

"The History Of American Trotskyism"

— SEE PAGE 6 —

THE MILITANT

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450,000 FACE LAY-OFFS IN AIRCRAFT

Stalinists Paving Way For New Shift In Line

By Felix Morrow

The Stalinist movement in the United States, at a signal from abroad, is preparing to make another about-face in its political line. The signal appeared in the May 24 *Daily Worker*: an article by Jacques Duclos, a leader of the French Communist party, criticising some of the policies of the American party.

Duclos' lengthy article is entitled, "On the Dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States," and pretends that his principal objection is to the "dissolution" of May 20, 1944

when the American party changed its form to that of the American Communist Political Association. But the real point of his article is his statement that "one is witnessing a notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder and his supporters, a revision which is expressed in the concept of a long term class peace in the U. S., of the possibility of the suppression of the class struggle in the postwar period and of establishment of harmony between labor and capital." (My emphasis.)

In short, Duclos is saying that a new line is needed now that the war in Europe has ended.

Duclos' article is accompanied by a foreword by Earl Browder in which, far from defending himself against Duclos' criticisms, he chimes in, saying: "It has been clear at all times that the end of the war in Europe would require a fundamental review of all problems by American Marxists."

SAME BASIC LINE

Far from this being "clear at all times," it has been the line of Browder and the Communist party that the end of the war would bring no change in line. As the numerous quotations from Browder in Duclos' article show, Browder has been insisting at least since December 1943 that "national unity" of labor and capital can continue in the capitalist "democracies" after the war thanks to the "principles" accepted at Teheran and Yalta by the U.S.-British-Soviet coalition.

But if Browder lies, so does

(Continued on page 5)

TO THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER ON MEMORIAL DAY -- 1945

By Theodore Kovalesky

You were just a guy like a million other guys. Of course I can't know, but I think you were just another guy, maybe named Eddie or Jack or Bill, a guy going to work every day and taking your girl out Saturday nights.

And then the draft came along and yanked you out of normal life with a million others; and they measured you, and inspected you, and tested you, and gave you a number, and a uniform, and a gun with a bayonet.

They told you, "Go out and fight for the American way of life. Kill the Huns. We'll crush Prussian militarism, and then we'll hang the Kaiser. We're depending on you brave boys to defend democracy."

So with "Over There" ringing in your ears, with "My Man" crying in your ears, with "Mademoiselle from Armentieres" bawling in your ears, you went out to defend democracy in the "war to end all wars." You defended it in the mud and blood of the trenches. You defended it in the stink of the casualty clearing stations. You defended it in the mad, sleepless bombardments. You defended it in the bayonet charges and lonely hand-to-hand clashes. ("Poor devil, it was either your guts or mine," you thought when you wrenched out your bayonet.)

Then you caught it. Something tore away your dog-tag, ripped open your body, and put out the sun.

It must have hurt, pal, — Eddie or Jack or Bill, whatever your name was. It must have hurt like hell to lie there with your face in the mud, your legs kicking in the mud, your fingers clutching, and grinding the mud, your blood reddening and thinning the mud.

Somebody got a telegram that said, "The War Department regrets. . ." It said, "Missing in action. . ."

But one day, they came and picked you up. They crated you and shipped you back across the ocean. And nobody knew you. . . but still everybody knew you. For you were the Unknown Soldier.

Then they mocked and insulted you. Thin hypocrites and fat hypocrites in expensive suits made speeches. Admirals and generals stood at attention. And they took you (just an ordinary guy, Eddie, or Jack, or Bill, a guy like a million others, eating hot dogs with the girl friend in the summer evenings, maybe running a lathe in the daytime), and they turned you into a symbol of J. P. Morgan's war, into a monument to justify their "traders' war."

And then, with "democracy" victorious, you lay in your new tomb, with young soldiers paid to walk back and forth in front of your door.

"Democracy" victorious, you lay in your tomb, while they starved the children of Europe.

You lay in your tomb while they castrated and lynched Wesley Everett and smashed the Wobblies, while they hanged Negro sol-

(Continued on page 2)

New Factors In Relations Between Allies And Kremlin

This is the second of two articles dealing with the changed international situation resulting from the defeat of Germany.

By Li Fu-jen

Growing friction between the Soviet Union and the Allied imperialists, as we noted last week, is a patent reality. But it is not the only reality. In addition to the issues that divide them, one vital common aim tends strongly to unite them. This is the prevention or suppression of the socialist revolution in Europe.

Churchill recognized the explosive quality of the European situation when in his recent speech he referred to the "frightful confusion" on the continent. By this he meant the moral and material decrepitude of capitalism and the new surging movement of the war-weary masses who are displaying their determination to end this destructive system.

Both Stalin and the imperialists know that a socialist Europe would sound the death knell of the usurping Soviet bureaucracy just as surely as it would signify the beginning of the end of world capitalism. They have, therefore, a common aim in "pacifying" Europe by counter-revolutionary action against the rebellious masses.

This common aim provides a powerful counter-weight to the friction between the erstwhile "Big Three" over territories. It is a deterrent to war between them, especially since such a war could very well precipitate that very revolutionary explosion in crisis-

torn Europe which all these parties are most anxious to prevent.

There are additional strong deterrents to war at the present time between the Soviet Union and the Allied powers. Ravaged by the German invasion, the Soviet Union urgently needs a lengthy breathing space in which to repair war damage and restore its disrupted economy. For this reason, Stalin may be expected to make concessions on any minor issues where imperialist pressure is so strong as to threaten actual hostilities.

DETERRENTS TO WAR

The imperialists, for their part, are also impelled to avoid an armed conflict. The working class of America and Britain are as weary of war as the peoples of Europe. A new war in Europe could touch off a gigantic movement of mass protest with revolutionary potentialities. The imperialists recognize this danger by the assiduity with which they try to keep up the pretense that they are seriously engaged in organizing world peace.

In considering the possibility that the present tendency toward an Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union may lead to a fresh imperialist assault on the Soviet Union, it is necessary to remember, also, that these two leading imperialist powers, despite appearances to the contrary, are by no means really united. On the contrary, there is a potent antagonism between them. In every corner of the globe their interests meet and

(Continued on page 4)

Rankin Blocks Investigation On Care Of Wounded Veterans

By Grace Carlson

Even ultra-reactionary Representative John Rankin has been finally driven to admit there are some "defects" in the administration of veterans' hospitals. In an obvious attempt to counteract the bad publicity his House Committee on World War Veterans Legislation has been receiving lately, Rankin introduced a bill into the House on May 25, proposing some mild "reforms" of the Veterans Administration hospital system.

But when newspapermen, veterans and members of their families criticized the terrible conditions in veterans' hospitals and demanded a clean-up of the Veterans Administration, they were smeared by the poll-taxer from Mississippi as "irresponsible" or "insane." The so-called House investigation into the situation in veterans' hospitals was an attempted whitewash of Veterans Administration officials. The "investigation" was undertaken by the Rankin-led Committee in March in order to head off the real expose of conditions in veterans' hospitals which would have followed had an impartial committee been named to investigate the floods of complaints

"That For You -- And THIS For Me!"



Bell Aircraft Workers Protest Lay-Offs With Plant "Sit-In"

Special to THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, N. Y., May 29 (By Wire) — Some 1,000 workers, mainly from the first shift of the Buffalo and Niagara Falls plants of the Bell Aircraft Corporation here, last night conducted a 12-hour "sit-in" to protest company contract violations on seniority and lay-offs.

The workers, members of Bell Local 501, CIO United Automobile Workers, staged demonstrations inside the plants, demanding the 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay and no delay in the lay-off notifications for 8,000 scheduled to lose their jobs.

UAW Regional Director Martin Gerber and the local's top bargaining committee are meeting with company representatives at 10 A.M. today to negotiate on the union's demands. If no satisfactory agreement is reached, it is reported, workers in both plants will leave at noon for a continuous mass meeting.

During last night's "sit-in" the workers shouted, "We want work!" and denounced the company attempt to smash the union by laying off stewards and union officials.

BUFFALO, May 27—Bell Local 501, UAW-CIO, held a mass meeting in Memorial Auditorium this afternoon and took action to combat the latest series of

(Continued on page 5)

which have been pouring in on members of Congress.

Public pressure did not permit a routine whitewash of the Veterans Administration. Writers like Albert Deutsch of PM, Victor Miesel of Cosmopolitan, Leo Egan of the N. Y. Times had reported such shocking facts about the mistreatment of sick and wounded veterans that Rankin's Committee was forced to hold open hearings. The first outside witness called, Albert Deutsch, was not allowed to present facts about overcrowding, inadequate treatment, etc., which he had gathered in a five-month survey of veterans' hospitals. Because he refused to give the names of doctors who had supplied him with information, Deutsch was cited by the House Committee on May 18 for "contempt of Congress."

Such tactics were too obvious, however. Under pressure, other members of the House Veterans Committee demanded that Victor Miesel be permitted to testify. But they have not yet been able — or are not willing — to get a reversal of the contempt charge against Deutsch. In a PM editorial on May 24, Rankin is quoted as saying that he was going to let the Deutsch case "cool and cool." Meantime the contempt charge against Deutsch stands.

Testifying before the House Committee on May 23, Victor Miesel produced a mass of evidence, substantiating that thousands of patients in veterans' hospitals are being neglected, underfed and often mistreated. This was only a small part of the voluminous evidence against Veterans Administration heads which Miesel had presented in his article called *Third Rate Medicine for First Rate Men* (March and April issues of Cosmopolitan).

Despite all of the documented proof offered by this witness concerning the ill-treatment of veteran patients, Rankin concluded his grilling of Miesel with a violent outburst: "You've done a great disservice to the greatest system of veterans' hospitals the world has ever seen."

But only two days later, Rankin himself offered his bill, which he admitted had been drawn up in cooperation with Brigadier General Frank Hines, the Veterans Administration Administrator. According to an analysis of the bill by Deutsch in the May 28 PM: "The Rankin bill is a small step in the right direction. But it provides no fundamental reform. It sidesteps the real issue — the need for a thorough-going housecleaning of the Veterans Administration medical and hospital program from top to bottom."

Same Job, Better Men

P. L. Hopkinson, spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers, told a Senate committee on May 18 that every U. S. diplomatic and consular post should include a "good salesman" whose sole duty is to drum up trade for American enterprise. We need some high grade American salesmen in our diplomatic corps who are trained in smelling out a market, no matter where it is or what it is."

Experts Give Up

A panel discussion on what to do about the 300-billion U.S. debt was held by leading economics professors at the University of Minnesota on May 23. All sorts of "solutions" were advanced. They agreed on only one thing, that a suggestion to ignore the debt "would be bad for the morale of the American people." In the end, Professor of Economics George Stigler confessed: "We may as well talk about the Rocky Mountains. Nobody has the solution really."

Civil War Didn't End This

Operation of a "new slavery" law, adopted in many Southern towns, went into effect in Clearwater, Florida, when Evans Lee Craskey, Negro worker, was sentenced to 10 days in jail on the charge that he had missed work for one day. Testimony showed he had been ill that day. The St. Petersburg, Fla., Times described the case as follows: "The Negro who had been employed by the Coachman Packing Company had been absent from work. When he came back his boss asked him why . . . and in reply the Negro allegedly cursed the white man, telling him it was none of his business. As a result the employer brought Craskey into court under the city's new ordinance."

An Appeal to His Pals

Henri-Philippe Petain, head of the former Vichy government, now facing trial for aiding the Nazis is appealing for witnesses on his behalf. Two he has asked to speak up for him are Robert Murphy and Admiral William D. Leahy. The former, who engineered the Darlan deal in North Africa, is now political adviser to Gen. Eisenhower in charge of the German occupation authority. Adm. Leahy was Roosevelt's "personal representative" to Vichy and U. S. Ambassador to the Petain government before Pearl Harbor.

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Government Has No Plan To Provide Employment

Administration Schemes to Give Big Business Control Over Production, Jobs and Prices

By Art Preis

As government propagandists and the Big Business press continue to pour out lying reassurances about employment prospects and speedy reconversion, the official war production agencies are swinging the axe of mass unemployment on the necks of more hundreds of thousands of war workers.

Over 450,000 workers in aircraft assembly, engine and parts plants are now slated for the unemployment scrap heap by the end of this year. This is the latest ominous announcement from the War Production Board in Wash-

American Troops Fire On German Anti-Nazi Rally

Before the palms of Nazi officials had cooled from the handclasp of Allied generals, bullets made in the USA were fired at a demonstration of the German people against Nazism.

The shameful incident occurred Sunday May 20, according to a May 22 United Press dispatch. At Cologne 5,000 Germans had gathered to welcome home political prisoners of the Nazis.

The welcome home meeting for the survivors of Nazi terror was completely orderly. But some of the placards displayed by the crowd expressed dissatisfaction with the friendly attitude displayed by Allied authorities toward the Nazi oppressors. According to the press dispatch, a number of signs suggested the German people should "take matters in their own hands."

In the face of these expressions of opinion, American troops were ordered to disperse the crowd. They did so, firing shots. Occupation authorities then launched an "investigation" to determine how "advance notice of the meeting circulated among the Germans."

Thus have the Allied imperialists taken over the Nazi assignment of keeping down the German workers and poor people in order to preserve German capitalism.

It declared on May 26 that this huge total of workers will be 'released' in this single industry as the result of Army aircraft production cut-backs.

By January 1, 1946 the number of unemployed in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries alone will total some 1,500,000. The previous announcement of President Truman and the action of Congress in slicing two-thirds from the shipbuilding appropriations of the Maritime Commission, it is officially admitted, will throw over 1,000,000 shipyard workers out of jobs.

In many other key industries, mass layoffs have been proceeding gradually, with the intent of avoiding publicity and concealing their true extent. Thus, according to R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, employment in the Michigan auto industry has already been slashed 20 per cent, from the peak of over a million down to 800,000, with the really big and drastic layoffs slated for the immediate future.

NEGROES HIT HARD

Unemployment among Negro workers, who constitute over 10 per cent of the nation's labor force, threatens to be catastrophic. In the New York area alone, points out the New York daily PM, May 27, tens of thousands

(Continued on page 3)

Syrian People Fight Troops Of French Colonial Rulers

In the first colonial uprising to spring up in the wake of Germany's defeat the people of Syria are engaged in fierce street battles with the troops of French imperialism. Acting Premier Mardam of Syria stated on May 28 that French troops had "fired upon the people of Hama," north of Damascus. In self-defense "the people attacked the French garrison." He stated that there is now fighting in the streets and that communications are cut off.

Syria and Lebanon, grabbed by the French government from Turkey after World War I, were promised their freedom in 1939. However when the war broke out the British, in connivance with the Free French Government, marched in to take control of this strategic territory on the Mediterranean with its valuable oil fields. The date for independence was moved forward to June 1, 1944.

CONSCRIPTS DESERT

Although since that date the French government has pretended that Syria and Lebanon are free, French garrisons in these countries have been augmented by Senegalese troops and native Syrian conscripts. In a week-long series of strikes, the Syrian people protested against the use of these troops to enforce French domination of their countries. The explosive situation culminated in armed conflict last Saturday night when French troops fired upon the people in Aleppo, Syria, with eight light field guns. The Cairo radio reported six killed and eight wounded. Some districts of the city were subsequently evacuated because of the shooting.

On Sunday the French in their areas of control, and the Syrians in theirs, piled sandbags around public buildings and mounted guns behind them. The Syrian National Guard issued a call for 5,000 recruits and 15,000 volunteered. The streets of Damascus are filled with recruits who are

(Continued on page 6)

ON THE INSIDE

Interview With A War	
Mother	2
Ship Trust Postwar Plans	3
House Raises Own Pay	3
Discontent In Stalinist Ranks	5
Churchill Coalition Breaks	5
German Prisoners of War	6
22,435 New Readers as Militant Campaign Ends	7
COLUMNS AND FEATURES	
Trade Union Notes	2
Diary of Steel Worker	3
Grace Carlson	4
The Negro Struggle	4
Shoptalks on Socialism	5
International Notes	6
Militant Army	7
Pioneer Notes	7
Workers Forum	8

Negro Boilermakers In Los Angeles Fight Against Jim-Crow Policy Of Union Heads

By C. Thomas

Negro boilermakers in the shipyards of San Pedro, California, have resorted to court action in an effort to compel the leaders of the AFL Boilermakers Union to end the practice of segregating colored workers in Jim Crow auxiliary locals. The Negro boilermakers are demanding and fighting for equal rights.

The struggle for equal membership rights in the Boilermakers Union has been going on for a number of years. The tremendous expansion of the wartime shipbuilding industry on the Pacific Coast caused an influx of large groups of workers previously shut out of the industry. The narrow-minded, case-hardened craft union bureaucrats feared this influx of workers drawn from the most oppressed sections of the population. They cast about for methods to preserve their positions and privileges which were based on the tight little "job trusts" which existed prior to the war.

One of these methods was the establishment of auxiliary, or "B" type locals, subordinate to the "regular" local. Those workers placed in auxiliary locals were relegated to the status of second-class citizens and deprived of full membership rights in the union. They included the most exploited sections of the working class—women, unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Adding insult to injury, the craft union bureaucrats further restricted the colored workers to all-Negro, Jim Crow auxiliaries.

Their intentions were all too obvious. As war production was curtailed, as layoffs mounted and unemployment rose, the bureaucrats intended to rid themselves of an embarrassing problem by simply dissolving the auxiliaries. These callous labor skates play the game of the employers by pitting men against women, white against black, skilled against unskilled, employed against unemployed. It is to the great credit of the Negro workers that they have taken the lead in the fight against a policy which divides the working class against itself and for the unity of all workers in the struggle for job security and a decent standard of living.

JIM CROW PRACTICES

The awakening Negro masses are engaged in this struggle all along the line. In the armed forces, in industry, in politics, the fight for equal rights is being pressed with great vigor by the Negro masses determined to end the pernicious system of Jim Crow with its injustice, its humiliation, its degradation. The advanced white workers in the trade unions are on the side of their Negro brothers in this fight. They know that Jim Crow is among the most injurious weapons of reaction. Anywhere within the labor movement who practices, encourages or even tolerates Jim Crow is playing the game of the worst enemies of labor.

While large sections of the labor movement, particularly in the CIO, have learned this lesson, there are still many unions, in the AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, who bring shame and discredit on labor by indulging in Jim Crow practices. One of the worst offenders is the AFL Boilermakers Union. In the fight for full membership rights in the union, all class-conscious workers are on the side of the Negro boilermakers. However, we do not think that the courts, an institution of the class enemy which upholds the poll tax laws, which bolsters Jim Crow and lynch law in the South, which functions primarily as an instrument to preserve the present social system perpetuating race discrimination and capitalist class rule, can resolve the problem. Nor can any reliance be placed on a government which maintains Jim Crow in the armed forces and thereby encourages its extension to civilian life.

The reactionary officialdom of

the Boilermakers Union have seized upon the California court action and are attempting to divert the issue by attacking the Negro boilermakers for resorting to the capitalist courts to resolve an "internal" union dispute. The demagogic labor skates are seeking to cover their own responsibility by appealing to the understandable hatred of the workers for the courts which stand on the side of the employers.

BUREAUCRATS RESPONSIBLE

The appeal to the courts for a redress of their grievance was an act of desperation to which the Negro boilermakers were driven by the bureaucrats who allowed them no democratic means of conducting their struggle within the union. It is these miserable labor fakers who are guilty of breaching the class solidarity of the workers. It is they who have broken ranks and by their whole policy are undermining the unity of the working class and thereby weakening the labor movement. It is they who, by their actions, are inviting government-employer intervention into the internal affairs of the union. Such intervention, as union militants know, invariably leads to hamstringing the unions and reducing their effectiveness as organizations of working class defense.

Because it obscures the real issue and confuses many militants sympathetic to their cause, court action does not serve the best interests of the Negro workers. Their most effective appeal is to the court of labor. Deprived of the right to carry their fight within the particular union, the struggle should be extended to the broader arena of the entire labor movement.

The pressure of those unions which have abolished discrimination, of those militants within the union who recognize the reactionary character of Jim Crow, must be brought to bear against the Jim Crow bureaucrats from all sides. The public opinion of the labor movement must be mobilized against them. They must be made to feel the weight of this opinion and stand pilloried and exposed before the bar of labor. It is in and through the labor movement that this fight can and will be carried to a successful conclusion.

Poll-Tax Bourbons Block FEPC Bill

MAY 28 — The Chavez Bill for a permanent Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed or color was finally approved on May 23 by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The vote was 12 to 6.

Lining up with the rest of the anti-labor forces are such so-called leading southern "progressives" as Senators Pepper, Fulbright and Hill. They are prepared to conduct the same kind of filibuster against the FEPC which they carried on in previous controversies over anti-poll tax measures and anti-lynching legislation.

Efforts to force similar legislation out of committee and on to the floor of the House of Representatives through petition is meeting the same type of opposition.

War Mother



Lockheed Aircraft Local Vote Two To One For Strike

By B. Lens

LOS ANGELES, May 25—On Monday, May 21, an overwhelming majority of Lockheed Aircraft workers voted for strike action. This was their answer to the company's brazen defiance of the union contract, wage-slashing, downgrading and lay-offs. These and many other anti-union acts by the company have been aggravated by a series of vicious War Labor Board decisions which cut wages and failed to satisfy any of the pressing demands of the workers for relief in working conditions.

According to the National Labor Relations Board supervising the poll, 31,967 out of an eligible 36,768 workers (about 87 per cent) voted. Of these, 21,807 voted "yes" and 9,474 "no" (more than two to one in favor of strike), with 593 votes challenged and 99 declared void.

The official ballot provided under the anti-labor Smith-Connally Act, which of course minimizes the workers' grievances, specified nine major issues in dispute. Yet the company campaigned to convince the workers that Lockheed has no unsettled differences with the union! At the same time in an article reeking with fake sympathy for "America's men still fighting through grime and mud and the fog of battle," the company implied that any workers who voted "yes" would be "betraying" their country and the boys overseas.

UNION TALKS BACK

A reply in the union paper, American Aeronaut, correctly pointed out that the workers at home have the duty to protect living standards so that returning veterans will not again find themselves victims of starvation wages, unemployment, insecurity and the open shop.

The article declared: "Our returning servicemen deserve better treatment than the selling of apples on the street corners and bayonets of the militia which drove those veterans of the first world war out of Washington where they went to protest to the Government! . . .

"Red-blooded American working men and women do not like this cleverly worded attempt (the wording of the government

ballot) to defeat the purposes of taking a so-called strike vote. They have loved ones fighting the world over and will do more to protect those loved ones than will any of the cold-blooded corporations back of the Senators and Congressmen who enacted the Smith-Connally Law."

In a crude and futile maneuver aimed at splitting the union, the company newspaper tried to make it appear that only the union officials wanted a strike vote. The company paper headlined an article "Labor Leaders Demand Ballots in Spite of Production Losses," ignoring the fact that members of all eight lodges of the union had by almost unanimous vote petitioned the NLRB for this election.

WORKERS' GRIEVANCES
It is very difficult for the company to convince the workers that there are no issues in dispute. The company makes shift transfers without regard for seniority or the individual needs of the workers, many of whom are mothers and fathers with heavy home responsibilities. Even the company agrees that the present "job descriptions" are confusing and unfair, but refuses to do anything about it. Entire groups of workers receiving top pay in their departments are laid off and then asked to come back to work at thirty cents less an hour! Workers are intimidated, threatened, and refused the right to be represented by union chairman and business agents.

The company refuses to upgrade, refuses to carry out contract agreements, refuses to answer a mountain of grievances—and still claims there are no issues in dispute!

The union officials have asked the company to continue negotiations in the hope that an acceptable settlement will be reached. But two years of unsuccessful and stalled contract negotiations have exhausted the patience of the rank and file. The workers have answered "yes" to the question "Do you wish to permit an interruption in wartime as a result of this dispute?" The union officials are now authorized to call the action at any date.

First prize for the remark of the week undoubtedly goes to Robert E. Gross, president of Lockheed Aircraft, who declared to the press: "Today's vote to strike by Lockheed employees is a bitter disappointment to me."

A FOUR-STAR MOTHER SPEAKS FOR HER SONS

By Evelyn Atwood

There are four service stars hanging in the third floor window at 115 East 118th St., New York City. In this neighborhood peopled by working-class families of diverse nationalities and races—Spanish, Puerto Rican, Negro and white—there are many hundreds of readers of *The Militant*.

Mrs. Catherine Floria answered my knock on the door. At her heels was a small yellow duck quacking inquiringly. Her kind face wrinkling in smiles, Mrs. Floria picked up the duck explaining: "It belongs to my grandchild; his mother gave it to him for Easter. But it follows me everywhere. My family likes animals. We also have a turtle, a parrot, a dog and a cat."

Cordially inviting me into her spotless little parlor, Mrs. Floria and her 20 year old daughter, Isabel, talked freely about their life, their hardships and hopes. I asked them whom the four stars represented. Mrs. Floria's eyes glistened with tears as she showed me with pride the pictures of her four sons in the armed forces. Jose is 30 and married, with a young child, she explained. Frankie, 27, is stationed in Iran. Tony, 22, is in the Philippines and Dominick, 20, twin of Isabel, is in the Pacific.

"I came from Spain 22 years ago," said Mrs. Floria. "Three of my seven children were born there and four were born here." One of the boys enlisted and three were drafted within two months of each other after war was declared. Only one of her five sons remained; Louis, a 16 year old school boy. And now added to the household was the 11 year old son of her oldest daughter Mary.

FAMILY INCOME

"I have a boy friend in the service too," said Isabel shyly. "He's in the merchant marine, but it's the same thing because he is doing his share in the war effort, carrying guns and ammunition and doing dangerous work. We are going to get married when the war is over." Isabel now works as a cutter in Bensinger Brothers, 12 West 3rd St., N. Y., a non-unionized plant which manufactures priests' vestments. She earns \$23 a week, but there are deductions for taxes and social security, and \$1.00 a week is deducted for war bonds.

Her mother broke in: "Some people say to me—'Oh, Mrs. Floria, you must have plenty of money from all the children.' They think I get money from all the boys, but only Frankie sends me money. What he sends, together with what I get from the government is \$37 a month. You see, one is married, and the other boys are saving up so they can get married when they come home. They have sweethearts and want homes of their own after the war."

The only other source of income for the Floria family is the \$25 a week that Mr. Floria earns as a porter at 1071 Sixth Ave. "But he is an old man now," explained Mrs. Floria, "and he is sick. He won't be able to work much longer." The rent is \$39 a month and she threw up her hands at the size of the food bill.

"I don't know what's going to happen. Food is so dear now and so hard to get. You go crazy looking for food. For three days now I looked for a chicken but couldn't find one. The doctor says papa can eat chicken. And he needs lots of fresh vegetables, fruit and milk. But fruit is so dear and everything has gone up at least twice." Mrs. Floria felt particularly grieved because all she could get for the family's Sunday dinner was spinach and eggs. "Thirty cents for two pounds of spinach!" she exclaimed. "I used to pay five cents a pound. And eggs—why you can't even get them any more!"

HOPE FOR BETTER LIFE
At this point Isabel looked up, her lovely black eyes thoughtful. "Let's hope the boys won't come back and have to stand on corners selling apples like they did after the last war. My brothers went to war because, like all the other boys, they want a better world for the poor people. They want to help their mothers, sisters and brothers. They want to find a piece of bread and butter in the house when they come home."

Mrs. Floria interjected: "The trouble in Europe is the fascists. Franco is no good. Never have the Spanish people been so bad off as now under Franco. My mother lives there. I send money sometimes when I have it to help the poor old lady. She has nothing to eat." Her eyes gleamed when she said: "When Mussolini was killed that was a great day for the working people. They are

teaching a lesson to the next fascist what will happen to him if he does to human beings what Mussolini did! The working-people in Europe don't want to fight any more than we do. But they were forced into it by Hitler and Mussolini."

Isabel felt that the working people were the ones who were doing the fighting and dying. "And they get all kinds of terrible diseases, malaria and other fevers from those countries. When they come back we will have to take care of them and suffer with them. And so many get discouraged. When Tony was sick he wrote us: 'Mama, I am so homesick—I wish it was over and I could come home.'"

"And when they come back they will have to take a chance on getting a job. But the big-shot just sit back and smoke their big cigars and get fat. The trouble is the rich are always trying to take everything away from us, little by little, so that pretty soon we won't have anything left for ourselves. The rich take, but they never give."

As we concluded the interview both Mrs. Floria and Isabel agreed: "We gave our boys, but they will be very angry when they come back if they find that the people who kept promising them and promising them aren't going to give them what they are fighting for."

Ford 600 Unit Commends Miners For Their Fight

By Roy Weston

DETROIT, May 19 — At a meeting of the Press Steel Unit of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, held this afternoon in Western High School, a resolution commending John L. Lewis for securing a pay increase for 400,000 soft coal miners was passed almost unanimously.

The resolution, prepared by David Averill, Three Year Trustee and chairman of the Press Steel Rank and File Committee, also called upon the Press Steel workers to express their solidarity with the "72,000 hard coal miners now on strike as a result of the mine operators refusal to grant them a new contract calling for wage increases paralleling those gained by the soft coal miners."

The final part of the resolution pointed out that Lewis had won pay increases for more than 400,000 miners "at a time when other so-called labor leaders were telling the workers that wage increases were an impossibility."

The applause which followed the reading of the resolution apparently frightened the Stalinists. Written in such a manner that they dared not attack it without exposing themselves in their true fink role, the resolution was passed almost unanimously and with no debate whatever.

GRANT'S RECEPTION

W. G. Grant, president of Ford Local 600, a well-known Stalinist camp-follower who was an also-ran in the local's primary election and is currently engaged in a run-off election with Joe McCusker of the Tool and Die Unit for the presidency of the local union, appeared at the meeting and delivered a lengthy harangue designed solely to secure votes.

As Grant began his speech approximately fifty per cent of the membership rose from their seats and walked out of the building, not to return until he concluded his act half an hour later. His speech was a combination of name-calling, wild-eyed raving and unattainable promises.

The recent period, including today's events, is ample proof that the Ford workers are interested only in a program of action and will no longer lend an ear to the demagogic promises of labor-fakers. Conclusive proof of this statement is the rapid growth of the Rank and File Caucus which is becoming increasingly powerful in Local 600, long a hotbed of Stalinist reaction.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Pent-House Blues

Residents in New York City's swanky apartment house and pent-house belt are feeling blue these days. By a vote of 6,780 to 199, Local 32-B, AFL Building Service Employees, representing 13,000 elevator operators and maintenance workers, decided on May 26 to strike at 5,000 loft and office buildings in Manhattan. Some 13,000 other members of Local 32-B employed in residential buildings of over 6 stories are threatening to walk out with them.

This doesn't worry the millions of poor workers in New York much, because most of them live in tenements and slums where there are no elevators and have to trudge up four, five and more flights of stairs.

The building service workers, who have to take much personal guff and abuse, are demanding shorter hours and higher wages. They have been stalled in negotiations with the big real estate interests since last February. The WLB has intervened at the last moment to try and head off the walkout.

One of the main union demands is for a 40-hour week for loft and office-building workers now working 46 hours at straight time, and for a 48-hour week for apartment building workers now on a 51 and 60-hour week.

Mayor LaGuardia has threatened to do his bit on behalf of the unions of the fat-backs who aren't accustomed to walking up stairs like the mothers and grandmothers in the tenement areas. He declared in his May 27 Sunday broadcast over municipal radio station WNYC that if the strike goes into effect he will get the Health Commissioner to declare an "emergency." "I will issue a proclamation and delegate authority to the Health Commissioner to maintain elevator service deemed necessary," he said. This is a threat to mobilize scabs, as was done during the 1936 walkout — a precedent LaGuardia did not fail to mention.

A Plan For Willow Run

How to maintain jobs for 140,000 auto workers threatened with unemployment by the shutting down of the Willow Run bomber plant has put the top leaders of the CIO United Automobile Workers in a dither. All they have to offer is a scheme to turn this vast government-owned plant over to some capitalist "genius" like Henry J. Kaiser, who can't even provide jobs for his west-coast shipyard workers.

A lot of letters, many from auto workers, have been appearing in Detroit papers advocating that the union itself take control of the plant and operate it for the production of consumers' goods. Finally, Hans A. Klagsbrunn, director of surplus property for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, suggested in a conversation with UAW President R. J. Thomas and Vice-President Frankenstein that the UAW make an "offer" for the plant. He added, however, that the union must be prepared to put "cash on the barrelhead."

From all reports, the UAW leaders were flabbergasted by this proposal. UAW Secretary-Treasurer George Addes hastened to issue a statement to the effect that the union is interested only in bargaining with capitalist employers, not in running plants. Thomas stated that some unnamed company is considering a plan to take over the plant to produce cars "that make 40 miles on a gallon of gas." Not if Standard Oil has anything to say about it!

But what's wrong with the plan for the workers themselves to take over the plant — and all the other plants that the bosses want to shut down? As for putting any "cash on the barrelhead," the workers shouldn't have to put up one cent for keeping these plants in operation.

These are plants built from the public treasury, paid out of taxes taken from the workers. Labor built these plants and has always run them. All the Fords and the Kaisers did was to milk profits out of them during the war.

It is the business of the unions to defend the interests of the workers. Their first interest is jobs. If the private monopolies can't keep the plants going, it's the duty of the unions to do so by demanding that the government operate them at full capacity. The government should provide all necessary materials and equipment — as they did for the capitalists during the war — and the workers should control them for the benefit of the people.

Propaganda Back-Fires

Ever zealous to issue anti-labor propaganda, Army publicists utilized the occasion of a WAC recruitment drive in Toledo, Ohio, to issue a smear against the Willy-Overland Unit of Toledo Local 12, UAW-CIO. A local newspaper published an Army photograph of a former Willys office worker, now a WAC, by the name of Rachael Broter. Private Broter, slicked out in a natty uniform, was shown displaying herself in front of an x-ray machine. The caption under the picture read: "Disgusted because some of the employees of the war plant where she worked absented themselves from their jobs, Pvt. Rachael Broter... decided to join the Women's Army Corps."

The union, much incensed, checked on her record and sent the following information to the press. In 22 months at Willys, Pvt. Broter herself had been absent a total of 108 days, 76 for which she was not paid, 32 for which she was, thanks to the union. The brass hats didn't bother to check up on such facts — any anti-labor propaganda is good enough for them.

To The Unknown Soldier On Memorial Day--1945

(Continued from page 1)

diers in their uniforms, while they raided the trade unions and tarred and feathered radical workers.

You lay in your tomb while your buddies, basket cases and madmen lay in secluded hospitals that even today no outsider may see.

You lay in your tomb while terrified capitalism savagely murdered Sacco and Vanzetti.

You lay in your tomb while the soup-lines formed, and gaunt, ragged men plodded uncertainly through the snows and confusion of the "American way of life."

You lay in your tomb while they gassed and slugged and bayoneted the bonus marchers and their wives and kids, burned their miserable shacks on the river bank, burned their last miserable possessions.

You lay in your tomb while the Chicago cops shot down ten other ordinary guys on Memorial Day, 1937.

And now, you'll soon have company. They're readying another selection of unknown dead. They're getting out the spades and prayer-books. The hypocrites in their expensive clothes are writing more speeches. The generals and admirals are polishing up their medals and clearing their throats.

More telegrams are being sent to people saying, "The War Department regrets. . ." saying, "missing. . ."

More unknown and ordinary guys are lying twisted in death-agony in the mud of today's "traders' war."

Move over, pal. One of these boys is going to be your buddy. But, we're working on it, Eddie, or Jack, or Bill, or whatever your name was. One of these days, the rest of us ordinary guys are going to smash the system that put you where you are today, the rotten system that makes these "traders' wars."

Then we'll take you out of that show-place where they put you. We'll grind to dust that monument to filth, disease, hunger, blood, agony, and mud, and we'll lay you in a cool, grassy grave where you can rest.

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Shipping Trust Plans To Scrap War-time Merchant Fleet

By Frank Lawrence

The postwar plans for the maritime industry drawn up by the big-time ship builders and operators of this country were revealed last week by Arthur B. Homer, vice-president of Bethlehem Steel Company's shipbuilding division. These plans call for scrapping the nation's wartime merchant fleet.

In a National Maritime Day speech before the Propeller Club of the Port of New York, Homer pictured for his ship-owner audience a 45-million-ton government-owned merchant marine. This is the largest in history, far greater than anything called for in the postwar plans of the American shipping trust.

Of the 45 million tons only 18 and a half million consist of modern, efficient C-type ships, Victories and fast tankers. These are serviceable according to Homer. The remaining 26 million tons of merchant shipping represent "expedient" materiel. The ideas expressed by Homer represent the majority opinion among the ship-operators, who argue that the huge merchant fleet was built as war material just the same as tanks and guns.

Representatives of the shipping trust, many of whom control key positions on the U. S. Maritime Commission and are seated on the strategic wartime shipping boards in Washington, are now gathered there to decide this question: how best dispose of the excess ships?

DIFFERENT VIEWS

This debate has been going on for some time. There are three divergent opinions. One group favors a large laid-up fleet which will serve in the next war. Another argues that now is the time to make the most of the present fleet by selling it to foreign operators. A third group sees flaws in both policies. Recognizing the over-head cost of a laid-up fleet and fearing the competitive strength of foreign operators in the postwar shipping world, this third group wants to scrap the ships.

It is this last position that Homer argues for. "It would seem desirable," he says, "to establish a reasonably short time limit following the cessation of hostilities — say two years — after which all ships which have not been sold, employed by the Navy, or earmarked for strategic or spot reserves, should be scrapped. We do not want in the years following this war the specter of a laid-up fleet that will stifle progress in the maritime industry."

This solution seems "desirable" to Mr. Homer because it reduces the merchant fleet to minimum needs, provides cheap scrap for Bethlehem Steel, and would create a ready market for new ships if and when needed.

These plans to scuttle the major portion of this country's wartime merchant fleet fail to take into account the needs of merchant seamen who have been trained during the course of the war. These plans mean that tens of thousands of seamen will be thrown on the beach. Food-stuffs and consumer goods will not move while depression prevails at home and famine abroad. All this

is of no concern to the ship-owners. Their plans are geared to the general postwar hunger program of Big Business in this country.

Fruehauf Trailer Strike of 1500 Enters 4th Week

By Jerry Kirk

DETROIT, May 26 — A strike of 1,500 Fruehauf Trailer Company workers is entering its fourth week. The strike is a result of company attempts to smash the union, United Auto Workers Local 99, CIO.

It is the considered opinion of officers and members of the local that Fruehauf is being used as a guinea pig by the National Association of Manufacturers. They believe that the NAM wishes to see just how far a company can go to crush a UAW local.

The immediate issue of the walkout is a complete breakdown of established bargaining procedure. The union contract states that a "steward or committeeman leaving his department shall notify his foreman upon his departure and return." Ever since the company hired a personnel manager from a General Motors plant, the company's interpretation has been that a steward must follow the same rule when he leaves his job to handle union duties within his own department.

There has been further provocation in the company's contention that stewards cannot leave their jobs until the grievance has entered the second stage of bargaining procedure, that is, until the grievance has been put in writing.

The company took advantage of a change in the union bylaws to add more fuel to the fire. This past year shop committeemen were elected at the same time as the officers. Two workers who were elected committeemen came from the same plant area, leaving one district vacant. The union assigned one of the elected committeemen to the vacant district. The company refused to transfer the committeeman. In a period of over two months this union officer has been permitted to handle only two grievances.

BAN USE OF BOARDS

The company has even refused to permit the union to use the bulletin boards in the plant. This is the first time in eight years the union has been denied this right!

A week prior to the strike officers of Local 99 notified the WLB, Army Ordnance and other governmental agencies of the tension caused by these provocations. They warned these government boards that the lid would blow off any day. With the strike now continuing into its fourth week, the WLB has not yet issued a single statement.

The corporation in a public statement tried to cloak its union-busting tactics behind the "war effort." The truth is that Fruehauf six months ago was engaged in war work to the extent of 40 per cent. Today only 10 per cent of its production is for war!

Atrocity in America — Memorial Day 1937



On Memorial Day, 1937, ten workers were murdered by Chicago police during a holiday strike parade. This photograph was taken from a suppressed newsreel of the brutal assault upon unarmed men, women and children. The pictures were hastily withdrawn from circulation because Mayor Kelly feared their showing might "incite riots" among horrified Chicago workers. The terrible Memorial Day massacre of eight years ago is depicted by Theodore Kovalessky this week in his column "Diary of a Steelworker."

Wage Freeze? Depends On What Job You Hold

By Bill Morgan

It sure was a hot meeting in the House of Representatives on May 11. All the boys were in there pitching. The question of a raise in their own wages was on the agenda.

The chairman had a tough time keeping order because of all the yelling. One by one the boys got up and told how the cost of living was too much for them. One by one they complained that the present rate of pay was only a lousy pittance. They demanded a raise and no fooling around. They were fighting mad.

There were a few — just a few — who were afraid to demand an increase at this time. After all, they pointed out, Congress itself had just voted to continue the wage-freeze.

But these arguments were not very well received. In fact, they were howled down by the majority. And when some tried to point out that any increase would be taxed heavily the boys really got militant. "We will change the laws to suit ourselves," was the answer of the meeting. Some spirit! And they mean it, too.

MEN—OR MICE?

One of the boys, Congressman Walter C. Ploeser of Missouri, said that anyone who didn't vote for an increase was a scardy-cat. "I'm not very smart," he shouted, "but if it wasn't for my little insurance business in St. Louis I couldn't afford the luxury of being a Congressman." He went on to say that his standard of living had suffered seriously when he became a Con-

The only fly in the ointment



gressman and added, "I deplore the attitude that Congress should be niggardly with its own services." This speech brought down the House. Cheers and stamping of feet could be heard as Rep. Emmanuel Celler of New York cried, "Yes, sir! Are we men or are we mice?" And to prove that they are not mice the rats asked for an increase of \$2,500 a year! This increase is disguised as an expense account in order to avoid taxes. The boys want an increase in the amount of "take-home" dough — not a phony raise that only shows on the books. They've been around and they know the score.

If the entire amount is made tax-free, some of the boys pointed out, this expense allowance will be equivalent to a salary raise from \$10,000 to \$15,000 a year. The bill they voted for was so worded that each member was to be paid \$2,500 yearly to "assist in defraying expenses related to or resulting from the discharge of his duties." And since expense accounts are not taxable the two and a half grand will be clear. Not bad. Not bad at all.

The only fly in the ointment

450,000 Aircraft Workers Facing Mass Lay-Offs

(Continued from page 1)

of Negroes, "especially in the shipbuilding and aircraft industries face unemployment as the result of postwar industrial discrimination." Because the Negro workers were last to be hired in the war industries, they are the first slated to be fired now for lack of seniority.

The administration is attempting to quiet the fears of the organized workers and muffle the inevitable political repercussions that will result when labor fully realizes the true prospects in store for it. Officials have been peddling a lot of vague talk about "speedy reconversion" and a big revival and expansion of various consumer goods industries, such as autos and household goods.

After it had inspired headlines about tremendous automobile and mechanical refrigeration production in the near future, the War Production Board, according to an item buried in the May 24 N. Y. Times, admits "shortages may hold up large scale reconversion of such civilian producers as the automotive and mechanical refrigerator industries." The Times acknowledges this in a WPB build-up for "future announcements that earlier predictions of civilian goods production in 1945 were over-optimistic."

The truth is that the capitalist government has no genuine plans to provide lasting jobs at decent wages for the millions who are being or are about to be thrown on the streets. Even those most immediately responsible for administering any official employment program are beginning to admit the bankruptcy of government planning.

NO PLANS READY

At a meeting on May 28 in New York City of the National Conference of Social Work, attended by some 4,000 manpower, labor, production and community welfare officials, one after another of the leading speakers warned that "unemployment figures will jump sharply soon because of 'inadequate planning.'" (N. Y. Times, May 29).

Stephen Sheridan, New York area director of the War Manpower Commission, proclaimed government plans for full post-war employment are only "a hope and a prayer." Victor S. Riesenfeld, employer member of the area War Manpower Commission's Labor-Management Committee, revealed that "reconversion" plans are either "in the blue-print stage or just don't make any sense." New York City Welfare Commissioner Harry W. Marsh bemoaned the huge relief problem facing the largest city in the country and complained that unless the government took "extraordinary" measures not yet contemplated there would be a "substantial drop" in employment.

What then are the administration's real plans? War Production Board Chairman Krug gave a pretty clear intimation on May 27. On the one hand, he proposed in effect that the problem of jobs and reconversion be placed entirely in the hands of Big Business monopoly, who are to be freed of a "myriad of rules and regulations." He wants to "lift the ceiling on initiative, imagination and resourcefulness" by leaving to the private businessmen "the choice of what and how to produce, buy and sell." Thus, the monopoly and profit interests of the capitalists alone are to rule the question of jobs, production and prices. This is a full swing back to Hoover's program of 1932.

LEAVE IT TO "TIME"

But what of the workers? Coldblooded Krug admits that many war-boom areas will be stricken with unemployment, but he opposes plans for public works projects or additional government projects which "would merely postpone the eventual day of reckoning." He advises that "we must not be stampeded by such dislocations into elaborate controls or special dispensations." Smugly, he assures, "time will solve such dislocations."

This is the true picture now emerging. The millions of workers who will be stranded in the new ghost towns and areas left in the wake of war production cut-backs are to be subjected to the tender mercies of "time." How they are to live, where they are to go, will be no great concern of the Wall Street government. Like the "Oakies" and other dispossessed workers of the 1929-39 depression, the postwar unemployed millions will be left "free" to wander in hunger, misery and disease over the face of the land until they are absorbed by "time."

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalessky

Here is a picture.

The day is hot and bright. The men and women stand together talking, watching children playing. The murmur of voices mingles with the higher babble of the youngsters and the voice of the union speaker. Here is peace and the feeling of a picnic. It is Memorial Day, 1937.

Republic Steel is out on strike, and there is to be a demonstration before the plant. Listen more closely. Not all is peace and picnic; for little clusters of men here and there talk angrily and with determination. The strike must be won, for otherwise will they not become absolute slaves to the rulers of Republic? Must not they win for the sake of their children and their children's children that they may grow up in freedom?

The demonstrators are ready.

They are unarmed save for a flag and a few picket signs. A few knives have been taken from the hotheads, and the pickets march out unarmed, men in shirtsleeves, women in bright summer dresses, and a child or two.



The road is dusty in the early summer heat. A breeze lightly brushes the scrubby grass in the field through which the dirt road passes. Several hundred yards ahead is the property of Republic Steel Co., the pipe-entangled turrets of the blast furnaces, the open hearth sheds with lines of straight, tall stacks like guardmen at attention, the sheds and stacks of the mills rusty and heavy with menace.

Between the demonstrators and the plant stands a line of dark figures, the blue-clad Chicago police. The breeze stirs the grass; it carries through the air a vague feeling of excitement, of apprehension. The police are armed. The police are grim, and their eyes are hard. But surely... this is America... This is the "land of free men"... The strikers are peaceful, and they have no arms, except, perhaps, a few picket signs.

The demonstrators stop, facing the police. The leader speaks to the police captain. He speaks low and seriously, demanding rights for the demonstrators. Surely this is America? It is not Nazi Germany. The police captain gestures his refusal, turns his back in finality.

Suddenly It Is a Battlefield

And suddenly it is no longer the "land of the free." Suddenly it is no longer a dusty road lying flat between two halves of a field of scrubby grass. Suddenly it is a battlefield, a nightmare of hell, a terrible chaos of shots from the police guns, of screaming and fleeing pell-mell over the field, of blood and clubbings from the police clubs, of terror and death under a swelling cloud of tear gas.

Look if you can. See the young girl, slight of figure, stumbling over the fallen bodies of her comrades, dazed with horror, trying only to get away. And see the cop who rushes up behind her and strikes her down with his club. Look at the great flood of dark blood that spoils her bright summer dress as they shove her into a patrol wagon.

Look again if you can stand it. See the bald-headed striker who is trapped inside the police lines. See his eyes darting this way and that with the terror of a hunted animal. Watch him as he almost breaks through to safety... almost. And look: see the cops turn, surround him. See their clubs rising and falling; and see the flashing clubs go lower and lower as he sinks to the ground in death. Look more closely at what was once a head, once a face. Can you look?

The breeze stirs the scrubby grass. The road lies flat and dusty in the heat of Memorial Day, 1937. The cloud of gas has vanished into the air. The cops have gone, and the victims are in jails, hospitals, and the morgue. A day in labor history has passed, never to be forgotten.

Ten men are dead and dying, because they dared to oppose the steel magnates.

And this was not Nazi Germany! This was—and is—America! Look again, brothers, sisters. Look closely, comrades. Here is warfare. Here is the class struggle that will not end until capitalism is dead, until the socialist society will bring peace and freedom to mankind.

FABLES FOR OUR TIME



LABOR LION AND CAPITALIST TIGER

The labor lion and the capitalist tiger had always been great enemies and fought each other tooth and nail.

One day the tiger came to the lion and said: "It is necessary to have unity in the forest so that the foreign beasts will not be able to come in and eat us all up. Therefore, kindly remove your teeth, and we will not fight any more."

The lion thought it over. A few skunks that he consulted told him that the tiger was right, so he finally took out his teeth and left them on the shelf in his bathroom.

Then the tiger, seeing that the lion was defenseless, leaped on him, killed him, and ate him.

Moral: WITHOUT THE STRIKE WEAPON, LABOR CANNOT DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST ITS ENEMY, THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

How Attorney General Biddle Violated Civil Liberties During World War II

By Joseph Hansen

Attorney General Francis Biddle received high praise in liberal circles upon his departure from Truman's cabinet. The New York daily PM, for instance, declared on May 24: "His administration of the Justice Dept. earned high commendation for his protection of civil liberties."

The record shows that Biddle's attitude toward civil liberties deserves the "high commendation" of Wall Street rather than of the labor movement.

One of the first acts of this "liberal's" career was the prosecution of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO. The "crimes" of these working class leaders consisted of their revolutionary socialist ideas, their firm opposition to the imperialist war, and their militant defense of union democracy and labor's living standards. Biddle organized the frameup which sent them to jail for terms of twelve to sixteen months under the iniquitous Smith "Gag" Act.

The prosecution and imprisonment of the 18 aroused widespread protest in the labor movement. Over 6 million organized workers rallied to their defense. The Minneapolis Labor Case has the same significance for labor's rights in the Second World War



BIDDLE

as the imprisonment of the Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs had in the First World War. And Roosevelt's Attorney General Biddle has earned the same infamy as Wilson's Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for his prosecution of honest and unbending working class leaders.

PERSECUTED MINERS

Another conspiracy organized under Biddle's administration was persecution of the miners. When the United Mine Workers attempted to win a wage increase to cover the rising cost

of living, Biddle indicted and convicted 30 strikers by means of the Smith-Connally Act in 1943. In subsequent strikes he sent FBI agents into the coal fields, searching for violations of this vicious law. He publicly expressed regret that he could report no violations. The miners, remembering Biddle's previous conspiracies, had been careful to avoid any provocations.

And Biddle has continued the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the San Francisco Longshoremen's local. Biddle's handling of criminal monopolists was in sharp contrast to his persecution of figures of the labor movement. In a speech in Chicago, August 23, 1943, Biddle admitted that "Big Business frauds in this war are much bigger than they were in 1917 or 1918." He revealed that 123 federal indictments had been filed with 1,279 investigations pending.

Biddle, however, did not throw these Wall Street profiteers into prison. Instead, when revelations about the trusts aroused great public indignation, he wrote Roosevelt (March 20, 1942): "Some of the pending court investigations, suits and prosecutions under the anti-trust statutes by the Department of Justice, if continued, will interfere with the production of war materials... In those cases we believe that continuing such prosecutions at this time will be contrary to

the national interest and security."

Thus Biddle covered up the scandalous war profits and crimes of Wall Street. CLARK'S RECORD Biddle's successor, Tom C. Clark, represents the same class interests as previous Attorney Generals. But he does not claim to be a "liberal." Even the "New Deal" press is forced to place a "question mark" over him, since he is backed by Senator Tom Connally, Sam Rayburn and other spokesmen of the most reactionary wing of the Democratic party. Clark is linked with the oil monopolists and can be expected to sidetrack investigations of their bloated war profits. Business Week, journal of Wall Street, remarks approvingly in the May 26 issue that his appointment "may put a damper on the long-run program of vigorous enforcement" of anti-trust laws.

Clark's role in violating civil liberties is just as bad as Biddle's. While Biddle hounded the Minneapolis defendants, his Assistant Attorney — Clark — was busy on the West Coast persecuting American citizens of Japanese ancestry. Clark helped to carry out one of the most shameful violations of civil liberties in American history, herding tens of thousands of citizens into concentration camps because of the color of their skin and the accident of their ancestry.

DETROIT SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

June 10

'What Next for the USSR?' Speaker: E. KENNEDY

June 17

'Debs and the American Railway Union' Speaker: R. BRADY

3513 WOODWARD AVENUE Room 21 - 8 p. m.

Study In Contrasts -- How A Millionaire And A Tenement Dweller Lived And Died

By Grace Carlson

Old-line politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties like to talk about the United States as the "land of equal opportunity for all." And the less they practice "equality," the more they talk about it! Southern Congressmen, like Senator Bilbo and Representative Rankin, who spend all of their time trying to keep the Negro citizens of this country from getting any rights are great ones to quote the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But Charles Schwab, the steel magnate, and Jesse Little, the Negro factory worker from Newark, N. J., were not "equals" in this so-called "land of equal opportunity." Certainly, Jesse Little did not have an equal right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness!"

CONTRASTING LIVES

Both of these men are dead now. Charles Schwab died in 1939 at the age of 77 after a lifetime spent in extravagantly luxurious surroundings. Jesse Little was burned to death in his Newark tenement home last month at the age of 26. The stories about the "homes" of both of these American citizens which appeared in the papers during April provide this tragic study in contrast.

The Baltimore Negro newspaper, The Afro-American, tells the story of the life and death of Jesse Little in its April 14 issue.

A low-paid worker of the Union Carbide and Carbon Company of Newark, Jesse Little could not afford to rent a pleasant, comfortable home for his family of four young children—not even a safe home! "The Littles paid \$15 per month for a third-floor apartment — four rooms, no bath, no heat, and with ceilings approximately seven feet high." This apartment located in a tenement house at 49 Broome St. was "a dilapidated frame building, the only exits being a narrow, winding stairway — boxed in between two houses — and a rickety fire escape with a none too reassuring appearance."

FIRE TRAP

When the Afro-American reporter interviewed the owner of this fire trap, he learned that only \$90 had been spent for repairs in 18 years and that there had been no fire inspection in 17 years. The owner "refused to

say whether the building measured up to safety regulations."

The night of Jesse Little's death, his young wife awoke at 1:30 A. M. to see "flames bursting from the ceilings and walls." "I grabbed my baby and one of the children and ran out," she told the reporter, "then went back to get my husband and other two children." When she reached the apartment, the fire had spread so that they could not enter, but she said, "I heard my husband inside stumbling around in the smoke. He was trying to find the children but he was forced toward the door by the terrible heat."

She went on to relate how she beat her fists against the walls in order to help him find the way out. When she pulled him through the doorway, it was too late. "The husband collapsed and fell down the stairs. He succumbed the next day at the City Hospital. The two children died on the scene," the news story ends.

SCHWAB'S MANSION

But the "home life" of Charles Schwab was quite different! According to a news story in the April 19 N. Y. World-Telegram, the Schwab mansion is for rent at \$75,000 a year. Until his death in 1939 Schwab lived in this palatial residence, which occupies a full city block on Riverside Drive and Seventy-third St. in New York City.

As President of the United Steel Corporation and head of Bethlehem Steel Company, Schwab spent most of his time thinking up ways of "busting" unions and holding down the steelworkers' wages. But he found enough time to direct the building of his mansion which cost him \$3,000,000 in 1905. The furnishings cost another \$5,000,000.

In describing the Schwab mansion the World-Telegram reporter says: "The unique 75-room structure has a private chapel, an art gallery, two elevators and a \$50,000 pipe organ. Its kitchen could cook for 1500 and its meat refrigerator would hold 20 tons of beef." Other breathtaking details followed in the story: "a kitchen range, 14-ft. long; a '60-ft. swimming pool, flanked by 10 Carrara marble pillars; 'hand-painted bathtubs' etc., etc."

Living members of America's richest Sixty Families have mansions like this one.

Living members of the "ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed one-third of the nation" are crowded into rickety tenements like the one that killed Jesse Little.

And that's not exactly "equality of opportunity."



An Exchange Of Opinion On Problems Of Latin America

Editor:

I want to call to your attention the article by M. Morrison in the March 1 issue of The Militant entitled "Legal Intervention in Latin America." This is an article that could have been accepted only through gross negligence or excessive tolerance.

One would think, judging from this article, that there is no class struggle in Latin America. Not once in the whole article is there even a hint that there exist in those countries a capitalist class and a working class, whose interests are in irreconcilable conflict.

Morrison speaks of "the representatives of the Latin American countries" as though they actually represent all the Latin American people. He admonishes these representatives that "To depend upon U. S. imperialism to defend the territorial integrity and political independence of any Latin American country is a sign of imbecility or a conscious betrayal of the masses of the Latin American countries." Imbecility? Then one must assume that these governments are representatives of the masses but stupid ones. Betrayal? One betrays those whom one represents. No one can betray his enemy.

The governments of Latin America do not represent the masses of those countries. They represent only the capitalists.

Their conduct flows not from psychological causes but from material interests. The material interests of the Latin American bourgeoisie are tied up with those of imperialism. If imperialism should cease to intervene in those countries the exploited masses,

with the working class at their head, would sweep away their native as well as their foreign exploiters.

CLASS SERVANTS

No, the Latin American representatives at Chapultepec were not imbeciles; neither did they betray those whom they represented. They were good servants of their class.

Has Morrison a new theory on class relations in Latin America? This question is raised by another passage in the same article. Morrison says: "The more democratic and progressive a government of any Latin American country is, the more likely is it to come into conflict with the colossus of the north."

What is a progressive government? In the epoch of imperialism only a workers and farmers government, which abolishes capitalism, can be progressive. Only such a government can represent the masses. But this is not the type of government Morrison refers to. As can be seen from the context, Morrison means "democratic and progressive" in the popular front sense. To a Trotskyist such a "democratic and progressive" government is not progressive at all, but an enemy of the working class, an agent of reaction.

S. Ryan
New York

I guess comrade Ryan is correct. There must be a class struggle in Latin America.

When a person represents Mexico we speak of him as a representative of Mexico. Mexico is a country. Therefore he represents the country (of Mexico).

The Latin American countries are semi-colonial nations. As against the United States the representatives of the capitalist government of a semi-colonial people represent the whole people. Hence it is perfectly proper to say that the representatives of the Latin American countries betrayed the masses of those countries. It is perfectly proper to say that Gandhi betrayed the masses of India.

NO NEW THEORY

I have no new theory about class relations in Latin America. But still more governments can be more progressive than others. The Cardenas government of Mexico was more progressive than some other governments. Cardenas took the oil lands away from the foreign capitalists. He even permitted Trotsky to enter the country. (I suppose comrade Ryan will say that Cardenas had a material interest in doing so). And the Cardenas Government was not a workers' and peasants' government that abolished capitalism.

"If imperialism should cease to intervene in those countries the exploited masses, with the working class at their head, would sweep away their native as well as their foreign exploiters." Of course if imperialism should cease to intervene then there would be no foreign exploiters to sweep away. And I for one would not disturb comrade Ryan's faith that immediately upon the cessation of intervention by imperialism the masses would sweep away their exploiters. I have heard that faith moves mountains.

M. Morrison

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ALLIES AND KREMLIN

(Continued from page 1)

clash. Their need to unite against their rival, Germany, forced the antagonism temporarily into the background. Even so, it flared up occasionally even before the defeat of Germany, notably at the Bretton Woods financial conference last fall. Now unity against Germany has given place to a temporary "unity" against the Soviet Union.

With the defeat of Japan, or even in the midst of the Pacific war, Anglo-American rivalry may come to the fore again in full force. From a commanding position in the Orient, the Yankee imperialists will begin pressing their British competitors to the wall, not only in China—but in India as well. Anglo-American rivalry might well mature in a new war before armed conflict could grow out of the developing antagonism between the Soviet Union and the imperialists. And once again the Soviet Union might be lined up with one imperialist gang against the other.

U. S. IMPERIALISM

American imperialism is bent on complete world domination. This is the source of its hostility both to the Soviet Union and to British imperialism. The American economy, more than any other, has outgrown the national boundaries and rests on the world market. With conversion to peacetime production, the terrible crisis of American capitalism — which the war interrupted but did not overcome — will return in all its devastating fury. The beginnings are already being felt in the growing unemployment.

War—the grabbing of colonies, markets, spheres of influence—is capitalism's only "solution." So vast is the American productive capacity that nothing less than world domination will suffice to keep the capitalist economy running at all smoothly.

That is why Washington so firmly opposes the seizure of territories either by its imperialist rivals or by the Soviet Union. American imperialism must rule Europe in order to gain unhindered access to its markets. It must defeat Japan in order to establish its hegemony in eastern Asia. From that vantage point it must seek to pry open the great closed preserve of the British Empire and the weaker French and Dutch empires.

The Soviet Union with its large population and great natural wealth is another tempting prize. Because of its nationalized economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade, the Soviet Union is virtually withdrawn from the world market. The profit-hungry imperialists have never abandoned hope of being able to restore this vast territory to the world of capitalist exploitation, either by war or counter-revolution.

The United States, as the leading imperialist power, is the principal foe of the Soviet Union. After the first World War, before American imperialism had openly assumed its new dominant world role, the British imperialists took the lead in marshalling the anti-Soviet forces. Churchill was himself the principal inspirer and organizer of the inter-Allied intervention against Soviet Russia. This role now devolves upon the American imperialists, and as current developments show, they have already begun to play the part.

THE USSR TODAY

There is, of course, a world of difference between the Soviet government in the years after the first World War and today. The Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky was a revolutionary workers' government, pursuing a bold socialist policy at home and abroad. As such, it incurred the violent hatred of the exploiting classes in every land. Churchill and his gang tried to wreck the Soviet government because it was a revolutionary menace to capitalist society.

Today, by contrast, the Soviet government of Stalin is at one with the imperialists on the fundamental class issue. Under Stalin, the Soviet Union has steadily degenerated. One after another, the great gains of the Bolshevik revolution have been destroyed, together with the Soviets and the Bolshevik Party, whose leading figures were all murdered by Stalin. The Stalinist regime is a vicious enemy of the Soviet masses and of the international working class. Stalin, Churchill and Truman stand together on the same class battle line—the battle-line of the oppressors and exploiters of the working class. If today the imperialists still harbor hostile

designs against the Soviet Union, it is not because the Stalin regime is a menace to their rule, but because the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, by widening the world market considerably, would give the capitalist system a new lease on life.

Consequently, while striving to insure itself against destruction by the socialist revolution, the Stalinist bureaucracy must still concern itself with the menace of the imperialist world. The nationalized economy established by the Bolshevik revolution is the source of the power and privileges of this bureaucracy. They defended it against yesterday's attack of the German imperialists. Unless the socialist revolution ends both imperialism and Stalinism, or Stalin completes his counter-revolution by liquidating the nationalized economy, the Kremlin gang will be compelled at some time to take up arms again to defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists.

The debilitated Soviet Union, whose casualties in the war with Germany are estimated as high as 15 millions, now faces the undiminished might of American imperialism, plus the not inconsiderable power of imperialist Britain. With Germany prostrate, no great power now lies between the Soviet Union and the imperialist states of the West. How is Stalin trying to guard against this menace?

STALIN'S POLICIES

The Kremlin dictator long ago abandoned the revolutionary method of defense of the Soviet Union, namely, reliance upon the international working class and the promotion of the struggle for socialism on a European and world scale, which was the method of Lenin and Trotsky. Stalin's policies in Europe and throughout the world are completely counter-revolutionary. The usurper in the Kremlin fears the revolutionary masses just as much as the imperialists do.

Nevertheless, preparation must be made against a new imperialist assault. Stalin's method is to establish on the periphery of the Soviet Union a ring of "friendly" buffer states, in the expectation that when war comes again these territories will absorb the first shocks and perhaps serve to keep the fighting outside the Soviet borders. The worthlessness of this policy has already been revealed. Stalin joined with Hitler in the partition of Poland and incorporated eastern Poland into the Soviet domain. This did not prevent a devastating war on Soviet soil. A multiplicity of buffer states will not prevent it either.

Within these buffer states in eastern Europe and the Balkans, Stalin preserves the capitalist property and profit system and sets up reactionary puppet governments to rule over the people. He cannot nationalize property in these countries and thereby unite their economy with that of the Soviet Union, for such a step would antagonize Stalin's imperialist "friends" and perhaps precipitate a new war against the Soviet Union. It would, moreover, tend to encourage the workers in the rest of Europe to rise up against capitalism — the very thing Stalin is striving to prevent. Nonetheless, Stalin's territorial seizures collide with the aims of the Allied imperialists, because the latter want to fit Europe into their own overall plans. Stalin's plans cross and interfere with theirs. This is the source of the present friction.

SEEDS OF NEW WARS

Thus on the morrow of the "peace" in Europe, fresh seeds of war are already germinating. The capitalist world is armed to the teeth. In the corridors and back rooms of secret diplomacy, in the Kremlin as in the chancelleries of capitalism, there is move and counter-move, trickery and double-dealing—all laying the groundwork for another fearful war. The masses are not consulted. Everything is done behind their backs. The evil maneuvers of the oppressors of mankind will not bear the light of day. Germany's defeat, we were told, would prevent a third world war. Today we are told that a harsh "peace" for Germany is the only way to prevent a third world war. The treaty of Versailles was "too soft." This is a lie!

Germany's defeat has not removed and eliminated international antagonisms. It merely shifts their focus. There is no talk of disarmament. Against whom will the mighty mobilized forces of imperialism be used

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

The San Francisco Fraud

It is hard to tell right now whether many white workers were fooled by the antics of the imperialist statesmen at the San Francisco Conference. But you can bet your bottom dollar that the colored peoples of the world who comprise two-thirds of the earth's population realize that neither peace nor security is in the offing but continued exploitation, slavery and war by the international ruling class against the toilers of all lands.

We were told that the war in Europe was fought to wipe out "Hitler's racist ideology." Logically, then, this victory conference should have made an outright statement assuring the world that such theories would be crushed wherever they were found. But such was not the case. In fact, both Britain and the U. S. were openly opposed to a guarantee of "racial equality."

In a crude attempt to calm the sceptics, Jan. Christian Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, presented a vague document calling for the recognition of "human rights" but omitting any mention of race.

This is the same Smuts who is the Simon Legree of South Africa. He admittedly wants to grab additional territory in West Africa and apply his famous white supremacy policy. He once said that "next to an ass, a Negro is the most docile of all animals." Smuts actually believes in "human rights" to about the same extent that Rankin or Bilbo believe in interracial marriage.

TIGHTEN GRIP

The imperialist countries also made clear that they intend to tighten, rather than loosen their death grips on the colonial peoples. We had been told when this war began that we were fighting for the right of people to determine their own form of government. But at the "victory" conference a forthright statement guaranteeing freedom or even self-determination for the 750 million colonials was not produced.

This conference has been dubbed the "Frisco Follies" by some observers. But the hypocritical attempt of the imperialist slave-drivers to camouflage their true motives and their insatiable greed with a "peace" conference where verbal-homage is paid to "human rights" could more appropriately be termed the "Frisco Fraud."

The final stroke is being applied to the sordid picture of Negro oppression as a result of the official Army policies of Jim Crowing the colored soldiers and of restricting them to service units. We refer to the official point system that is being used in determining when soldiers will be discharged.

Besides length of time in service, length of time overseas and number of dependents there is

also a premium on combat decorations. Each combat decoration counts five points. With a total of 85 points a soldier is eligible for discharge. The catch lies in the fact that 80 percent of Negro soldiers were assigned (whether they liked it or not) to stevedore duty where they had no chance to earn combat decorations.

Furthermore, those in these labor battalions—even if they have sufficient points on other grounds—will only be discharged if there are low-score soldiers from the infantry to replace them. Due to the Army's rigid policy of segregation, low-score white infantry troops cannot be transferred to Negro service units. Therefore, Negroes with the required 85 points may be held in the Army where a white soldier would be discharged.

RANK DISCRIMINATION

Thus we see again that from induction to discharge, the Negro soldier in "democratic" America must suffer the rankest kind of discrimination simply because his skin is the "wrong" color.

Those few remaining brothers who still love Henry Ford and who think Mr. Ford loves them should be able to see the light after what happened in Ecorse, Mich. last week. Forced by the inevitable pressure of 10,000 ill-housed Negro families in the Detroit area, the Federal Public Housing Authority finally approved the construction of 1,410 temporary units for Negro war workers in Ecorse.

The Ford Motor Company, which owns most of the 170 acres on which the project was to be built, immediately filed a petition for a permanent injunction to restrain the FPHA from proceeding. The petition made no bones about its anti-racial motivation, stating that "the character of the project is completely out of line with the character of the neighborhood."

Negroes are all right for Mr. Ford to exploit in his sweat shops but when it comes to granting them even a small part of the shelter that they need he is ready to take the fight to the highest courts in the land. He knows that when white and Negro workers live as next-door neighbors they come to learn that their basic interests are the same.

Pioneer Paragraphs

SOVIET UNION ENDANGERED BY STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

In the course of its degeneration the Kremlin bureaucracy has hardened into an ossified caste alien to the interests of the Russian and world proletariat. For it there is no turning back to Lenin's method. The bureaucracy would be one of the first victims of a successful revolution in Europe, for freed from the fear of invasion and backed by new workers' states, the Soviet proletariat would no longer tolerate the totalitarian bureaucracy. The Kremlin will attempt to pursue to the end its policy of wooing and adapting itself to the imperialists.

That is the meaning of the dissolution of the Comintern. It is but the latest episode in the Kremlin's concessions to the capitalist world. The Communist parties have become the most rabid strikebreakers in England, the United States, Australia, Canada, etc. In India the Stalinists have played openly the role of tool of British imperialism in

henceforth? Obviously they won't be needed against prostrate Germany, or against Japan, when that country, too, has been defeated.

The truth is that international antagonisms, far from softening, grow more acute with the ever-speedier decay of capitalism. Every single problem of any magnitude must be submitted to the bloody arbitrament of war. Just as germs and their resultant diseases are inseparable, so capitalism and war are inseparable. Only the socialist revolution, the utter destruction of capitalism with all its chaos and rivalry, can usher in a world of true peace and progress.

(From "The End of the Comintern" by James P. Cannon with "The Manifesto of the 4th International." Pioneer Publishers).

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"Why, Daddy?" -- 3-Year-Old Tosses Some Tough Question

By Robert Kendall

In a conversation with my three and a half year old boy the other day, I found that inasmuch as he has never had his mind poisoned by reading a newspaper editorial nor yet by listening to a plump politician orating the commonplace phrases so familiar to all of us, he was at a loss to understand many things you and I "learned" long ago.

Some time ago, for financial reasons, we sold our car. He has never been able to forget that automobile. The other evening as I sat down to read the paper he came up and queried.

"Daddy, when are we going to buy a car?"

"Well, bub," I answered, "Guess we just don't have enough money to buy a car."

"Look, daddy, we got money." He demonstrated by rattling his little piggy bank. "Let's take it and buy a car!"

"No, lad, there's not enough there. It takes lots of money to buy a car."

"Why don't you buy some more money, daddy?" he asked innocently.

"Oh, you can't buy money," I answered in some confusion. And then thinking of "interest" and the process called "investing," I



added, "At least folks like us have to earn all our money."

"What's 'earn' mean, daddy?" There was a tough one. "You see, when you are still asleep in the morning, I go to work in the factory. When you are taking your afternoon nap, I come home again. They give me money for working in the factory."

"Why don't you take that money and buy us a car?"

"There isn't enough. We have

to buy food and clothes and pay the rent and buy your toys and lots of things. When we get done there's no money left."

"Why don't you get more money, daddy?" You know how kids are; if you'll talk to them they'll give you one "why" question after another.

"The boss won't give me any more."

"What's 'boss' mean, daddy?" he asked crawling up on my knee. The conversation was getting pretty involved. I searched for words and terms to explain that he might understand.

"Well, you see, he's something like the ogre in the fairy tales your mommy reads to you. He's got the money and the ways to make more and he guards it pretty close."

He had just heard the story of "Jack and the Beanstalk," where Jack climbs the beanstalk, steals the sleeping ogre's money-bags, and then runs like hell.

"Say," he said excitedly, "Why don't you steal the bosses' money-bags and run?"

WHY?

I had to laugh. "Well, son, the boss guards his money-bags pretty close. He doesn't go to sleep. And anyway, they'll throw you into jail for doing that."

A baffled look came over his little face. His brows knit as he struggled with this new problem.

"Won't he give you any more?"

"No, he won't."

"And does he do that to the rest of the men, too?"

"That's right."

"Daddy, why do you guys let him do it to you?"

"I didn't have the answer to that one."

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Stalinists Prepare For A New Shift

(Continued from page 1)

Duclos. No more than the American party did the French party warn the workers of the need for continuing the class struggle after the war. This masquerade could have been played the other way around, with Browder writing the same kind of an article about the French party, and of all the other Communist parties. For all followed the same basic line, and all likewise are now preparing to change the line. They all performed in unison, at the command of their master in the Kremlin.

Duclos tries to cover up this fact by writing: "According to what is known up to now, the Communist parties of most countries have not approved Browder's position and several Communist parties (for example that of the Union of South Africa and of Australia) have come out openly against this position, while the Communist parties of several South American countries (Cuba, Colombia) regarded the position of the American Communists as correct and in general followed the same path."

This is the first the world ever heard of the fact that any other Communist parties did not approve Browder's course. And even at this late date Duclos can only cite "for example" the small and unimportant parties in South Africa and Australia. We safely hazard the guess that even these two "have come out openly" on this question only very lately—Duclos discreetly doesn't tell us just when they did so. The fact is he lies when he says that "the Communist parties in most countries have not approved Browder's position."

POSTWAR CLASS PEACE

The basic point of Browder's position to which Duclos now objects is the idea of postwar continuation of class peace. We shall cite below documents showing that this idea was also the position of Duclos' own party and of the British Communist party. The crimes committed against the American working class by Browder are identical with the crimes committed against the French and British working class by Browder's opposite numbers abroad. In each case they were committed in the name of a "national unity" of capitalists and workers which was to endure also in peacetime.

The Browder line to which Duclos now objects was issued at least as early as December 1943. Why did it take Duclos until April 1945 to write an article criticizing Browder? The answer is that until yesterday Duclos' own party was saying, in terms of the French situation, exactly what Browder has been saying. As a matter of fact, such change in the line of the French party as did occur after Browder's articles of December 1943 was in the same rightward direction as Browder was taking.

Only a few months ago, in January 1945, the leader of the French party, Maurice Thorez, returned to France from Moscow. At a meeting in Ivry of his central committee on January 22, 1945, Thorez made a speech which was widely distributed in pamphlet form under the title, "For Unity, Struggle, Work." The party's daily, l'Humanite, thereafter in its editorials incessantly repeated Thorez' slogans at Ivry.

SPEECH BY THOREZ

We cite but a few examples showing that Thorez was for class peace not only for the rest of the war—which was already in its closing period—but for afterward as well.

Calling for a "great French army," Thorez said: "Cadres are lacking, it is said. Nevertheless, we do not lack worthy officers, including those who let themselves be misused for a certain time by Petain and who only ask to rehabilitate themselves and to do their whole duty to France." (Page 11.) In other words, Thorez' "national unity" included also the reactionary Petainist officers who in the class struggle after the war would lead the troops against the working class.

In four years of underground struggle, the workers had won the right to the arming of the people, the sole guaranty against a new rise of reaction to undisputed power. De Gaulle was trying to disarm these underground militias. And he got complete support from Thorez: "These armed groups had their

reason for being before and during the insurrection against the Hitlerian occupation and its Vichy accomplices. But the situation is now different. Public security should be assured by the regular forces of police established for that purpose. The Civic Guards (militias) and, in general, all the irregular armed groups should not be maintained for long." (Page 19.)

UNITY WITH CAPITALISTS

As if this were not clear enough, Thorez declared in l'Humanite of February 3, 1945 (the day before it had appeared in the Catholic daily, Temps Present, as an interview with him): "There is one government, there should be only one army; there should be only one police, one only."

"In the same way, the Committees of Liberation should not substitute themselves for the administrations."

Now, chiding Browder, Duclos pretends that there is a distinction between "national unity" and unity with the big capitalists, and that the French party never followed the latter. He says to Browder: "We too, in France, are resolute partisans of national unity, and we show that in our daily activity, but our anxiety for unity does not make us lose sight for a single moment of the necessity of arraying ourselves against the men of the trusts." In answer, Browder could easily show that he and the Daily Worker have likewise made fulminations against the trusts. That kind of talk is cheap and easy.

But basically "national unity" always means unity with the big capitalists too, as is clear from that same speech of Thorez, when he said:

"As under the occupation, we want, in order to win the war, to act in concert with all good Frenchmen, workers, employees, EMPLOYERS, intellectuals, peasants. Why would we want to impose upon them our program, the program of communism?" (P. 20.)

BRITISH C. P.

That is precisely what Browder said in the quotations which Duclos now pretends to find objectionable.

As for the British Communist party, one month after Thorez' speech at Ivry, its executive committee sent a letter to all British party branches, dated February 21, 1945. This letter so outraged some members that they provided a copy to the British section of the Fourth International, the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose organ, the Socialist Appeal published the substance of it in its mid-April issue.

The Stalinist letter dealt with "postwar policy" in the light of Stalin's conference with Roosevelt and Churchill in the Crimea. It declared that the Tories had basically changed their policy: "Crimea represents a victory for the anti-fascist forces over the pro-fascist policy which hitherto dominated the Tory Party." Proof? This is "revealed in the leading role adopted by Churchill and Eden as the two present dominating personalities in the Tory party."

From this the Stalinist leaders concluded that, as against the Labor Party plan for a postwar abandonment of the coalition and an election campaign for a Labor Government, the British Communist Party should advocate a postwar formula of a "Labor and Progressive Government," i.e., continuation of the coalition.

"The principles of Crimea would guarantee the same united use of the world's productive forces in peace time as has taken place during the war." In other words, "the same united" cohabitation with the capitalists in peace as in war.

We see, then, that the policy pursued by Browder differs not at all from that pursued by his French and British counterparts. All of them, at the orders of the Kremlin tried to keep the workers subordinated to the capitalist masters. All of them, in carrying out this vile policy, did things the effect of which will be felt by the workers long after the war. One need only think of the terrible consequences which may yet result from the disarming of the French workers.

Duclos' pretense that Browder carried on a policy different from the others is a deliberate falsehood, aimed to conceal the anti-working-class policy pursued in unison everywhere by the Stalinists.

Cut Loose From Churchill's Apron-Strings



Indo-China CP Majority Joins 4th International

Numerous signs of discontent with Stalinist policies are beginning to manifest themselves among the membership of the Communist parties in several countries. In certain cases the dissidents have already broken with Stalinism and fused with the Trotskyist parties of the Fourth International.

The most advanced expressions of these tendencies to date have occurred in the French colonies. La Verite, organ of the French Trotskyists, reports that the majority of the Communist Party of Indo-China has broken with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International. Although no further details are given, from a knowledge of the general political background in the workers movement there it can be surmised why this significant development took place.

Before the war a strong Trotskyist movement existed in and around Saigon, capital of Cochinchina province and principal port linking France with the Far East. In the elections to the Saigon Colonial Council held on April 30, 1939 the Indo-Chinese Trotskyist candidates gained a brilliant victory over a coalition between the Stalinists and various bourgeois elements. When the war broke out the French imperialists illegalized the Trotskyist movement and jailed its principal leaders. Among them was Ta-Tu-Thau, Trotskyist leader

who had been elected to the Colonial Council. While the Trotskyist leaders have shown themselves to be the best fighters against the imperialists, the Stalinists have become outright supporters of the French imperialism. Thorez, the head of the French Communist Party, openly declared this spring that his party opposed freedom for the colonial slaves of France. These two factors undoubtedly played a decisive role in producing the split within the Indo-Chinese Communist Party and fusion of the majority with the Fourth International.

Why Does FBI Refuse to Aid In Tresca Case?

NEW YORK, May 28—Pointing out that the FBI has "jurisdiction" to investigate the recent Florida death of a woman slain by dogs, Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, asked why the Federal Bureau of Investigation has so



CARLO TRESCA

"strangely" lacked interest in the still unsolved murder of Carlo Tresca.

"When Tresca was shot down in January, 1943," Mr. Thomas said, "suspicion was immediately attached to the Fascists and Communists (Stalinists). Tresca had scathingly attacked and exposed both . . . The FBI might well have been of great service in the Tresca situation, particularly in following one notable lead to a foreign land (Mexico)."

The FBI however has consistently held aloof from the investigation. Attorney General Biddle, after grudgingly listening to the slain editor's widow, Margaret De Silver Tresca, for a few minutes, ruled that the department had "no jurisdiction."

former Communist Party, is not yet Trotskyist or affiliated with the Fourth International.

The following information on disagreements within the Austrian Stalinist movement over policy and perspectives for Austria appears in a recent discussion bulletin "On the Coming European Revolution" issued by the Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party of England. "The Austrian Center, cover organization of the Austrian Communist Party, admit in their paper that 56 per cent of their members think that an independent, democratic Austria is able to exist, while 16 per cent do not share this view. It appears that the remaining 28 per cent are either undecided or dare not voice their opinion. We have good reason to believe that the 16 per cent of their membership recognize in the Socialist United States of Europe the only possible way out for the Austrian working class."

PROFOUND CONFLICT

The basic cause of this growing ferment lies in the profound conflict of interests and outlook between the Stalinist bureaucrats and the rank and file. The working masses have streamed in great numbers into the Communist parties, looking for a revolutionary solution to their problems along the lines of the Russian Revolution of October, 1917. They mistakenly believe that the parties of Stalin are like the Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky.

However much they may be compelled at times to adapt their propaganda to the radical sentiments of these masses, the Stalinist leaders are essentially agents of the opportunistic and counter-revolutionary foreign policies of the Kremlin. In this capacity they act as a brake upon the revolutionary struggles of the workers and have become in many countries today the strongest props of the capitalist governments. As the workers learn from their experiences how contrary the official Stalinist course is to their own aims and aspirations, oppositional sentiments inevitably arise and splits develop.

The British Socialist Appeal for April reports that a section of the Stalinist-influenced youth movement (Jeunes Gardes Socialistes Unifies) in Brussels quit the organization and adopted the Trotskyist program on the war and the USSR.

"SICKENING EXPERIENCE" A letter to the April 6 London Tribune states that the policy of "national unity" hitherto pursued by the British C.P. is "a sickening experience for militant workers who have self-sacrificingly campaigned for their Party for years. Recently 850 out of 8,500 (members of the party) voted against the new line or abstained."

The April 7 issue of La Verite reports that a split has taken place within the Stalinist movement (Jeunes Gardes Socialistes Unifies) in Brussels quit the organization and adopted the Trotskyist program on the war and the USSR.

Although French Stalinist writers have hastened to affix the frame-up label of "Hitler-Trotskyist" upon this group, La Verite explains that neither part of this description is correct. The new movement, although composed of the best elements of the

British Workers Break Coalition With Churchill

By Ralph Graham

Falling into step with the leftward-moving workers of Europe, the British working class last week smashed the Tory-Labor coalition government of Winston Churchill.

The end of the coalition came when the annual conference of the Labor Party, which embraces practically the whole of organized labor in the British Isles, voted almost unanimously (there were only two dissenting votes) to break the class truce into which the workers were led five years ago by the faithful lieutenants of capitalism who compose the top leadership of the party.

Churchill had no alternative but to submit his resignation to the King and form an interim Tory government which will hold office until the general elections fixed for July 5.

At the Labor Party conference a year ago, there was a strong rank and file movement favoring immediate rupture of the coalition. But since the war with Germany was in progress, the top leaders—Attlee, Bevin, Morrison—were able to stifle the opposition and win a majority vote to continue their political cohabitation with labor's Tory foes.

WORKERS ANGRY

During the past year, however, a year marked by great strikes of coal miners and other workers which these labor misleaders took the lead in suppressing, anti-coalition sentiment rose. Feeling the angry, rebellious mood of the ranks, Attlee and his cohorts took the lead at this year's conference in denouncing the coalition which they had themselves erected and perpetuated at labor's expense.

They did this not without trepidation. The political capital of the Labor Party "leaders" has been woefully diminished by their treacherous policies of class peace. Attlee and Co. feared that a sudden break in the coalition, meaning an early general election, would not allow them enough time to restore their wilted prestige and secure re-election. They value their parliamentary seats above everything else. They therefore sought to postpone the elections until October.

Churchill, himself a smart politician, brusquely rejected a proposal by Attlee along these lines. He naturally seeks to place the Labor Party at a disadvantage. By fixing the elections for July 5, he hopes to convert the popular mood of victory over Germany into votes for himself and the Tory party.

Maneuvers like this will not greatly affect the outcome of the elections, in which class lines will be clearly drawn. Churchill's government stinks in the nostrils of the British workers. Its reactionary record at home and abroad is only too well known. The cry, "Labor to Power!" is resounding throughout Britain. Even if the Labor Party fails to win a majority of the parliamentary seats, it will add greatly to its strength and may even become the largest party in the House of Commons.

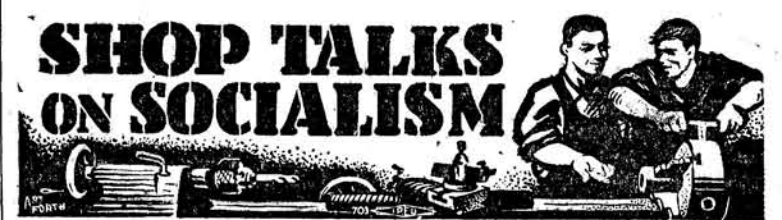
RADICAL PROGRAM

The Labor Party goes into the election campaign with the most radical program in its history. It calls, among other things, for immediate nationalization of the coal mines, inland transport—and even that holy of holies of British capitalism, the Bank of England.

While endorsing this program with acclaim, the rank and file delegates to the conference showed very clearly their distrust of their "leaders." They forced them to give a public pledge that, regardless of the outcome of the elections, they would never again seek coalition with the Tories. But by special pleading, these labor misleaders were able to keep their hands free to form a coalition with the Liberal Party, thereby laying the groundwork for a new political betrayal of the British workers.



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY!



By V. Grey

An old-timer explained Capitalism and Socialism to me at lunch the other day. This is what he said.

Now the Capitalists own all the factories, the mines, the railroads and everything we work at. We just own our debts, our appetites and our muscles. We have to give the Capitalists our muscles so we can pay our debts and feed our appetites now and then.

Here's the way it works. Say this jackknife here is all the plants, machinery, tools—everything we work with that the Capitalists own. Suppose this chunk of bread is the earth itself. Pretend for now that you are the whole working class of the world. I'm the Capitalist class because I own the jackknife.

I let you work with this jackknife. Here, take it, and cut that bread. There, you made ten slices. Well, I put those ten slices away in my cupboard and give you five cents. You take the five cents, go out and buy five slices of bread. Here's the five slices. You and your family eat it up tonight. Then tomorrow you come to work and slice some more bread for me.

After this goes on for a while, I get a hell of a lot of bread stored up in that cupboard. And it isn't any use to cut up any more, because it'll only get moldy. So I tell you to go home, and wait for me to call you back to work. I let the jackknife get rusty while I sell that extra bread.

HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES

Well, you're out of work, and you can't buy any bread, so I have to lower the price. I can't make much money that way, so I dump a lot of it in the ocean so the price will go up. Maybe you're so hungry by this time that you pick it up and eat it when it drifts to shore, salt water and all. But if I'm smart, I figure on that and put poison in the bread.

Things get tougher and your muscles are getting weaker. That looks bad for me because I'll need you later on. So I am big-hearted. I give you a half a slice of bread a day for nothing—no money at all. Of course I say you're a lazy bum because you won't work, and it's your fault that I don't give you any work. But that generosity makes me a pretty good guy.

Finally I get things started again. I get you to sharpen up the jackknife once more. You cut out twenty slices a day instead of ten. To show you how big hearted I am, I give you six cents a day. And it isn't my fault if the price of bread goes up. I've got a little war on so I can sell more bread in the rest of the world. I have to give your brother some of the bread you cut so he can go out and kill your cousin and get killed himself.

In the meantime my cupboard is getting bigger than ever. When my war is over I'll lay you off again, fold up the jackknife again and eat my bread while you starve.

What can you do about it? IN JUST THIS COUNTRY ALONE YOU ARE 130 MILLION PEOPLE, AND I'M JUST 60 FAMILIES. WHY DON'T YOU TAKE THAT JACKKNIFE AWAY FROM ME?

Buffalo Aircraft Workers In "Sit-In" Demonstration

(Continued from page 1)

will mean that they will take the jobs of 2600 workers, most of whom are members of the Union. It further intends to lay off union representatives and union officers. One member of the top bargaining committee has already received the notice.

VIOLATE CONTRACT

Both of these moves are in violation of the lay-off provisions of the old contract which the Union maintains is in effect, pending the decision of the WLB on the disputed sections of the new contract. The resolution denounced this union-busting attempt on the part of the company and resolved that all necessary steps to protect the union should be taken.

Another resolution called for a 44-hour week at 48 hours' take-home pay as a means of securing employment for the largest number of Bell workers and called upon the International Executive Board of the UAW to conduct a vigorous national campaign around this question. The resolution attacked the Little Steel Formula and demanded that labor get off the WLB which has enforced this formula.

The Company had changed the date for a week's shutdown of the plant for inventory from the end of June to May 30th. With callous disregard for the workers who are about to lose their jobs, the Company has announced that the 8,000 to be laid off will have to wait for their notification until the plant reopens, a matter of seven to ten days.

Many at the union meeting expressed their resentment and anger at this enforced idleness without pay and demanded that the top bargaining committee insist that the Company make such notification by Tuesday morning. If the Company failed to do so, a continuous membership meeting would be called for 9 A.M. Tuesday. This was carried unanimously!

Another motion instructed the union officials to contact the War Manpower Commission and demand an immediate relaxing of all restrictions that would make it difficult for the thousands of Bell workers to obtain employment without delay and at wage rates equal to those they have been receiving.

CONDEMN STALINISTS

An interesting phase of the meeting was a resolution, unanimously passed, condemning the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association for its attack, through a leaflet distributed recently, against the militants in the plant who have been leading the fight against the anti-union

activities of the company. At that point, somebody in the hall recognized Mike Kearns, Port Agent for the CIO National Maritime Union and well-known Stalinist stooge. Immediately a large number of workers rose to their feet and demanded that he leave the meeting. He left amidst the hoots and jeers of the union audience.

Present at the meeting were UAW Sub-Regional Director Charles Halifax and Ed Partis, UAW International Representative, both of whom supported the resolutions adopted.

Monday morning the Top Bargaining Committee and union officials will meet with the Bell officers to discuss these demands. The Bell workers who have suffered much at the hands of the Bell Corporation and are now facing mass lay-offs which will eventually reduce the number employed to a couple of thousand, are ready to put up a real fight to protect their union. They realize that the fight for the forty-hour week with forty-eight hour's pay is a real answer to the present danger of unemployment.

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How German Prisoners Are Treated

Among the most pitiful victims of the Second World War are the German prisoners of war. The average soldier of the German armies was a worker or poor farmer who was dragged into the war against his will. Millions of them opposed Hitlerism and fought against this iron dictatorship imposed on them by German capitalism.

After suffering the repressions of the Gestapo and the bloody hazards of war, they are now slaves in foreign lands while their families at home face death by starvation.

In the United States alone, 350,000 of these soldiers are still held in concentration camps. Their lives are as hard as that of the slaves dragged to this land before the American Civil War. "There is no coddling of the German prisoner," cynically reports the same capitalist press which tells how Allied generals shake hands and drink wine with leading Nazi butchers.

"These prisoners work," emphatically declares the New York Mirror of May 27. The length of the work-day is 12 hours, and the "smart cavalry" which "rides herd" sees that these men do not slacken their pace.

HARSH TREATMENT

As in slave days, punishment for alleged "arrogance," "laziness," or failure to observe discipline lies in the discretion of the task-master. Many prisoners are placed on bread and water in a solitary cell, "with nothing on the concrete floor but a mattress, for a period up to two weeks." This cruel punishment deprives the victim of all reading and writing materials, games, conversations. "It's legal hell!" gloats the Mirror. They are disciplined with "steely, stern punctiliousness."

Rations are cut down to the barest minimum. The prisoners are "bedraggled and ill-featured," admits the Mirror, "stunted, dumpy, skinny, pot-bellied." In brief, scarred from malnutrition.

Why aren't these prisoners returned to their native land? An Associated Press dispatch of May 11 reveals one of the reasons: "Sugar beet growers have been assured of enough prisoners of war to carry out cultivation operations through July." Blocking, thinning and weeding sugar beets in the broiling sun is one of the hardest tasks in farming. It is likewise one of the lowest paid.



Twenty-one states have no minimum wage laws, the above chart shows. States which have no minimums are shown in black. White areas show states that have minimum wage regulations for women and minors. Only two states—Connecticut and New York—have laws establishing minimum wages for men, and even these are largely inoperative. (Federated Pictures).

German Miners Struggled Unceasingly Against Nazism

The Anglo-American imperialists are now seeking to besmirch the entire German people with the crimes of Hitlerism. Occasionally, however, an illuminating item escapes the military censorship such as the recent report of Rhona Churchill in the London Daily Mail. She tells how the miners, mem-

bers of the once-powerful German trade union movement, maintained unceasing resistance against the Nazis throughout the years since Hitler seized power.

"Cap in hand," she writes, "the little German miner walked into the room where I was working. Wizen, wiry, bent with stooping, but with a fiery glint in his eye, he looked like any Welsh or Durham coal-face worker, and, more important, he spoke like one."

Her story tells in detail how the German miners, their organizations smashed, nevertheless fought on heroically. Many went into hiding, facing starvation and imprisonment rather than submit to the Nazi regime. Like the miners of Belgium, England and America, they stood in the vanguard of the struggle against the capitalist overlords. They, their wives and children, suffered continuously since 1933, but they never abandoned their faith in the trade union movement.

Anglo-American Big Business now threatens to stamp out this faith with an "iron rule."

Washington officials count on utilizing the prisoners again in the harvest season, when the beets will be dug and topped. Thousands of prisoners are also furnished to contractors as factory hands, for the German workers are accustomed to machine work. The factory owners pay the U. S. Treasury for this slave labor. The Army in turn "pays" the prisoners 80 cents a day—in canteen coupons.

How long these prisoners of war will be held here is not known. Against them war is being continued indefinitely. Now that "peace" has been proclaimed in Europe, all American troops ought to be withdrawn without delay. And the German prisoners in this country should be given transport back to their homeland.

WOMEN WORKERS SUFFER DOUBLE EXPLOITATION

By Antoinette Konikow

The problem as to whether a woman prefers to be a housewife or a worker is discussed at length in a recent issue of the Sunday magazine section of the N. Y. Times. But the ladies discussing the question did not have in mind the lives of the twenty million women workers in factories and shops. They describe women of the middle-class. Their "housewife" has means to hire help; she has time to look after her husband's financial problems. She certainly does not have six children. (This is actually stressed). No doubt such a "housewife" can get a nap during the day and be in the best of moods to greet her husband in the evening.

But what of the housekeeper, and unfortunately the majority belong to this type, whose husband has no "financial interests," whose husband receives only limited wages, who has five or six children, who has to rush in her housework from early morning to late at night? Such a housekeeper cannot take a beauty sleep. She often does not get even a good night's sleep, for if children happen to be ill, the mother must get out of bed at any hour. Such a housekeeper is not always a picture of sweetness and kindness. In the evening she is often so tired she can hardly talk and her husband comes home from exhausting factory work in the same condition.

As to the "career woman." These ladies of the N. Y. Times did not talk about women standing on their feet nine or ten hours a day, working under "speed-up" conditions. Oh, no, their "career women" were sitting at a desk, receiving good salaries.

In the N. Y. Times discussion, the new type of woman worker who has to combine factory and housework was entirely forgotten. The average working woman, after eight hours of tiresome work, now has to go shopping. This is no easy task when one has to stand an hour or more in

butcher shops and grocery stores. Then she prepares supper and without any rest does the dishes and the laundry. Then she falls into bed more dead than alive only to start the same routine the next day.

Is there really a choice between these two occupations, housework or career work? Why have twenty million women decided to go into factories and shops?

The reason often given is that women are disgusted with the drudgery of housework. But we mustn't forget that most of them do not get rid of the housekeeping when they go into the factory. Why then do these millions of women leave home to go to work? The answer is simple. These women suffer from one of the greatest evils of our present capitalist system — namely, insecurity. They go to work to add to their husbands' income, to save a few dollars and to provide better clothing and better care for their children.

Knowing well that factory work places a heavy burden on women's health, we Socialists are nevertheless in favor of women's entrance into industry. Factory work brings women into contact with the workers. It makes her feel the struggles of the working class. In the factory she learns how many women are exploited and that her own interests are closely connected with the fate of other workers.

She joins the trade unions, and there a new life of workers' aims and purposes are open to her. She may be dead tired, but instead of being a self-centered housekeeper who is thinking only of saving a few cents here and there and of the immediate welfare of her own family, the larger aspects of the workers' struggles are disclosed to her.

Industrial life for women is a schooling which can open the gates of a new life for her. Life for her child—life for the future of her children. It prepares them for the greater and more satisfying duties of the coming struggle for socialism.

India

One of the grim mockeries of the Second World War is the recent report of the Wall Street banker, Herbert H. Lehman, that famine-paralyzed India will "contribute" \$24,042,072 in foodstuffs and clothing to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration of which he is director. These goods, he announced, will be diverted from India to countries in need of UNRRA assistance.

In the intervals between wars, 85 to 90 per cent of the Indian people are "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed." So bad are conditions that the average length of life in India is only 26 years.

An editorial in the N.Y. Times of May 27 admits India is "a casualty of the war and one of the heaviest sufferers." It declares further that "at least one million of the people of India, and perhaps three times that number have died of starvation in the last three years; and for every man, woman or child who died, ten were left enfeebled and prey to disease." Yet the British imperialist controllers of India now intend to ship food and clothing out of this stricken land!

France

The kind of "democracy" prevailing in France under the De Gaulle regime can be judged from the report of the New Yorker's French correspondent last week. Among the prisoners liberated from the Nazi concentration camps have been a number of Spaniards and French who fought with the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war. After "screening" these Nazi victims are being returned — to concentration camps in France!

At the close of the Civil War in Spain, tens of thousands of Loyalists pursued by Franco's firing squads crossed the frontier into France. The French government threw them into concentration camps in the Pyrenees. There they suffered conditions that horrified the labor movement of the entire world.

When the German armies conquered France, the hated Vichy regime kept up the camps, holding behind barred wire all prisoners who were not seized by the Gestapo. Now De Gaulle continues to apply the policy of his reactionary predecessors toward

these heroic fighters against fascism!

Burma

British imperialism faces a serious threat in Burma, according to columnist Drew Pearson. "A situation somewhat similar to Athens may be brewing," he declares in his column of May 27. "The Burmese," he continues, "called the 'Irishmen of the Far East,' have been for independence." Throughout the Japanese occupation they have "waged active guerrilla warfare." Part of their small arms were obtained from the British through an underground organization called "The Anti-Fascist League."

As the Japanese retreat from Burma, the British attempt to seize the arms of the Burmese fighters. "But the Burmese shrug," says Pearson. At present British police have been ordered to search for revolvers, pistols, hand grenades, etc.

During the Japanese occupation, the British encouraged the people of Burma to believe they would be granted independence. Now, however, the British oppose the movement for independence.

Although some of the guerrillas have relinquished their arms, "others resist." In the face of this resistance, the British imperialists have not hesitated to attack the Burmese. Thus "sporadic fighting" has already broken out.

Belgium

The Van Acker government of Belgium has ordered the suspension of "Le Pouvoir Aux Travailleurs," (Power to the Workers), a paper published by a group once affiliated with the Fourth International. The report states that the suspension had been ordered because the paper attacked the Allies editorially and called for a general strike of Belgian workers.

A previous issue of The Militant reported how this government had arrested Trotskyist longshoremen for participating in a dock workers strike.

Norway

A dispatch from Oslo states that negotiations are proceeding "energetically" for the incorporation of the Communist Party into the Norwegian Labor Party. If the wedding is consummated it

will be an entirely natural alliance. The Stalinist partner of the proposed fusion has declared devout support of capitalism and abandoned the struggle for socialism as utopian.

The Social-Democratic Labor Party on its part has also evolved from left to right. In 1920, under the impact of the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, it applied for admission to the Communist International, then under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. When the C.I. demanded that the Norwegian Labor Party transform itself into a real revolutionary organization, the leaders balked and quit the Third International and eventually returned to the Second International.

Syrians Fighting Colonial Rulers

(Continued from page 1)

being hastily armed for the fight against the imperialist tyrants.

Many Syrians conscripted into the French army are deserting and going over to the National Guard, according to a May 27 AP report. "Considerable gunfire was heard at the outskirts of the city last night, most of it the result of the desertion by a small group of Syrian conscripts from the French Army. The French pursued them into the city with armored cars. At least 30 escaped and joined the Syrian National Guard. Similar desertions were occurring elsewhere, especially near Aleppo, north of here."

While French, British and U. S. diplomats are rushing around in emergency conferences, the French government in Paris issued an official statement of "regrets" that the governments of Syria and Lebanon have used the arrival of Senegalese troops as an occasion to "break off the settlement negotiations that were under way." The Ministry of Information issued a denial that these troops were reinforcements to the French garrisons, already there, and said they were merely replacements for troops that had been there a long time. But in Paris last week it was admitted that the troops were sent there to establish military bases and to "maintain order."

The History Of American Trotskyism -- Part 2

LEADERS AND POLICIES OF THE PIONEER COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES

By James P. Cannon

We soon discovered that the organizers and leaders of the Russian revolution were not merely revolutionists of action. They were genuine Marxists in the field of doctrine. Out of Russia, from Lenin, Trotsky and the other leaders, we received for the first time serious expositions of the revolutionary politics of Marxism. We learned that they had been engaged in long years of struggle for the restoration of unfalsified Marxism in the international labor movement. Now, thanks to the great authority and prestige of their victory in Russia, they were finally able to get a hearing in all countries. All the genuine militants rallied around them and began studying their writings with an interest and eagerness we had never known before. The doctrine they expounded had a ten-fold authority because it had been verified in practice. Furthermore, month by month, year by year, despite all the power that world capitalism mobilized against them, they showed a capacity to develop the great revolution, create the Red Army, hold their own, make gains. Naturally, Bolshevism became the authoritative doctrine among revolutionary circles in all the workers political movements of the world, including our own here.

Forming the Left Wing

On that basis was formed the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. It had publications of its own; it had organizers, speakers and writers. In the spring of 1919—that is, four or five months before the Communist Party was formally organized—we held in New York the first National Conference of the Left Wing faction. I was a delegate to this conference, coming at that time from Kansas City. It was at this conference that the faction virtually took shape as a party within a party in preparation for the later split.

The official organ of the Left Wing was called The Revolutionary Age. This paper brought to the workers of America the first authentic explanation of the doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. Its editor was the first one in this country to expound and popularize the doctrines of the Bolshevik leaders. Thereby, he must be historically recognized as the founder of American Communism. This editor was a man named Louis C. Fraina. His heart was not as strong as his head. He succumbed in the struggle and became a belated convert to bourgeois "democracy" in the period of its death agony. But that is only his personal misfortune. What he did in those early days retains all its validity, and neither he nor anybody else can undo it.

Another prominent figure of the movement in those days was John Reed. He was no leader, no politician. But his moral influence was very great. John Reed was the American socialist journalist who went to Russia, took part in the revolution, truthfully reported it and wrote a great book about it, Ten Days that Shook the World.

The bulk of the membership in the early Left Wing of the Socialist Party were foreign-born. At that time, more than twenty years ago, a very large section of the basic proletariat in America were foreign-born. Prior to the war the doors of immigration had been wide open, as it served the needs of American capital to accumulate a great labor reserve. Many of these immigrants came to America with socialist sentiments from their home countries. Under the impact of the Russian revolution the foreign-language socialist movement grew by leaps and bounds.

The foreign-born were organized into language federations, practically autonomous bodies affiliated to the Socialist Party. There were as many as eight or nine thousand members in the Russian Federation; five or six thousand among the Poles; three of four thousand Ukrainians; about twelve thousand Finns, etc.—an enormous mass of foreign-born members in the party. The great majority rallied to the slogans of the Russian revolution and after the split from the Socialist Party constituted the bulk of the members of the early Communist Party.

The leaders of these Federations aspired to control the new

party and did in fact control it. By virtue of these blocs of foreign-language workers whom they represented, they exercised an inordinate influence in the early days of the Communist movement. This was good in some ways because for the greater part they were earnest Communists and helped inculcate the doctrines of Bolshevism.

The Foreign-Language Blocs

But their domination was very bad in other respects. Their minds were not really in the United States but in Russia. They gave the movement a sort of unnatural formation and inflicted it at the start with an exotic sectarianism. The dominant leaders of the party — dominant, that is, in the sense that they had the real power because of the bloc of members behind them — were people absolutely unfamiliar with the American economic and political scene. They didn't understand the psychology of the American workers and didn't pay them too much attention. As a result, the early movement suffered from excesses of unreality and had even a tinge of romanticism which removed the party in many of its activities and thoughts from the actual class struggle in the United States. Strangely enough, these leaders of the Foreign Language Federations were convinced, many of them, of their messianic mission. They were determined to control the movement in order to keep it in the pure faith.

Struggles in the Early Days

From its very beginning in the Left Wing of the Socialist Party and later in the Communist Party, the American Communist movement was wracked by tremendous factional struggles, "struggles for control" they were called. The domination of foreign-born leaders created a paradoxical situation. You know, normally in the life of a big imperialist country like this, foreign-language immigrant workers occupy the position of a national minority and have to wage a constant struggle for equality, for their rights, without ever fully getting them. But in the Left Wing of the Socialist Party and in the early Communist Party this relationship was reversed. Each of the Slavic languages was very heavily represented. Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Letts, Finns, etc., had the majority. They were the overwhelming majority, and we native Americans, who thought we had some ideas about the way the movement ought to be led, were in the minority. From the start we waged the struggle of a persecuted minority. In the early days we had very little success.

I belonged to the faction first in the Left Wing of the Socialist Party and later in the independent Communist movement that wanted an American leadership, an American direction for the movement. We were convinced that it was impossible to build a movement in this country without a leadership in control more intimately acquainted with and related to the native movement of the American workers. They for their part were equally convinced, many of them, that it was impossible for an American to be a real simon-pure Bolshevik. They wanted us and appreciated us—as their "English expression"—but thought they had to remain in control in order to keep the movement from becoming opportunist and centrist. Over the years a great deal of time was spent fighting out that fight which, for the foreign-language leaders, could only be a

losing fight. In the long run the movement had to find native leadership, otherwise it could not survive.

The struggle for control assumed the shape of a struggle over organization forms. Should the foreign-language groups be organized in autonomous federations? Or should they be organized into local branches without a national structure or autonomous rights? Should we have a centralized party or a federated party? Naturally the conception of a centralized party was a Bolshevik conception. However, in a centralized party the foreign-language groups couldn't be mobilized so easily in solid blocs; whereas in a federated party it was possible for the Federation leaders to confront the party with solid blocs of voting supporters in conventions, etc.

This struggle disrupted the Left Wing Conference at New York in 1919. By the time we got to Chicago in September 1919, that is, at the National Convention of the Socialist Party where the split took place, the forces of the Left Wing were already split among themselves. The Communists at the moment of their break with the Socialist Party were incapable of organizing a united party of their own. They announced to the world a few days later that they had organized not one Communist Party, but two. One holding the majority was the Communist Party of the United States, dominated by the Foreign Language Federations; the other was the Communist Labor Party, representing the minority faction, which I have mentioned, with its larger proportion of natives and Americanized foreigners. Naturally there were variations and individual fluctuations, but this was the main line of demarcation.

Two Parties, One Program

Such was the inauspicious beginning of the independent Communist movement—two parties in the field with identical programs, fiercely battling against each other. To make matters worse our divided ranks faced terrific persecution. That year, 1919, was the year of great reaction in this country, the post-war reaction. After the masters finished the war to "make the world safe for democracy," they decided to write a supplementary chapter to make the U.S. safe for the open shop. They began a furious patriotic drive against all the workers organizations.

Thousands of workers were arrested on a nation-wide scale. The new Communist parties bore the brunt of this attack. Almost every local organization from coast to coast was raided; practically every leader of the movement, national or local, put under arrest, indicted for one thing or another. Wholesale deportations of foreign-born militants took place. The movement was persecuted to such an extent that it was driven underground. The leaders of both parties thought it impossible to continue open, legal functioning. So, in the very first year of American Communism we not only had the disgrace and scandal and organizational catastrophe of two separate and rival Communist parties, but we also had both parties, after a few months, functioning in underground groups and branches.

The movement remained underground from 1919 until early 1922. After the first shock of the persecutions passed over, and the groups and branches settled down to their underground existence, the elements in the leadership who tended toward unreality gained strength, inasmuch as the movement was then completely isolated from public life and from the labor organizations of the country.

Factional strife between the two parties continued to consume an enormous amount of time; refinements of doctrine, hair-splitting, became quite a pastime. Then I, for my part, realized for the first time the full malignancy of the sickness of ultra-leftism. It seems to be a peculiar law that the greater a party's isolation from the living labor movement, the less contact it has with the mass movement and the less correction it can get from the impact of the mass movement, all the more radical it becomes in its formulations, its program, etc.

Whoever wants to study the history of the movement closely should examine some of the party literature issued during those days. You see, it didn't cost any more to be extra-radical because nobody paid any attention anyhow. We didn't have public meetings; we didn't have to talk to workers or see what their reactions were to our slogans. So the loudest shouters at shut-in meetings became more and more dominant in the leadership of the movement. Phrasemongering "radicalism" had a field day. The early years of the Communist movement in this country were pretty much consecrated to ultra-leftism.

The 1920 Elections

During the 1920 presidential elections the movement was underground and couldn't devise any means of having its own candidate. Eugene V. Debs was the candidate of the Socialist Party, but we were engaged in a fierce factional fight with that party and mistakenly thought we couldn't support him. So the movement decided on a very radical program. It issued a ringing proclamation calling the workers to boycott the elections! You might think that we could have just said, "We have no candidate; we can't do anything about it." That was the case, for example, with the Socialist Workers Party—the Trotskyists in 1940; because of technical, financial and organizational difficulties, we weren't able to get on the ballot. We didn't find it possible to support any of the candidates, so we just let the matter pass. The Communist Party in those days, however, never let anything pass without issuing a proclamation.

If I quite often show indifference to proclamations it is because I saw so many of them in the early days of the Communist Party. I lost entirely the idea that every occasion must have a proclamation. It is better to get along with fewer; to issue them on the more important occasions. They then have more weight. Well, in 1920 a leaflet was issued calling for boycott of the elections, but nothing came of it.

Anti-Parliamentary Tendency

A strong anti-parliamentary tendency grew up in the movement, a lack of interest in elections which took years and years to overcome. In the meantime we read Lenin's pamphlet, The Infantile Sickness of Left Communism. Everybody recognized—theoretically—the necessity of participating in elections, but there was no disposition to do anything about it, and several years were to elapse before the party developed any serious electoral activity.

Another ultra-radical idea gained predominance in the early underground Communist movement: The conception that it is a revolutionary principle to remain underground. For the past two decades we have enjoyed the advantages of legality. Practically all the comrades of the Socialist Workers Party have known no form of existence other than that of a legal party. It is quite possible that a legalistic bias has grown up among them. Such comrades can get some rude shocks in time of persecution because the party has to be able to carry on its activities regardless of the attitude of the ruling class. It is necessary for a revolutionary party to know how to operate even in underground formations. But this should be done only from necessity, never from choice.

(To be continued next week)

22,437 Subscriptions Rolled Up In Smashing Climax To "Militant's" 3-Month Campaign For New Readers

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

The Militant Subscription Campaign for 10,000 new readers came to a glorious, rousing finish with a grand total of 22,437.

Comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party thus more than doubled the original quota, achieving 224 percent! This final total surpassed even the 20,000 figure set in our second campaign thermometer.

The total new subscriptions during the last week alone reached an unprecedented peak — 4,582 — more than double the highest week of the campaign.

From coast to coast the Militant Army organized a Red Sunday Mobilization on May 27 to close the campaign as appropriately as it was begun. The campaign was launched, it will be recalled, with an inspiring coast to coast mobilization on February 27 that netted 1,526 new readers in the single day. On May 27 all sub-getters again met at the appointed hour in local headquarters where they were supplied with sub cards and literature.

After several hours of concentrated house-to-house canvassing for subscriptions in working class neighborhoods, all sub-getters returned to their headquarters to await final returns and to celebrate this record-smashing campaign. Total subscriptions obtained for the day in the closing mobilization were 3,430 — a real Red Sunday for The Militant!

During the festivities awards were made to branch Pace-Setters and to winning teams. All branches that made 150 percent of their quota will be awarded a red banner to display in their headquarters. The first ten national Pace-Setters will be awarded a 1944 bound volume of Fourth International with a fitting inscription. The second ten national Pace-Setters will be awarded a framed picture of Karl Marx.

The final returns from each branch were sent to The Militant office in the following telegrams.

Doris Hilson, Akron
SENDING 94 SUBS TODAY. OUR PACE-SETTERS ARE DENNIS O'KENNY 116, DORIS HILSON 274.

Herb Newell, Allentown
RAINED OUT BUT MANAGED TO CROSS FINISH LINE WITH 600 PERCENT.

P. Davidson, Boston
THE TOTAL IN BOSTON'S CAMPAIGN IS 303. THE BOSTON PACE-SETTER IS AL CUTLER WITH TOTAL OF 69 SUBS.

Libby Jones, Buffalo
GRAND TOTAL 800 SUBS. FRED KAMINSKY IS PACE-SETTER WITH 190 SUBS.

Bernard Forrest, Chicago
GOT 219 SUBS TODAY MAKING TOTAL FOR DRIVE OF 1,610. OUR FIVE PACE-SETTERS ARE PAUL KUJAK 308, BUD HAYNES 100, SAM RICHTER 83, J. MICHAELS 80, BELLE RADLOW 77.

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland
WE DID IT! SENDING 162 SUBSCRIPTIONS. THIS WILL TOTAL 901. EVERY SUB COUNTS IN THE COMPETITION.

Kay Martin, Flint
TWO OF US OUT TODAY FOR TWO HOURS. SOLD 16 SUBS. JEFF THORNE AHEAD WITH 53.

Al Lynn, Los Angeles
LARGEST TURNOUT. 618 SUBS SOLD TODAY. TOTAL 3,001. PACE-SETTERS LEO OF YOUTH GROUP 185, JACK GAIL OF SOUTHSIDE 127, JULIE MILLER OF CENTRAL 169, MIRIAM ROBERTS OF PEDRO 98, BORS OF EASTSIDE 97, CAPPY OF WESTSIDE 84.

K. Zellon, Milwaukee
FINAL RESULTS OF CAMPAIGN: PACE-SETTER K. ZEL- LON 54 SUBS, TOTAL SCORE 255.

A. Field and P. Mertens, Twin Cities
TWIN CITIES CELEBRATE THE MARVELOUS SUCCESS OF THE MILITANT SUB DRIVE. MINNEAPOLIS HAS 1,137 SUBS. PACE-SETTERS ARE JOE SIMPSON 206, W. KANE 153, A. MORGAN 84, J. JARVIS 76, C. ANDERSON 73. ST. PAUL'S TOTAL IS 272. PACE-SETTERS ARE P. MERTENS 142, J. PEAR- SON 76.

Dorothy Lessing, Newark
FINISHED BANG-UP SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN WITH 578 TOTAL. 165 PERCENT OF ORIGINAL QUOTA. CONFIDENT NATIONAL QUOTA WILL BE DOUBLED.

J. Long, San Francisco
SAN FRANCISCO EXCEEDED QUOTA BY 286 SUBSCRIPTIONS. FINAL MOBILIZATION SECURED 112 SUBS. TOTAL SCORE 636. JOAN WAKEFIELD PACE-SETTER WITH 73 SUBS.

Dan Roberts, Seattle
OBTAINED 114 SUBS TODAY. TOTAL 579. TWO NEGRO FRIENDS WENT OUT WITH US AND SCORED 21 BETWEEN THEM. FIVE HIGHEST IN BRANCH ARE FRANK BERG 63, WILLIE JONES 57, ROSE STEVENS 45, JIM JACKSON 44, ROZIE DAVIS 42.

Maggie McGowan, Toledo
TOLEDO BRANCH TOTAL 786. PACE-SETTERS ARE MCGOWAN 219, KENDALL 175.

Jack Wilson, Youngstown
CHALK UP 80 MORE SUBS. PUTS US OVER 800 TOTAL. JACK WILSON LEADS PACK WITH 175 SUBS.

George Grant, New York
TOTAL OF 4,802 SUBS OBTAINED BY LOCAL NEW YORK, EXCEEDING QUOTA BY 192 PERCENT, IS ELOQUENT TESTIMONY TO A JOB WELL DONE.

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Socialist Workers Party			
Akron	85	588	692
Allentown	50	300	600
Cleveland	200	901	450
Flint	50	204	408
Minneapolis	300	1137	379
Toledo	250	786	314
Detroit	1000	2722	272
St. Paul	100	272	272
Youngstown	300	807	269
Milwaukee	100	255	255
San Diego	50	116	232
Buffalo	350	800	229
Rochester	50	100	200
New York	2500	4879	195
Philadelphia	150	285	190
San Francisco	350	636	181
Newark	350	578	165
Chicago	1000	1610	161
Reading	75	120	160
Boston	200	303	152
Los Angeles	2000	3001	150
Seattle	400	579	145
Bayonne	150	182	121
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	367	262
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)		899	
TOTAL	10,000	22,437	224



Incidents such as the following illustrate the growing influence of The Militant.

Howard Mason of Detroit writes: "One of the enclosed subs is for a leader of the Youth Council of the NAACP. I met him on the street the other day and he handed me fifty cents for a renewal before we had even shaken hands. He told me he has a scrapbook of articles exposing Jim Crowism in this country, and he feels there is no doubt that those clipped from The Militant are the best he has."

Jerry Kirk, also of Detroit, informs us that "a colored project newspaper has again reprinted one of Jackson's columns. This is the second time. They also reprinted two other articles from The Militant."

K. Zellon of Milwaukee sent us this information: "A writer for the Associated Negro Press took a sub and says that when he was with Congressman Powell he met Charles Jackson. This was some time ago. He took the sub to keep up with current news in the Negro struggle. The comrade who sold him the sub pointed out that Jackson had labeled Powell opportunistic in his weekly column, 'The Negro Struggle,' and that he would learn a few things if he read and followed up the ideas presented by Jackson in his column."

Harry Robinson of Newark reports: "A recent discussion with a comrade serving on a UAW Contract Committee demonstrates the practical value of our paper for union militants. He told me that for some time the Committee members have been discussing the question of what the union's attitude toward Labor - Management Committees should be. During these discussions our comrade and one other Committee member, who is a regular Militant reader, took the position of opposition toward such committees. He then went on to tell how, at a recent meeting of the Committee, this other worker brought with him a clipping from The Militant analyzing the role of Labor-Management Committees in the UAW, and proceeded to use the article as the basis of his arguments."

Other agents may find the following method reported by B. Radlow of Chicago successful in obtaining subscriptions from factory distributions. "The story behind the enclosed one-year sub may interest you. Sometime ago we printed several hundred cards inviting workers to mail them to us at no expense to themselves and receive sample issues of the paper. These cards were attached to a number of plants. This worker was on his way to work



The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon. Clothbound \$2.75, paperbound \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

LEADING PACE-SETTER RELATES EXPERIENCES

By Mike Warren

LEADING NATIONAL PACE-SETTER

My experience on sub work in Harlem has been far from monotonous. For example, I do not believe I spoke to one person who knew why exactly he was fighting in this war. On the other hand, I found I had to listen to a thousand and one good reasons why that same person wanted to get out of it.

This has been my experience everywhere in Harlem. If any one was to ask what my biggest impression has been, I would say that Harlem has been considerably underestimated. You have to speak with the people there, meet them on their own ground, and then—and only then—can you hear the real rumblings taking place.

The touchy question in Harlem, of course, is discrimination. The party that fights the hardest against discrimination is the party that will win the allegiance of the Negro. For this reason, at least 10 per cent of my total subs represent people that have supported or are connected with the Communist Party. They don't mind tossing a quarter to see what it's all about, but there is definitely a feeling of inadequacy about their own party. They are tired, to put it mildly, of writing post-cards to Congress and making continuous sacrifices in this war and not seeing any results in return. By results I mean at least some progress on discrimination. But the war, it seems, has produced none.

And to make things worse, Roosevelt's death has brought to Washington a man who is considered openly discriminatory. Despite the open betrayal of such papers as the Amsterdam News, the population in Harlem do not intend in any way whatsoever to give Truman one bit of support—not at least until they see what he does first. In the meantime, there is a great feeling of preparation for battle. The mighty fist, I believe, is still considered the most effective weapon. Perhaps the most interesting thing to note is the amount of

sympathy the colored people in Harlem have for the plight of Jews under Fascism. I have heard many genuine sympathetic responses on this theme. Unlike many Jews in this country, however, the Harlem people have no illusions about the "democracies" straightening out their conditions. As a matter of fact, they advise that charity should begin at home—for they have learned their own lesson only too well.

SERIOUS NEW READERS
Summing up, I find it difficult to relate specific personal experiences which would serve to illustrate the response on the sale of Militant subs. Not because there hasn't been any; on the contrary. There have been so many good responses that I am at a loss which ones to tell first. Perhaps the best of these experiences concern those new readers who, upon taking their subscription, would say that they intend to make a "serious study of this paper." They are the ones, I believe, that should be taken most seriously. I feel quite confident that many of our new friends and readers will not only become the best fighters for Negro equality in New York, but also first-class socialist fighters for the rights of man everywhere.

CLEVELAND
Weekly Study Class in
BASIC PRINCIPLES OF
MARXISM
Thursday Evenings, 8 p. m.
PECK HALL
1446 E. 82 St., Off Wade Park

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
Rescind the no-strike pledge!
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!
5. Working class political action!
Build the independent labor party!
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!
6. Tax the rich, not the poor!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!
Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 3, New York

- I would like:
- ☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.
 - ☐ To obtain further information about your organization.
 - ☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name (Please Print)
Address
City Postal Zone State

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Mike Warren	West Side, New York	859
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	415
Paul Kujak	Chicago	308
Howard Mason	Detroit	277
Doris Hilson	Akron	274
E. Logan	Detroit	248
Ernest Drake	Detroit	247
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, New York	222
Maggie McGowan	Toledo	219
Joe Simpson	Minneapolis	206
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	190
L. Leo	Los Angeles Youth Group	185
Robert Kendall	Toledo	175
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	175
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	174
Julie Miller	Central Branch, Los Angeles	169
Doty Hill	Brooklyn, New York	168
Kay O'Brien	Detroit	161
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	158
Izzy London	Cleveland	158

BRANCH PACE-SETTERS

Name	Name	Subs Sold
Akron	Doris Hilson	274
Allentown	Herb Newell	125
Bayonne	Phil Burns	26
Boston	Al Cutler	69
Buffalo	Fred Kaminsky	190
Chicago	Paul Kujak	308
Cleveland	Izzy London	158
Detroit	Jerry Kirk	415
Flint	Jeff Thorne	53
Los Angeles		
Youth Group	L. Leo	185
Central Branch	Julie Miller	169
Southside	Jack Gail	127
San Pedro	Miriam Roberts	98
East Side	B. Bors	97
West Side	H. Cappy	84
Milwaukee	K. Zellon	54
Minneapolis	J. Simpson	206
Newark	Dorothy Lessing	174
New York		
West Side	Mike Warren	859
East Side	Justine Lang	158
Brooklyn	Marion Winters	222
Trotskyist Youth Group		
Philadelphia	Ruth Grayson	150
Reading	B. Alma	62
Rochester	Elmer Oakie	60
San Francisco	Alma Johnson	26
Seattle	J. Wakefield	73
St. Paul	Frank Berg	63
Toledo	P. Mertens	142
Youngstown	Maggie McGowan	219
	Jack Wilson	175

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JUNE 1, 1935

WASHINGTON—The National Recovery Act was killed on May 27 when the Supreme Court unanimously ruled it "unconstitutional." For two years, 1933 to 1935, the NRA had propped up Big Business. It had achieved its avowed main purpose, the "elimination of destructive price cutting" to safeguard the profits of the nation's monopolies.

The second purpose of the NRA had been to lull the impoverished and unemployed workers by pretending to serve their interests as well. The NRA had established "codes" regulating wages and hours; it had curtailed child labor in sweatshops and a few other industries; and its famous section 7a had supposedly guaranteed collective bargaining, while actually fostering company unionism.

By the labor provisions of the NRA the workers were misled into trusting Roosevelt as a "friend" who would bring them higher wages and better conditions. The unions, when they did strike, were tied up in a complicated system of boss-dominated labor boards, the predecessors of the present War Labor Board.

After two years of the NRA with its "codes of fair competition" to raise prices, the corporations were piling up profits. More and more self-confident, bankers and industrialists began to protest against the "government interference" which had helped them survive the depression. They wanted a return to uncontrolled "free enterprise." The Supreme Court, ever-responsive to the demands of Wall Street, invalidated the NRA. Drawing the lessons of the NRA and its collapse, The Militant in a front-page editorial declared:

"The answer of the working class to the decision must be a repudiation of this parliamentary horse-trading the only possible effect of which is to befuddle, weaken and lead aside the working class. . . . The answer must be organization, strikes, discipline, militant struggle. The working class has no friend and no support other than its own organized strength."

NEWARK

PROGRESSIVE WORKERS SCHOOL
SUNDAY FORUM
June 3rd, 8 p. m.

"Fraud at San Francisco"
Why Is This New "League of Nations"
Doomed to Failure?

Speaker:
GRACE CARLSON, Feature writer for 'The Militant'

Full Discussion Refreshments

Progressive Workers School 423 Springfield Ave.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

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Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries.
Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

To Our New Readers

The success of the campaign for 10,000 new readers to *The Militant* has exceeded all expectations, achieving the record-smashing grand total of 22,437. *The Militant* now brings the truth about world events to tens of thousands of working class families who previously had to guess from the lying capitalist press what was happening.

To the Trotskyist movement abroad the success of the campaign will prove an inspiring sign of the times. The rise of an enthusiastic, energetic circle of friends of this revolutionary paper is most significant. The popularity of Trotskyism in America is manifestly widening.

Comparison with last year's campaign reveals enormous possibilities for further increasing the number of *Militant* readers. The goal set at that time was 3,000. The final total was 7,614. This year a goal of 10,000 was considered ambitious. But even this amount proved far below what could be done. On the first day of the campaign, 1,526 subscriptions were obtained — one half last year's three months goal! On the last day of the present campaign, friends of *The Militant* secured 3,430 subscriptions, exceeding in one single day the entire goal of last year's campaign!

All that now prevents *The Militant* circulation from expanding by prodigious leaps and bounds is lack of finances. *The Militant* is not supported by the advertising of giant corporations as is the capitalist press. Far from aiding *The Militant*, Wall Street's agents have gone to great lengths to suppress it. During this war they have jailed its editors; taken away its second class mailing rights. They hounded *The Militant* because it tells the truth despite the censorship, the lies and the threats of the capitalists.

The Militant is wholly a workers' paper. Its columns are written by working class writers. It is financed by workers who send in regular contributions, understanding that the cause of labor requires a fearless, crusading paper that will battle the privileges of the wealthy against all opposition.

Although we must now withdraw the special subscription offer, we are confident our friends will continue to spread *The Militant*. Show the latest issue to your shopmates and ask them to subscribe at the regular price. Tell them how good this workers' paper is. Draw their attention to the excellent cartoons, to the special features, to the wide and truthful coverage of news you can't find in any other paper. Help your friends fill out and mail the coupon on the second page. Join the growing circle of *Militant* friends in spreading the truth!

And if you agree that *The Militant* can strike mighty blows against the lies and propaganda of the bosses, do your part in supporting it financially. The devotion of the most advanced workers can inspire the people to end wars and depressions and build a world of peace and prosperity. Make it possible for *The Militant* to blaze the trail to that new world!

Nenni's Arrest

The arrest of Pietro Nenni, head of the Italian Socialist Party, by the Allied Commission on May 25, underlines once again the arch-reactionary character of Allied rule in Italy. Nenni had delivered a speech to a group of Socialists in north Italy, thereby violating a gag on free speech imposed by the Allied Commission.

The "democratic" imperialists want to muzzle the heroic people who rose against the German occupation forces. They want to domesticate the workers who carried out the sentence on Mussolini and his gang, for their countless frightful crimes.

Ironically, the gag extends to the Allies' own puppets. Although Nenni has been released without a trial, other political figures have been threat-

ened with arrests for making similar speeches. Before any of the Rome political leaders were permitted to enter the region which recently rose against Mussolini and the Nazis, they were forced to pledge not to speak or to participate in any political demonstrations. This pledge was imposed on Nenni and even on Vice Premier Palmiro Togliatti, the Stalinist whose vigorous support of Allied policy made possible both the utterly reactionary ex-fascist Badoglio regime and the present Bonomi regime.

The Allied stifling of free speech does not evidence the stupidity of bungling military governors. It is part of a coldly calculated policy reached by London, Washington and Moscow in secret. The Italian people are in revolutionary ferment. After suffering two world wars within a quarter of a century and more than two decades of fascism, they understand to the full the horrors of dying capitalism. They are impatient to be rid of the miseries of this broken-down system. They want to build socialism. This is especially true of the industrial north.

So nervous are the Allied imperialists before the northern sections of the Italian working class that they fear the effect of speeches even by their own puppets. These bloodless creatures dug out of the political bone-yard would undoubtedly do their utmost to white-wash the Allies, but they would gain short hearing from the masses unless they made at least some appeal to revolutionary sentiments. Not wishing to be discredited, even mild reformists like Nenni must use radical phrases. Such phrases, however, would not content the masses. What they want is action.

They would therefore quickly return the phrase-mongers to oblivion and raise up in their stead serious leaders with a genuine program of revolutionary socialism. This is what the Allies fear.

Seeking Scapegoat

The Allied imperialists are handling their defeated German rivals with solicitude. The conquering generals have shaken hands with the most brutal representatives of these rivals — wine and banquets such bloodthirsty monsters as Herman Goering. The Wall Street and London agents appointed to govern Germany are preserving private property interests by placing Nazis and industrialists in high administrative offices and posting an armed guard over the German people.

The Allies will do everything to delay and lighten the punishment of fascists. But the hatred of the people for the war criminals is so great that the Allies will undoubtedly select scapegoats for ceremonial "punishment."

By "punishing" these scapegoats the Allied imperialists hope to divert attention from the basic cause of fascism, war and depressions — the capitalist system. In this they copy the method of the Nazis, who made scapegoats of the Jewish people to side track the masses from overthrowing capitalism. There is, however, this basic difference: the Jewish people were innocent victims, whereas the Nazis reek with all the crimes against humanity possible to agents of dying capitalism.

Making scapegoats of the most notorious Nazis, however, will not long appease the righteous anger of outraged mankind. Millions of oppressed, uprooted and torn from their homes, scattered over all the continents of the earth, wounded, tortured, starved, forced to kill and be killed, will demand elimination of the fundamental causes of their misery. They will demand an end to the whole guilty system. Nothing less will satisfy them.

The Japanese People

Japan's critical military situation, combined with steadily worsening economic conditions caused by virtual blockade and devastating air raids, has led to renewed peace agitation by the terribly oppressed Japanese masses.

A high Tokyo judiciary official, Procurator-General Namiyuki Nakano, last week warned of the "danger" of such peace agitation and threatened arrest of any person making speeches that might disrupt "national unity."

This renewed agitation against the war gives the lie once again to the assertions of the capitalist press in this country that the Japanese people are united behind their rulers, that they are a warlike nation which revels in violence and bloodshed.

The Japanese people are among the principal victims of the unbridled ambitions of the Tokyo rulers. They have been suffering the hardships of war continuously since 1931, when their menfolk were sent out to die on the plains of Manchuria. Fourteen long years of ever-growing hardship and privation with ever-lengthening lists of loved ones killed in battle! And now they must endure the unimaginable horror of all-out aerial attack.

Capitalist press liars who say the Japanese people "wanted" war and that they glory in blood-letting, never point out that the people were thrust into the war by their rulers. An iron totalitarian regime (with which the Anglo-American imperialists maintained the friendliest of relations before Pearl Harbor) stifled all voices of protest. The truth is that the Japanese people no more wanted war than did the masses of Germany, Italy, Britain or any other country.

Now, when the counter-attack of the Anglo-American imperialists is being pressed to the very doorstep of the Japanese homeland, the people are raising their voices in protest against the mad orgy of death and destruction.

The Japanese people, like the people of Italy, will exact terrible vengeance for the crimes of their tyrannical rulers. Japan's approaching military catastrophe will be the signal to revolution.



"I can't understand why there's so much criticism of the San Francisco Conference — All the best people were there."

WORKERS' FORUM

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

Plain People Pay

Editor: They shall not pass! There is a world struggle on at the moment far more potential than was the great war. Will the result of the peace conference be a new standard of morals between the nations of the earth? And war, instead of being glorified and made the principal item in history as taught to the young, becomes a world of crime to be regarded in the light of a crime against humanity and those figuring in it as criminals? Or will the world drop back into the ages-long strife of nation against nation, tongue against tongue, race against race? Shall nations come to the place in history where being armed, to the teeth is regarded in the light of a citizen who goes about similarly armed, or shall we resume again the world-wide arming of all against all?

After all, who is it that pays for these vast burdens of armament but the plain people, who sweat and toil to carry the load. If the burdens of the war and preparations for war of the past hundred years, taken from the financial point of view alone, could be lifted from the shoulders of the people of all nations, no man would want for the comforts and advantages of life. Ninety per cent of all taxation is the result of war and preparations for war.

B. N. D.
Reading, Pa.

Slip of the Pen

Editor: As one of your Chinese readers, I was surprised and perturbed to see in your issue of this week, in V. Grey's Shop Talks on Socialism, an unmistakable symptom of that racial superiority attitude which the Trotskyists always condemn in others. The writer describes the scratch-pad notations of a steel mill first helper as looking like "a cross between shorthand and Chinese arithmetic."

By this comparison, the writer ascribes to "Chinese arithmetic" a quality of mysteriousness and unintelligibility which it does not possess. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as "Chinese arithmetic." Two and two make four in China as they do in America. Chinese numerals are, of course, different from the numerals used in the English language, but they add up, subtract, multiply and divide in exactly the same way. They are just as intelligible to 450 million Chinese as the English numerals are to the 130 million Americans.

I don't for a moment suppose that V. Grey feels racially superior to the Chinese people—or he wouldn't be a true socialist. His slip in this instance is undoubtedly a relic of his early training when he was taught, like other American children, that the Chinese are "mysterious Orientals," sub-human, cunning, untrustworthy, dangerous, to be avoided. When he uses things Chinese to convey the idea of unintelligibility, he is — unwittingly, no doubt — playing into the hands of the ideologists of imperialism

who set the Chinese apart as "different" or "peculiar" in order to justify kicking them around and enslaving them.

The *Militant* and its writers stand for the liberation of all oppressed, subject peoples. All the more must they be on guard against the poisonous ideology of imperialism, which as we see, tends to invade even the ranks of genuine revolutionary socialism.

Chao Pao-tien
N. Y. C.

How the Rich Live in France

Editor:

I have reports in *The Militant* of how the workers in France are suffering from lack of food. The excerpts below, taken from a letter written by an American Army officer in France, show that everybody there isn't suffering.

"Dear —, The commanding officer here took me to dinner at a private French home about a week ago and I had a fine time. Besides — and I, the guests included an American Army major in Civil Affairs and the British Naval Liaison Officer for this

port. And all the family was there, too, of course.

Well, first they had a tremendous pea soup. With this there was great mounds of French bread, all the butter one wanted. There were pitchers of the delicious dry French cider all over the table and they were replenished as fast as they were emptied. Then after the soup, the girl-servant brought around a plate full of sole, bony sole it is called. There was white wine with this.

"Then the girl brought a plate of all kinds of cuts of roast chicken, beautifully cooked. Then a plate of steaming hot French fries, nice and dry with no grease at all. There was red wine with this and after a bit every one had a second serving of chicken and potatoes. Then they served a sort of meat loaf.

I don't know what was in it except that I'm sure that it was flavored with garlic and was strictly wonderful. Together with this was served a heaping bowl of green salad.

Finally the girl brought in a monster cake of "mille feuilles" a sort of overgrown Napoleon, but each layer of cake was light and crisp and airy-tender. The cream filling was crafty. It was some feast. Then we all went into the living room and had a demi-tasse.

After a half-hour or so of chatter over the coffee, they broke out the cognac and everyone had a couple of thimbles full of cognac and it was the best I've had over here. And so the evening ended about 12 or so. The family left today for their chateau which is inland quite a way. They appear to have quite a bit of dough. I saw pictures of the chateau last night when I went over to see them off with

It is plenty big and impressive. Not bad, eh? — if you don't happen to be a French worker.

R. R.
Buffalo

"Pay — Or Perish In Your Garbage"

I am enclosing a Los Angeles newspaper clipping which describes Mayor Bowron's proposal to charge for garbage collections as a means of raising revenue for the increased city budget.

The Daily News report, May 16, added that the fee is to be paid by householders — in other words, by the poor tenants, not by the owners of the buildings.

I suppose his slogan will be "Pay or perish in your garbage." Another step in the anti-social retrogression under capitalism.

The news item admits that "budget requirements... are \$6,682,868 in excess of appropriations made for the current year — due chiefly to increased salaries." These increases are the raises which Bowron and the City Fathers on the Council voted themselves! — without objection from the local misleaders of labor who lauded him their "friend" in the recent municipal elections.

J. B.
Los Angeles

Capitalist Postwar Plan Includes 'Riot' Drills

While Big Business and its government spokesmen spill propaganda about 60,000,000 postwar jobs, they are making practical preparations for an opposite state of affairs. Amidst optimistic talk of the golden future under "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism are a few hints of what the capitalists are really preparing for the workers.

We learn, for instance, from a tiny item in the May 21 *Detroit News*, that "a demonstration of riot drill tactics by the combined forces of the Detroit Police, Michigan State Troops and the 728th Military Police Battalion of Camp River Rouge, Sunday," was termed "90 per cent effective." The purpose of the drill was to perfect "methods in handling gang rioting, industrial disputes or disruption of public utilities." In short, to put down demonstrating unemployed or striking workers.

In Portland, Maine, the daily papers recently carried articles and pictures describing joint maneuvers of the state police and state guard against "striking workers" who were described by the commanding officers as a "nasty rabble-roused mob." This display of training for armed strikebreaking evoked a sharp public protest from Local 50, CIO Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, representing the thousands of South Portland shipyard workers.

With obvious satisfaction, the boss press of Portland described the "demonstration" as "highly successful." It involved the tactical problem of the state guards coming to the "aid" of State Police who were having difficulty "coping" with a "mob of striking workers" before a sandhill designated as a "factory."

From another part of the country, an alert *Militant* reader sends us an item from the *El Paso, Texas, Times*, May 12. This quotes the sentiments expressed by the well-known Associated Press correspondent, Norman Lodge, before a luncheon group of well-fed *El Paso* business men, who applauded vigorously. Norman declared:

"I cannot see why the Articles of War should not be invoked against civilian workers in this country. If they walked out on a job, they could take a few and shoot them—as far as I am concerned."

Here is plank I of Wall Street's "postwar" platform.

Most Women Workers Need Jobs to Maintain Families

One of the big points made by the capitalist "experts" on postwar employment is that the problem won't be "so bad" because the millions of unemployed women workers "won't want jobs anyway." War Mobilization and Reconversion Director Vinson expressed this idea in his May 9 report. He stated that while women "may be more seriously affected by cutbacks than men... Many women who are released when contracts are canceled have not tried to get new jobs."

This misleading propaganda doesn't square with the facts, such as those revealed on May 19 in Washington by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor. According to a survey for 1944, the bureau showed, 85 per cent of women workers interviewed in the key Detroit area want and need to continue working.

Frieda Miller, director of the bureau, disclosed that these women took war jobs not for "patriotic" reasons but in order to maintain their families.

The bureau estimates there will be 312,000 women on the labor market in Detroit alone seeking jobs, 100,000 more women than were employed in that city during 1940. This includes three-fourths of all married women who took war jobs.

Steel Price Rise Means \$80 Million More Profits

On May 22 it was revealed in Washington that the Office of Price Administration has granted price increases on 14 basic steel products which will boost the steel industry's annual profits by an estimated \$80,000,000 to \$100,000,000.

This staggering price-hike, which averages out to a two percent increase for all steel production, was announced on the same day as the OPA released a report showing that in the first half of 1944 the steel industry had made \$405,598,000 profits, before taxes. This was 251.5 per cent above the 1936-1939 average. The increase for 1,120 leading industrial corporations averaged 213 per cent.

The price increase was effected through the application of the "product standards" policy, which permits price increases to guarantee profits on every single item regardless of the amount of total profits. Five of the 14 products given price increases had already been raised last January.

Even this big price boost, which will ultimately be passed on to the consuming public, did not satisfy the steel barons. Some of their representatives immediately yowled that the latest price hike is "wholly inadequate and unacceptable," and have threatened to take court action to grab more.

The industry is demanding higher prices principally on the grounds that the new steel union contract, according to their exaggerated estimates, grants 60 cents more pay per day to the steel workers.

But this increase, although far from the amount claimed by the corporations, is being paid very largely out of the public treasury, and not the steel profits. This is proved by the revealing 43rd annual report of the United States Steel Corporation, which states:

"It is apparent that the increases in wage costs since 1941... have been primarily at the expense of the public as taxpayers."

"Thus the War Labor Board's directives of Nov. 24, 1944, by which certain wage increases were made retroactive to Jan. 4, 1944, increased U. S. Steel's costs for 1944 an estimated \$30,000,000. This works out to reduce U. S. Steel's taxes by \$25,700,000 and to reduce its income by \$4,300,000. Therefore the public must assume 85.5 per cent of the increased cost, less the small amount paid in additional taxes by the employees receiving these increased wages."