

By Art Preis

WEAK-KNEED POLICY

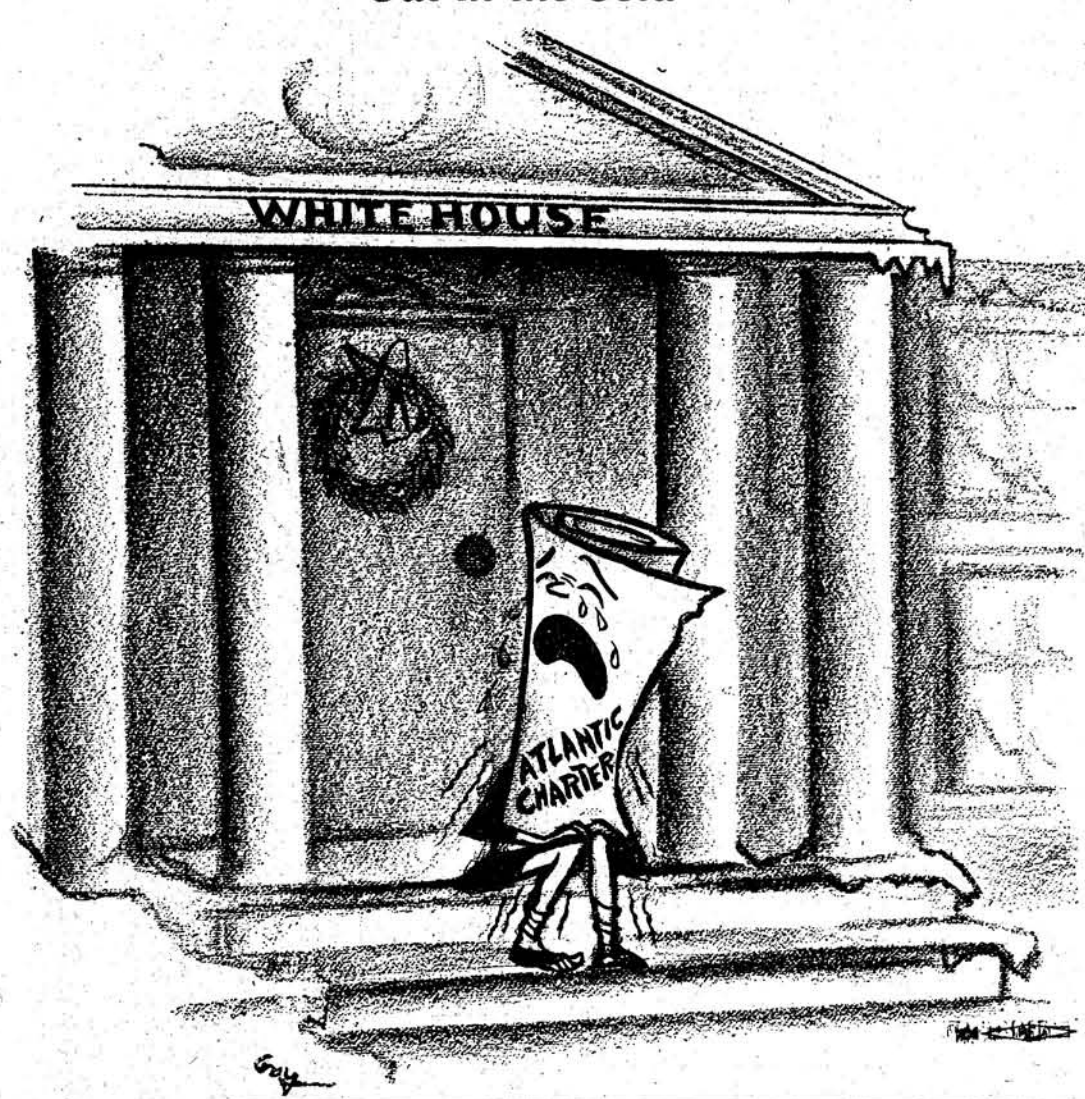
FIRST TIME

COVER-UP

By Wells Thurber

SUBJECT LACKEY

Out in the Cold



OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

By Jerry Kirk

The "Program for Action" sub-

By Joseph Hansen

HUE AND CRY

ROOSEVELT'S CONFESSION

However, we also understand why Roosevelt couldn't admit the fraud of the Atlantic Charter until now. He wanted four terms in the White House. If, he had admitted an iota of the truth about the real nature of the Atlantic Charter, wouldn't Hillman, Murray and the rest of his servile boot-lickers have had greater difficulty convincing the workers he is a friend of labor and the champion of democracy? Now the election is over. In addition, the orders of Eisenhower and Churchill to shoot down Green and Belgian workers have pretty well exposed the Atlantic Charter as not at all divine but just run of the mill Wall Street propaganda. So Roosevelt doesn't mind passing the time of day with his press agents, wise-cracking and laughing about the sly dodges of a false prophet must utilize to make his fake promises sound genuine to the people.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The CIO auto workers' Rank and File Caucus, which organized the magnificent battle against the no-strike pledge at the union's convention last September and secured a national membership referendum on the issue, is launching an aggressive campaign to win a majority vote in the referendum to rescind the pledge.

The Wayne County Rank and File caucus recently held its most representative meeting, where plans for a bold campaign were mapped and a steering committee elected. This committee, composed of one representative of each UAW local in the caucus, will direct and coordinate the campaign.

The caucus proposes to use radio broadcasts, sound trucks, local union papers, mass distribution of leaflets, stickers and other means of publicity and education to get out the largest possible vote against the no-strike surrender policy.

Among the participants in the Rank and File meeting were stewards, committeemen and officers from such leading locals as DeSoto 227, Dodge 140, Briggs 212, Ford 600, Ford 400, Fleetwood 15, Hudson 154, Continental Motors 280, Ford Bomber 50, West Side 174, Chrysler 490, Michigan Steel Tube 238, Motor Products 203, and Budd 306. After a thoroughgoing discussion, complete unanimity was reached on an organized campaign to bring out a resounding vote to defeat the no-strike pledge.

Many Michigan auto locals have already taken the initiative in issuing their own papers, leaflets and stickers calling on the auto unionists to throw out the no-strike policy. In Flint, Buick Local 599 and Chevrolet Local 659 have been conducting a consistent press and educational campaign since the convention. Local 238, Detroit, has issued an attractive red and white sticker which is appearing in many of the plants. Fleetwood and Ford Aircraft Units have distributed thousands of leaflets. Similar activities are being initiated by other locals.

Nat "Quack-Quack" Ganley, leading Stalinist whip at UAW-CIO conventions and business agent of the Stalinist-dominated Local 155, Detroit, broke out in nearly a page of print in the Stalinist Worker, December 17, to proclaim "Vote 'Yes' in UAW No-Strike Referendum!"

Ganley's article reveals Stalinism's anti-labor policy in its full flower — skunk cabbage and stink weed. With Roosevelt's promises of "equality of sacrifice" still ringing in our ears, Ganley tells the workers to support the no-strike pledge "regardless of what the provocation may be," because "thinking, militant labor has no illusions that there will be equality of sacrifice between reactionary employers and working people in the present war." Ganley advises the worker that when the bosses knock him down, he should just turn over and in-

vite them to step on his face. "The no-strike pledge," says Ganley, is no less than "labor's offensive weapon" against fascism. Wouldn't the fascist-minded open-shoppers like the workers to believe that!

Ganley undertakes to "answer" some of the leaflets put out by various UAW locals against the no-strike policy. For instance, he notes indignantly that a Local 659 leaflet reminds the workers that "the only people who have been for the no-strike pledge are the top leaders of the labor movement, the Communist Party, the employers and the government." Exposure of the fact that the Stalinists are in the camp of the reactionary capitalists and their labor lieutenants is falsely labeled by Ganley as "red-baiting." Moreover, claims Ganley, the "overwhelming majority of working people" are "for the pledge." He fails to point out that the workers were never given a choice in the matter, that all the agencies of capitalist propaganda, government coercion and union bureaucratic intimidation have had to be employed to enforce the no-strike policy. And in spite of government threats and reprisals, as well as victimization by the union bureaucrats, over 2,000,000 American workers have engaged in wartime strikes since Pearl Harbor.

Against the inescapable truth of the Local 659 leaflet that labor "must prepare today to meet the postwar crisis which is absolutely certain" by defending its gains and rights now, Ganley blandly offers the fantastic assurance that "the chances for postwar prosperity are greater than the chances for postwar crisis." Didn't Roosevelt himself promise "60 million postwar jobs" — before elections?

In fact, according to the Stalinists, "Teheran" has guaranteed such a golden future under "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism that the workers won't need to strike ever again. So the Stalinists are taking the lead in trying to fasten the no-strike policy noose around the necks of the workers for the "duration" — the duration of capitalist rule by America's Sixty Millionaire Families.

While the Stalinists try to dope the workers with opiate about the "greater chances for postwar prosperity," the organs of Big Business prefer to give their hard-boiled corporation clients the straight facts. Thus, *Business Week* of December 16, headlines: "Trouble Ahead — Postwar labor disorders on major scale seen for Detroit when war-stalled grievances are revived at bargaining table."

Business Week observes: "Welcome as the war's end will be, Detroit automotive managers are fearful that it will be accompanied by an outbreak of labor troubles as severe as those which paralyzed the auto industry in 1937. . . . There is no dispute with this thesis in most labor quarters."

Business Week further warns the bosses: "The expected strike wave can be predicated on the fact that the war largely ended a normal pattern of bargaining. Minor and major disputes alike since 1941 were not settled but sidetracked . . . (by) the Little Steel Formula of wage control, the existence of labor's no-strike pledge. . . . In a parallel sense, the slumbering long-range objectives of organized labor will be revived when the war ends. . . . Labor also points to evidence of a recent hardening of company attitudes . . . an aggressive anti-union attitude which has grown during the war and which is self-confident enough to risk an all-out test of strength in the postwar period."

SWP Members And Friends Back \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

Many years ago, we conducted an Expansion Fund Campaign for \$3,000. It seemed like a large sum then and when we completed it we felt we had accomplished a herculean task.

To-day, we undertake the raising of \$18,000 with full confidence. We know that the branch quotas will be fulfilled and that many of them will be oversubscribed.

The transition from a small group that raised \$3,000 with difficulty, to a party that undertakes to collect \$18,000 without hesitation, was achieved over a long period by hard spade work, conscious education and natural selection of cadres.

We are no longer an isolated group. We are a party, on its way to become a mass revolutionary party. The Militant reaches thousands of workers. Our members are integrated in the unions. They propagate the Trotskyist ideas and bring new members into the party from the shop, the factory, the ship.

Objective conditions, national and international, are favorable to a readier receptivity of our program by ever broader circles of the working class. The Party Expansion Program of Action was framed from this viewpoint. Its aim is to lay the basis for a big leap forward in our mass activity.

The successful completion of the \$18,000 Fund is the first prerequisite for carrying out the Expansion Program. Every member understands this and is making special efforts to fulfill his and her individual pledge in the shortest possible time, so as to clear the decks for the next action.

FROM THE BRANCHES

New York: "The members of our maritime club are an outstanding example of how 'Trotskyists do what is necessary, not what is possible.' Although, on the average, these comrades do not earn more, or, in many cases, as much as those in war industry, each one of them has pledged a minimum of \$100."

San Francisco: from Anne—"The scorecard on the campaign carried in *The Militant* is a beautiful job. I am sure everyone will watch that pointer with great interest. We can be very proud of our party for the efficient manner with which every task is handled."

Los Angeles, Dan Roberts: "We had a wonderful experience with one of our recent worker recruits, a comrade who came in two months ago. In spite of the fact that very recently he incurred an injury to his hand and had to have his fingers amputated, he and his wife pledged \$100."

Members-at-large have not been assigned any definite quotas by the national office because we had no way of judging what they could carry. Last week, one of these members from Dayton wrote in saying that in the absence of a definite quota he was assessing himself \$25. We expect that other members-at-large will follow suit. Thus far, the quotas undertaken by members-at-large, groups and friends are:

Massachusetts	\$100	paid \$100
Dayton	25	" 15
Allentown	25	" 0
Michigan	25	" 0
Quakertown	25	" 0
N. Y. Friends	100	" 0
	\$300	\$115



Two of the branches have increased their bundle orders. Milwaukee ordered 25 more copies a week and San Diego asked for an increase of 85 copies a week. We quote from our San Diego agent's letter: "This is to inform you that the San Diego Branch decided to increase its weekly bundle order of *The Militant* by 85 copies. . . . Hope this finds all the comrades in the same optimistic spirit as the last time I saw them at the Convention. San Diego has caught the same fire of enthusiasm."

The following methods are being tried in Los Angeles as an additional way of introducing *The Militant* to the workers: "Please send a complimentary subscription to San Pedro Economy Drug Store. This is not a special sub but one to continue indefinitely. I hope to be able to get a list of barber shops and such places for complimentary subs as I think it may give us new contacts. This is just for working class neighborhoods, however."

"Please include in the ad of newsstands carrying *The Militant*

the following stand: S.E. corner Wabash and Evergreen, Boyle Heights. If the paper sells well enough, we will try to place the F. I.

Our Detroit agent is already beginning preparations for the subscription campaign scheduled to begin March 1: "Enclosed are eight introductory subs and one six-month continuation of an introductory sub. You will notice that the purchaser of the renewal bought his first sub just last month. We didn't argue with him when he decided to renew before his original sub had expired."

"We're starting to prepare for the next sub campaign — we're anxious for it to begin."

A report from our Youngstown agent outlines the successful method being used there in selling 3-month introductory subscriptions: "Immediately after the Convention we once again concentrated on obtaining subscriptions and selling pamphlets along with our other work. This work is so organized that it will in no way conflict with the functioning of the other committees."

"We have set up two groups of four, with one group going out once a week and the other four going out the latter part of the week. In this way we bring the work down to a minimum as far as hours are concerned and still we are able to dispose of our extra Militants by passing them out to individuals as we ask for a sub. We did this last week and in approximately 2½ hours we obtained 23 subs, which is a darn good average considering we didn't cover more than 45 houses."

Boston CRDC Meeting

SUNDAY, JANUARY 7 - 8 P. M.

Speakers:

Oscar Shoenfeld, Minneapolis Case Defendant
Prof. F. O. Mattiesen, Harvard University
Jacob Blum, Mass. Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO

Alfred A. Albert, Massachusetts ACLU
Michael Flaherty, United Shoe Workers, CIO
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CENTER
612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester



SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	\$300	\$316	106%
Newark	450	230	51
Akron	300	145	48
Reading	75	35	47
N.Y. Maritime Club	3000	1385	46
Toledo	300	118	39
Buffalo	400	133	33
Detroit	1250	404	32
Boston	400	119	30
New York Local	3000	783	26
Cleveland	250	45	18
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	1000	0	0
Seattle	1000	0	0
Twin Cities	1000	0	0
Members-at-large, groups and friends:	300	115	38
TOTAL	\$8,829		21%

Pioneer Notes

Samples of our attractive new pamphlet, *American Workers Need a Labor Party* by Joseph Hansen, have reached the mid-west and orders are coming in from the branches:

Chicago: "Please send us 250 copies of the Labor Party pamphlet. Everybody here feels that this is the best popular pamphlet we have yet published. This is just in the way of a preliminary order so that we can get started."

Milwaukee: "The Labor Party pamphlet is very excellent, it is well printed on good paper and has very excellent cartoons and illustrations. However, it seems a tiny bit too long. (I may be mistaken — the proof will be in the selling!)"

The New York comrades have begun the sale of the pamphlet and they continue to express their admiration of the latest Pioneer publication.

"It is a hell of a good pamphlet. We are proud to show it to people." "Swell pamphlet! When you take it out it really looks good." "It not only looks good, but makes interesting reading. It is chuck full of well presented facts." "The cover cartoon tells the story so clearly that it hardly needs the printed title."

Trotskyism Lives

The Socialist Appeal, organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain, (Trotskyist) carries the following letter in its December 1944 issue:

"Comrades, "I have been fortunate these days. First of all I worked with Italian prisoners and later with Russians. The Italians were very interested in the American Militant showing the mass demonstrations in Naples. I managed in a pigeon way, to explain what was going on there under the 'liberators.'"

"The Russians were different. Most of them were educated and could speak German. I had a look at some Pravdas they had and J. Stalin's name was most prominent. They hated Stalin. Trotsky was a man for the people, they said. When I showed them the picture of the Bolshevik Old Guard and explained that Stalin was the survivor, they understood. I also explained to them about the CP of America and the cancerous growth that the Third International had become before its collapse. They were interested in the Fourth International and seemed surprised to learn of Trotskyist groups in other countries, especially America."

Following the letter is a second report. "From a Polish comrade who spent two years in Stalin's jails after the occupation of Poland in 1939, comes news that while in Stalin's jails he met many members of the Trotskyist Opposition who, despite years of imprisonment, are still imbued with the Trotskyist ideas of world revolution. Further, they are optimistic that the bureaucracy will be destroyed and the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky will triumph again in Russia."

BETTER LOOK INTO THIS

"What did you tell that man just now?"
"I told him to hurry."
"What might have you to tell him to hurry?"
"I pay him to hurry."
"How much do you pay him?"
"Eight dollars a day."
"Where do you get the money to pay him?"
"I sell products."
"Who makes the products?"
"He does."
"How many products does he make in a day?"
"Twenty dollars worth."
"Then instead of you paying him, he pays you twelve dollars a day to stand around telling him to hurry."
"Well, but I own the machines."
"How did you get the machines?"
"Sold products and bought them."
"Who made the products?"
"Shut up! He might hear you!"

(Reprinted from Voice of 212, organ of Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO)

Incite Terror In Mexico City

MEXICO CITY — Five workers were wounded, one of them fatally, when a gang of Stalinist gunmen from the Confederacion Trabajadores Mexicanos (Stalinist-dominated Mexican Federation of Workers), on October 6 attacked unarmed members of the Federacion Libertaria (Independent Union), at a Mexico City shoe factory, reports the mid-November issue of *Lucha Obrera*, organ of the Mexican section of the Fourth International.

The attack climaxed a series of attempts by the Stalinist-controlled CTM to halt by intimidation and bribery, the growth of independent, anti-Stalinist unions through the Federacion Libertaria. "The CTM cannot and does not intend to permit workers to

leave it and organize into new, independent unions," says Lucha Obrera. "The CTM has determined to oppose such moves by all possible methods, and has its own Gestapo, including hordes of willing gunmen, for that purpose. The CTM intends to destroy the will of the working class by terror."

Where terror fails, Lucha Obrera points out, the unscrupulous Stalinist bureaucrats of the CTM utilize "a less bloody, slightly more pacifistic and democratic weapon — money" — backed up by the threat of its goon-squads. "Armed representatives of the CTM offered 200 pesos to any worker who would agree to leave the Federacion Libertaria and affiliate with the CTM." These tactics can only increase the determination of the advanced workers to wipe out the influence of Stalinism in the union movement of Mexico.

WHERE YOU CAN BUY THE 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

AKRON New Exchange, 51 S. Main.	PHILADELPHIA 13th and Market Streets.
CHICAGO 51st St. L Station; Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St.; University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 63 W. Randolph.	SAN FRANCISCO Duncan's Newsstand, 1986 Sutter St.; Rays Smoke Shop, 1174 Sutter St.; MacDonald's Book Store, 867 Mission St.; Golden Gate News Agency, 81-3rd St.; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21-4th St.
DETROIT Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater, Carls Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave. Cass Newsstand, Cass at Michigan Ave.	SAN PEDRO Williams Book Store, 284-6th St.; Johnson's Pool Hall, 581 Beacon St.; LaTue Pharmacy, 1309 Pacific; Abrams Pharmacy, 1002 South Caffery; 8026 Seville Ave., South Gate.
LOS ANGELES NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210½ Bklyn. Ave.; 1680 N. Cahuega and Hollywood Blvd.; 1665 N. Los Palms and Hollywood Blvd.; 1679 N. Highland and Hollywood Blvd.	TOLEDO Athletic Sport Center, 908 Washington St.; M. & M. Drugstore, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.

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Fourth International

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER

Review of the Month By The Editors
Lessons of the 1944 Presidential Campaign Under the Two-Party System
The Eleventh Convention of The American Trotskyist Movement By The Editors
Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party on "The European Revolution and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Party"
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British Markets Now Exploited By Wall Street

American Colossus Replaces Great Britain; Becomes Leading Power in Course of War

By Joseph Hansen

Since the British began their attempt to re-establish domination over Greece, even at the cost of a bloody war, the liberals have stepped up their propaganda to whitewash the role of American imperialism. The liberals have seized on recent demagogic declarations of the U. S. State Department, as proof for their contention that Churchill may be continuing imperialist "power politics" but Roosevelt is "coming clean for democracy."

There is good reason why

American imperialism can, on occasion, afford to pay lip service to democracy. With the war, the United States has emerged as the most powerful capitalist power on the globe. Britain, on the other hand, has been immeasurably impoverished and weakened.

Super-wealthy U. S. imperialism, whose program to subjugate Europe is only part of its program to establish its imperial hegemony throughout the world, can afford a certain amount of flexibility in imposing its brutal rule over the peoples. British imperialism, going through desperate paroxysms to hold onto its fast disintegrating empire, must insist that its satellite nations not only set up reactionary puppet regimes as does American imperialism, but must further insist on its "right" to hand-pick those precise puppets who are totally dependent and will remain completely subservient to British imperialism. American imperialism can be more "liberal" than British imperialism only in the same sense that British imperialism was able to be more "liberal" than German imperialism before the last war.

BRITAIN'S DECLINE

Barrons, economic journal of Wall Street, outlines the commercial decline of Britain in its December 4th issue: "According to detailed statistics of Britain's export trade for the past five years, recently made available by the Board of Trade, the value of Britain's exports in 1943 was 51 percent lower than 1938. In the same year, the value of American exports through private commercial channels exceeded that of any year between 1929 and 1940. In reality the comparison is even more favorable for the United States, because British figures include war materials shipped to Allies and friendly neutrals, whereas on the American side of the ledger such shipments are covered by lend-lease. In South America where British figures are clear of armaments, etc. the value of Britain's exports declined to about three-fifths of the pre-war value while our commercial exports to our southern neighbors in 1943 were 69 percent above the pre-war average. In Argentina, before the war Britain's most important customer in the southern hemisphere, British exports in 1943 fell to less than half the 1938 figure."

"It will not be long, however, before Britain and the industrial nations of Western Europe will be making a desperate bid to recover their former markets. Then, instead of further expansion, the problem of American exporters may well be to hold on to what has been gained during the war."

The London Economist, economic journal of the British capitalists, in its November 18 issue complains that U. S. lend-lease restrictions against British exports during the war have seriously injured the British position in the world market. The Economist threatens darkly that Britain might not be able to make "arrangements" regarding the war against Japan until these restrictions have been lifted.

RAW MATERIALS

Besides commercial markets, the two imperialist powers are likewise struggling over sources of raw materials. U. S. imperialism has broken the former oil monopoly of the British in the Middle East and proposes to set up the oil agreement as a model for a series of new agreements in other fields.

In the struggle for air power, the American imperialists are likewise battering at the British empire. With Wall Street's tremendous preponderance in air power and its capacity to produce planes, the American imperialists, knowing no other power can stand up against them in "free" competition, advance the slogan of freedom of the skies. At the recent air conference held at Chicago, the British, holding a world-encircling belt of bases, fought for protective regulations that would limit the free swoop of the American culture.

The decline of the British Empire is graphically disclosed again in relative steel producing

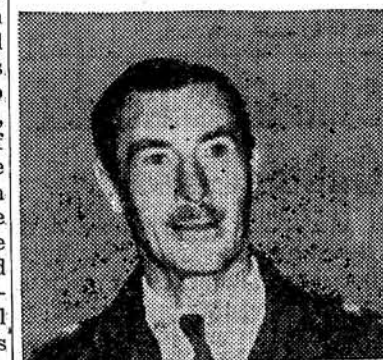
capacity. In 1939, Germany and her satellites had a capacity estimated by Barrons, between 40 and 50 million tons. The entire British Empire in 1939 produced only 17 million tons. U. S. production in 1939 was 52 million tons, rising to 86 million tons by 1942.

The most graphic indication of the shift in power, however, is the decline of British shipping and the rise of American. In fact one of the most significant changes in the whole war is the emergence of the United States as the leading maritime power of the world. Between 70 and 80 percent of the goods of international trade is transported by sea. Whatever power controls the sea lanes can thus dominate the world market, particularly if its industrial plant is also the greatest. England enjoyed this position for 100 years.

STARTLING CHANGE

A few facts will indicate the startling change that has taken place in the last four years. In 1929, year of greatest world trade, total world tonnage shipped was 297 million tons. A world fleet of some 50 million tons carried this trade, working at about two-thirds capacity. Great Britain with a fleet of 15 million tons was the greatest maritime power, carrying 40 percent of world trade as compared to America's 5 percent. Conservative estimates envisage that the end of the war will see Britain, because of sinkings, with a fleet of only 10 million tons despite her receiving 15 to 20 Liberty ships a month as a "loan."

Meanwhile the United States has invested more money in shipping since the beginning of the war "than it has put into govern-



Scobie, British Blood-and-Guts General sent in by Churchill to direct the shooting down of Greek Partisan fighters.

ment-owned war plants, machinery, and equipment, and nearly three-fourths as much as the railroad investment before the war," according to November Fortune magazine. American imperialism by the end of 1945 will have a fleet of 57 million tons, "more shipping than the five leading maritime nations possessed before the war." The U. S. will be able to lay up a reserve fleet for "emergency use" almost as large as the British fleet, and still have more than enough to carry the entire world's trade at the 1929 level. The U. S. is now in position to pick up all the "lifelines" of the British Empire and tie them over night in New York and San Francisco harbors.

This is the new colossal fact in the inter-imperialist struggles. Wall Street can sit back calmly and say to the British: "You have the choice of going to war with America—a war in which you will surely be crushed—or of becoming a satellite to the new mistress of the seas."

One wing of the American imperialists envisages the American merchant marine sweeping the seas clean of other flags. If victorious over Germany and Japan, they plan to strip the former Axis powers of their fleets. They plan to commence "tramp shipping" in competition with the British. Where formerly U. S. ships carried only a small portion of U. S. goods (25 percent in 1943) these imperialists envisage an immediate increase to 70 percent, this percentage to include shipments to new markets wrested from the British. Britain therefore would be forced into murderous competition with her own former satellite maritime nations such as Norway, the Netherlands, Denmark, Greece.

This ruthless imperialist pro-

Churchill's New Front



British troops in streets of Athens attack Greek partisans with guns and tanks as British imperialism seeks to entrench the hated puppet Papandreou Government. These scenes of street fighting disclose the real war aims of Allied imperialism. At Teheran Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill carved up Europe and agreed to put down the European revolution. The British got economic and military bases in Greece as part of the deal.

Stettinius Swears In Wall Street Nominees

By William F. Warde

The sham battle against Roosevelt's nominees to the State Department, fizzled out on December 20 when the entire slate was approved by the Senate and sworn into office by Secretary Stettinius.

After making a grandstand play of opposition and even threatening a last-ditch filibuster to prevent the appointments of these Big Business representatives, the liberals led by Senator Pepper of Florida folded up like an accordion, when the White House cracked the whip over their heads.

Roosevelt personally requested his supporters in the Senate to drop their fight against the nominees, his chosen State Department "team." He sent Senator Barkley, just out of the hospital, back to the Senate floor to lead the fight together with Senator Connally of Texas. Thanks to this pressure, the entire slate was confirmed.

Before collapsing like balloons filled with hot air, the oppositionists had condemned the utterly reactionary character and conduct of Roosevelt's nominees. They pointed out that as ambassador to Tokyo, Grew had hobbled with the Japanese militarists and helped the American oil and scrap iron companies enrich themselves by opposing embargoes on these essential war

materials. Grew continues to support the Mikado as a prop of Japanese capitalism against impending social revolution.

William L. Clayton, world's biggest cotton broker and former member of the Liberty League, whose companies did business with the Nazi and fascist cartels even after the entry of the U. S. into the war, is Assistant Secretary in Charge of Foreign Economic Affairs.

The liberals brought out all these damning facts in the debates—and then at the climax of the struggle, the day before the vote, they heard their master's voice calling them to order. Senators Guffey, Pepper and Chandler, the most outspoken leaders of the opposition, then went to the White House and discussed the matter with Roosevelt. The President, Pepper said, insisted that the nominations be approved at this closing session and stated that, if they were not, he would send the same group back to the new Congress in January.

Pepper and his associates had at first concocted the spurious theory that the President was not responsible for the selection of this Big Business team. This is simply the latest variation of the liberal lie that Roosevelt does not dictate the lines of foreign policy but that all the reactionary actions are put over behind his back by underlings in the State Department. In a speech delivered just before his visit to the White House Pepper declared: "I repeat I do not believe that the President initiated these nominations."

BRUTAL DEMAND
Roosevelt's brutal demand exploded this myth designed to cover up his personal responsibility for the appointments. Thereupon the opposition, like whipped curs, placed their tails between their legs and came to heel. "Hopeless in the face of such a request," in the words of PM, "the group, which had opposed the nominations, contented

themselves with making their positions clear on the record."

So ended the inglorious campaign of the liberals.

Thus the "liberal" senators revealed once again that they are simply decoys for American Big Business. The "liberal" campaign against Roosevelt's appointees was a sham battle from beginning to end. (See editorial, page 6).

Zionism Topic At N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK — An eager and attentive audience of forty young people, many of whom were left-wing Zionists, heard Noah Spira speak on "Left-Wing Zionism or Revolutionary Socialism" Friday December 22 at a regular meeting of the Socialist Youth Forum at the New York School of Social Science.

Comrade Spira analyzed the Zionist movement placing particular emphasis on its left-wing and pointing out that the lines of a Marxist must be class lines, the division of exploited and exploiter, not of assimilationist and nationalist. The speaker, characterizing Zionism as a policy of escape and abstention from the class struggle, stressed the fact that it is only through unity with the proletariat of all races, colors and creeds and of all countries that the Jews can emancipate themselves. A fruitful discussion followed, after which literature was sold and refreshments served.

On December 29 a forum will be held on "Wall Street's Plan of Military Conscription" and on January 5 the topic will be "Is This a War Against Fascism?" All young people interested in the ideas of revolutionary socialism are invited to attend the Socialist Youth Forum held every Friday at 8 P.M. at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place.

Socialist Youth Forum

FRIDAY, JANUARY 5 - 8 P. M.

Is This a War Against Fascism?

Hear a Trotskyist analysis of the War

Speaker: Jack Maxwell

QUESTIONS DISCUSSION

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FASCISM—WHAT IT IS, HOW TO FIGHT IT

a compilation of writings by Leon Trotsky; introduction by E. R. Frank. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 48 pp., 15 cents.

Reporting the blow-up of the farcical Washington trial of American Fascists, the N. Y. Times, organ of the Wall Street money-bags, said in relief, "With practically no lamentations from any source, the mass sedition trial came to an end." Thus, like the military "war against Fascism" which has brought the re-appointment of Fascist officials in Africa, Italy, and even in Germany itself, the "juridical fight" against Fascism by the Roosevelt government has been exposed as a hoax.

How can Fascism be fought, since the capitalist government cannot and will not fight it? A new pamphlet, recently issued by Pioneer Publishers, "Fascism—What It Is, How To Fight It," explains the nature of Fascism, proves the hypocrisy of capitalist "measures" against it, and points to the only way Fascism can be fought and destroyed.

E. R. Frank in an introduction to this pamphlet first written on May 17 states that Trotsky's writings "prove that the present show trial of the Roosevelt administration, far from constituting a fight against Fascism, is merely empty, theatrical bombast." The blowup of the Washington Trial of the Fascists on Dec. 7 is proof of the effectiveness of Marxist analysis and prediction.

Fascism, Leon Trotsky explains, grows out of the insoluble contradictions of decaying capitalism. "The historic function of Fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery." The capitalists turn to Fascist brutality not out of choice, but of necessity to preserve their rule. "The sober bourgeoisie," says Trotsky, "does not look very favorably even upon the Fascist mode of resolving its tasks, for the convulsions, although they are brought forth in the interests of bourgeois society, are linked up with dangers to it. Therefore the opposition between Fascism and the bourgeois parties. The big bourgeoisie likes Fascism as little as a man with aching molars to have his teeth pulled." But like the man with a toothache, Big Business inevitably goes to the Mussolinis, Hitlers and Francos for "relief" from the threat of the proletarian revolution.

FASCIST DEMAGOGUES

The Fascist demagogues, financed and controlled by Big Business, utilize Socialist slogans to win over large masses and build a popular mass movement. Their shock troops were made up primarily in both Italy and Germany of middle class elements: unemployed youth, sons of shopkeepers and professionals, returning veterans, etc.

Once in power, Fascism rules as the brutal agency of monopoly capitalism. The duped middle classes clamor for the "reforms" promised to them; Fascism thereupon purges its ranks (Hitler's "blood purge" of 1934). Fascism, which came to power as a mass movement, thus gradually loses all popular support as it disillusions one section of the population after another. In its later stage, Fascism rules as a naked military-police dictatorship.

Trotsky demonstrates, from the experiences of Italy and Germany, that Fascism can become a sweeping mass movement only after the revolutionary party has had its chance to mobilize the masses for the socialist revolution and failed to do so. Only then does the disillusioned middle class turn its back on the working class movement and place its hope for salvation in Fascism.

What the American Trotskyists did to combat the Fascist menace in New York City is shown in a number of illustrations. A picture of the demonstration, summoned by the Socialist Workers Party against the Fascist rally

Workers' BOOKSHELF

PARTITO OPERAIO COMUNISTA

Sezione IV Internazionale

DICHIARAZIONE DEL COMITATO CENTRALE

Lavoratori,

La crisi del ministero Bonomi, anche dopo le sue dimissioni, continua nell'andamento politico del paese che caratterizza tutta la situazione non solo dell'Italia ma dell'Europa in guerra.

Qualunque siano gli accordi per la formazione di un nuovo governo, la crisi resterà senza soluzione, perché queste combinazioni di governi ibridi, a base di blocco nazionale-borghese, con la partecipazione dei partiti socialista e comunista, dimostrano mancanza di programma e di principi e nel quadro dell'attuale stato monarchico sono destinati al fallimento.

Noi, come afferma il nostro programma transitorio, dichiariamo che, per uscire da tale situazione, è necessario lasciare ai partiti borghesi l'intera responsabilità di governo, di tutta la politica nazionale ed internazionale, e costituire un governo dei soli partiti socialista e comunista sul loro programma, i quali assumano la piena responsabilità di un ministero che dovrà mantenere le sue promesse ai lavoratori senza inganni e tergiversazioni.

I lavoratori non devono permettere la formazione di governi dei quali non si possono individuare le responsabilità.

Non deve essere permesso ai partiti borghesi di armare la reazione, attraverso i ministri e i segretari, contro la politica socialista e comunista in questo periodo di aggravamento della crisi, di miseria e di fame; né d'altra parte, ai partiti socialista e comunista, deve essere oltre consentito di continuare nella via di inganni, false promesse riversando sui partiti borghesi, ogni responsabilità della comune politica fallimentare della borghesia.

Occorrono precisazioni.

Bisogna finirla col doppio gioco della collaborazione di classe nei ministeri dove si organizza la reazione e la fame dei lavoratori e con polemiche ad accuse, fuori, sulle diverse stampe, nelle sezioni, nei comitati, contro la reazione « inafferrabile ».

I partiti di massa, incarnanti sulla falsa via collaborazionista, con una politica che non risponde ai più elementari interessi dei lavoratori vorrebbero salvarsi ora, dalle gravi responsabilità con l'opporle alle soluzioni della crisi del governo Bonomi, il potere dei comitati di liberazione nazionale, i quali, a loro volta, sono formati dagli stessi sei partiti che corrono al potere e che costituiscono il tessuto di tutta la politica fallimentare dal 25 luglio 1943 ad oggi a fianco della monarchia fascista.

Questa politica ha fatto completamente bancarotta. I comitati di liberazione, solo se diventeranno organi di massa e non fusione dei delegati dei sei partiti, quattro borghesi-monarchici e due socialisti e comunisti, potranno, costruire gli organi del potere dalle masse lavoratrici.

Un governo dei partiti socialista e comunista si impone perché rappresenta una necessaria, chiarificazione politica in questo momento per la massa che ha fiducia ancora in questi partiti.

Se questo esperimento fallirà, se darà gli stessi risultati di un qualunque governo borghese — come di cui noi siamo sicuri — la classe operaia avrà fatto un passo in avanti per portarsi su di un piano rivoluzionario di classe contro ogni collaborazione.

Viva la IV Internazionale - Direzione rivoluzionaria mondiale del proletariato.

IL COMITATO CENTRALE

A facsimile of the Manifesto issued by the Workers Communist Party of Italy, section of the 4th International. The Manifesto exposes the treacherous course of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic parties, and calls for the formation of a Socialist-Communist government as a transitional step in the revolutionary education of the masses.

"The crisis of the Bonomi cabinet," the Manifesto states, "continues in the present political situation, despite two resignations; this situation is characteristic of the whole picture not only in Italy, but in all of Europe at war."

"Whatever may be the agreements for the formation of a new government, the crisis remains unsolved, because these combinations of hybrid governments—basically bourgeois national blocs with the participation of the Socialist and Communist Parties—demonstrate a lack of program and principles, and are destined to fall with the monarchical state itself. . . .

"A government of the Socialist and Communist Parties is necessary because it represents an essential political clarification at the present time, for the masses who still have faith in these parties."

"If this experiment fails, if it produces the same results as the bourgeois government—and we know it will—the working class will have made a step forward in raising itself to a revolutionary class position against collaboration."

"Long live the 4th International, the revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat."

on February 20, 1939 at Madison Square Garden, shows a section of the 50,000 workers protesting Fascist provocation. The leaflet issued by the SWP in August 1939, is reproduced, which calls on the workers to protest at scheduled march of the Coughlinites and other Fascists on Union Square. (The Fascists were forced to call off the march).

In action, the Trotskyists thus demonstrated how Fascism can and must be fought.

A COMPILATION

The excerpts from Trotsky's writings in this compilation, are taken from articles, letters and books written over a period of nine years. Included are extracts from a letter to an English com-

rade, from "What Next?", "The Only Road," "Whither France," and from articles published in The Militant, Fourth International and American Mercury. The introduction by E. R. Frank discusses the problem of Fascism in the United States and the significance of the so-called trial of the Fascists in Washington.

The American working class which alone can fight and destroy Fascism in this country, must begin by learning the nature of its enemy. This lucid pamphlet provides this analysis. It should be read by every thinking worker.

Reviewed by Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK FORUM

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Refreshments

UAW Officials Conspire To Hide WLB Rejection In Chrysler Wage Case

By C. Thomas

Every time the labor bureaucrats lead the unions into a trap they yell "victory." Such "victories" have cost the labor movement dearly. Another costly "victory" is now being hailed by the top leadership of the United Automobile Workers Union-CIO. The December issue of the *United Automobile Worker* boasts that the Chrysler unit, representing 120,000 workers in 19 plants, arrived at an agreement "after one of the speediest contract negotiations in the history of the UAW-CIO bargaining with the corporation." Behind this boast there lies a tale of treachery and betrayal. The auto workers have been sold out! What a "victory"!

The December 9 *Militant* carried the news that top UAW officials, the Chrysler corporation and Roosevelt's henchmen on the War Labor Board had conspired to conceal a WLB decision flatly rejecting the demands of the Chrysler workers. The *Militant* was the only labor paper in the country to carry the news of this decision. Subsequent inquiries confirmed the charge of a conspiracy to conceal this information from the rank and file auto workers.

The United Automobile Worker, official organ of the Auto International, deliberately refrained from mentioning the Chrysler wage decision which has a direct bearing on the industry-wide auto demands now pending before the WLB. A preliminary check at several Chrysler locals disclosed that local officials and members were kept in ignorance of the WLB action.

1 1/2 YEARS

On October 20, after a run-around that lasted 1 1/2 years, the WLB handed down the following decision in the Chrysler wage case: (1) Demand for pay raises and reclassifying of rates on certain jobs — denied. (2) Demand that Chrysler set up a "post-war" stabilization fund to provide for reconversion unemployment — denied. (3) Demand for a guaranteed 40-hour week — denied. (4) Demand that the corporation pay insurance premiums of workers on seniority list — denied. (5) Demand for prior mutual agreement on pay rates for new work — denied. (6) Demand for the elimination of geographical pay differentials — denied. And so on down the line.

The board stalled the demands until a few weeks before the November 29 expiration date of the Chrysler contract. Deliberately withholding this information from the ranks, the UAW officials rushed into negotiations for a "new" contract. In an article entitled "Mourning Lost Militancy," a Dodge Local 3 plant committee pictures how the contract demands were drawn up in the November 25 issue of *Dodge Main News*. "Our recent Chrysler conference to draw up proposals for negotiating a new contract," he says, "was not the bang-up conference of other years. The demands which are to be presented are too conservative in my estimation."

"We were continually reminded of War Labor Board past rulings. Liberal and progressive demands were thrown out in every instance when the delegates were reminded of possible War Labor Board rejection."

"Somewhere along the way we have lost our militant spirit. A few years back a threat of censure by any individual or group would have made us fight harder. We hope our negotiators do a good job. Any compromise of our conservative demands would leave practically nothing. We want everything the delegates are asking for, and even a ten per cent compromise would be a defeat."

"A poor response from the rank-and-file members on proposed changes was a disappointment. Bulletins were posted in the plant, asking for ideas or improvements of our present contract. Very few members showed any interest, but as usual after the contract is signed, we will receive lots of advice and criticism on what should have been done, or how lousy the contract is."

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Belgian Workers Form Committees To Run Factories

Girard, Trotskyist writer recently in Belgium, reports in the December Socialist Appeal, organ of the British section of the Fourth International, that "The Belgian Trotskyists—the Revolutionary Communist Party of Belgium—have put forward the slogan of 'Workers Militias' based on the factories, with elected officers and under the control of the Workers' or Factory Committees." This slogan, the Trotskyist answer to the attempt of the Pierlot puppet government to disarm the Belgian workers, is meeting with a favorable response, "for 'The workers will realize the necessity of preparing for future struggles. . . Thousands are hiding their arms rather than give them up.'"

"Under the German occupation . . . the Belgian capitalists relied mainly on German bayonets and execution squads to protect them from their own workers. . . The 'liberation' has changed nothing . . . not a single big industrialist or banker who made millions out of the blood, sweat and toil of the workers and collaboration with Nazis has been arrested."

CONDITIONS WORSEN Conditions are rapidly worsening, says Girard. "The bread ration is 300 grams (11 ozs.) per day; sugar, meat and butter are unobtainable at official prices. The black market, however, continues, and while the rich can still eat their fill, the ordinary worker who relies on his official ration must see his children go short."

"Since the 'liberation,'" continues Girard, "complete chaos has existed in industry. Many factories are shut down, or work only one or two days a week, through lack of coal and other materials. Belgium was a coal-exporting country, yet there was no coal distribution for industry in October, and at the time of writing, none for November. Thousands of homes will be coal-less this winter."

Girard reports the workers have begun organizing to put an end to this chaotic situation. "All over the country strikes and demonstrations have been taking place since September. At Charleroi and in the mining region, there was a one-day general strike for better rations. In Brussels in October, 10,000 women demonstrated with posters in French, Flemish and English: 'We want butter and coal,' 'Milk for our babies,' 'Down with the black market.'"

"In most factories the workers have elected 'purge committees' which 'accuse and try' the directors and managing personnel. For example, in the big engineering works of the ACEC trust at Charleroi, the workers, tired of waiting for the authorities to arrest a certain managing director, demonstrated with the help of local Resistance forces, and went to arrest him themselves. He was not at home. He was later arrested in Brussels and then released by the Government!"

"At the SAFEA chemical fertilizer works . . . the manager having been arrested, the workers elected a workers' committee to organize production. When the bosses told them to shut down the factory on the pretext that they could not draw money to pay wages, the workers answered by calling on the local Resistance

problems, responsible for the failure to settle grievances, etc. But these problems cannot be solved on a local scale. The advanced auto workers are coming more and more to realize that these problems are national in scope and political in character. This was evident at the last auto convention where the nucleus of a new national leadership emerged based on a program which was pointed in the right direction—toward breaking with the policy of depending on the spurious 'friends of labor' and restoring the independence of the union."

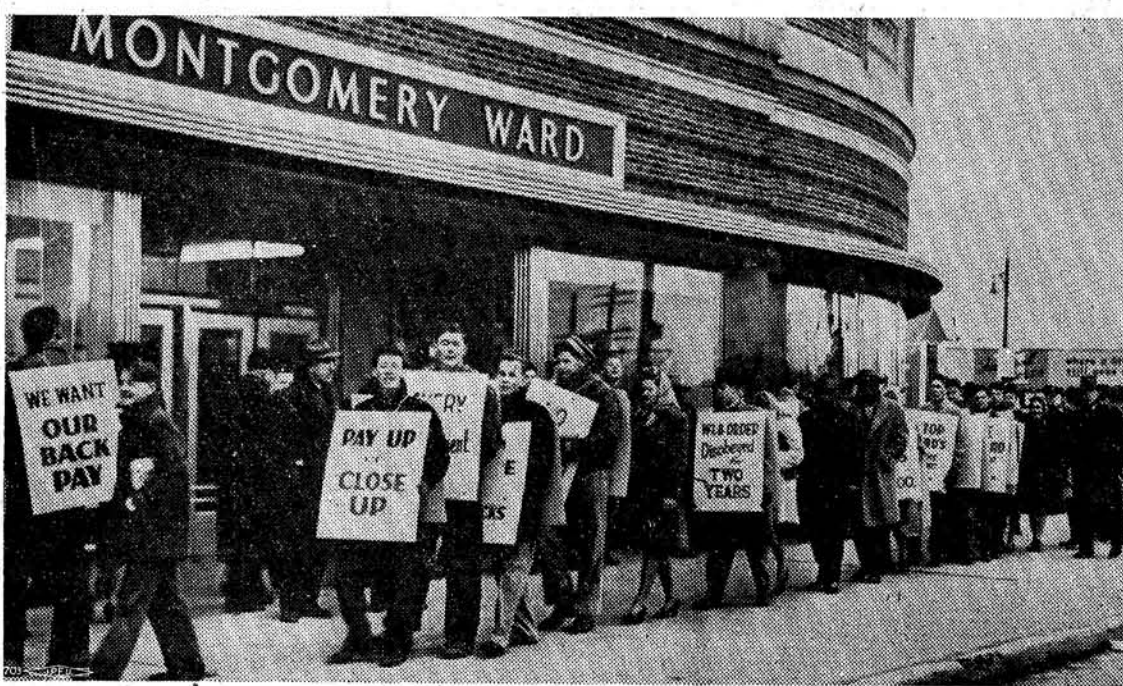
The Chrysler wage case teaches that dependence on Roosevelt and his agents to safeguard the workers' standard of living leads to treachery and betrayal.

The lesson to be learned is obvious: The independence of the unions must be restored by yanking the labor scales off the wage-freezing War Labor Board, rescinding the no-strike pledge and building labor's own independent Labor Party.

marked apathy of the auto workers toward the Chrysler "negotiations" exists because they realize the futility of supporting the farcical "strategy" of the top leadership. They have lost all confidence in the ability of this leadership to conduct a fight for their demands.

The discontent of the workers often expresses itself in venting their spleen against the leadership of the locals; by often substituting indiscriminate, one set of local officials for another; by holding those leaders more directly concerned in their everyday

Picket Line at Ward's in Detroit



Striking workers at the Detroit Montgomery Ward stores kept their picket lines intact in spite of bitter weather. Members of many UAW locals in Detroit, joined the picket lines.

CIO Unionists Support Strike Of Montgomery Ward Workers

IWW General Defense Committee Aids Minneapolis Labor Prisoners

Chicago, Dec. 22, 1944

Civil Rights Defense Committee Evelyn Anderson, Acting Secretary 160 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 10, N. Y. Fellow Workers:

Enclosed herewith please find thirteen General Defense Committee Christmas gift checks for the amount of \$100 each. Twelve of them are for our fellow workers who are languishing behind prison walls at this Christmas because they have done their best to help make this old world a better and happier place for mankind to live and work in.

The check made payable to your committee is an added gift to help you in the splendid work to gain the freedom of these 12 members of our class.

The reason we are sending the checks to you instead of to the prisoners direct is because we have no contact with them and prison rules may delay the delivery of them. We hope that you can forward them right away so that the fellow workers will receive the checks on Christmas morning.

If possible, we would like to have the attached receipts signed personally by each one of the fellow workers. Such receipts are requested by our auditors.

Please convey our season's best wishes to each one of the fellow workers and your Committee.

Yours for a workers democracy,
W. H. WESTMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, IWW

forces, who helped them to occupy the factory."

The widespread character of this tendency on the part of the workers is indicated by the national conference of Miners' Trade Union Struggle Committees. This conference called upon the workers to demonstrate on the 30th with the following demands:

"1.—Immediate start of production."

"2. Requisitioning of all idle pits and industries and those whose owners have collaborated with the Germans, and their management under workers' control."

"3. Rational organization of food supplies with the cooperation of the Resistance movement."

"4. Legal recognition of the Workers' Purging Committees. 'The resolution ends: 'Failing the immediate implementation of these measures, the workers should occupy the idle pits with the help of the Resistance forces in order to re-start production.'"

"A National Conference of United Unions and Trade Union Struggle Committees of the Engineering industry associated itself with the miners' resolution."

Against this background, the reasons become clear for the alarmed insistence of the Allies and their puppet government upon the disarmament of the workers.

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Stalinist Betrayal Revealed by Eden

(Continued from page 1)

neers": "2. In accordance with a proclamation issued by the Greek Government, the guerrilla leaders declare they will forbid any attempt by any units under their command to take the law into their own hands. Such action will be treated as a crime and punished accordingly." This means that captured partisans will not be treated as prisoners of war, but only as common criminals subject to the death penalty. The British and King George II of Greece applied this rule to the Greek armed forces in Egypt last spring when sixty percent of the army and practically the entire Greek navy rebelled against the Glucksburs.

CASERTA AGREEMENT

The Caserta agreement, according to Eden, further specifies: "3. In Athens no action is to be taken except under orders of General Scobie. Security battalions are considered instruments of the enemy unless they surrender." Saraphis, it must be emphasized agreed to these terms before the British invaded Greece. The Stalinists in welcoming British troops as "liberators" after having signed in secret an agreement to betray the partisan forces, thus consciously played the role of Judas Iscariot.

The last clause made public by Eden was designed to forestall the independent political role of the workers in Greece, delivering them bound hand and foot to the Glucksburs dynasty. "4. All Greek guerrilla forces, in order to put an end to past rivalries, declare they will form a national union to coordinate their activities in the best interests of the common struggle." In Greece today "national union" means collaboration between classes when they are torn by such sharply conflicting economic and political interests that the small capitalist minority backed by the British have deliberately provoked civil war in order to suppress the vast majority of the people by force and violence. Under such circumstances a call for "national union" rather than militant struggle is nothing but criminal betrayal.

"PEACE" TERMS

These are the terms of the Caserta agreement so far made public by Anthony Eden. These are the terms the Stalinists now

(Continued from page 1)

with the Detroit directives by the following Monday, December 18, or the government would take "appropriate action." On December 15, the WLB issued a further "last warning" that other defied orders, going back years in certain instances, be complied with. These involved Ward stores organized by the URWDE in Jamaica, N. Y., Chicago, and Denver, by AFL Teamsters in Portland, Oregon, AFL Retail Clerks in San Rafael, Calif., and Stalinist Harry Bridge's CIO Warehousemen in St. Paul, Minn.

Avery did not bother even to attend the WLB "show cause" hearings, nor send one of his scores of legal mouthpieces. He contemptuously wired the WLB that there was "no necessity for any further hearings." Despite Avery's flat and open challenge, the WLB "patiently and reluctantly" waited for the "deadline," and then finally "referred" the case to Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson and the White House.

For days after the "deadline," there have been all sorts of secret and "mysterious" conferences going on in the White House. From "sources close to the President" come alternating reports first that Roosevelt is going to take "drastic action within 48 hours," then that the government is considering "applying economic sanctions," then that Roosevelt may issue one more "last warning" through a personal appeal to Avery's "patriotism." All this confusion and delay obviously reflects Roosevelt's reluctance to act against Avery, who is backed by powerful open-shop interests. This reluctance is in striking contrast with the ruthless and speedy manner in which Roosevelt proceeds against striking workers.

STRIKE BREAKING

Another "plant seizure" by Roosevelt will be another strike-breaking move. Even Vice President Reuther of the UAW, who supports the no-strike policy and called for government "seizure," had to admit that "if the government runs the stores at a profit, why should Montgomery Ward worry? Sewell L. Avery can go to Florida and take it easy. . ."

Whatever Roosevelt does, it has already been made abundantly clear that his whole labor policy aids and protects union-busting employers like Avery. The Detroit Ward strike, as the previous Chicago walkout, has further proved that the workers can place not an iota of dependence on the "friend of labor" in the White House to protect their interests. Only militant independent union action can win the workers' demands and force concessions.

declare acceptable as the basis for "peace" in Greece. It is clear that the Stalinists are doing their utmost to lead the Greek masses to the "peace" of a grave dug by Allied imperialism.

The Greek revolution will end in a horrible blood-letting if the Stalinists succeed in their designs. Only by rejecting these back-stabbers and turning to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism can the Greek workers lay the foundation for a successful defense against the counter-revolution.

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SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

All the big shots aren't entirely phony. Here and there you find an executive who actually walked through the plant once and learned about steel making. Eugene Grace may get five hundred and twenty three thousand a year without being able to tell cast iron from steel. But you can't steal some inventions, bury others, fake your tests, and sell at 100 percent profit if you don't know anything at all. After all, somebody in that front office has got to know something about the business. And here's how they train this rare genius of the industry.

The plant manager's son-in-law is twenty-five. Just out of college and all set to learn the business from the ground up. He'll spend a couple years working in "ordinary" jobs like foreman's assistant or foreman in different departments before he gets a tapestried seat in the office.

Billy Jones is 66. He's worked in the plant 51 years. He was here before this company took over—when the whole plant was an iron works with one old time blast furnace and a foundry. He saw them put in the first Bessemer converter around here—saw them cook iron soup with a blast of cold air—saw his cronies master the process, and saw some of them burned to death by it, too.

He saw the Bessemer grow old and the new open hearths take their place. He saw the unbelievable production of the first world war. He saw them build one blast furnace after another until finally in the second world war they had eight of them breaking record after record.

In 1908, after fifteen years knocking around the blast furnaces as general repair man and millwright, he was made a foreman of the repair gang. There were only about a dozen in the gang then. He was really just a pusher with a title. But he was a pretty good guy. All he did was assign the repair work in the morning—and visit your job once during the day to see if you weren't asleep—and maybe help you out if you needed help.

In those days you cut an iron bar on a repair job with a sledge hammer and a cold chisel. A fellow will go off to get a burning outfit and come back to find Billy swinging a sledge with all his wizened hundred and twenty pounds.

NEVER MISSED A DAY

Billy knows more about the department than any one else alive. He can tell you from memory where every pipe, bolt and nut is on any one of the blast furnaces. If something goes wrong with a skip car, a coke belt or any one of a thousand and one big or little things around the furnaces, all you have to do is mention it vaguely and Billy knows the exact place, the part that needs repairing, and just what equipment to bring up to the spot.

Billy Jones never missed a day of work in his life that anybody knows about—though none of us are old enough to check. "Gosh, when Billy dies," the repair men often say, "what do you suppose will happen to this steel plant?"

"Tell you one thing. They'll never in the world get anybody like him. They don't come that way anymore."

"Well, there's Joe Peters and Mike Pisecki. They know their onions."

"Aw get out," the other one would say, half kidding. "They've only been here about 18 years. Give them time to get some experience."

"That's right, though," the first would say after he snickered, "You've really got to have the stuff for a job like Billy's."

Maybe so. But yesterday a couple of us had to walk by the blast furnaces, and we saw poor old Billy Jones looking sick as hell. He was breaking in the superintendent's young son-in-law to take his place on the job Billy always said he had never really learned in fifty one years.

Stalinists Attack Cuban Union

HAVANA — Armed with clubs and revolvers, Stalinist hoodlums launched a vicious attack upon union militants on October 2 in an attempt to prevent the holding of a membership meeting of the General Laundry Workers Union. This meeting was called to press charges against and expel the Stalinist leadership for corrupt use of union funds, reports the Oct. 31 issue of *Revolucion Proletaria*, official organ of the Cuban section of the Fourth International.

Among the many workers injured in the course of the attack were Pablo Diaz Gonzalez, editor of *Revolucion Proletaria*, and Joaquin Abascal, a union member, both of whom were brutally beaten. Stalinist leaders of the union, including Executive Board members Pinillos, Boulon and Orestes Castillo, led the attack. Castillo, who fired a shot at Comrade Gonzalez in an attempt to murder him, later declared in court that it was Gonzalez who fired the shot! The overwhelming

evidence of 100 union members attending the court session, prevented this crude attempt at a frame-up. Castillo is being held for trial.

Gonzalez and Joaquin Abascal were defended in the court hearings by attorney Ruben Acosta, who will appear as legal representative for all the workers injured in the attack.

The October 2 assault climaxed a number of previous attacks upon this militant union group on the part of the Stalinists. Energetic protests against these hoodlum tactics have been raised by the Opposition Front of the Laundry and Cleaning Workers Union, and by the Autentico workers (Progressive groups of workers who support the party of Grau San Martin).

Revolucion Proletaria calls upon the Cuban workers to protest the Stalinist attacks: "We invite and urge all anti-Stalinist workers to call for a censure of the Gestapo methods employed by members of the Partido Socialista Popular (Stalinist), by sending to newspapers and radio stations, letters of protest against the lying, slanderous propaganda directed by the Stalinist gangsters against the honest leaders of the working class of the nation."

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The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

Free the Fifty

The legal department of the NAACP is urging that we embark on a widespread letter-writing campaign to protest the severe sentences imposed on the 50 Negro sailors who were recently convicted of "mutiny" at a Naval court-martial. These letters of protest are to be directed to President Roosevelt and Secretary of Navy Forrestal. It is hoped that these gentlemen, after receiving thousands of such letters, will reopen for investigation the shady proceedings of this court-martial, and subsequently, reduce the severe sentences or free the "guilty" sailors completely.

The case goes back to the Port Chicago disaster, where a ship being loaded with ammunition by a Jim-Crow "seamen's" labor outfit exploded with a loss of life of 327 men. The victims were blown to bits in one of the most gruesome spectacles in the Navy's history. 400 survivors of this all-Negro labor battalion were ordered back to duty, without survivors' leave, to load more ammunition and clean up the bloody remains of what were once the living bodies of their buddies. Torn from within by this heart-rending experience and resentful of the rotten treatment meted out through the Jim-Crow Naval policy, they began circulating petitions requesting transfer from this longshore duty. The Navy brass hats, deciding to give the Negroes an "object lesson," thereupon court-martialed an even 50 men and, after 45 minutes of deliberation, found them guilty of "mutiny." They were subsequently sentenced to from 8 to 15 years.

Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall as the official spokesman for the NAACP has stated that after spending more than a week making personal investigations and attending the trial, he is convinced of the innocence of these men. The case is thereby directly labeled by the largest and most influential Negro organization as one of discrimination by the Naval arm of the Federal Government. Moreover, it is recognized by the Negro masses throughout the country as symbolic of the reactionary Jim-Crow policy that has resulted in Negroes being relegated not only to the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs in the armed forces, but also branded as inferior, with the silent consent of Roosevelt and his War and Navy Departments.

Now as to writing letters of protest to President Roosevelt: there can be no objection to that. Two questions arise, however, that we can scarcely ignore: Will such a tactic alone accomplish our aim which is to free the fifty? And are we utilizing the entire potential strength of this and other organizations simply

by writing letters of protest? Certainly we know that gigantic letter-writing campaigns carried out on similar issues such as the anti-poll tax bill and the anti-lynch bill (obviously of broader democratic interest) have failed to attain their end. Certainly we know that an organization of half a million members is capable of carrying out many more active and effective methods in addition to writing letters of protest.

This is a case where the issue is clear. All those who know of the facts will agree that these boys have committed no crime. It is more than a question of one Negro getting brutalized or lynched; it is more than a question of Negroes denied the right to vote in the Texas Democratic primaries; it is a matter of 50 boys with their lives before them being branded as criminals for speaking and acting the truth; branded solely because their skin is black; branded by the military arm of a government they have been taught to believe was founded on the premise that all men are free and equal. This case is tremendous in scope. If the Negro people sit idly by and sanction this persecution by lack of mass protest then the blows which they will receive in the near future will fall with all the more crushing intensity.

The NAACP should form now a nation-wide defense committee to Free the Fifty, to remove the false stigma by a pardon and to assist the families of these boys who are now suffering unjustly. Militant mass action must be the cornerstone of this committee if it would accomplish its end: mass meetings and mass demonstrations throughout the country. The powerful progressive labor unions would give full support to this case if they knew about it. The committee could carry the word to them.

Look at the Trotskyist movement, 18 of whose members and supporters were jailed under the vicious Smith "Gag" Act simply because of their progressive activity in the Minneapolis labor movement and their outspoken advocacy of Socialism instead of capitalism. The Civil Rights Defense Committee, with only a fraction of the forces that the NAACP has at its disposal has been able to obtain the necessary backing to carry the case to the highest court, provide relief for the prisoners, their wives and children, and has mobilized the support of over 350 labor and progressive organizations, representing more than 3,500,000 members in a nation-wide demand for an unconditional presidential pardon for the 18. The NAACP has the duty to act now. We must Fight to Free the Fifty or tomorrow there will be more.

Hillman Peddles PAC In London

By R. Bell

Fresh from his election "victory" at home, Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, has been sent to London as Roosevelt's errand boy to preach the virtues of working class subservience to the imperialist aims of "Dollar Democracy." Together with hand-picked British and Stalinist bureaucrats, Hillman and R. J. Thomas are to "draft the agenda for the World Trades Union Conference scheduled for London next Feb. 6." The "conference" is being assembled to place "labor's" stamp of approval on the counter-revolutionary plans of the "big three"—Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin.

Thus Hillman announced on his arrival in London, that it was the aim of the PAC to "get in the world at large the kind of Good Neighbor policy we have in the Americas." Roosevelt's errand boy hails the contemptible "Good Neighbor" travesty under which Yankee imperialism exploits and oppresses the peoples of Central and South America, as a model for "the world at large." In line with the plans of the "big three" to crush the coming working class revolution in Europe, the "labor lieutenants" have already gone on record, "to hold the entire German people responsible for the war and its horrors." And these snivelling flunkies deign to speak in the name of "labor."

LABOR LIEUTENANTS

As the insurgent masses of Europe move to settle accounts with their age-old exploiters and oppressors, the "democratic" imperialists push their labor lieutenants to the fore in an attempt to plug the breach in the landlord-capitalist front. The vapors of a mealy-mouthed humbug, speaking in the name of "Labor," supplement allied bayonets in propelling up the crumbling capitalist order. The facilities of government are placed at the disposal of "labor missions" and "conferences."

These "missionaries" are assigned the chore of covering the counter-revolutionary aims of their own imperialist ruling class with a democratic veneer. Such missions have already been rushed to Italy, France, Belgium, etc., to preach the blessings of capitalist "democracy" to the agonized masses seeking a radical solution to their problems.

In despatching "labor missions" to Europe, Roosevelt is aping the technique employed by Wilson in World War I. In his history of the AFL, Lewis L. Lorwin, relates that: "Spokesmen of the AFL were sent, at government expense, on foreign missions to win the trade union and socialist organizations of Europe to President Wilson's war aims." The first mission in which the labor skates participated was the Root mission which was sent to Russia after the Czar was overthrown to help Kerensky "keep Russia

in line." The AFL representative on the Root mission was James Duncan, first vice-president of the AFL, "a man who saw eye to eye with Gompers on all important issues."

SHRIVELLED SOUL

Lorwin bares the shrivelled soul of this typical labor lackey: "Duncan was tremendously impressed by the fact that he, a worker and trade union official, was travelling such vast distances in company with distinguished public personages on a mission for the United States government. He travelled upon what had been the personal train of the Czar; made a speech in the hall of the Duma; conferred with the Russian Cabinet and with delegates of the Moscow Workers' and Soldiers' Council. Duncan made naive speeches in Russian on the methods and achievements of the AFL, unaware of the effects of these speeches upon the revolutionary minds of his audiences."

Hillman's boasting in London of the "methods and achievements" of the PAC mirrors Duncan's "naive speeches" to the Russian workers and peasants. History records that the Root mission failed. The workers and peasants of Russia surged forward under the leadership of the Bolshevik party to the establishment of the first workers state. The Bolshevik revolution shook capitalist Europe to its foundations. Another mission, this one headed by Samuel Gompers himself, was rushed to Europe to help save the tottering capitalist order.

The Medicine Man



Wireless to the N. Y. Times from London: "Sidney Hillman, Chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, declared at a press conference here today that labor should be organized to do in the international scene what it had done recently in the national scene in the United States. . . It was the PAC's aim, he said, to 'get in the world at large the kind of Good Neighbor Policy we have in the Americas.'"

Who Said Housing Shortage? APARTMENT HUNTERS! LOOK THIS OVER—

FOR RENT — 75-room chateau, conveniently located on Riverside Drive, New York City. All modern, including tailor shop, barber shop, several bowling alleys, \$200,000 pipe organ and genuine Italian marble massage table. Kitchen accommodates six chefs.

Efficient arrangement makes possible minimum staff 18 servants, according to previous tenant, Charles M. Schwab, steel magnate.

Vacant since outbreak of war, but well kept up.

Chase National Bank anxious to find tenant, will rent for cost upkeep. Yearly taxes likewise to be assumed by tenant only \$160,000. References required.

cial living in the same hotel with the ex-Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia — who are being kept on ice by Churchill until the allies disarm the people so that it will be safe for them to return to their thrones.

Hillman may even get to ride in the King's private chariot—and wouldn't that be an achievement for the chairman of the CIO-PAC to tell his grandchildren about!

THE SAVIOUR

Roosevelt is using Hillman and Company today just as Wilson used Gompers in the last war. The wretched labor skates are wine and dined and "showered with attentions, tributes, and honors," by the capitalist exploiters seeking a cover for their nefarious schemes.

HILLMAN MISSION

As a footnote to the Hillman mission, Time reports that "Sidney Hillman...bunked in at swank Claridge's Hotel in London, where he found that two of his fellow guests were King George II of Greece, King Peter II of Yugoslavia." Isn't "democracy" wonderful! Just think of it... an ex-worker and trade union offi-

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Dear Joey:

I got your letter, son, and I know how you feel. It's pretty tough to be away from friends and loved ones for any reason; and when you feel that you are being kept away against your will, it's bound to be that much harder.

But, Joey, there's an old saying about "not being able to see the forest for the trees." You wrote about some of the trees. I'm going to answer by reminding you about the forest.

This earth is covered with graves. Rotting into the ground are the bones of countless millions who have given their lives for bad causes, and with them rot the bones of some who have died for great causes. All of them are dead, but yet the world keeps turning and grinding out history.

The story of human kind is illuminated with the funeral pyres of martyrs. The lives of Sacco and Vanzetti flared and went out. The lives of the Haymarket martyrs flared and went out. The life of the Old Man (Trotsky) flared with a great light, and then it went out.

But when a sound ceases, and everything grows quiet again, there is no dead silence; there is still an echo that lives. And when the bright light of a labor martyr's life is snuffed out, the darkness is not completely black and dead: there is still light, the afterglow of lives that can not be killed.

A man may die. He may die bravely or he may not. Our people have died bravely. They have died and are dead, and no one can bring them back. But their ideas are not dead, nor will they ever die, for there is no force in the world that can kill them.

In Russia the labor movement was ground under the spurred boots of the Czars and cossacks and secret police, forced underground by illegality. But it tore through the shell that covered it, burst into light and life.

In Italy the workers lay prostrate under the weight of twenty Fascist years. But they gathered their strength. They flexed their arms and heaved their shoulders, and the Fascist tyrants were flung aside. The Italian workers are not yet finished. The fight goes on, but theirs will be the final victory.

We here in this country will yet feel great repressions. They may come, and we will bear the pain. But this agony will be no more than the birth pangs of a new society of freedom and happiness for all peoples. These things shall be!

I am not so young, Joey, and each new year brings with it a few more gray hairs. Perhaps my strength will fail before the battle is finished. Perhaps my eyes will never see the light of the new dawn. Although I myself may not share in the joy of victory, nevertheless my optimism is complete, and so long as I am able to fight I will share in the joy of the battle.

On this New Year, son, we feel much the same as we have felt on the others. The past is dead. We remember it only to learn from it. Our eyes are dry. The graves of our martyrs are green because they represent not the past, but the future. We shed no tears for them, and that is as it should be. That is as they would want it.

Yes, this New Year's Day is much like the others, but there is a difference. Look about you, son. Look far across the oceans and into the other lands. Look into the whole world, and see if you do not see the first glimmerings of our triumph. The movements of the workers, the first raw, clumsy, untrained strivings, the wounds and setbacks, the pauses for breath, the gathering of new strength. All these are wonderful to see. From such sights as these we draw renewed inspiration. This New Year, the beginning of 1945, sweeps us forward immeasurably nearer to victory.

Our martyrs lie still in their graves, and the quiet grass or the quiet snow rests over their heads. Their pains, their weariness are gone, their fighting hearts have ceased to beat, and they are at rest. But their ideas, Joey, their ideas race from one end of the world to the other, dropping seeds everywhere, taking root everywhere, springing up out of the ground everywhere. Forced down, temporarily defeated in one place, they leap into being, into action, in another. Echoing, reverberating, spreading, growing, gaining power and influence in every hemisphere, these ideas shout a song of triumph for all the world to hear.

And with each New Year, we go forward. Let the past gather dust and mold. The future is ahead, and we reach out to grasp it, for it belongs to us. It belongs to the workers, to the oppressed of all the world.

No matter what happens, remember these things. We as individuals may perhaps fail, but all that we stand for will go on and on. Sometimes it will be tough, almost too tough to bear. But we'll bear it like those who came before us, for we know we're right. We know we'll win.

Good luck, son, and Happy New Year.

Dad

10 Years Ago In The Militant

DECEMBER 29, 1934

NEW YORK—In a New Year's Manifesto, the Workers Party of America described the decline of American capitalism and the tasks facing the working class. Said the Manifesto, in part:

"The New Deal is the same old Raw Deal for the workers. The unemployed have not been put back to work. . . 'Liberal' members of the Roosevelt administration helped to whip up the 'red scare' against the striking marine workers of the Pacific coast. The same administration acts openly in Cuba and elsewhere as the direct agent of American imperialism and is carrying out the greatest naval building program in all the peace-time history of this nation. The warning is clear . . . the attempt to 'save capitalism' can only end in the horrors of Fascism and war. . .

"Reforms and half-measures offer no way out. . . In order that the daily struggle against the lowering of the standard of living may be carried on effectively and in order that as speedily as possible the workers may take power. . . It is necessary that the advanced workers be organized in a revolutionary political party."

SACRAMENTO—Facing possible sentences of 84 years each, 18 militant workers saw the selection of their jury begin on a frame-up pattern. Accepted as a juror was a woman friend of the prosecuting attorney. The wife of a second juror was put on the stand to testify that she had been "threatened by reds!" The capitalist press, in the meantime, kept up a steady drumfire of red-baiting. Arrested for "vagrancy" in July, to remove them from the ranks of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union during the height of the season, these 18 workers were additionally charged with "Criminal Syndicalism" and "organizing armed groups" to "overthrow the government."

Pioneer Paragraphs

LENIN: 'THE MOST HATED AND MOST LOVED MAN ON EARTH'

Suddenly, in that black year (1917), the crash of an empire drowns out the sound of cannon. The Russian people demand peace for all the peoples, land to the peasants, the factories to the workers. The Russian people is in arms, for the war has given them guns. This people has more deaths behind it than any other. More oppression, more misery. This people is capable of anything. Will it have the necessary audacity of will? Will it achieve consciousness of its strength?

On April 3, 1917, Lenin arrived at the Finland Station in Petrograd. With him came Gregory Zinoviev and others. He was almost an unknown — N. Lenin, V. I. Ulianov. The man was forty-seven years old, and already had a revolutionary past of thirty years duration. In his youth, the shadow of the gallows had crossed his life; the executioner of Tsar Alexander III had hanged his elder brother. At twenty-three, he founded in St. Petersburg one of the first Russian Marxist groups. He spent several years in exile in Siberia. By 1913 he had become known to the leaders of the Russian labor movement as an uncompromising doctrinaire (through the formation of the Iskra — Spark — and the split of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Russia into the intransigent Bolsheviks, or the revolutionary majority, and the Mensheviks, the opportunist minority). As an emigre in London, Paris, Switzerland, Finland and Cracow, scarcely known outside of his party, he had worked untrudgingly at his proudly proclaimed "trade" — of theoretician, propagandist, and organizer of the proletariat — in a word, of rev-

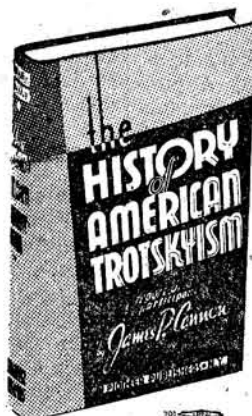
olutionist. His party of intransigents — whom the Socialist International pleased to call "fanatics" — had directed this party wisely during one revolution (1905). He was much talked of in political circles, as were his writings on materialist philosophy and political economy; he was a scholar. The minutes of the International Socialist Congresses mention his activity; journalists, on the lookout for celebrities, never even noticed his presence. At Stuttgart, in 1907, where Lenin supported Rosa Luxemburg, Herve was very much in the limelight; Lenin passed unnoticed. But at the time of the greatest betrayals, in August, 1914, when the majority of the celebrities of socialism, syndicalism, anarchism, suddenly became converted to support of the war, Lenin—sure of the future when everything seemed lost for the labor movement, e n s l a v e d to delirious patriotism — L e n i n began, stone by stone, to lay the foundations of the Third International. At Zimmerwald, in 1915, internationalists were terrified to hear him talk calmly of revolution.

In the fourth year of the war this man left his Zurich home with calm determination. Months later he was "the most hated and most loved man on earth." With unflinching intelligence and firmness, he directed the first social revolution of modern times. In that dusk of civilization, he brought the proletariat a new reason for living.

(From "From Lenin to Stalin," by Victor Serge, pp. 13-15. Pioneer Publishers, 1937; 112 pp.; 50 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N.Y.)

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by

JAMES P. CANNON

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

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

Ward Strike

The long record of Sewell L. Avery's (Montgomery Ward) defiance of War Labor Board directives sheds a revealing light on the class character of government. When workers dare to defy the decisions, directives and orders of the WLB, Roosevelt and his henchmen move with express train speed to crush such opposition. On the other hand, Avery has been thumbing his nose for years at the "authority" of the War Labor Board. But the challenge of this Wall Street Nabob has stricken the government with palsy.

The Montgomery Ward case is the most flagrant example of powerful industrialists defying with impunity government decisions. It is by no means, however, the sole instance. And even when the government finally has felt compelled to act in such cases and "seize" the property of the employer, the result invariably rebounds to the employers' benefit: The strike is broken, the profits continue to pour in under essentially the same management, "normal" relations are restored, the plant is handed back to the employer and then the weary round begins all over again.

A government which defends the sacred rights of private property cannot act otherwise. Such a government, based on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, functions as the executive arm of the employing class as a whole. Far from being independent of the class which it serves, it expresses, and must express, the interests of the capitalist owners of industry. It is the political instrument for defending and perpetuating the power and privileges of the ruling class—that small clique of financiers and industrialists who have established a stranglehold on the economic life of the country. Sewell Avery, agent of J. P. Morgan, is part of this clique.

The interests of the working class are diametrically opposed to those of the employing class. The workers cannot depend on a capitalist government to defend their interests. When they are led to do so the inevitable result is frustration and defeat. This lesson has been hammered home time and

again. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this lesson.

In the 1937 Little Steel strike the steel barons used thugs and gunmen to terrorize the strikers. Using the corporation violence as a pretext, Governor Davey of Ohio sent the militia in to "restore order." The union officials and many workers hailed this action under the mistaken impression that Davey intended to disarm the special deputies and thugs employed by the companies and help the strikers. This illusion was soon dispelled. Davey's militia was sent to defend the "rights of private property owners", i.e. to break the strike.

When Roosevelt ordered the "seizure" of Montgomery Ward's Chicago plant last May, union officials and workers hailed the action as an aid to the union. They soon learned the contrary. After the strike was broken, the plant was turned back to Avery with none of the issues settled. Such examples could be multiplied a hundred-fold.

The lesson is clear: the workers can defend their interests only through their own class organizations, both economic and political. On the economic field—by the independent action of the unions through the utilization of the strike weapon. On the political field—by the organization of an Independent Labor Party.

State Department

The American workers can learn some instructive lessons from Roosevelt's recent reorganization of the State Department and the liberals' campaign against it:

1. One of the first fruits of the CIO-PAC "victory" in the November election is Roosevelt's turning over the keys of the State Department to the "Big Boys" themselves—the Wall Street gang of Robber Barons. Morgan and Rockefeller now have "direct" representation.
2. When issues of vital importance to labor and to the Negro, such as the anti-poll-tax and anti-lynching, the wage-freeze or the Smith-Connally anti-strike bills are before Congress, Roosevelt looks the other way and does nothing. In order to deceive the masses, Roosevelt lets his henchmen do the dirty work of killing the progressive measures or ramming through the reactionary ones. But when Roosevelt really wants something put through in Congress, as in this case, he really "goes to town" and exerts every bit of pressure at his command.
3. The "fight" put up by Pepper and his friends against the Roosevelt appointments was obviously a farce. It was simply a grand-stand play. At the crucial moment when a little heat was put on them, the "liberal" senators collapsed like a house of cards. These so-called "friends of labor" are utterly incapable of fighting against Big Business or for the interests of the working masses.

To conduct a real struggle against the reactionary conspiracies and schemes of Big Business, organized labor needs its own independent political organization and its own representatives in Congress.

Full Employment

The War Contracts Subcommittee (Murray Committee) of the Senate Military Affairs Committee has drawn up a plan for "full employment" in the "post-war" period. Under the title: "The Full Employment Act of 1945," the measure is to be submitted to the next session of Congress. The plan is based on Roosevelt's campaign promise of 60-million jobs "after the war." It is intended to give the appearance of substance to Roosevelt's hollow promise of full employment under the "free enterprise" system. The gist of the Murray plan lies in its provision for Federal "pump-priming" in the event "private enterprise" fails to provide full employment to all persons, "able to work, lacking work, and seeking work."

Beneath its high sounding title and glittering phrases the Murray plan is nothing but a stale rehash of the "New Deal." Nevertheless something "new" has been added. The annual budget is to include a report on whether private enterprise will be able to provide full employment for the ensuing year. If not, the government is supposed to take up the slack with a program of public works, slum clearance, and so forth. An allowance of course, is to be made for "normal" unemployment. "Normal" unemployment was estimated at 2,000,000 during 1929, the peak of peace-time prosperity. After the crash, "normal" unemployment varied between 10 and 20 million. Business men estimate conservatively that "normal" unemployment will be 10 million "after the war."

The Murray plan is an open admission that "private enterprise" can only bring mass unemployment to millions of American workers. It is considered a "bold" attempt to introduce the principle of "economic planning" at least so far as "jobs" are concerned. But like all such plans based on the preservation of the "free enterprise" system, the Murray plan is primarily concerned with safeguarding the interests and prerogatives of the capitalist class. Section 9 of the plan provides that: "Nothing contained therein shall be construed as calling for or authorizing—(a) The operation of plants, factories, or other productive facilities by the Federal government."

The monopolists are to be left in complete control of the productive facilities of the nation. "The operation of plants, factories, or other productive facilities" is to be subject to the sole criterion of the capitalists—profits. Production is to be curtailed, plants shut down, workers thrown out of jobs, to maintain monopoly profits. When this happens, the Murray plan promises to start a new set of WPA projects to provide "full employment." This is the essence of capitalist "planning," under the "free enterprise" system.

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.

Official Jim Crow

Editor:

Last week, on December 7, after a 90 minute hearing on the discrimination practiced against Negro firemen in New York City firehouses, the City Affairs Committee of the City Council postponed investigation until after a departmental inquiry takes place. In my opinion, this so-called investigation into the use of Jim Crow sleeping arrangements will result in a whitewash of the city officials including LaGuardia and his stooge Fire Commissioner, Walsh.

V. Kane, President of the Firemen's Association has already announced: "The men have a right to say what beds they want to use; the beds belong to them." In this way they will weasel out of the responsibility of enforcing the anti-discrimination section of the Fire Department rules.

A Fireman
New York City

Jobs for Veterans

Editor:

The solicited care allegedly being extended to injured veterans of the present imperialist war by governmental and veterans agencies was exposed as a myth in a statement recently issued to Hearst's *Detroit Times* by Donald R. Reno, 26, a medically discharged serviceman and father of five children, who has been unable to find work since his army discharge due to a leg injury.

Broke and hungry, Reno stated: "I have applied for jobs, but have been refused because I can't pass the physical examinations."

"I can't do much leg work, but somewhere in Detroit there must be a job for me. "Several years ago I broke my kneecap and while I was in the service it became worse, so I was discharged."

"I must find a job. The children need food and clothing. I owe house rent and the Red Cross for money loaned me last month when my wife was in the hospital."

Reno claimed he had been refused welfare aid because he resided at his wife's home in Kankakee, Ill., for a few months after his discharge, losing Michigan residency, and veterans' agencies will not assist because he received aid from the Red Cross.

The run-around received by Reno belies the oft-repeated claim that nothing is too good for our

returning veterans and that there will be no apple-selling era in the post-war period for the victims of World War II.

R. W.
Detroit

The 100 Neediest

Editor:

The N. Y. Times campaign for Christmas Baskets and trimmings for 100 down and outers gives me a pain in the neck. What do they take us for? Here eight million of us in New York are up against the gun every day in the year. If the landlord puts the screws on you to paint your own apartment, try and find another one. If your wife or kids get sick you're saddled for months with doctor bills. When you get too old to work, it's panhandling and a Bowery flop while you negotiate for a little relief. When there's a war you work like a dog and in between wars you're kicked around.

Why does the Times suddenly get so generous around Christmas time? I figure in the first place it's good advertising. It makes the Times look like it's all for the poor people. It's cheap advertising too because the dough for the "hundred neediest" doesn't come out of their own pockets at all but is collected from a few well-to-do who've got something on their conscience that needs squaring.

On top of that it's pretty clever. When you start reading about some of these pitiful cases as they're written up by the reporters you start to forget how tough things are for yourself and the rest of the eight million. And that stops us from organizing. I say what needs to be done is overthrow the whole system. Then we won't need any charity.

Yours for socialism,
R. J.
New York

Navy Court-Martial

Editor:

In *The Militant* editorial of December 2 entitled "Jim Crow Verdict" you made an error. Ergo: — "the longshoremen's union does not permit men to load ammunition unless they have had at least five years' experience."

This is not true — at least on the West Coast. Here a longshoreman may load ammunition his very first day on the waterfront. But, there are vital differences between his case and that of the completely inexperienced

enced sailor handling explosives.

(1) In the hold or on the dock with him are at least two and often seven men experienced in this work. (2) Longshoremen "take it easy" when handling explosives. (3) The newcomer who isn't careful is quickly called to account by his fellow-workers who know their lives are at stake. (4) There is no "piece-work" or any other incentive offered for high production. (5) Good winch drivers.

To my knowledge, thus far, there have been no serious accidents when longshoremen have been doing the explosive handling. Correct me if I'm wrong. Concerning the case of the fifty Negro sailors, I haven't found one longshoreman yet in white or black, who is not in sympathy with them. "The usual dirty deal you get from the brass hats," they say.

Another point. The thing that the servicemen doing this work resent most is the inequality of pay between them and the longshoremen. Fifty dollars a month they get. Longshoremen: \$1.65 per hour, West Coast; \$2.25 per hour, East Coast. But they don't blame the union workers, they blame their superiors.

This same point is a longshoremen's beef, too. "Equal pay for equal work," is labor's slogan.

Your error was really not yours but that of the Legal Counsel of the NAACP, who made the statement at a meeting in San Francisco.

E. S.
San Francisco

Pope's Message

Editor:

I noticed in the N. Y. Times of Christmas Day, that the Pope has given another pat on the head to Franco. The *Times* report says, "Although the Pope (in his Christmas message) listed the nations alphabetically today when praising them for their charity at the close of his message, he preceded the general list with Spain and Ireland and in the former case specified 'the head of the state' as well as the government and the people. Thus the cordial relations between General Franco and the Vatican are sharply re-emphasized."

The Pope has always spoken fondly of the butcher Franco, whose brutal fascist regime he has time and again pointed to as the "model Christian state."

A. B.
New York

Merchants of Death Face Trial 'Next Year'

Federal anti-trust suits against the notorious "Merchants of Death," the du Pont chemical and munitions trust, the Bendix Aviation Corporation and Rhom and Haas Company, will be tried early next year, according to the latest Department of Justice announcement.

These three corporations were originally indicted on August 10, 1942 by a federal grand jury for conspiracy in conjunction with Axis corporations to restrict the manufacture and sale of vital materials for aircraft construction in this country. The trial was then postponed, according to government officials, because "it would not be in the public interest to move the cases for trial during the existence of the present state of the war."

The du Pont and Rhom and Haas trusts are charged with conspiring with the Nazi I. G. Farbenindustrie and Rhom and Haas, of Darmstadt, Germany, and the British Imperial Chemical Industries, to eliminate competition, extort monopoly prices and limit production of plastic materials, vital to plane production, in this country. Bendix is charged with seven world-wide conspiracies with English, German, Italian, Japanese and French cartels, through illegal international agreements, to restrict trade and production, and fix high prices, on aviation instruments and accessories. All three firms are among the leading American war contracts beneficiaries.

A Department of Justice official declared that he was "not in a position to state" why the Roosevelt administration has reopened the cases when two years ago it was considered against "public interest" to prosecute these profiteering monopolies impeding war production in agreement with German, Japanese and Italian interests. The original suits were brought, however, to put pressure on these companies to release patents jointly controlled with foreign companies. Evidently, new pressure is being brought for the same end. But there is no question of these big business moguls being jailed or shot as traitors.

Meanwhile, a Rohm and Haas official brazenly proclaims—using the government's own argument for previously halting the trials—"Would the government prefer that executives doing work vital to victory spend their time in court or in making what is essential?" As if these parasites who impede production and whose sole function is to exact profits, are "essential" to any useful purpose!

Retail Butchers Describe Gouging in Black Market

Representatives of 10,000 New York City retail butchers, who have threatened to go on a "holiday" after Christmas unless relieved of a price "squeeze," charged last week that the meat and poultry industry is a "100 percent black market."

Wholesalers and packers are attempting to force price rises through the retail butchers, who are limited to OPA price levels on sales to the consumers, but must pay sky's-the-limit prices to wholesalers, who distribute restricted supplies according to black market methods.

The head of the New York Retail Butchers Association described the system of "tie-in" sales, buying unsalable items to secure salable ones, bribes to meat packing representatives, "direct side payments" to wholesalers, etc.

Retail butchers, in turn, use similar methods to pass black market prices onto the consumers. Government cost-of-living statistics, employed in justifying the wage-freeze, simply ignore the existence of the black market.

Congress Protects Juicy Racket in War Contracts

This war, like the last, nurtures numerous rackets incidental to the general imperialist banditry. One of the juiciest is that of the war agencies' employees who use their inside information and influential connections as the basis for profitable private careers acting as agents for contract claimants against the government.

Congress itself, through certain "jokers" adopted in the past two years, has greased the way for an even smoother pursuit of this racket today than in the last war, when it created quite a public stench. This was accomplished by the quiet inclusion of provisions in the 1943 Revenue Act and 1944 Contract Settlement Act which virtually repealed the Act of 1872. This latter measure prohibited any government officer or employee from acting as counsel, attorney or agent in prosecuting any claim against the government until two years after he had left government service.

The 1943 Revenue Act lifted this two-year restriction for all the key war contract agencies except in cases "involving any subject matter directly connected with which such person was employed or performed duty." This, of course permitted government employees and officials to quit their posts and immediately use their connections inside the government to facilitate favorable settlement of private claims. Collusion and exchange of information between agents from various departments sufficed to overcome the single restriction about "subject matter directly connected" with the former government employees' duties.

This "joker" was brought to the attention of Congress by Comptroller General Lindsay Warren, who is responsible for checking government expenditures. He pointed out that billions of dollars are involved, compared to which the expenditures of World War I "were rather insignificant," and "that great abuses can result by permitting former officers and employees of the government—fortified with information and knowledge gained as a result of their service with the government—to become the agents and attorneys for those who may have claims against it."

A bill was introduced to restore the provisions of the Act of 1872. This was accepted in the House as an Amendment to the 1944 War Contracts Settlement Act and then passed by the Senate. But at a subsequent House-Senate conference, the "joker" clause was restored. In this form, the final Act was "innocently" slicked through.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Germany

The lie that youth in Germany are fanatic supporters of Hitler's regime has been refuted by the American Broadcasting Station in Europe. According to ABSIE an anti-Nazi youth movement has appeared in Germany. Known as The Edelweiss, the members captured by Allied troops "appeared to have no political faith beyond their radical convictions and a violent hatred of Nazis. They particularly hated the Hitler Youth. The boys are ordinary members of this organization and the girls of the Bund Deutscher Maedel. They had formed militant groups which at night waylaid young Nazis and Hitler Youth leaders and beat them up."

ABSIE reports that German prisoners have revealed "the young people in the Rhineland have been particularly affected by the Edelweiss movement. In Krefeld, at least 30 percent of the Hitler Youth were secret Edelweiss members. In Cologne, a few months ago, Edelweiss members attempted a raid on a military depot to obtain weapons. . . In Eschweiler, Edelweiss youths salvaged a machine gun from a crashed American bomber."

Hitler is aware of the unrest among the youth. ABSIE declares: "The Gestapo and the SS gave special attention to these rebellious groups and a number of them have been executed and beaten up."

Belgium

When German troops invaded Belgium in 1940, the Pierlot government publicly announced that it had finished its work and that its members would retire to private life. Shortly thereafter they arrived in London with huge sums of gold from the National Bank. They were promptly recognized by Churchill as the Government of the Belgian resistance

movement. When Allied troops set up a military government in Belgium, Pierlot and his cohorts followed as part of the military baggage.

La Derniere Heure now reveals that the Pierlot Government before leaving Belgium set up a committee of five high finance and big business men "to counsel the nation and maintain production" under the Nazis. This council loyally collaborated with the Nazis throughout the occupation. The Belgian capitalists thus had one government for dealings with the British, another for dealings with the Nazis.

The Pierlot Government is so discredited, so obviously a puppet of the British, that it could not last a single day if Allied bayonets were withdrawn. One of the first actions of this government consequently was the attempt to disarm the workers who fought in the underground against the German armies of occupation. At the same time the royalist General VanOverstraeten has been recruiting bands and arming them in order to establish a more solid authoritarian government.

The Stalinist and other resistance members of Pierlot's Government resigned from the cabinet in order to preserve their following among the masses. The Socialist Ministers, however, remained. Their leader, Spaak, is an old rascal with a notorious record of working class betrayal going back to the First World War.

The London Tribune believes that Spaak continues to stay in the detested Pierlot Government principally because of the influence of Sir Walter Citrine, head of the British Trades Union Congress. Citrine is part of the Bevin gang who supports Churchill one hundred percent in the prosecution of imperialist war. Bevin

recently took full responsibility together with Churchill for shooting workers in Greece. Citrine went to Belgium apparently as a walking delegate to further Churchill's counter-revolutionary aims in Europe.

Spaak and Citrine thus illustrate Trotsky's characterization of the social democratic opportunists in 1940: "The whittling away of their already miserable program, the lowering of their demands, the renunciation of demands altogether, continuous retreat further and further back until there is no place left to retreat except a rat hole. But even there the pitiless hand of imperialism drags them out by the tail."

France

One of the reactionary acts of the Vichy regime was the institution of direct subsidies for Catholic education. While the Nazis occupied France, the Vichy Government with the approval of Hitler turned over 500 million francs a year to Catholic schools. The puppet de Gaulle Government has now decided to continue these subsidies. De Gaulle thus places official approval on Jesuits and other members of Catholic orders teaching in public schools. A few centuries of struggle against the privileged position of the Catholic church in France, a struggle that won its first great success in the French Revolution, the counter-revolutionary De Gaulle is now attempting to turn back the film of history.

While three million Frenchmen are still captive in Germany De Gaulle is now preparing a hurried plebiscite to bolster his shaky regime. He has introduced suffrage for women, hoping that the influence of the Catholic priests will sway them in a reactionary direction. Even the cloistered nuns are scheduled to go to the polls.