had a beautiful grey mustache and a face that was massaged 'til it looked like a baby's behind, was really impressive. Anybody could see he was the biggest stockholder in the gang.

He'd go to the unit Johnny Dylek was working on and look it over. Then he'd go to the bench and look the blueprint over. And Johnny would stop work and stand around looking a little bit foolish while he waited for this genius to give him some expert advice.

But this fellow was the silent type. He just went back and forth from the blueprint to the job a couple of times, looked the whole assembled unit over in about three seconds and nodded his head while he was thinking hard. He was a smart man all right. Johnny Dylek had been struggling with the blueprints for a couple of weeks until he didn't have to look at them very much. And on that particular day he hadn't looked at them at all. So he was pretty worried when the guy gave him the once-over. He thought of a hundred mistakes he might have made. (You know how you do, when you try to think back over your day's work.) And he was itching to get his hands on the prints to check himself.

So when the master mind picked up the blueprint and walked over to the job, humming and hawing a little to himself while he pulled at the hairs in his mustache, Johnny edged around so he could get a peek at the blueprint himself. Well, the big shot may have got something out of it, being a big shot, but Johnny couldn't because it was the wrong blueprint. It was a print the engineer had made a couple of weeks before that for a hot dog stand for the master mechanic's picnic.

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

CityZoneState

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

A Negro Terry O'Day

A case was called to our attention the other day which showed all over again what frequently happens to sincere, militant workers when they are appointed to the union staff as representatives of the top bureaucracy. It was another concrete example of "The Death of Terry O'Day" which was so clearly related by our fellow columnist, Ted Kovalesky in his *Diary of a Steel Worker* in the November 25 *Militant*. As you remember, Terry O'Day was the fighting young Irishman who repeatedly stuck his neck out for the other workers until he was appointed to the union staff. Then, to safeguard his easy job, he became a changed man who compromised on the workers' grievances, supported the no-strike pledge and began collaborating with management.

Now this case concerns a Negro International Representative of the UAW-CIO. A Negro who, as a worker, was sincerely interested in Negro advancement in industry. A Negro who had repeatedly stuck his neck out for his people and for the working class as a whole. A Negro who was so honest and so principled that he had turned down political offers because he felt that the game of capitalist politics was so rotten that any successful politician would eventually become involved in some form of corruption and would have to sell out the people who had elected him to office.

A Negro who was intelligent and conscientious and who enjoyed and deserved the confidence and loyalty of his fellow Negro workers. How he has changed since becoming an International Representative of this powerful union! The following authentic facts tell the story.

GM PLANT

At a General Motors plant in the Detroit area, qualified Negro workers had been trying to get upgraded from janitorial work to production. After quite a fight, two Negroes had been upgraded. There were reports that white workers were threatening to strike if the Negroes were continued on the job. In fact, a slowdown was already reported to be in progress.

The General Manager of this Corporation, making sure to wash his hands of the affair and to point the finger of accusation at the union, called in three Negro workers and stated that he was willing to upgrade Negroes to production according to seniority and ability but the Chairman of the Plant Committee would not agree. Since the slowdown was jeopardizing the "war effort" the

qualified Negroes would have to be returned to their janitorial work.

One militant Negro worker left the plant in disgust because he could see that advancement was hopeless.

He reported the situation to the UAW-CIO officials, knowing the uncompromising stand against discrimination in the union constitution.

This Negro Terry O'Day, formerly a sincere fighter and now an International Representative, was sent to investigate the case and report back his findings to see if the Union was justified in taking action against the local officials in the plant. Apparently he knew that to keep in the good graces of the union officials, it would be best for him to find certain things and not to find certain other things.

Here is the gist of his report to the international: an interview with the first Negro involved substantiated the accusation but this Negro reportedly stated that he was satisfied with his janitor's job. Now doesn't that sound reasonable? This qualified worker, upgraded on seniority and ability to production, stepped back because of the laxity of his union officials and now he is perfectly satisfied with his janitor's job.

SECOND WORKER

The second worker interviewed is satisfied to continue in his own way and will call for help if he needs it. Does that sound like a man's true statement or true thoughts after having been the victim of such perversion of union policy?

The Negro who had quit in disgust apparently had no voice, according to the report, because he was no longer employed at the plant.

After laying down such a flimsy premise, our Negro Terry O'Day arrives at the ridiculous conclusion that the workers contacted are satisfied with conditions and therefore he recommends that the grievance be closed. He tries to cover his tracks by viewing the problem from an individual rather than a principled position. In reality, however, he has acted in the interests of management rather than in the interests of the workers whom he is supposed to represent.

This shows us that Big Business, in its attempt to keep the Negro worker down and to set the white against the black; to confuse the workers concerning the dependability of their union organizations, even gains an ally an apparently sincere and honest fighter for Negro and working class rights.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE EFFECTS OF MODERN WAR ON ECONOMY AND THE PEOPLE

The year 1917 was the fourth year of the World War. For a thousand days every able-bodied man in all the great countries of Europe had been in uniform. The flower of the youth of a continent, an entire generation of young men were moved down. Thirty million men had been mobilized. It was the epoch of the cannon. Europe was traversed by battle lines, from the North Sea to the Adriatic, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Along these blood-soaked frontiers, thousands of combatants died each day. It was a war of trenches, mines, tanks, airplanes, gas, submarines and poisonous lies. At the front, soldiers met their death by their "own" firing squads or on the enemy barbed wire; behind the lines men trafficked in their blood and steeped themselves in insipid military communiques.

1917 was in France the year of Clemenceauism, of General Nivelle, and the offensive of April 16, The "break-through" at the Chemin des Dames. The use-

less battles of Flanders and Verdun, the drive of the tanks at Cambrai. Serbia, the North of France, Belgium and Poland were heaps of corpses. Germany declared unrestricted submarine warfare against England. Merchant vessels were torpedoed, neutrals were drowned. Death stalked the seas.

There was fighting in Macedonia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, in the distant corners of the African bush. The United States entered the war. Blacks, Hindus, Australians, Canadians, Portuguese were in arms; the blood of all races flowed into one pool and left one stench. America milked the belligerents of all the gold they had left.

Behind the lines, the cannon and munition manufacturers of both sides coined profits. Martial law, censorship. Women and old men in anguish. Appalling poverty, debauchery, the bread card; all humanity at the mercy of stupidity and hatred. Conscientious objectors were persecuted in Great Britain, defeatists in France, internationalists everywhere. Churches, political parties, intellectuals, both in the Central Powers and in the Allied camp, preached war to the bitter end. The whole of science and technology was used to destroy the living strength of the human species and the achievements of civilization. Employed rationally, the wealth that was dissipated in explosives would have amply sufficed — if we may speak in Utopian terms — to give ease and comfort to all in a renovated society.

(From "From Lenin to Stalin," by Victor Serge, p. 13. Pioneer Publishers, 1937; 112 pp., 50 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

British Labor Party Conference

By Paul Abbott

The Allied provocation of civil war in Greece has aroused deep resentment among the British workers. A typical resolution against Churchill came from Montreal Aircraft Lodge 712, representing 20,000 workers, demanding the "immediate withdrawal" of British forces. Member of Parliament David Kirkwood of the British Labor Party complains that he has been "inundated" with telegrams from mechanics threatening sitdown strikes over the government's policy. Other Labor Party MPs have received telegrams from trade unions all over the country "threatening to lay down their tools for a day unless the Government ceases to use the weapons they make against the Greeks."

The intensity of these sentiments of the working class ought to have facilitated — one might imagine — the obvious duty of the British Labor Party heads to defend the Greek workers and oppose Churchill's imperialist politics. These gentlemen, however, have other uses for their oily tongues.

Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor in Churchill's government got up in the British Labor Party's annual conference December 13 and defended Churchill's government in shooting down Greek workers. Moreover he displayed his remarkable boldness before the outraged sentiments of his own rank and file by defiantly proclaiming his own responsibility in shooting down Greek workers and suppressing the rising European workers' revolution. "The steps which have been taken in Greece are not decisions of Winston Churchill. They are decisions of the cabinet. I and my colleagues participated in these discussions over nearly four years, trying to work out the best way to handle these terrifying problems that would arise at the end of the war."

BRAZEN ADMISSION

"I say boldly" he brazenly continued, "that I am a party to these decisions, and looking back I cannot convince myself that any of these decisions were wrong." Churchill, spokesman of British imperialism who followed a similar tactic before Parliament a few days earlier, can well feel proud of his understudy's talent for mimicry.

The heads of the Labor Party found themselves between the frying pan and the fire at the Labor Party Conference. The rank and file want them to break up the coalition with Churchill's counter-revolutionary imperialist government. They are becoming very heated over this unsavory wedlock. But breaking the coalition would immediately step up the tempo of the working class revolution in England — a most "terrifying problem" for these butlers in the house of imperialism, especially in view of their "understanding" that the "British government cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean." And so while Churchill proceeded methodically to carry out his butcher's assignment of liquidating the Greek revolution in blood, these imperialist lackies at the head of the Labor Party fumbled about for a cooler position among the flames of rank and file indignation. They finally passed a resolution which one American correspondent with long experience in double talk and Tammany politics thought might justifiably rate as the very "zenith of political hypocrisy."

Instead of condemning the government of which they are part and parcel and calling on the working class to oppose its counter-revolutionary policies with all means at their disposal, they simply resolved: "We want an armistice with the ELAS, not unconditional surrender. This means an agreement between the parties concerned — not an ultimatum. Labor will insist upon a representative government, and no government which excludes the EAM (of which the ELAS is the armed branch) can be representative."

More than 20 unions had presented resolutions condemning the British government for its use of force and violence. These resolutions of course were ignored. With the Trade Union bureaucrats casting bloc votes for their Union memberships, the Executive Committee resolution was passed, 2,455,000 to 137,000.

LABOR "STRATEGY"

While Churchill's tanks, airplanes, bombs, machine guns and artillery continued systematically to mow down the ranks of the Greek people, the bureaucrats who head the Labor Party "deplored the bloodshed" and got busy passing out the word to the boys how to use the resolution to avoid becoming too badly singed. The "strategy" of these denizens of the political underworld is to express "idealistic hopes without criticism or condemnation" of the government as the



Barred from Athens by order of the British commander, ELAS demonstrators thronged the streets of Piraeus (the port of Athens) on December 4th. Some armed with rifles, some with shovels and hatchets, some unarmed, these are typical of the ELAS forces which have been heroically defending themselves against tanks and bombers.

Roosevelt's New Draft Decree Tightens Job Freeze Shackles

(Continued from page 1)

directly to the war job, this week's executive directive first puts a uniform on the men and then permits them to take it off again on condition that they take the jobs the Army wants them to take." In this way, Roosevelt has converted "Selective Service" into an instrument for conscripting labor.

The slave labor decree was put over under cover of a terrific "manpower shortage" barrage whose object was to shift the onus for the so-called munitions shortage onto the workers. General Somervell, chief of the Army Service Forces, literally frothed over the "shortage" of 300,000 workers which was "endangering the war effort." *The Militant* December 16, exposed this fraud by pointing out: "Every campaign to put across compulsory labor conscription has been preceded by a frenzied ballyhoo about the manpower shortage."

official party line, leaving it to the "rank and file, by colorful and noisy oratory, to create the public impression that the party's collective sensibilities have been outraged." So writes the cynical correspondent of the N. Y. Times.

In line with this "strategy," these British labor statesmen hit the floor in Parliament. One of them even became "colorful and noisy" enough to ask Churchill how long the government "intends to go on with this policy of murdering our Greek comrades?" The other members of the House, old hands at this kind of horse play, responded with the usual cries of "Withdraw" and "Shame!"

Now we come to the pay-off. From London, December 15, a reporter of the liberal New York daily PM cables the following climax to all this political depravity: "The stormy discussion over British intervention in Greece having subsided, the Labor Party conference has turned to the socialist first principles on which it expects to fight and hopes to win next year's general election."

STERN JUDGMENT

The judgment pronounced on these traitors by the third International of Lenin and Trotsky still stands, the passage of time only serving to verify their stern sentence a thousand times over. We quote from the Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third International, held in July and August of 1920:

"The Socialist who aids directly or indirectly in maintaining the privileges of one nation at the expense of another, he who acquiesces in colonial slavery, he who draws a line of distinction between races and colors in the matter of human rights; he who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to perpetuate its domination in the colonies instead of promoting the armed uprising, the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy, — such a Socialist should not only not get a mandate of confidence from the workers but should be shot or at any rate branded with shame."

This most recent campaign is no different.

The truth of the matter is that war production cutbacks and plant shutdowns have reduced the labor force in manufacturing industries by close to two-million workers. In addition, the authoritative Wall Street magazine, *Business Week*, cautions its subscribers to: "Bear in mind that the 300,000 men needed for critical programs aren't all needed now. Many of the plants to use them aren't built or tooled." The WPA has announced that some of the plants needed to eliminate the shortage of "critical" materials are still in the blue-print stage. The ballyhooed "manpower shortage" is a fraud.

FOUNDRY JOBS

Senator James M. Mead, chairman of the War Investigating Committee has pointed out that "whenever there was a strain on the economy, such as the wartime manpower shortage, it appeared most prominently in the undesirable fields, such as the hot, heavy and dirty foundry jobs." The foundry "shortage" has elicited official complaint for years. The job is not only "hot heavy and dirty," but underpaid. Roosevelt's wage-freezing War Labor Board has repeatedly refused to permit any wage increase to foundry workers. With the constant rise in the cost of living these workers, and others in the lower paid categories, have been compelled to seek employment in industries which pay higher wages.

Instead of relieving the foundry "shortage" by raising wages and improving conditions, Roosevelt resorts to forceful measures to freeze these workers to their jobs at their present miserable wages. The "greatest liberal of

War Guilt

A survey of public opinion on the question, "Who is to blame for Nazi atrocities?" has disclosed that a majority of the American people have not succumbed to the Allied propaganda that the crimes of Hitlerism and the imperialist war are to be charged against the Germans as a people.

The poll was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center, and its findings published in the New York daily, PM, a rabid advocate of a "hard peace" against the German masses. The majority, 58 per cent, blamed the crimes of Nazism on the Nazi leaders exclusively. Only 2 per cent, blamed the German people. A minority of 38 per cent linked both the people and the Nazi leaders together.

This expression of opinion is especially surprising in view of the tremendous propaganda campaign of the Allied powers and the Kremlin to prepare public opinion for the bloody crushing of German working class revolution, by attributing the war and Nazi atrocities to the German masses, including the workers, who were the first victims of Hitlerism.

them all," "the friend of labor," "the great humanitarian," imposes slave labor by executive decree in order to bolster the wage freeze and assure fatter war profits for the dollar patriots. Will Hillman, Murray, PM, and the rest of the "fourth term" liberal and labor champions please inform the workers: Who won the election?

In NEWARK

NEW YEAR'S EVE FROLIC

Sunday, Dec. 31

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL

423 Springfield Avenue

Dancing - Games

Entertainment

Buffet Supper Served at

Midnight

Admission \$1 per person

In CLEVELAND

NEW YEAR'S FROLIC

Saturday Night, Dec. 30

at 17432 St. Clair Avenue

Entertainment - Dancing

Snacks

Auspices: Civil Rights Defense

Committee

Proceeds to Minneapolis Labor

Case Fund

Admission: \$1 per person

In CHICAGO

Celebrate With the CRDC

NEW YEAR'S EVE DANCE

Sunday, Dec. 31

BELMONT HALL

3205 N. Clark Street

Music by

Larry Lamkin's Troubadours

Admission \$2 per Couple

Proceeds to Minneapolis Labor

Case Fund

In DETROIT

Militant Readers Are Invited to a

NEW YEAR'S EVE SOCIAL

Sunday, Dec. 31

Supper - Entertainment

Dancing

3513 Woodward Ave., Room 21

Admission \$1 per person

Auspices:

Socialist Workers Party

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Joey wrote:

"Dear Dad,

"I had to write you and get this off my chest.

"Sometimes it gets you. You kick around the army for years. You kill guys and almost get killed yourself. You get sick of the food, sick of the discipline, sick of the hunger and thirst, the fear and pain, and the noise of battles. But you get used to it, as much as any human being can get used to such a life. You fall into the rut, you go along from day to day, and it's not as tough as it used to be for the simple reason that you're used to it.

"But for all that, sometimes it gets you, and you feel like a kid again, and you need a cool hand on your forehead and a comforting voice in your ear. It's the loneliness, Dad, that catches up to you every now and then. You need the family. You need the girl. You need the friends, and the old way of life.

"I guess this attack of the blues was brought about by the idea of Christmas. 'Peace on earth, good will toward men,' they tell us. Honestly, Dad, isn't that a laugh? Imagine telling that sort of stuff to a soldier!

"They taught me how to kill with my hands, I know where and how to kick a man in order to

cripple him for life. I know how to jump on a man from the rear and drive a knife into him. It's horribly painful, but my other arm is around his throat, so he can't scream. And they tell me about peace on earth. They talk to me, the peaceful young guy they turned into a cold-blooded killer, about good will toward men!

"The German army was falling apart. Those guys were surrendering by the hundreds, because they had a bellyfull of Hitler and all he stands for. Then Roosevelt and Churchill started telling them what was going to happen to them when the Allies were victorious, so the poor devils began to figure, 'Well, hell, we're going to catch it worse if we give up. It looks like we'll have to keep on fighting. Anything's better than what the Allies are threatening us with.' And god knows how many lives have been lost as a result of this policy of the men who told us of the 'Four Freedoms.' But they tell us about peace on earth!

"The Greek people had the nerve to want to decide what form of government they should have, so Churchill's Gen. Scobie systematically began annihilating them with artillery, tanks, and airplanes. 'Good will toward men!'

"You know, Dad, I've often thought of Father Mulligan since I've been here. There are plenty of guys here like him. We call them 'Holy Joes,' and it kind of makes me wish sometimes that my name wasn't Joe, too. But they have an answer for everything. They even have the knack of sticking 'peace on earth,' etc. right into the middle of this war and proving that everything is as it should be, the way their god wants it to be.

"Gee, when I think of poor old Mrs. diRosa, all bent and with that gray shawl over her head, struggling up the stairs of the church in the wind and the rain to take her 'widow's mite' and add it to the gold and silver of the church treasury . . . so that the Holy Joes here and the others who don't get into uniform can send young guys out to fight and kill all for the love of god and Rockefeller!

"God's on our side, they tell us. Well, that's good. I suppose he was the one that tore the head off a body I found yesterday. Without the head, and with most of the uniform gone, it was hard to tell at first that he was, or rather had been, an enemy. But god must have known, because, bam!—off went his head! (I don't know who takes the heads off our boys.)

"Christmas, 1944, and here I am sitting here looking down at a big brown stain at the bottom of my pant-leg, sort of wondering who it came from, and if whoever he was had a girl like Helen waiting for him, and folks like you and Mom at home.

"Perhaps I shouldn't send letters like this, Dad . . . only, I have to get these things off my chest sometimes. Don't show it to Mom, or even to Helen. This is tough enough on them as it is.

"Well, take it easy, Dad, and, even if this does sound funny after a letter like this one, Merry Christmas.

Joey

10 Years Ago In The Militant

DECEMBER 22, 1934

NEW YORK — First ominous shadows of the infamous Moscow trials appeared, as word came of 103 secret executions in the Soviet Union in retaliation for the assassination of Stalinist bureaucrat Kirov. In a special article "Alarm Signals in the Soviet Union" written by James P. Cannon and A. J. Muste, *The Militant* pointed out that "the alarm that every revolutionary worker feels . . . is increased and intensified enormously by the secrecy and mystery in which the present happenings have been shrouded."

Citing the 1922 trials of the Social Revolutionaries charged with organizing a campaign of terror against the Workers' State, *The Militant* pointed out that these prosecutions were publicly conducted, with foreign counsel allowed for the accused, so that the working class of the world would know the truth of the charges.

"How does it happen," asked *The Militant*, "that secret trials and secret executions are necessary in the 18th year of the revolution. . . If it is maintained that precisely the growing strength and invincible position of the Soviet Union have inspired some capitalist state or states to attack—if that is so, then it is necessary to mobilize the working class of the world against the foreign capitalist enemy. . . This, however, is not the course being followed by Stalin. . . The real defense of the Soviet Union requires a merciless criticism of the methods of the Stalin bureaucracy in this case."

SACRAMENTO, CAL. — A dispatch to *The Militant* revealed that in Berkeley, Cal., a membership meeting of the Communist Party protested the CP policy of sabotaging the defense of 18 Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union militants, on trial under the vicious "Criminal Syndicalism" law. These workers, instrumental in winning wage increases for migratory workers in 1933, included both CP members and workers sympathetic to the Workers Party (Trotskyist). Refusing to participate in the non-partisan Sacramento Appeal Committee, the Stalinists also withheld bail which could have been furnished the defendants through the International Labor Defense.

NEW YORK — Plans were outlined for the trade union work of the newly formed Workers Party of America. "A trade union department has been set up," the report stated. "The party trade union fractions are being organized and the first steps are being taken to contact . . . progressives in the various localities."

In LOS ANGELES

Begin the New Year With Your Fellow-Readers of *The Militant*

NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATION

Sunday, Dec. 31

Socialist Workers Party

232 So. Hill Street, Room 203

Subscription \$1 per person

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 52 Saturday, Dec. 23, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N

at 116 University Place, New York 3, 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. Bundle orders: 8 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Bill Of Rights

On December 15, 1791, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States went into effect. These amendments have since been popularly referred to as the Bill of Rights, for they guaranteed such basic democratic rights of the people as freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly.

The Bill of Rights was made part of the basic law of the land solely as the result of pressure from workers and farmers who viewed the Constitution as an instrument to uphold the special privileges of the wealthy. The workers and farmers who had fought and won the revolution for independence from British tyranny did their utmost to safeguard the democratic rights of the majority against the rise of a new tyranny on this continent. In fear of the popular masses, the ruling class of that period—the wealthy merchants and landowners conceded the demand for the Bill of Rights.

In the century and a half since then, the ruling oligarchy has done its utmost to abrogate the Bill of Rights. As the war continues, they are making ever greater inroads upon the liberties of the people. At the beginning of the war they railroaded to prison 18 Trotskyists and trade unionists for expressing political opposition to the Second World War. The Roosevelt administration, which is the executive instrument of this ruling oligarchy, further violated the Bill of Rights, by cancelling the second class mailing rights of the *Militant*. After widespread protest, these rights were restored last March. But the *Fourth International* is still held up each month by the postal authorities.

The Supreme Court, whose presumed duty it is to safeguard the Bill of Rights, refused even to consider the constitutionality of the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act under which the 18 trade unionists and Trotskyists were railroaded to prison although theirs was the first case to come to court after the enactment of this vicious law. Twelve of these prisoners are still behind bars.

All the propagandists of the Roosevelt regime pay lip service to the Bill of Rights. But in Europe where the people of Belgium, Italy, France and

Greece are struggling to establish their own "Bill of Rights," the Roosevelt administration together with its Allies is today attempting to put down this struggle by force of arms. Workers slain by Allied bullets in the streets of Brussels and Athens eloquently testify that the imperialist oligarchy of today regards the principles of the Bill of Rights in the same light as did their reactionary forebears—ideals to be praised in public but rudely thrust aside in practise whenever class rule so demands.

Standing in the forefront of the struggle to safeguard the Bill of Rights, the Trotskyists are the true inheritors of the democratic traditions of the American revolutionists of 1776 who overthrew the tyranny of Britain and forced an unwilling native upper class in the early days of the Republic to grant certain democratic rights of the people.

Partition Of Germany

World economy has become so productive and the world capitalist market so small in comparison, that the imperialists seeking domination of our planet have decided to destroy one of the major centers of production—Germany. This is the calculation motivating all the Allied plans for a "hard peace."

With German factories broken into scrap, her transportation system smashed, her sources of raw materials sealed off, her labor power decimated, the Allies hope that the European continent will be removed as a competitor.

The progress of these plans is indicated by the first formal proposal of Roosevelt through Ambassador John Winant to the European Advisory Commission. The full plan has not yet been made public but the Associated Press in a December 12 dispatch reveals the following items: (1) Complete and ruthless abolition of German war industries. (2) Wiping out the German aviation industry. (3) Control of German industries so that they could not dominate European economy. (4) Allied control of German foreign trade. (5) Drastic supervision of German imports with a view to preventing Germany from buying abroad raw materials adapted to strategic uses.

Consummation of this scheme would mean the utter decomposition of European economy. It would mean turning the industrial areas into wastelands. The narrowing of the European economic base would mean at the same time a ghastly decrease in population. Tens and twenties of millions of people would be wiped out by famine and exposure. Europe would see a new barbarism transcending fascism. Just as the downfall of Rome turned formerly populous areas into melancholy, uninhabited territories, so would the downfall of Europe convert her cities into empty ruins.

And this new barbarism inevitably would spread like an insidious blight over the entire globe. Industrial America itself would fall by the same sword wielded against Germany. This is the real future of the "hard peace" being planned by the Allied imperialists and their agents.

Food

In the First World War the Allies utilized shipments of food and clothing to devastated Europe as an instrument of counter-revolution. Under Hoover the enormous warehouses and over-flowing granaries of goods produced by American labor power were distributed in strict accordance with imperialist political calculations.

If the imperialists thought the masses of a country could be tamed by starvation, they denied them relief. If the imperialists thought the masses could be diverted from the path of socialist revolution by shiploads of commodities, they granted them relief while the counter-revolution utilized the breathing spell to prepare its armed forces for blood-letting.

The Allies are now attempting to utilize food as a counter-revolutionary weapon in the Second World War. So far the weapon has been wielded mostly as a threat, save for a few hundred tons actually delivered here and there. The armed forces devour goods like an insatiable monster; the economies of all the warring powers have been turned to maximum production of instruments of destruction. On the other hand the devastation of Europe and consequent needs of the people far transcend those of the First World War.

In deadly fear of the mounting European revolution, the imperialist gangsters look back to the weapon wielded by Hoover in the First World War. Little as they can send in comparison to what they did in the First World War and great as the wrath and disillusionment of the European peoples may be, they still believe a few loaves of bread and a few dried fish will accomplish the miracle of taming and deluding the multitudes. "Soldiers," editorializes the December 14 *N. Y. Times*, "may have less to do in some liberated countries if civilians are well looked after."

The Earl of Selborne, British Minister of Economic Warfare, admitted, however, on December 14 that the food crisis in "liberated" Europe has "grown worse since D-Day." Richard Law, British Minister of State, consequently is coming to Washington to see if it won't be possible to "give the people of these countries even those necessities of life which the Germans were able to give them."

The truth is, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, seems unable to bring food supplies even up to the starvation level of the German occupation. The schemes and plans of the Allied imperialists are grandiose indeed. They have hatched gigantic conspiracies of counter-revolution. But the war is leaving the world far poorer, the resources of capitalism, in death agony, are fast declining. The "Teheran" conspirators will discover that they cannot buy off the rising European revolution with "relief" handouts.

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

Cannon's Book

Editor:

Your recent review of James P. Cannon's book, "The History of American Trotskyism," while otherwise thorough, failed to touch upon one aspect of the work which I believe merits comment.

Cannon's book has a significance beyond the recording of the history of American Trotskyism. It is an important addition to the Marxist defense of Bolshevism against Souvarinism, which contends that Stalinism is an inevitable outgrowth of Bolshevism.

Benjamin Gitlow in his attempted chronicle of the American Communist Party, "I Confess," aligned himself with these idealistic interpreters of Stalinism by contending that the degeneration of the American CP was caused by the evil methods and immorality of the Communist leaders. His attempted explanation of the bitter factional battles that wracked the early Communist movement was devoid of any Marxist meaning, to say nothing of its neglect of fact.

It remained for a Trotskyist to defend successfully the early period of the American CP against such renegades, and that is as it should be, for in the words of Cannon, "We must not surrender, we cannot in justice and truth surrender, the tradition of the first years of American Communism. That belongs to us and upon that we have built."

Souvarine and his ilk have returned to idealism. For them the method, the morality, the individual's character, the idea determines social forms and change. Cannon explodes the theory that the evil methods, the immoral personal struggle for power were the basic causes of the factional struggles within the C.P., by his demonstration of the material class basis which in the last analysis determines the character and origin of factional struggles. Thus he re-establishes the validity of the method of Marxism.

This book should be read together with Cannon's earlier published work, "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," which continues the history of American Trotskyism through the critical factional struggle with the petty-bourgeois opposition in 1939.

Together these two volumes are important contributions to the study of the application of the theory of Historic Materialism to the problem of working class organizations. For one seeking to understand the method of building and the nature of a Bolshevik party these works are required reading.

M. Knight
New York

Tee Davis

Editor:

A nation-wide campaign to secure a pardon for Tee Davis, Negro tenant farmer of Edmondson, Arkansas, who is serving a ten year imprisonment for alleged assault with intent to kill, has been launched by the Workers Defense League, in cooperation with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union of which Davis was an active member.

In March 1943, three deputy sheriffs attempted at night to break into Davis's house without a search warrant. They claimed to be searching homes following a thieving complaint. One of the deputies, finding Davis's door locked, began kicking it in, shouting, "Open up, you God-damned black son-of-a-bitch!"

Davis, in an attempt to frighten off the unknown marauders and protect his family, fired a shot through the lower part of his door. The deputy fired back. No one was injured. Davis was subsequently arrested and convicted on a frame-up charge, although even the Arkansas law upholds the right of a citizen to defend his home.

All defenders of civil rights and opponents of Jim-Crow "justice" are urged by the Workers Defense League to write or wire immediately to Arkansas Governor Homer M. Adkins, urging a Christmas pardon for Davis.

S. G.
New York

Steel Case

Editor:

The WLB Steel directive that was handed down on November 25 and hailed by Murray as a "great victory," has not been well received by the steel workers—the ones who are affected by the decision. Instead there is real

disappointment with the results.

The greatest resentment to the "great victory" comes from the workers who work straight days, the forgotten men and women in steel. They received a few minor concessions but these are all insignificant and therefore they are very dissatisfied with the results. They believe that there will not be any general wage increase now. They feel that the directive just about settled the whole case and that they are left holding the bag. Many of them are threatening to quit the union as a protest against this betrayal; others are seeing the failure of the no-strike policy and the policy of relying on government boards to make decisions for the union. They are starting to recognize that the policy of the Murray leadership and its subservience to the government, results only in defeats or minor concessions at best.

The workers on the swing turns who received the 4 and 6 cents for the afternoon and midnight shifts, had a similar letdown but it was not as great because they received an average of 3 1/3 cents per hour increase with a little back pay. But it is a long way from what they were expecting and their hopes for a general raise are pretty well gone.

Youngstown, O.

Negroes Last

Editor:

Overseas American Negro troops, numbering more than 400,000, will be the last to be sent home, according to Undersecretary of War Patterson. Under the system devised by the Army, men in combat units will be released first. Since most of the Negro troops are segregated into "service" or labor battalions, they will return home last.

When it comes to getting and holding a job in industry under American capitalism, the Negro worker is the last to be hired and the first to be fired. But when it comes to being drafted into a Jim-Crow army supposed to be fighting a "war for democracy," the Negro worker is the last to be "fired"—sent home.

B. S.
Detroit

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

France

50,000 men and women attended the huge mass meeting at the Velodrome d'Hiver, Paris' version of New York's Madison Square Garden, to hear Maurice Thorez, Secretary of the French Communist party. Thorez had just returned from Moscow after De Gaulle pardoned him for military desertion.

Togliatti, we know, on returning to Italy from Moscow offered the Italian masses the government of Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel. Here is what Thorez offered the French masses: "Vague war!", he said, "... until final victory, until we reach Berlin! That is our sole job at the present time. . . . We can, we must make our own guns, tanks and planes. . . . We can, we must have 20, 30, 40 or more (Army) divisions. . . ."

Holland

Revolutionary unrest inside "liberated" territories of Europe is not limited to Greece, Belgium and Italy. Evidence is accumulating that resistance to the return of the old pre-war capitalist regimes, which found refuge in England, exists throughout Europe. We learn of growing unrest in Holland and Czechoslovakia which before the war were listed among the "liberal" and "democratic" countries.

Reporting the statement of Premier Pieter Gerbrandy, of the Netherlands Government-in-Exile, on his return from the Allied-occupied section of Holland, the *N. Y. Times* correspondent John MacCormac wrote last week that Gerbrandy declared "it was possible that his Government might have to face there difficulties similar to those in Belgium and Greece."

Gerbrandy hastened to add that "this was not probable since measures were already being taken to avert them." Those measures include the promised resignation of his government "when Queen Wilhelmina has returned to the

Netherlands" and "his replacement by somebody who has the confidence of the Netherlands resistance movement." In short, Gerbrandy is promising some form of coalition set-up with the collaboration of the various "working-class" political parties but in support of the old capitalist-monarchical system.

Unfortunately, according to Gerbrandy, the Dutch people will be unable to elect their own government "for two years" because "500,000 Netherlands are in Germany" and the electoral registers in many places "have been burned by saboteurs." So the government which was brought in with the Allied bayonets will continue to rule "with the assistance of the interim Parliament" in which the resistance forces are promised "the predominant voice."

But Gerbrandy indicated the "danger of unrest" is very acute under Allied rule because of the food situation, which has already resulted in wide-spread hunger strikes and a general railroad strike. The greatest problem that his Government will have to face, he concluded, is the famine threatening the occupied area, where city people this week have no butter, fat, sugar or beans, no fuel and only 600 grams of bread each.

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile, headed by Eduard Benes, is also "determined to avoid any clash with the resistance forces in its country or any calling in of Allied armies to keep the peace," the London correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* wired on December 13.

Benes is promising that when "the whole country has been freed" that a "constitutional assembly is to be elected which will agree on a new electoral law." But until the Czech masses have a "law" on how to conduct elections, they are to be governed by a coalition

Two Forces

The former pro-Nazi collaborationists in France, the big business interests, have begun to look on General de Gaulle as a "saviour," while the anti-fascist masses are becoming increasingly hostile to him. Time magazine recently reported:

"At Maugebe a fortnight ago the Francs-Tireurs Partisans, the Communist-influenced section of the F.F.I. sentenced five collaborationists to death. General de Gaulle pardoned two (industrialists) of them. The F.T.P. took these two out and shot them anyway. At Toulouse, when General de Gaulle refused to receive the resistance leaders, the rank and file tried to arrest him."

"But de Gaulle also received new support. France au Combat, a rightist resistance group, which was strongest in the south of France, announced that it was solidly behind the Government. It planned to expand its organization throughout Paris and the provinces, to publish a daily and a weekly paper, to oppose lynchings and private executions of the kind carried out by the Patriotic Militia. Its mottoes: 'De Gaulle our President'; 'De Gaulle and Order.'"

tion regime, naturally formed by Benes, "in which the partisans and the exiles will be represented."

Thus, everywhere in "liberated" Europe the old discredited regimes are seeking to crawl back into power with the aid of Allied arms and by the device of hand-picked coalition regimes. The "Peoples Front" facade is the cover for reactionary capitalist rule and is everywhere intended to confuse the insurgent masses, divert their struggle against capitalism and avert the inevitable revolutionary wave.

Some Character Witnesses For Roosevelt Appointees

Big Business is drooling at the mouth to clamp its jaws on the \$100 billion worth of government-built plants, equipment and other war "surpluses." To "expedite" the "disposal" of this vast public wealth, Congress has set up a 3-man board. Last week, a Senate committee approved Roosevelt's nomination of ex-Governor Hurley of Connecticut and Lt. Col. Heller to the board, after hearing testimony about their "qualifications."

A string of industrialists, bankers and corporation lawyers appeared as "character witnesses" for the two nominees, who were under fire for their connections with a shady deal whereby the government guaranteed a \$2,000,000 loan to the Narragansett Manufacturing Company of Rhode Island. Hurley was made a vice-president of the company in order to bolster its "credit standing." Col. Heller, a wealthy California industrialist, approved the loan for the government.

Col. Heller's major qualification for the post, according to Randolph C. Walker, president of the Aircraft Accessories Corp., is that he is "one of the five leading industrialists in California, with a keen analytical mind and the highest reputation for integrity." Chauncey Tramulito, San Francisco, corporation lawyer, avowed that it was inconceivable "that any body could have a fairer, more upright and more diligent type of person on the board." And Carl B. Pitman, vice-president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, thought Heller would be an "excellent" selection, because he "has broad experience in banking and finance, good judgment and keen analytical ability."

Such testimonials make it easy to understand the "qualifications" of Roosevelt's choices. We may rest assured that the appointees will use "good judgment and keen analytical ability" as well as "diligence and integrity" in giving away government property to their fellow big-business associates.

NAM Launches Campaign For 'Free Enterprise'

A nation-wide propaganda campaign to boost the merits of the capitalist "free enterprise" system and flood the press with anti-labor poison is being set afoot this week by the National Association of Manufacturers.

The campaign is being financed by the big corporations as part of their open-shop offensive in preparation for the "post-war era." "Local" manufacturers, in addition to their contributions for NAM advertisements, will carry "tie-in" advertisements in their local newspapers.

According to NAM executives, the campaign is intended to persuade the public that full employment and prosperity can be realized only if the capitalists have a "free hand" to control industry as they please without "government interference." Specifically, they want elimination of corporation profits taxes, removal of legislative safeguards for union collective bargaining rights, "disposal" of all government-built war plants for a song to the monopolies, and a starving army of unemployed who might be whipped by hunger into taking jobs at sub-union wages.

The NAM plans to spread its propaganda in the daily newspapers of every city of more than 50,000. It intends to utilize the foreign language press as well. Millions of dollars are expected to be poured into the hands of the "free" press, which, supported in this fashion by big business, will supplement the NAM's paid advertising with fulsome editorials and "news" in praise of "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism.

The NAM's financial resources are virtually unlimited, because of the monumental war profits of the corporations. Wherever possible, however, the financing of such advertising will be added to "costs" in "cost-plus" war contracts. The bulk of the advertising will be paid for by deductions from corporation income taxes.

Unions Assail Anti-Labor Munitions Shortage Hoax

Immediately following Roosevelt's "great progressive" election victory, the administration and its military officials intensified their campaign against labor's rights. Advocates of the forced labor National Service Act and the "incentive pay" speed-up system started a clamor about dire "shortages" of munitions, painting lurid visions of American troops dying for lack of ammunition because "slackers" were leaving warplants for the "security" of "peacetime" jobs.

Although Secretary of War Stimson himself has pointed out that the alleged "shortages" are only "potential" and that any lack of munitions at the front has been due primarily to transportation difficulties, the anti-labor drive behind the spurious claim of "shortages" continues unabated. This campaign of fear and misrepresentation initiated for anti-labor purposes is bringing forth increasing protest from the labor movement.

The latest issue of Labor, weekly publication of 15 railways unions, assails this anti-labor drive as an attempt of "brass hats who made wretchedly poor guessers as to what would win the war" to throw the responsibility onto labor. "There is no manpower shortage that the labor unions and the labor department can't handle if officials will just stop scaring the people in the hope that they can cover up their own mistakes."

Similar protests were voiced simultaneously on December 15 by the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers. John Green, President of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, publicly challenged the government claim of "shortages" due to "slackers." He pointed out that thousands of ship yard workers are being fired due to cutbacks and are experiencing great difficulty in securing reemployment.

It will be recalled that Roosevelt has long advocated a forced labor law. He partially circumvented the reluctance of Congress to pass such a law by decree measures issued through the War Manpower Commission. Then, prior to the elections Roosevelt softened the issue. Now, "safely" ensconced in the White House once more, Roosevelt is pressing his anti-labor program harder than ever.