

## TEXTILE UNION ENDS NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

### Vigilante Terror Aimed At Japanese-Americans

By Ralph Graham

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 20 — Vigilante violence, overtly encouraged by the capitalist press and slyly winked at by the local authorities, raised its head in California last week to endanger the lives of Japanese-Americans returning to the West Coast from inland concentration camps into which they were thrust shortly after America's entry into the war.

Persons hitherto unidentified put the torch to the home of Bob Morishege and his family at Selma, in southwestern Fresno county, and burned it to the ground. None of the inmates suffered death or injury but their furniture and other household effects, together with the possessions of several other Japanese-American families which were stored in the house, were destroyed to a value of about \$7,000. Fire Chief Julius Jensen of Selma pronounced the blaze as "plainly of incendiary origin."

At about the same time, shotgun barrages were directed at the homes of S. J. Kakutani and Frank Osaki on the outskirts of Fresno one evening during the dinner hour. The houses were riddled with lead pellets, but none of the inmates was hurt. In neither instance have the vigilante thugs responsible for

See Editorial  
'Vote Trotskyist!'  
On Page 6

the murderous assaults been arrested.

This is not strange when one considers that acts of violence against Japanese-Americans returning from the concentration camps (called "relocation centers") have been encouraged and incited by the reactionary press and that local law enforcement officers sympathize with the mobsters.

#### INCITE VIOLENCE

When the Army decided to release the Japanese-Americans from the camps, the reactionary press, with the Los Angeles Times in the lead, incited mob violence by "warning" that "trouble" would ensue if the internees were permitted to return to the West Coast where most of them lived before the war. They demanded that the authorities prevent the internees from coming back to their homes here.

Fred N. Hower, district attorney in Los Angeles, stated publicly that he knew of certain people who had threatened to

(Continued on page 5)

### TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE HITS VIGILANTE RAIDS

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 22 — A call to organized labor to condemn publicly the campaign of intimidation and violence against Japanese-Americans in California was issued today by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers' Party (Trotskyist) candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles.

Citing the recent incendiary burning of the home of a Japanese-American in Selma, southwestern Fresno county, the firing of shotgun barrages at the homes of two other Japanese-Americans in Fresno, and the sinister threats against an employer of Japanese servants in Los Angeles, the candidate addressed identical letters to the Los Angeles CIO Council and the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles (AFL) asking them to go on record against these acts of vigilante violence.

The Trotskyist candidate charged that the same reactionary interests which were responsible for herding thousands of Japanese-Americans into concentration camps in violation of their civil rights are today back of the mobsters responsible for terrorizing the returning internees.

The letter to the two central labor bodies declared that "the current campaign of violence and intimidation against the Japanese-Americans represents a terrible threat to organized labor" and that labor could ignore this

### Forced Labor Plan Advanced By Senate Military Committee

By C. Thomas

The Senate Military Affairs Committee concluded closed hearings on the May-Bailey slave labor bill last week by reporting out a "substitute" measure incorporating the principle of compulsory labor for private profit. The Kilgore-Wagner "substitute" was adopted by a vote of 13 to 4 shortly after the committee had received a memorandum from Roosevelt stating: "I hope that legislation embracing the principle of the May bill can be speedily enacted."

Under this prodding from the "Commander-in-Chief" the Kilgore-Wagner substitute was amended to make it conform to the type of legislation demanded by Roosevelt and his brass hats. "These changes, committee men agreed, brought the substitute bill sponsored by Senators O'Mahoney, Kilgore, Wagner, Chandler, Ferguson and Ball, closer to the principles of the May-Bailey measure." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 22).

One of the amendments provides that "violators of WMC regulations and orders would be liable to fines up to \$10,000 or jail sentences up to a year." Another provides that workers "who quit essential agricultural jobs without draft board permission would be subject to fines ranging to \$10,000 and prison terms up to five years."

#### CIO ENDORSES BILL

In its original form, the Kilgore-Wagner bill would concentrate control over hiring in the hands of the War Manpower Commission. The WMC would be given authority to establish manpower ceilings in industry, to move workers from one plant or one area to another, to keep workers tied to their jobs at frozen wages. Employers would be forbidden to hire a worker unless he could show a certificate of availability. By its power to refuse to grant certificates to "recalcitrant" workers, the WMC would exercise "work-where-you're-told-or-starve" compulsion over labor.

The additional amendments add the "work-where-you're-told-or-

go-to-jail" penalties of the May-Bailey bill to the Kilgore-Wagner substitute. As announced in The Militant last week, the latter measure was endorsed by the heads of the AFL and CIO in a "compromise" deal with the employers. "This (Kilgore-Wagner) bill is a long step in the right direction," declared Philip Murray in a statement to the Senate Military Affairs Committee. "An editorial in the CIO News explains that the CIO officialdom 'supports the bill introduced by Senators Kilgore, Wagner and Ferguson because, as Pres. Philip Murray states, 'this bill reinforces the methods and machinery which have proven effective during the war, and proposes means for strengthening them,' and because it is 'designed to mobilize the entire civilian manpower and womanpower of the United States immediately, and not merely males between the ages of 18 and 45.'"

#### ROOSEVELT'S STRATEGY

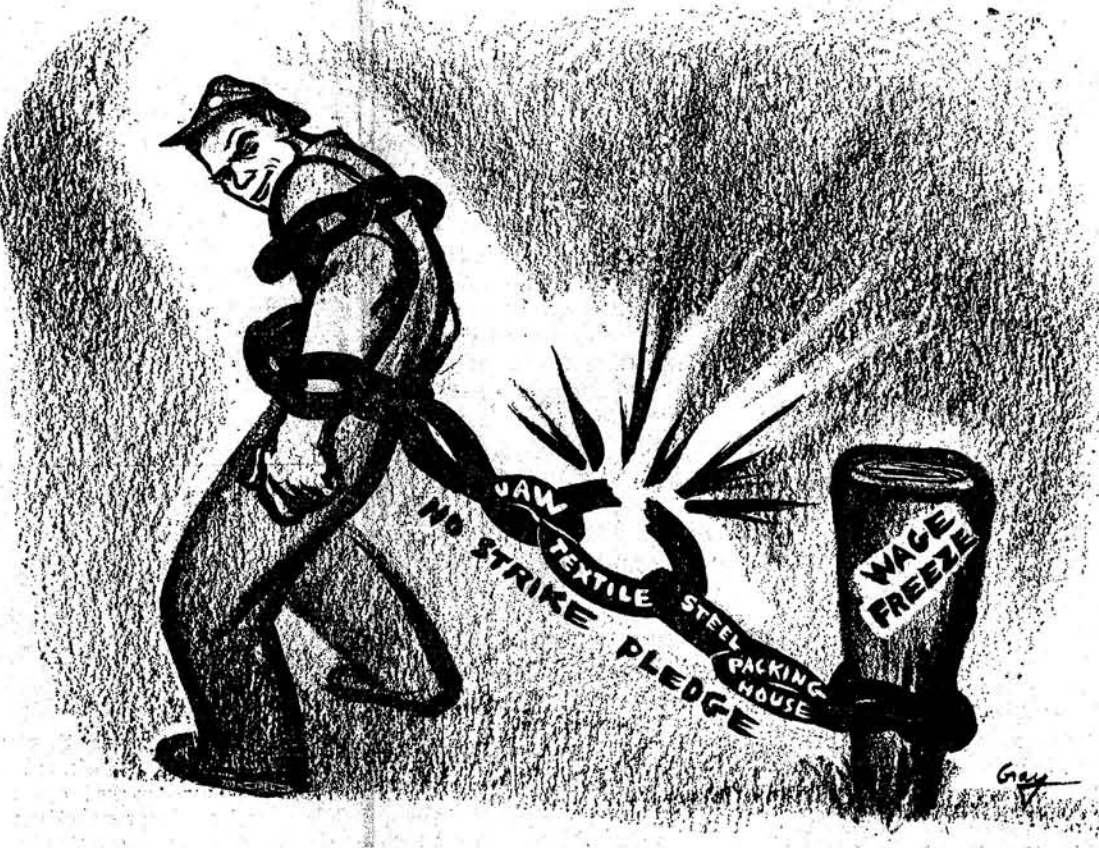
Murray's statement is an open endorsement of the principle of forced labor for private profit. The "methods and machinery" which he urges be "strengthened" are the instruments of labor compulsion embodied in the drastic manpower decrees issued by Roosevelt and administered by the WMC. Under these decrees the WMC recently initiated the infamous "Allentown Plan" which has since been spread to other areas.

In Allentown, Pennsylvania, where the "plan" originated, the WMC ordered the discharge of hundreds of workers who were then instructed to apply to the U. S. Employment Service for assignment to other jobs. Those failing to obey "would be denied employment for the duration of the war." In a majority of cases, workers were forced to accept employment at lower wages.

Will Allen, Washington correspondent of Justice, official organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who has closely followed the development

(Continued on page 4)

It's Beginning to Break!



### Little Steel Formula Upheld By 'Impartial' WLB Members

Roosevelt's four hand-picked "public" members of the War Labor Board last week dutifully fulfilled the President's instructions by submitting their "impartial recommendations" against any upward revisions of the administration's wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.

These "recommendations" were pulled from the administration's hat at the moment when labor's pressure for wage increases required Roosevelt to find an additional pretext for bolstering his wage-freeze.

The WLB "public" stooges of Roosevelt and the employers utilized a hundred-page document to come to the very conclusion that Roosevelt had appointed them to uphold, namely, that "the Little Steel formula must not be broken." This was the decision they had stalled through their 14 months of farcical hearings and "study." It was finally released when the administration gave them the nod that the moment was ripe.

Immediately, the entire Big Business press unanimously backed this "sage" decision. The employer members on the WLB, who had remained in the background while the "public" members gave Roosevelt the "impartial" report he required, promptly "agreed" with their WLB colleagues' conclusions.

#### ADMINISTRATION TACTICS

Several immediate events prompted Roosevelt to spring the WLB's "recommendations" at this time. Rank and file labor resentment has reached a new peak with the WLB's decisions in the textile and packinghouse wage cases and with the further stalling of these cases through the intervention of Roosevelt's Economic Stabilization Director Vinson. The administration waited until after Philip Murray of the CIO Steelworkers signed a Big Steel contract accepting

the WLB's denial of basic wage grants and just before the powerful United Mine Workers opened negotiations for a new contract demanding wage increases above the wage-freezing limits. The report of the WLB "public" members was packed with the typical misleading arguments about wage increases leading to "inflation." This contention was bolstered by a concoction of figures intended to "prove" that wage-rates have actually gone up in relation to cost-of-living increases!

#### PHONY FIGURES

Using the obviously fabricated figures of Roosevelt's own hand-picked WhiteHouse Committee on Living Costs, the WLB members "found" that the cost-of-living has risen only 29.5 per cent since January 1941. At the same time, the WLB evolved its own special method of computing wage-rates, so-called "adjusted straight-time hourly earnings." By a complicated, carefully-devised and essentially crooked system, lumping together bonus and "merit" increases, promotions to higher paying jobs, reclassifications, etc., the WLB contrived fantastic figures attempting to show that wages have risen 37.7 per cent during the past four years!

Both the AFL and CIO have issued statements refuting the WLB's phony figures which were cooked up for its preconceived decision. A year ago a joint AFL-CIO committee proved that

#### A Tough Argument

Another PAC-supported candidate in the last elections has given the CIO leadership their pay-off. Senator Frances J. Myers of Pennsylvania elected with PAC backing, was visited by CIO officials who wanted to assure themselves of his opposition to the May-Bailey forced labor bill.

Sen. Myers informed them: "You supported me because I was 100% behind Roosevelt. Now Roosevelt wants the labor draft. So I want the labor draft, too. That's what you elected me to do."

Such crude trickery and shysterism has characterized the administration's whole game. Before the elections, Roosevelt refused to permit the WLB to issue its decision in the crucial steel wage case, while he allowed the rumor to circulate denied that the Board was going to recommend a revision of the Little Steel formula "after the election." Just after the election, the board issued its steel decision, but refrained from making any recommendation on the formula.

Unable to stall any longer, its prestige badly shattered, the WLB has now performed its latest service for Roosevelt and Wall Street by openly endorsing the continuation of the wage-freeze.

### TWU-CIO Leader Resigns From Membership On WLB

Textile Workers' Actions Strike Heavy Blow At Prestige of Roosevelt's Anti-Labor Board

By Art Preis

The CIO Textile Workers Union of America, representing over 500,000 members in the country's lowest-wage industry, on February 20 withdrew the no-strike pledge for some 100,000 cotton-rayon workers. This is the first formal revocation of the no-strike policy by any CIO international union since Pearl Harbor. The action was taken by the TWU Executive Council at a meeting in New York City just prior to release of the War Labor Board's long-delayed decision in the textile wage case.

At the same time, the union's President, Emil Rieve, resigned from the WLB "in protest against the usurpation of its functions and the plain fact that the Board has now been reduced to little more than a rubber stamp." This is especially significant because Rieve was one of the union leaders who originally committed organized labor to the no-strike policy and helped establish the compulsory arbitration WLB.

These simultaneous actions are the most serious blows struck at the union-shackling no-strike policy and Roosevelt's tottering WLB since the coal strikes two years ago. They are a big advance over the action of the CIO United Automobile Workers' executive board, which several weeks ago called on the CIO to withdraw its members from the WLB, but did not recall its own members and continues to uphold the no-strike surrender policy.

In response to the TWU action, the WLB hastily announced its decision in the textile wage case. This was a rejection of the 10 cents an hour general wage increase demanded by the union. The board also halved the union's demand for a boost from 50 cents to a 60 cents an hour wage minimum, conceding only a 55 cents wage floor for an industry which the board itself admitted "pays the lowest wages of any basic manufacturing industry in America."

However, this concession, plus some meager "fringe" awards, are not going into immediate effect. The board simply referred them as "recommendations" to Economic Stabilization Director Vinson. He must first determine whether such increases will mean price increases — the administration's most recent pretext for stalling wage awards and upholding the wage-freeze.

This belated WLB statement has not altered the TWU actions. Following the WLB announcement, Rieve issued a press statement declaring that the union's decision "still stands." He scored the WLB ruling as "meaningless" (Continued on page 4)

### Terror Fails To Halt Strikes In Germany

By Harry Martell

Dante's inferno is a mild pastoral scene compared to the flaming hell into which Germany is being transformed by an unceasing rain of Allied bombs, blockbusters, rockets, incendiary shells, factories, railroads, docks, public buildings, stores, homes are being blown to bits and converted into piles of rubble.

There is no escape for the people, no refuge, no haven. By the thousands they are perishing beneath the crumbling cities. In one raid on Berlin alone more than 25,000 people were killed. Bombed out of their houses, the people go to the shelters which prove inadequate. Where then? A correspondent describes the city as an "ant hill." Evacuation, he says, is impossible, because "there is no place to go and no means of travel."

For a long time there was no water, gas or electricity in Berlin. Telephone, postal and telephone service are practically non-existent. Food supplies are becoming more and more limited. There are no vegetables — only dehydrated potatoes. The black market flourishes with sky-high inflationary prices: a pound of butter 800 marks, cigarettes three or four marks each, a pound of coffee approximately 2,300 marks.

#### MASS PROTESTS

The Nazi regime is falling apart. Martial law in Berlin is supplemented by draconian measures that make the slightest dereliction from Nazi orders punishable by death. Military courts are grinding out sentences by the hundreds. But Himmler's terror from the ground is proving no more successful in bringing the German workers to their knees than has the Allied terror from the skies. A few fragmentary reports penetrating the wall of censorship indicate what is happening.

Munich: "The Moscow radio reported disorders which developed into a pitched street battle with tank-supported SS (Elite Guard) units intervening after the city's police refused to fire on civilian crowds. The police

### Fund Campaign Sets High Record

In the greatest fund-raising campaign ever undertaken by the American Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party membership this week climaxed the completion of its \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund campaign with a grand total of \$20,089.

This sum was raised in a three month period beginning December 1st and ending March 1st. The assigned quota of \$18,000 was achieved more than a week before the final date, and the extra amount of \$2,089 came in during the last week of the campaign.

The fund drive began while twelve of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were still in prison, and the entire membership was determined to

go over the top in this campaign as a fitting tribute to the 12 upon their release on January 20.

Not only did the party as a whole oversubscribe the \$18,000 quota, but every single branch either fulfilled or surpassed its individual quota. This shows the spirit of self-sacrifice among American Trotskyists and gives a measure of their devotion to the great ideas of revolutionary Socialism.

Leading the list was Youngstown, which oversubscribed its quota on December 5 — a month ahead of the other branches. Second and third branches to complete their quotas were Reading on January 8 and San Diego on January 10.

Ten more branches came through with their 100% and over in time to greet the return of the com-

rades from Sandstone and Alderson on January 24. These were Akron, Buffalo, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Newark, Pittsburgh, San Francisco and Toledo.

#### Final Scoreboard on Fund Campaign See Page 2

Bayonne, New York and the Twin Cities completed their scores one week before the end of the campaign. Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Rochester and Seattle fulfilled their quotas on March 1st, completing the list. The New York Trotskyist Youth

Club, which pledged \$50, came through with \$60 on March 1st.

Not only is the Trotskyist Party a party of "one-hundred-percenters", but its friends and sympathizers are "one-hundred-percenters" also. Members-at-large, groups and friends oversubscribed by \$110 their \$300 assignment.

A letter from San Francisco tells about a contribution from a seafaring sympathizer: "Enclosed find \$10. This is a contribution to the Expansion Fund in memory of Carl Palmer, our comrade who was lost at sea. It is made by a shipmate of Carl's who sailed with him for about three years, and who had taught Carl many things which made him a good seaman. This friend held Carl Palmer in high esteem for the way he kept to his principles and his political ideas."

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

## U. S. Steel Contract

A "model" agreement containing no major improvements over previous contracts, and, of course, none of the basic wage demands of the steelworkers, was finally signed last week between the CIO Steelworkers Union and the United States Steel Corporation, leading steel trust. Five U. S. Steel subsidiaries signed the contract which is expected to be the pattern for the rest of the industry.

The contract includes the so-called "fringe" demands granted by the WLB at the time it turned down all the major demands of the union after stalling the steel wage case for over a year. This includes a four to six cents an hour premium for the two night shifts, one week's vacation with pay for service up to 5 years, and some dismissal or severance pay. None of these concessions, however, are up to the standards customarily maintained in the best organized industries.

The big "selling" point of the contract for the union leaders is a clause providing for a permanent three-man arbitration board with power to make binding decisions in disputes arising over application of the contract. This board, the usual "impartial" body selected by agreement of company and union officials, is hailed by the union officials as "a momentous advance in management-union relations." It is actually nothing more than an additional means for stalling the workers' demands and keeping them from taking independent action to enforce the contract. The previous contract provided for such a board only on a temporary basis from case to case.

CIO Steelworkers President Philip Murray crowed about a "great victory" when the WLB turned down the union's basic demands. The tightening of compulsory arbitration is now hailed as a "great advance." A few more such "great victories" and "great advances" and the steel workers will find themselves completely at the mercy of the corporations and back to their previous low level of living conditions.

## Army and Ward 'Seizure'

Army officials in charge of operating units of Montgomery Ward "seized" by the government to halt strikes provoked by WLB delay in enforcing its orders against the company, last week relinquished control over the two main units, the warehouse and mail-order house in Chicago. These are the central purchasing and distributing agencies for Ward's 650 outlets, including the 13 now under Army control.

By a fancy method of book-keeping, the government was debited with purchases of merchandise to stock the "seized" retail outlets while all sales receipts were turned over to the company. This meant that the government was constantly going "into the red" — everything going out, nothing coming in.

Naturally, the government, which is loathe to infringe upon "private property rights," has found it almost impossible to operate the tiny segment of Ward's under its control while the vast structure of the company remains in the control of Sewell Avery. The recent federal district court decision declaring the "seizure" illegal gave the Army officials sufficient pretext for gradually withdrawing from their uncomfortable position of having to enforce WLB orders against an open-shop employer whose anti-labor views generally coincide with their own. Thus, Sewell

Avery is still successfully refusing to obey the WLB rulings after years of defiance.

## Auto Barons Assail UAW

Charges of deliberate company provocations leading to numerous strikes in the auto industry made by CIO United Automobile Workers Secretary - Treasurer George Addes in a statement before the Senate War Investigating Committee have brought a counter-attack from the automotive barons.

Trying to cover up for the companies which have been emboldened to ever greater anti-union acts by the continuance of the no-strike policy, George Romney, managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production, last week howled that the strikes are part of a scheme to "usurp management's functions and responsibilities."

"While Mr. Addes and other leaders feign a pious public attitude and pretend they do not want to control production, their union representatives in the plants are trying to muscle in on management for the greater aggrandizement of labor monopoly," proclaimed Mr. Romney. This is not a new argument. The auto corporations fought unionism in the industry from its earliest beginning by claiming that the unions intend to infringe on their "god-given" prerogatives to control production and boot the workers around any way they see fit. So far as the bosses are concerned, any attempt of the workers to have something to say about their conditions of work is "usurpation" of the "rights of management."

## CIO Newspaper Guild And Bridges

When Milton Murray, President of the CIO Newspaper Guild and reporter for the New York Daily PM, exposed the Stalinist "traitors' lobby" in the CIO which secretly approached Congressmen urging them to vote for the May-Bailey slave labor bill, he did a service to the labor movement.

But he makes a mistake when he permits his justified and understandable contempt for the Stalinist traitors to influence his position on the question of the government's attempt to deport Harry Bridges, Stalinist leader of the CIO Longshoremen's Union. Last week Murray and the Guild executive board turned down a resolution of protest against the Bridges deportation proceedings on the grounds that Bridges is a "misleader of labor" and a "quiescent in our ranks."

Everything the Newspaper Guild says about Bridges as a treacherous union leader is true. But neither the government nor the employers are attacking him for that reason. In fact, they praise his present policies. They instituted proceedings against Bridges because he is a union leader who is a non-citizen and once held radical views. His deportation could then be used as a precedent to harass and victimize other militant union leaders. The job of eliminating elements like Bridges from the labor movement cannot be handed over to the capitalist government,

# SWP Branches Obtain 1526 New Readers In First Day Of 'Militant' Sub Campaign

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

The response of our comrades to the call for a National (Red Sunday) Mobilization was magnificent. In one day, *The Militant* was placed in 1,526 more workers' homes where they will read it regularly for six months.

For the first time in the history of *The Militant*, a campaign was launched with a National Red Sunday. Every branch of the Socialist Workers Party in the country mobilized February 25, the comrades going from door-to-door to secure new readers through our special introductory offer of six months for 25c.

These 1,526 new subscriptions to *The Militant* provide a flying start to our three-month Subscription Campaign for 10,000 new readers. We recall that in the previous campaign last year it took us five weeks, instead of one day, to sell 1,500 subs. This extraordinary total indicates not only the increased experience of the comrades, as subscribers but also the growing acceptance by the workers of a paper which really tells them the truth and fights for their interests.

## FROM THE BRANCHES

Flint was dissatisfied with their assigned quota of 10, raised it to 50, and on Red Sunday secured 28 subs, 54 percent of the quota. Jeff Thorne wired: "Five comrades mobilized for three hours; sold 26 subs and exhausted samples of *The Militant*. Comrade Bayer led with 15 subs or a sale in every other house in one block. Send 50 more cards."

H. Newell of Allentown writes: "Our branch went to the steel town of Bethlehem on our first mobilization. The good coverage of steel in the paper was a great help in this locality where most workers are in steel. Five of us sold the 20 subs. Please rush 30 more cards."

Los Angeles; In addition to conducting its majority campaign, Los Angeles sold 336 subs during Red Sunday mobilization.

D. Hilson, Akron: "Chalk up 35 subs. Send 50 more blanks. We underestimated our ability."

Karl C. Philadelphia: "38 subs today quadruples opening in previous drive."

R. Haddon, San Francisco: "Made good start in campaign. Sold 42 subscriptions."

Phil Burns, Bayonne: "We find the easiest method of getting subs is from the people we are most familiar with, those we work with day by day in the factory itself. We sold 35 subs."

Libby Jones, Buffalo: "Credit us with 62 subs. More to come. Watch our smoke."

M. Mertens, St. Paul: "Off to grand start. 17 new subs. Anxious to make new friends for *The Militant*."

George Grant, New York Local: "We had nearly a 100 percent turnout for the first nationwide Red Sunday. Total results were over 360 subs. Our comrades found that there are now a larger number of New York workers who are fed up with the Wall Street war propaganda and are searching for the truth."

Only lack of space prevents us from publishing equally enthusiastic letters and telegrams from all the branches.

## FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

R. C. Akron: "As the campaign to raise the subscription list of *The Militant* is soon to start, and as I am anxious to introduce the paper back in my old home town, I am sending you 75 cents for which I shall be pleased to have you send me 25 copies of the February 17 issue."

B. B. Oakland: "Enclosed is \$2 for the enclosed 8 subscriptions." We urge all of our readers to follow the example of these two subscribers who have joined the MILITANT ARMY and help us in passing *The Militant* on to an ever-increasing number of workers. They'll thank you for it.

whose motives are entirely anti-labor. That job belongs solely to the organized workers themselves, who need to rid the unions of the Stalinist blight in order to strengthen and protect their organizations against such employer and government attacks.

## Dollar Patriots Get Fat Nazi Dividend

An AP dispatch from Paris, Feb. 23, reveals that U. S. Big Business is extorting huge profits from both sides of the war. "Thousands of American and English businessmen are going to receive from the French government more than \$30,000,000, representing the profits from German operation of their Paris firms during the occupation."

"Checks totaling \$8,000,000 already are en route to some of the 38,000 individuals and firms which, a Finance Ministry official said, would profit by France's gesture. The sums range from \$520,000 for the duPont Co., Wilmington, Del. to \$1.14 for the Thomas Crowell Publishing Co. of New York."

Trying to cover up these criminal war profits gained through collaboration with the Nazis, the duPont "merchants of death" are reported to have said these payments "may represent dividends on certain long-term investments in French industries and royalties on processes licensed to French industry before the war."

## SUB SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	QUOTAS	SUBS	PERCENT
Flint	50	27	54
Milwaukee	100	46	46
Akron	85	36	42
Allentown	50	20	40
Toledo	250	86	34
Philadelphia	150	36	24
Bayonne	150	35	23
Minneapolis	300	61	20
Buffalo	350	62	18
St. Paul	100	17	17
Youngstown	300	51	17
Chicago	1000	162	16
New York	2500	363	15
Boston	200	26	13
San Francisco	350	42	12
Los Angeles	2000	336	12
Detroit	1000	97	10
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	13	9
Cleveland	200	10	5
Newark	350	0	0
Reading	75	0	0
Rochester	50	0	0
San Diego	50	0	0
Seattle	400	0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10,200</b>	<b>1526</b>	<b>15</b>



With characteristic thoroughness the Socialist Workers Party branches have worked out their plans and made preparations for the Militant Subscription Campaign. And now the comrades are raring to go! In fact, according to a letter from Mike Bartell of Chicago, some of the comrades found it difficult to wait for the official launching of the campaign on February 25: "You will be in for some real surprises on the sub drive. The branch is poised at the mark waiting impatiently for the gun to go off. In fact, if the truth were known, some of the comrades, I strongly suspect, have already jumped the gun."

Even after raising the assigned quota of 150 to 300, Youngstown is so confident of making its goal, they are challenging any branch with a similar quota. Inez Cope writes: "Tonight detailed plans were made to begin our campaign for Militant subs. We concluded as optimistically as ever that we will exceed our official quota. The sincerity and eagerness of our comrades compels us to challenge any branch with a similar quota, and in particular we challenge Cleveland."

Do you accept the challenge, Cleveland? ... Buffalo is challenging both Newark and San Francisco and Bill Gray, organizer for Buffalo, wonders if they will "rise to the bait."

"We have worked out to the last detail our plans for the sub-campaign. All the comrades are confident we will exceed our quota. Naturally we will be out this Sunday in the national mobilization and expect to get at least one-seventh of our 350 quota."

To add a bit of competitive spirit to the drive, the Buffalo branch wishes to challenge both Newark and San Francisco. We think we can get more subs than either of these two branches. Will you contact them and see if they will rise to the bait?"

How about it San Francisco and Newark? ... A correspondent who works in one of the big railroad shops in Reading tells about the response to various features of *The Militant*. "One cold morning a few weeks ago one of the workers came up to me and said, 'Gee, that ride to work on the bus this morning reminded me of Kovalesky's ride to the steel mills that he wrote about.'"

"Another fellow in the shop told me, 'After reading *The Militant* there is no comparison with other labor papers. It should be in the home of every worker, especially trade unionists.'"

"You know the railroad shops are pretty drafty but the men seemed to take it more or less for granted until Grey's column reminded them that not only were such conditions intolerable but they could be rectified if the corporations wanted to spend the money. One shop worker exclaimed, 'Goddamit, why can't we work comfortably without these damn drafts hitting us from all sides at all times!'"

A reader of this pamphlet, recommending it to a friend, also praises the introduction written by E. R. Frank. "It is as clear and unequivocal a statement of where the fascist danger lies in the U. S. as I have ever read. To a person who is inexperienced politically, the opening paragraphs come as a shock. This is no ordinary introduction, merely paving the way for the book itself. The Washington trial of the Fascists is characterized as 'empty theoretical bombast,' which indeed it turned out to be. Frank then recalls, as an ominous prophecy, that trials similar to the one lately seen in Washington were conducted many times in Germany prior to Hitler's ascent to power. Laws and decrees were passed as a result, ostensibly to curb the Fascists, but these laws were invariably used by the capitalist class to hound and harass the labor movement."

"There is no doubt that this introduction is a tremendously important contribution to our understanding of the labor situation in this country."

FASCISM - 'What It Is - How To Fight It' by Leon Trotsky. 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## Akron Workers Hear Talk On Situation In Europe

AKRON, Feb. 18 — The Akron Militant Club initiated its Sunday afternoon forum series today with a talk by Joseph Andrews on the European situation. Reviewing the devastation wrought by the Nazis on the European continent, the speaker demonstrated how the intolerable suffering of European humanity under Hitler has been perpetuated, even magnified under the Allied conquerors.

The Yalta Conference of the two major imperialist powers and their Stalinist abettors, declared the speaker, in reality met to consider such urgent questions as how to extinguish the flames of revolt in Europe. But the maneuvers and schemes of these freemen and their Fire Chief Roosevelt are of far less significance than the deeds and aspirations of the European proletariat as it marches with ever greater power and determination toward decisive conflicts with capitalism.

In these conflicts the Trotskyist fighters who emerge from the prisons and concentration camps to lead the workers in battle will be revealed as the genuine historic personalities of our times. Beside them the so-called Big Three, defenders of a doomed social order, will pale into insignificance.

At the conclusion of the forum three workers joined the Socialist Workers Party and a fourth applied for membership.

The second talk in this forum series will deal with "The History of American Trotskyism." It will be held Sunday, March 3 at 3 P. M., room 405, Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market St., Akron.

## Geldman Extends Thanks to CRDC

In a letter to the Civil Rights Defense Committee last week, Max Geldman, one of the recently released Trotskyist prisoners, wrote: "Enclosed find a copy of my letter of thanks to the General Defense Committee. The sentiments expressed there apply even more to the magnificent support obtained for myself and the other Minneapolis Case prisoners by your committee. 'The CRDC has set a new mark in labor defense, in the campaign in our behalf. Your contributions while we were behind bars, and your gift to us upon release — not to speak of all the activity carried on by the Committee during the entire period from the indictments through the trial and during the trying days in prison, was an inspiration to us.'"

"Accept my personal thanks for the tireless activity in our behalf by the members and supporters of your Committee. Now free again, I shall resume my activities for those ideas and principles which we expressed at the trial."

In Detroit, Mich. You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

## "War Is Hell!"

Civil War General Sherman is reported to have said: "War is hell!" But that was in the days before cost-plus contracts. Congressman Woodruff, quoting figures supplied by the U. S. Comptroller General, disclosed that the cost-plus shipbuilding tycoon, Henry Kaiser, had realized a profit "after renegotiation" of \$27,274,487.24 on an original investment of \$100,000. These figures covered only two of the Kaiser shipyards.

Kaiser's "magnificent" contribution to the "war effort" said Woodruff, "has not gone entirely unrewarded." This, as workers frozen to their jobs at frozen wages might say, is a masterpiece of understatement.

## Greet Released 12 At San Francisco CRDC Meeting

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 20 — Sixty-five workers attended a meeting and social held by the San Francisco Civil Rights Defense Committee on Feb. 18 to celebrate the release of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners.

Ernest Besig of the American Civil Liberties Union, showed how the Smith "Gag" Act and similar sedition laws of the past, are always used by the employers against the working class. Vigilantes, he pointed out, have never been prosecuted under such laws. He said that while he was happy to join in a celebration of the release of these men, he would be happier to join in a celebration marking the repeal of the Smith "Gag" Act.

Bob Chester, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, said that through the Minneapolis trial Roosevelt hoped to crush American Trotskyism by heaping ideas and not an individual. It has grown stronger under blows and now with our comrades back again we will go forward even faster to achieve our goal."

Other speakers included John McKelvey of the AFL Machinists Lodge 68, Gordon Haskell of the Workers Party, and Della Pedroncelli of the San Francisco Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Greetings were read from four of the released prisoners in behalf of all 18 as well as a message of solidarity from Joseph James, President of the San Francisco National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Warren K. Billings, victim of a similar prosecution in the First World War, who spent two decades of his life in prison, wrote in a message, "At a meeting last May I pointed out that this was an attack upon the entire labor movement which must be met with the united action of all labor. It is gratifying to see that organized labor is aware of the meaning of this case and has supported it in such strong numbers."

## N. Y. Forum On Jewish Question

NEW YORK, Feb. 25 — Irving Dale will speak on "The Way Out for the Jewish Masses," in a discussion dealing with the terrible plight of the Jews throughout Europe, at the Sunday Night Forum scheduled for 8 P. M., March 4, at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. All readers of *The Militant* and their friends are invited to attend. The Yalta Conference was discussed at tonight's forum. Questions from the audience dealt mainly with the danger to the European revolution from the plans of the "Big Three" and the role of the Soviet Union.

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# Fighting Record Of Trotskyists Inside France

The following piece is reprinted from the Sep. 30, 1944 issue of La Verite, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party, French section of the 4th International. It forms part of an open letter sent to the President of the National Federation of the French Press in protest against the delay of this Stalinist-influenced bureau to authorize the open publication of La Verite. Our French comrades demand the same full legal publication rights accorded all papers which were illegally issued under Hitler's dictatorship. In their fight for freedom of the press the French Trotskyists proudly set forth their record of struggle under the Nazis which we print below.

## THE FIRST ORGAN THAT RESISTED HITLER

We are asked whether La Verite was an organ of "resistance" for four years. The first number of La Verite was secretly mimeographed as early as August 1940. There was another clandestine organ, L'Humanite, (official organ of the French Communist Party) but all Parisians remember that it was then distributed in the streets with the tacit consent of the occupying forces and besides, officially applied for legal publication. L'Humanite appeared then without a single line against German occupation by virtue of the German-Russian agreement, which it warmly defended.

In contrast, La Verite, which had on its masthead "Neither Pétain nor Hitler—For a Workers and Peasants Government" violently attacked Nazism, denounced the (Nazi) raiding of goods, appealed for regrouping against fascism on both sides of the demarcation line, etc. To our knowledge, La Verite was the first organ of resistance.

## OUR STRUGGLE

For four years, in 19 mimeographed and 54 printed issues, La Verite campaigned against fascism and the occupying imperialism. Its campaigns were oriented as follows:

### 1. Struggle Against Fascism

To this struggle was devoted the first editorial of La Verite; since then, there has not been a single issue of La Verite where it was abandoned. For the rest, let us recall that since the first months of the occupation, our youth comrades organized against the fascist gangs, assured the physical defense of the last free youth organization, the CLAJ (Youth Hostels). The Nazi authorities soon dissolved it and arrested its leaders.

### 2. Struggle Against Racism and Anti-Semitism

Also since the first issue.

### 3. Struggle for the Peoples' Right of Self-Determination

This right being applied to all the peoples including the colonies.

### 4. Struggle Against Imperialist War

We struggled with all our strength against imperialist war—which, as the Franc Tireur recalls, is the fruit of the whole of the capitalist regime—by appealing to the workers of all countries to unite, in order to overthrow the bourgeoisie. That is why our masthead reads: "Workers of all countries, unite." This is why our doctrine is that of the Socialist United States of the World, which alone can prevent the return of fascism and war, and this is also why we denounced the maneuvers of the occupying imperialism trying to make the working peoples pay for the imperialist war.

### 5. Struggle for Fraternalization

We appealed to the German soldiers to turn their arms against their officers and to fraternize with the workers of Europe, at the same time as we appealed to the workers of this country to address fraternally the workers dragooned by Hitler into his army, calling upon them to struggle together against fascism and capitalism. This propaganda is that for which L'Humanite reproaches us with most hatred, pretending that we want to "give our hand to the murderers."

On the contrary, La Verite repeats unceasingly that "we must execute the agents of the Gestapo, the SS, the reactionary officers. It is against them that we must give our hand to the German workers in uniform". Here, for instance, is one of our most recent posters, in German:

"German soldier! Start the struggle immediately against Hitler, the Nazis, the Gestapo. Start the struggle immediately against all capitalists! Disarm your officers, form your Soldiers' Councils! Don't throw your arms away! Give them to us! Struggle with us, your brothers, the French workers! Bring the revolution to Germany and establish the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils!"

For L'Humanite, the whole German army is indistinguishably a mass of murderers, although in that same newspaper numerous facts are reported which demonstrate the contrary. We even refer them to the Catholic newspapers like the Temoignage Chretien to make them understand that the German soldiers have been forcibly integrated into the Wehrmacht and are Hitler's victims like the workers of the occupied countries. Most of them hate Hitlerism, and the revolution would have started in Germany long ago if they had not been welded to their General Staffs by the wall of national hatred which encircled them, and if they had seen a way out of their situation.

This is why the Gestapo reacted violently against our fraternization efforts. Thus, in one single case, in October 1943, against our comrades who edited Der Arbeiter in Brittany, 65 of our comrades, of whom 30 were German soldiers, were arrested, deported and murdered. On that occasion four members of our leadership were caught and tortured.

But this repression did not prevent our work from continuing. Up to August 1944, we edited several organs in German, namely Unser Wort and Arbeiter Und Soldat, the latter distributed in the barracks, from 5,000 to 10,000 copies.

### 6. Struggle for Food Supplies

From the very beginning La Verite called upon the working masses to constitute housewives committees, to demonstrate, to take into their hands the distribution of the food supplies, against the Hitlerites, the Vichyites, the monopolists and gangsters of the black market. This struggle of the city workers was conducted in close alliance with the peasant workers. This same campaign can be found in our most recent issues.

### 7. Struggle Against the Downfall of the Standard of Living and for the Workers' Demands

In our newspapers, we devoted a considerable section to the workers' struggles, promoting strikes and mass sabotage. We supported these campaigns of our central organ by hundreds of leaflets and plant newspapers. We participated in almost all the workers' movements and led a certain number of them.

### 8. Struggle Against Deportations

La Verite was the first newspaper that warned the workers about the deportations that were being plotted, and that called upon them to resist collectively, and if they were forcibly compelled to leave, to advise them on the organization of resistance

## Trotskyist European Underground Papers



Reproduced above are three of the publications issued by the Trotskyists in Europe under the Nazi heel. La Verite is the official organ of the Internationalist Communist Party, French section of the 4th International. The Arbeiter Und Soldat (Worker and Soldier) was published by the German section of the 4th International and distributed among the German occupying forces. The "Appeal to the Spanish Proletariat" was issued by the Spanish section of the 4th International in its struggle against the Franco dictatorship.

# Churchill Armed Fascist Forces To Massacre The Greek Workers

By Larissa Reed

In a series of articles in the N. Y. Post, foreign correspondent Leland Stowe gives a first-hand account, supported by documented facts, revealing part of the inside story of Churchill's crimes in Greece. Although Stowe admits that "the complete story cannot be told for a long time yet," his articles show how the British carefully and methodically prepared for the massacre of the Greek workers and peasants.

The Allied plot against the Greek people and preparations for crushing them began in Cairo

while Greece itself was still occupied by the Nazi conquerors. A mutiny, concealed for months by British censorship, broke out in the Greek army and navy units in Egypt, reports Stowe, because these supporters of EAM-ELAS became "convinced that the Churchill government planned to force a return of the monarchy."

Although the mutiny was suppressed, it gave Churchill an indication of how bitterly his puppet king and Quisling cabinets would be resisted by the Greek masses. As a consequence the British began in Egypt to build

the reactionary brigades needed to smash this anticipated resistance.

With the help of the Greek government-in-exile in Cairo, the Greek Mountain Brigade was formed under British supervision. "Only officers and soldiers with strong royalist or reactionary convictions were admitted," says Stowe. "All other officers, were jailed or banned from the brigade." This brigade was sent to Rimini Italy where for one month they trained for counter-revolutionary action.

### EDS AID NAZIS

But the British needed much more than one Monarchist brigade to carry out their schemes against the Greek masses. Thus, even before entering Athens, they purchased General Zervas and his EDES troops, increasing this army, says Stowe, "from 5,000 to 10,000." (A later report places this army at 15,000). "For two years prior to June 1944," reports Stowe, "EDES collaborated with the Germans and fought ELAS. . . Correspondents have seen captured German documents which prove EDES was on excellent terms with the Nazis. . . until its men got more pay and inducements from the Allies."

In addition, the British rounded up the "fanatically royalist X-ites. . . reported to have received several thousand Tommy-guns smuggled into Athens by the British a month before the Germans got out. The well-armed X-ites fought ELAS forces in Athens on Dec. 3 and 4."

When the British finally entered Athens on October 15, they immediately took into their service the whole Athens police force. This was the very same police that "had done the Nazis' bidding for three and a half years." They also restored the Security Battalions that had served as a Greek Gestapo for the Nazis during the occupation. The Security Battalions says Stowe, had been "formed under one of the Greek Laval-Puppet Premier John Rallis, who was hand-picked by the Nazis." The men had been armed by the Nazis and even wore German uniforms.

These battalions "had arrested thousands of Greek patriots and delivered them to Nazi torture and execution. . . as many as 204 were executed in a single day by the Nazis." Almost every working family in Greece had suffered the loss of their men through these traitors. So intense was the hatred of the masses that, when the Nazis had been driven out, they demanded the execution of the members of the Security Battalions. But, says Stowe, upon Churchill's orders Scobie saw to it that "they were merely kept in barracks. And if they wore civilian clothes, they were allowed to go out around the city."

SLAUGHTER WORKERS Scobie and Papandreu released 5,000 of "these long-time servants of the Gestapo" to augment their counter-revolutionary forces. Finally, in addition to all these Quisling Greek battalions, Stowe reports that "British and Indian regulars were rushed in—by 100

## Reign of Terror Renewed in Greece Following 'Peace'

The Greek people are now undergoing the crushing aftermath of the "peace" terms imposed upon them Feb. 12 by the British conquerors and their Greek Quislings.

According to a Feb. 20 UP dispatch from Athens, Pericles Rhalis, Minister of Interior, has been forced to resign.

This change, together with the naming of General Flakhos Under-Secretary of Security, "means the introduction of a new Gestapo system," according to foreign correspondent M. W. Fodor. The ousting of Rhalis—which precipitated a crisis in the Greek cabinet—"indicates pressure by reactionaries, pseudo-democrats and camouflaged fascists. . . to use a stronger hand against the former so-called 'rebels' . . . and to reintroduce the Gestapo methods of the late dictator John Metaxas," reports the Feb. 22 PM.

The same dispatch states that "the jails are filled with prisoners from the civil war, despite the EAM-Government agreement that they would be released. Moreover arrests are still continuing. One Athens newspaper estimates that they average 1,500 a day. On the other hand, EAM spokesmen point out that many of the men of the Security Battalions that tortured and ill-treated Greek patriots during the Nazi regime are not only at large, but many are in government positions."

## THE REPARATIONS ISSUE AND A SOCIALIST EUROPE

By M. Morrison

For the workers of Europe, including England and the Soviet Union, the problem of reparations, discussed by Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill at the Crimea conference becomes one of the most important problems that will confront them in the post-war period. Because that problem is intimately connected with the all-important questions: how should the working masses go about repairing the vast damage wrought by the various armies; for whose benefit shall they repair it; how should they guarantee that once repaired, another and more destructive war will not once again bring ruin and chaos to Europe?

The representative of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the exponents of British and American imperialism were exceedingly vague on this question of reparations in their release issued after the conference at Yalta. They "recognized it, as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible" and provided for a commission "to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries."

There were undoubtedly differences of opinion between Stalin on the one hand and Churchill and Roosevelt on the other, on the question of compelling German workers to work under the whip of Stalin and the Allied imperialists for the restoration of the devastated areas. The capitalist countries are faced with the problem of what to do with their own workers and also with the use of slave labor, a system which would inevitably reduce the standard of living of the native workers. Stalin is not confronted with these difficulties and is anxious to enslave the skilled German workers for the purpose of restoring the devastated areas of the Soviet Union.

### HOW TO REBUILD

Leaving aside the differences with reference to the method of reparations, it is clear that Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed on the principle of reparations. Here a warning to some advanced workers is necessary. So terrible is the ruin caused by Hitler's armies that it is fairly easy for Stalin and the imperialist representatives to convince the millions of people who suffered at the hands of Hitler that justice demands reparations by the Germans. Some radical workers, understanding correctly that the Soviet bureaucrats and the imperialists will utilize the apparent justice of the claim to reparations in order to fool the masses, may insist on presenting the obvious argument that the armies of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt caused as much, if not more damage, at least in Western Europe, as Hitler's armies.

The question must not be argued on that plane. Not only is it impossible to say which army did the most damage but an argument of that type indirectly involves us in the futile argument as to which side was responsible for the war. Taking the fundamental position that the imperialist rivalries are responsible, we can and must shift the argument to the question as to what is the best method for the workers to use to rebuild the devastated areas and how to prevent their destruction by another war.

What a poor woman told Stowe sums up the working class side of the events. "One day we were waiting in line to get food. Seven British planes came diving and shooting. They came back three times. About 40 people were killed. . . We expected the British to come and feed us. Instead they fought against us."

### PROTECT RICH

As for the rich, they merely changed protectors. Instead of Hitler they now have Churchill to guard them and their property. The Wealthy, writes Stowe, live in the Kolonaki (or Park Avenue) district of Athens, which is "inside the British lines." There "not a single burned or dynamited building exists," remarks Stowe. "The well-to-do Kolonaki all looked prosperous. They obviously had plenty to eat all through the German occupation. . . I did not meet a single Kolonaki who told me that an immediate relative had died in the resistance movements."

What a rich woman told Stowe illustrates the attitude of the Greek capitalist class: "You've no idea what a Red Terror we've lived through. Thank God the British came to save us. We have suffered more than anyone else. For years we haven't even been able to collect rent from our property!"

Hear MYRA TANNER WEISS Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles in a series of four broadcasts discussing the issue in the municipal election campaign.

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# Low Wages, Bloated Profits In Textile

## Pay Is Lowest In All Industry

The textile workers are growing hungrier and leaner while the manufacturers are feasting on wartime profits eight times greater than the prewar rate. In peacetime the textile workers usually existed on the verge of starvation, their meager wages insufficient to provide adequate good even at uninflated prices. Yet today the cost of living in the milltowns is almost double that of 1940 and taxes alone drain off almost one-fourth of their low pay.

Speaking for these "Half a Million Forgotten People," the CIO Textile Workers Union of America says: "Our average hourly pay is very nearly the lowest in American industry. In December 1943 we averaged 59.4 cents per hour. . . We get fewer hours work per week, and fewer weeks per year than other industries.

"In December 1943 our average work week was 41.7 hours, as against a national average in manufacturing of 45 hours. In normal peacetime years our working time is cut even lower; those of us who get forty full weeks a year are lucky. Because our hours of work are fewer and our wage rates are lower, we averaged only \$24.78 a week in December 1943, as against a \$35.61 average in non-durable goods, a \$50.50 average in durable goods.

What these low wage figures mean in human misery is illustrated in the case of a North Carolina textile worker who attempts to support his wife and three children on a \$20.60 weekly income. In hearings before the War Labor Board in 1944, he thus described the family diet:

"Beans and potatoes (for supper), and sometimes we have a little meat, but hardly ever, and lettuce and tomatoes. Such stuff as that we have." Milk? Some for the children, sometimes a little for his wife "when we get ahead," and "sometimes I drink about half a glass, but hardly ever."

The family lives in a three-room house with a toilet in the back yard. All five sleep in the bedroom which is the only place with any heat, a portable heater.

These are typical living conditions among the half-a-million textile workers whom the boss-controlled War Labor has just told: "Nothing more for you!"

## War Profiteers Multiply Wealth

The WLB's refusal to grant decent wage increases for the miserably underpaid textile workers stands out in glaring contrast to the profits being raked in by the textile barons during this war.

The magnitude of this loot was incidentally disclosed by OPA Administrator Chester Bowles when he recently denied with indignation that the government has attempted to limit profits in this industry.

"From 1936 to 1939," Bowles declared, "the average annual earnings of the textile industry were \$28,000,000." He pointed out that, at the same rate of profit they enjoyed in peacetime, their present earnings based on current production, should be no more than \$40,000,000. Even that return is based on a generous allowance for "changes in net worth," according to a report in the Feb. 19 PM.

But are the textile manufacturers getting along on a "mere" 40 million dollar profit during these war years? Not these rich hogs!

In 1942 cotton textile profits amounted to \$378,000,000!

In 1943 the figure reached \$350,000,000.

And at the close of 1944 the industry was wallowing in profits at the rate of not less than \$365,000,000 a year!

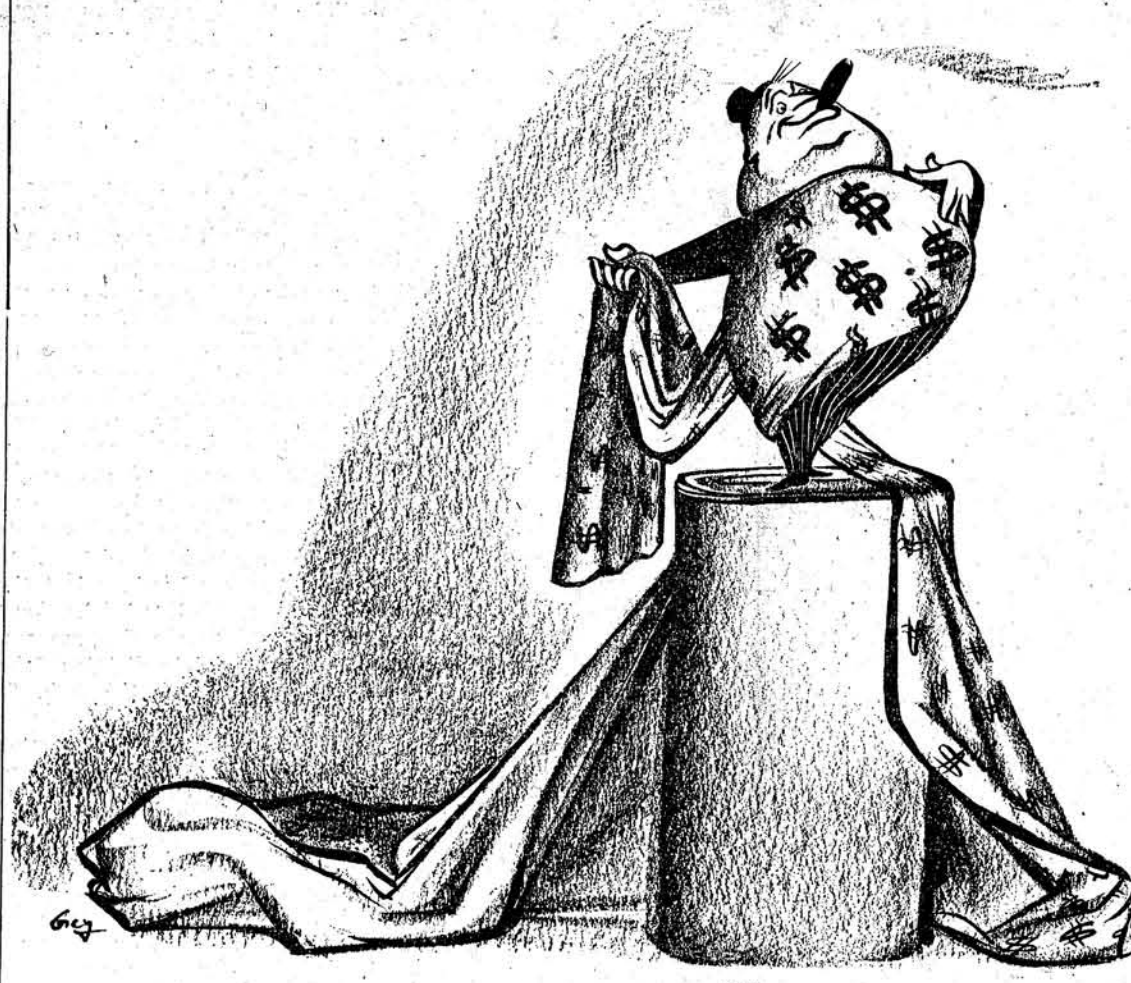
The same report estimates that "despite alterations in ceiling prices and discontinuance of some price increases, the industry's profits this year will be at the rate of at least \$325,000,000."

"Even on the basis of the allowance made on the 1936 to 1939 figures, this figure represents MORE THAN EIGHT TIMES THE EARNINGS OF THE PRE-WAR PERIODS," the report concludes.

Meanwhile the insatiable textile manufacturers are howling for even more profits, demanding price increases, and blocking production of low-priced clothing for workers.

In the light of these figures Bowles hardly needed to add in his own defense that the OPA is not empowered to "place ceilings on the earnings of industries." That much is obvious. The wage-freeze maintained by its associate agency, the War Labor Board, shows clearly enough what ceilings Roosevelt's administration aims to enforce.

Pattern in Textiles - 1945



# Steelworkers Election Reveals Militant Trend

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Feb. 17 — The growing opposition to Philip Murray's machine-rule and do-nothing policies in the CIO Steelworkers was demonstrated here on February 13 when the membership of District 26 voted in the referendum for international officers and district officials.

Unofficial returns show that over 5,000 of the estimated 15,000 votes cast were recorded against Murray's incumbent district director, James C. Quinn, and for Carl Beck, President of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Local 1462 and President of the Mahoning County CIO Council. Beck's candidacy was sponsored by a recently-organized rank and file caucus.

The vote for international president, with Murray's the only name on the ballot, was extremely low. Some of the important locals here recorded as little as 40 per cent of their total votes for Murray's reelection. This failure of the Murray machine to pull out a heavy vote for "Homey Phil" in what was intended as a vote of confidence shows the ebbing of his influence among the steel worker ranks.

About 30,000 steel union members in this area did not vote. This huge abstention was largely a vote "with the feet," expressing the mounting dissatisfaction with Murray's policy and leadership. While the fight for the district directorship was the hottest union election campaign in this area in years, many stayed away from the polls because they did not see a sufficient difference in the programs of Beck and Quinn.

### PROTEST VOTE

Interest in the elections centered very largely around the rank and file campaign to vote out Quinn, whom the workers hold responsible for the failure of the union in this area to settle grievances and improve conditions since the adoption of the no-strike policy.

The vote against Quinn, who ran openly as Murray's candidate and had the backing of the corporation-controlled daily press, was in reality a protest against the no-strike policy. This is indicated by an examination of the vote in some of the important locals.

Most of the locals which have been built the "hard way"—by militant struggle and strike actions—voted overwhelmingly for Beck against Quinn. One Republic Steel local with about 700 members, which had a strike a year ago against Quinn's opposition, voted 224 for Beck against 8 for Quinn. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube local gave the machine-man only 18 votes, with 1489 for Beck. This local has been opposed consistently by Quinn because of its general militancy, including a strike two years ago when 6 union leaders were fired and reinstated only after tremendous rank and file pressure was exerted.

### BOSSSES BACK QUINN

In general among most of the old locals built by militant policies, Beck, who was head picket captain in the 1937 Little Steel Strike, led Quinn by a vote of between two and three to one. Quinn's votes come mainly from the newer locals, particularly those organized through the "maintenance of membership" and War Labor Board method during the war.

During the election campaign, the daily press, controlled by the steel companies, intervened openly on behalf of Murray's man, Quinn. Before the election, the Youngstown Daily Vindicator in a lead editorial urged the steel workers to elect Quinn because it is "important to both sides" that the union have "the right man at the top." Quinn "has worked with the employers to prove to them the value of the union and has been the strong and bold leader required to hold in line unruly men." In short, the corporations wanted Quinn because he helped them to curb the militant workers.

Quinn's sole campaign program was his boast of unbroken subservience to Murray. He ran simply on "the record." To a large extent, Beck also ran on his past record, particularly his leadership in the Little Steel strike and his presidency of the CIO Council. His program, however, was not strong enough to distinguish him sufficiently from Quinn.

The rank and file caucus at the start played heavily on the fact that Beck had aided the campaigns to elect "labor's friends." Among these were Roosevelt, who enforces the wage freeze and demands forced labor; Governor Luasche, who recently called for drafting the striking workers at the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company; and the present Democratic mayor, who opposed the demand of the drivers union for warm busses to carry workers to the Ravenna arsenal in the dead of winter. Toward the end of the campaign, as the actions of these "friends of labor" became too obviously anti-labor, the caucus leaders soft-pedaled this line.

The Beck caucus did propose greater union democracy and more voice for the ranks in the affairs of the union, and in general expressed a greater desire for militant policies. However, it did not come out for revocation of the no-strike policy, for genuine independent labor political action or present a program for meeting unemployment. This last is a growing problem in this area where steel operations at this writing are below normal capacity. Nor did the caucus come out with a clear-cut criticism of Murray and his bureaucratic methods and cowardly policies.

This election has shown, however, that the steel workers of this area are ready for militant action and desire a fighting program. They are not being intimidated so easily into supporting Murray and his machine, as the Quinn faction unsuccessfully attempted to do in this election. In the coming period, it can be expected that the steelworkers will move more consciously and uncompromisingly toward the forging of a militant program and leadership against the Murray machine and its policy of retreat.

### The Answer to

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## CIO Textile Union Leaders Withdraw No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

and stated it would "not raise the wages of a single cotton-rayon textile worker." The case, he charged, "is still where it was two months ago — in Vinson's vest pocket." He frankly predicted that withdrawal of the no-strike pledge for a large section of the industry would lead to strikes.

That the TWU top officials were influenced in making their decision primarily by the terrific pressure of the union's ranks was clearly indicated by Rieve. He admitted that the union's officers had been "deluged by request for walk-outs in telegrams by the bushel."

The textile union's action is all the more significant because it is part of important developments reflecting general rank and file pressure throughout industry for scrapping the no-strike pledge and scuttling the pro-corporation WLB.

Just prior to the TWU decision, a national gathering of CIO Packinghouse Workers representatives meeting in Chicago threatened to revoke the no-strike pledge if the WLB did not immediately release its decision in the PWU wage case which had been stalled for 19 months. This brought a speedy response with the issuance of a WLB order denying a general wage increase but recommending "fringe" grants. These however must still await approval by Vinson.

The CIO United Automobile Workers, largest and most dynamic union in the country, has urged the withdrawal of labor representatives from the WLB. This union has just concluded a national referendum on the no-strike pledge. While the results have not yet been published, it is conceded that hundreds of thousands of militant auto and aircraft workers, if not a majority of the union, have voted to rescind the no-strike policy. A new wave of strikes has broken out in Detroit, key war industry center, with the Chrysler-Dodge workers now taking the lead.

Moreover, within a few weeks the over 600,000 members of the powerful United Mine Workers may be enforcing their traditional "no contract, no work" policy. The UMW policy committee on February 26 at its opening session to prepare demands for forthcoming contract negotiations indicated the possibilities of another general mine strike by sending formal notice to Secretary of Labor Perkins, the NLRB and WLB that a dispute exists in the industry — the 30-day notification of strike intent required under the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Law.

Important as all these developments are, they do not yet constitute a genuine, definitive break with the union leadership's basic policy of reliance on government agencies and compulsory arbitration to win the workers' just demands. Even Rieve, who has taken the boldest stand to date of all the CIO leaders, still holds out the hope of advancing labor's interests by collaboration with the employers and their government through a differently constituted board.

### TIME FOR ACTION

Thus, the TWU's executive board did not attack the WLB for what it is — a government agency deliberately constructed by Roosevelt, with the aid of the union officials, to curb the unions and enforce the wage-freeze. The TWU resolution urges CIO withdrawal from the WLB "unless the WLB's original function as a decision-making body, acting in the interest of equal justice, is re-established." Of course, the WLB never had and was not intended to have such a function. That was merely a fiction used to gain the worker's support for the board and their surrender of the strike weapon.

Nevertheless, the TWU decisions are further confirmation of the correctness of the policies consistently advocated by the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. From the very first, the Trotskyists have warned of the disastrous consequences for labor in the no-strike policy and support of the WLB. Today workers everywhere are learning the truth of the Trotskyist contentions through their own bitter experiences. They must now demand that the lessons of these experiences be translated into decisive action. The union leaders must be compelled to resign immediately from the anti-labor WLB. The no-strike policy must be scrapped. A united militant union offensive must be launched to smash the wage-freezing Little Steel Formula.



By V. Grey

Scissorsbill Sam (the bosses' man) keeps telling us how unfair it would be to take away the factories from all the bosses and run them ourselves. A lot of fellows agree with him, too. They don't say it so loud as he does. But down inside, some of them think it would be kind of a dirty trick.

Why, us working people are in the great majority. And it wouldn't be very sporting for us to take advantage of our great size and strength—to kick out this tiny group of tyrants, would it? After all, there THEY are, smooth, cultured generous—born to command—just like the actor who plays the female movie star's millionaire father in the pictures. And here WE are, the huge mass of people that only look at the movies, and work in the shops. The fifty or sixty million dumb clucks that have to work for a living. Born to be commanded. Why only an "agitator" would want to change a beautiful set-up like that!

No. It really doesn't seem fair to take things away from people who are weaker, fewer, and more useless than ourselves. But figure it this way. We're really not taking anything away from them that they didn't take away from us in the first place.

When they sell a billion dollars worth of steel to the government, where did the steel come from? Why, you'll say, from the strip mill, the bar mill, the rail mill, etc. And where did the plates, bars and beams come from? From the ingots, you say. And the ingots from the open hearth. And the "live iron" from the mixer and the blast furnace, and so on, back to the iron ore that was dug out of the Mesabi Range by workers just like ourselves. And in every one of these processes it was working PEOPLE who changed the product from one thing into another, until finally it became steel.

But what about the machinery the diggers used, and the expensive equipment every steel plant has? Fine—fine—That's just the point. That cost something, they tell you. Yes. But what it really cost was LABOR. The machinery took labor to make, the labor of the engineer, draughtsman, tool and die maker, etc. It is made of steel that the millworker, billet man, furnace man, dock-workers, railroad worker, ship worker and miner made, too—and so are the buildings and tracks and engines—and everything else made by whole generations of working people.

### THEY SELL THE PRODUCT OF OUR LABOR

What they sell, when they sell a billion dollars worth of steel is the product of our labor. And that's where they get the money to hire more laborers to build more plants. That's where they get the money to live, to live in palaces and swim in champagne. And all they return to the laborer is enough for him and his family to scrape along on, a jump ahead of the Finance Company.

We're not going to be unjust to the capitalist. We're going to give him a far better break than he ever gave us. When he works under a WORKERS' government he'll get the full product of his labor—which is a damn sight more than he gives us.

He won't surrender a part of his product every day of his life for the enrichment of a few, like us working people have to do now. He won't be building up more factories to enslave his own children. He'll be helping to build better factories to make the work easier and life better for all.

Maybe he's a smart fellow and will be of more aid in drafting and planning work than in actual construction. Good! We'll use him. But maybe he's too old, and can't work at anything at all. Never mind! We'll give him a pension (and no lousy thirty dollars a month, either!).

Then again, maybe he's not too old, or too weak, or too dumb, but just won't work. Well, in a case like that, the boys in the locker room ought to dope out a pretty good way to deal with him.

# Forced Labor Plan Pushed By Senatorial Committee

(Continued from page 1)

of the forced labor campaign, contends "that the real labor conservation threat is embodied in the Allentown Plan rather than the May-Bailey bill." He states that the strategy of the Roosevelt administration is to use the threat of the "more drastic" May-Bailey bill to jam through a "compromise" measure. This "compromise" worked out in secret in a behind-the-scenes deal is incorporated in the "substitute" Kilgore-Wagner bill. Allen discloses what the forced labor advocates are after by declaring:

"What they're after—in terms of administration strategy—is a Congressional act legalizing the Allentown Plan. Why is that? Because the Allentown Plan, draws its authority from an Executive Order which went into effect July 1, and not from an Act of Congress. The Allentown Plan interferes with the rights of private citizens engaged in pursuits having no connection with the war. The Allentown Plan enforces involuntary servitude... which is a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States."

"The Administration," Allen continues, "is anxious to find a legal cover—to be provided by Congress—to sanction the dubious legality of its previous efforts to force labor conscription on the country. The Administration has known for a long time that labor conscription by Executive Order is on legally shaky ground... as witness how long it has waited since July 1 to put it into effect in the Allentown Plan." (For information on the origin and development of the Allentown Plan, see The Militant, Feb. 24, 1945).

This is the treacherous "compromise" that Murray, Green and Company are urging the workers to support. "Urge your Senator," pleads the CIO News editorial, "to vote for the Kilgore-Wagner-Ferguson bill." The union militants must arouse the workers to reject this injunction. Urge the workers to adopt resolutions, organize demonstrations, utilize every means, to make known labor's uncompromising opposition to any and all forms of forced labor.

### NEW YORK

## Sunday Night Forum

"THE WAY OUT FOR THE JEWISH MASSES"  
Roosevelt-Churchill and "The Right of Asylum."  
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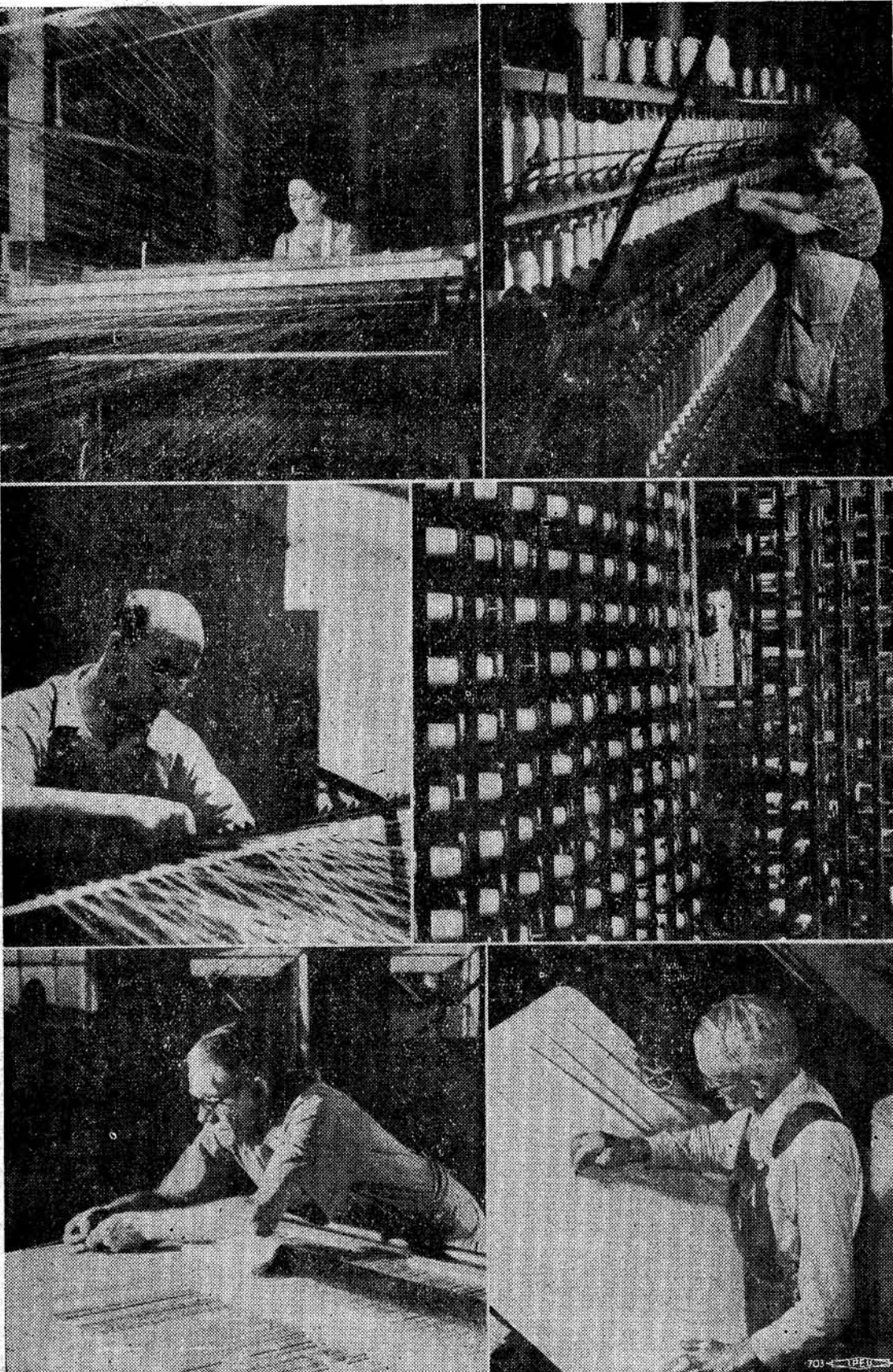
Speaker:

IRVING DALE, Former Zionist Youth Leader  
Sunday, March 4, at 8 P. M.

Questions Refreshments

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE  
116 University Place

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# The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

## Big Business Leader Speaks

The Negro people are reading and hearing plenty of comments these days as to what will happen to them in the "post-war" period. Many writers admit that, with the coming cut-back of war production, the Negro worker (before the others) will be walking the street again just as he was during the last depression.

In order to keep in the good graces of the capitalist exploiters for whom they speak, these writers invariably fail to advocate any basic change in the economic system which would assure Negro employment by assuring full employment.

It is seldom, however, that this current subject is used as a launching ramp for an outright assault on the Negro people themselves. Yet that is what has happened during the past few weeks in a series of articles by both white and Negro civic leaders, political chameleons, and big business scoundrels who have held forth on the pages of the Chicago Defender.

The series was entitled "When Peace Comes... What?" In an attempt to cover up their avoidance of a direct and truthful answer to this cogent question they have cast insults at the Negro workers and implied that these workers are the ones responsible for the discrimination in America today.

### BOSS-CLASS SCORN

His boss-class scorn for the Negro worker is clearly brought out by his offer to help the Negro achieve "opportunity" through a program of "self-improvement." To Mr. Mosher the only way for the Negro to "improve" himself would probably be to become a crawling, begging Uncle Tom.

Although he repents the bedtime story that "55,000,000 post-war jobs are attainable," his true fear of the impossibility of this happening under the capitalist system is revealed by his hope that the workers will "practice restraint and tolerance" during this troublesome period.

This is a perfect example then of the attitude of Big Business toward the Negro people. It feeds us the lie that racial prejudice is inherited in order to cover up the fact that it is purposely fostered and taught under the capitalist system because it helps keep the Negro of discrimination when anyone knows that he is the victim rather than the one who passes it out. And, like British imperialism admonishes the starving, exploited Indian people, it advises "restraint and tolerance" in the "post-war" period which, Mr. Mosher states, "will be one of peace and plenty such as no nation ever dreamed."

(More Next Week)

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## WHAT RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TAUGHT WORLD PROLETARIAT

The Russian revolution proved three things for all time. Two of them have been mentioned. First, it can be proved that the party and the leadership necessary for victory can be created by the proletariat, as they have been created by the Russian proletariat.

Second, the Russian revolution proved — I am now repeating what I said before — that the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, introduced by a Soviet revolution, is superior, more progressive, more productive, than any device of capitalism whether democratic or fascist.

And the third thing which we can say is demonstrated by the revolution, and proved now in the test of war, is that only one class is capable of solving the great social problems of our epoch. That class is the proletariat.

The Fourth International with its program and its tactics anchored to these three propositions, has been proven correct by the whole test of events. Therefore, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, we do not change our course. We see not only the terrible weakness of the Soviet regime which derives its strength and control. We see also the strength and the power which derives from the revolutionary origin of the Soviet Union and its basic conquests.

I think it is quite clear that Hitler made a mortal error in attacking the Soviet Union. Fascist thinking was far too superficial for the complicated problem involved in the attempt to destroy the Soviet Union and its Red Army and its economic system. Hitler made a very common mistake. He saw only the bureaucracy which is weak, inefficient and cowardly, and he did not see, and did not understand, the vitality of the still living revolution, and the mighty sources of achievement and heroism that this revolution could call forth in time of war. All the petty bourgeois political thinkers overlook this point — the difference between the Soviet Union, which is the product of a great revolution, and the usurping bureaucracy, which is a parasitic tumor on the Soviet Union.

(From "The Russian Revolution" by James P. Cannon, pp. 10-11. Published by Pioneer Publishers, 1944; 30pp. 10 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

**NEW YORK Socialist Youth Forum**

Friday, March 9, 8 P. M.

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Speaker: Ruth Thorne

Questions Discussion  
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(corner 18th St., between Broadway and Fifth Avenue near Union Square)

Free Admission Refreshments

# Vigilante Gangs Organize Campaign Of Terrorism Against Japanese-American Citizens In California

(Continued from page 1)

"shoot on sight" any Japanese-Americans they might encounter on the streets of this city.

Knowing the identity of the people harboring these murderous designs, did this law enforcement officer have them arrested and brought to trial for threatening the lives of peaceful citizens? By no means! Instead, the district attorney made his knowledge the basis for an appeal to higher authorities to continue depriving the Japanese-Americans of their civil rights by permanently restraining them from returning to their West Coast homes.

The district attorney's attitude, combined with the lynch propaganda of the capitalist press, bore its hateful fruit. On Feb. 17, Mrs. Joseph J. Holzman, who lives at 1829 Camino Palermo in Los Angeles, informed the police she had twice been warned by anonymous phone calls to discharge two Japanese servants whom she had hired after their release from the Tule Lake concentration camp.

The man who phoned told her: "Better get rid of them or we'll get rid of you and take care of them."

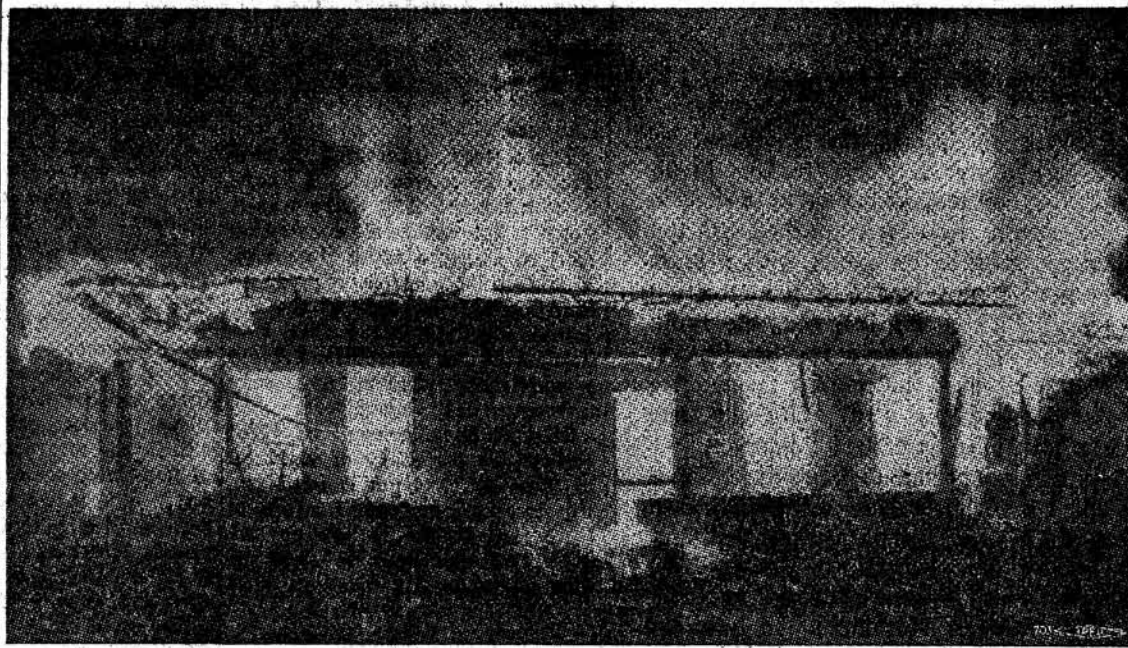
### JAPANESE-AMERICANS

The Japanese-Americans attacked in Fresno county are among thousands of Japanese-Americans who operated vineyards and truck gardens before the war. The big farm interests organized in the Associated Farmers had long wanted to get rid of their successful Japanese farming competitors. The outbreak of war in the Pacific gave them their chance. Aided by the venal press which serves their interests, and with the generous assistance of the authorities, they whipped up an anti-Japanese hysteria. The Army brass-hats, eager to help the reactionary big land owners, herded the thousands of Japanese-Americans, farmers and city dwellers alike, into concentration camps.

For three years these thousands of people, against whom no crime has ever been alleged, have been forcibly deprived of their civil rights, kept prisoners in stockades. The farms and homes of many of them went under the auctioneer's hammer in forced sales. Those who managed to hold on to their farms and homes through the three years, and who are presently returning to them, are now becoming victims of a campaign of intimidation and violence organized by the self-same reactionary business interests and their vigilante hirelings.

Officials of the organized labor movement in California have uttered not a word of protest against the murderous doings of last week. Both the CIO and AFL have maintained official silence. Only the Trotskyists are fighting these vile manifestations of race hatred. The struggle against all forms of race prejudice and discrimination, and mob violence directed against any racial and national minority, forms a prominent plank in the election platform of Myra Tanner Weiss, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles.

## Vigilantes Burn Japanese-American Home



In a wave of terror against American-born Japanese on the West Coast, their homes have been destroyed and their lives endangered by fire and gun. At Selma, near Fresno, California, this Nisei home was burned on February 16.

# Plan To Pillage Germany Means Ruin For Europe

By John G. Wright

The plans for Germany agreed upon by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin might be summarized briefly as follows: The bloodiest and most destructive war in history is to be consummated in the cruellest and most destructive "peace" ever imposed by conquerors upon the conquered. It is the deliberate resolve of the Crimea conferees that "Germany shall never rise again." To this end Germany's territories are to be dismembered and her industries crushed. Her people are to remain enslaved under the despotic rule of Allied military authorities. According to a UP dispatch, Feb. 8, some Washington officials are talking of "occupation in terms of 'until 2000 AD' — a matter of 50 to 55 years."

A further inkling of the savage treatment in store for the German people was given by an official spokesman of the American Seventh Army. N. Y. Times, Feb. 17, quotes this brass hat as disclaiming all Allied interest "in the people of Germany as a nation," and asserting that no effort whatever would be made "to restore German industry." Moreover, "no food will be brought into the country... until their own supplies sink below the level at which a race can exist."

The same official then goes on to explain: "The German diet may be allowed to fall below a level of 1,350 calories a person daily before we do anything about it." The minimum daily requirements of an adult are estimated at 3,000 calories. A diet "below 1,350 calories" is tantamount to slow death by starvation. Cannibals appear like humanitarians alongside these "democratic" imperialist ghoul.

### DOOMS ALL EUROPE

What are the economic consequences of all these hellish plans for Europe? The key to Europe's recovery is the great industrial apparatus of Germany and above all, the greatest productive force in Europe, namely: the German working class. Failing these, there is no way out of devastation and hunger for the peoples of Europe. Germany's doom is their doom.

### GERMAN AGRICULTURE

The so-called Morgenthau plan — apparently adopted at Yalta — to turn Germany into an agricultural country is only a cynical cover for this bestial program of "peacetime" destruction. In the first place German agriculture is one of the most artificial branches of European economy. The ground cultivated is not naturally fertile and requires much artificial fertilizer. As Business Week states editorially in its Feb. 17 issue: "Germany's agriculture has always been high cost, able to exist only by favor of very high protective tariffs. An agricultural Germany would find it almost impossible to trade its farm products for manufactures." Germany has had to import the bulk of its food supplies and of industrial raw materials.

Moreover, as Business Week likewise points out, the projected partition of Germany "not only would weaken Germany but further unbalance it — cutting off almost one-third of its 1937 food output, and over 50 percent of its coal-steel as against only one-sixth of its population. The remaining Germany of fabricating industries — machinery, chemicals, textiles — would then almost completely lack raw materials and markets."

Finally, agriculture could never support Germany's present population. Thus the destruction of Germany's industrial power entails the destruction of a large section of her population, above

## Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

No matter where you work you know Mac. And maybe you like him; lots of people do, and then again, some of us don't think he's any good. But there's a Mac in every shop, and you know him.

I recall approaching Mac during the early days of the organizational drive. I said, "Look, we're not getting anywhere with this company union. The boys elected you a representative, but you can't do anything. You got the locker room cleaned up a little bit last month, but what did they say to you when you went into the office and told them the fellows didn't think they were getting enough money? And what did they say when you went in to tell them the fellows wanted a little more help on the furnaces when the going got tough? They scared hell out of you and sent you out again. They wanted to find out who the agitators were that you were representing."

"Well," Mac said, "I know we didn't get all we wanted, but you never do. Hell, I'm no company man, but well... when times get a little better, then we can get a raise. You got to look at both sides."



"Times aren't any worse for the auto plants," I told him, "and those boys got a real union in, and they're getting some real gains."

Mac looked hard at me.

"Yeah," I repeated. "They got the CIO into their plants."

"Sure," Mac sneered. "Those poor suckers are keeping a bunch of union big shots riding around in limousines and drinking Scotch."

"Even if that were true, Mac, those boys have made some damn fine gains."

Mac pondered a moment. "I don't know. Anyway, that's a red organization, and I don't want nothing to do with reds."

That was pretty final, so I let him alone, and we got the SWOC drive underway without his help.

Then later on, just before I was laid off for union activity, I approached him again.

I said, "Mac, most of the boys around here have joined the union. You've worked with them for years. We're all getting together to make the company quit kicking us around. How about it?"

Mac was studying the top of Number Three Furnace. "How about what?" he asked uncomfortably.

"How about joining the union?" I said patiently.

Mac's eyes were travelling down the turret-like furnace, over the cast-house. He stared intently at the row of stoves, black cylinders, four of them reaching up a hundred feet into the air. He spoke slowly. "See me in a couple of days. I'll think it over." Then, with a hunted look in his eyes... "I don't want to lose my job..."

The drive went on. Joey and I went out at night drinking beer with men from the plant, talking, arguing, getting tired and run down, making Mom scold us. The boys called us the "father and son team." Then I got the axe for my activities, but the kid was still in there punching. I was outside the gate passing out leaflets, still drinking beer, talking and arguing, getting union members.

Terry O'Day and Whitey Larson were outside the gate, too, working their heads off to get the union into the plant, and every day somebody else would come out and join us; and sometimes, although not very often, some guy would come out of the gate and stamp into the office swearing at us, because he'd worked in the plant for ten years and then been fired for union activity, and now he was disgusted with the very idea of a union. But that wasn't very often.

Then came the big strike with pickets all over the streets, marching, singing, gathering on the corners to joke and conjecture about the progress of the strike, laughing, yelling, fighting scabs, fighting cops... But where was Mac? Mac was home. Mac was at his mother-in-law's. She was sick. Mac was sick. Mac was tired.

There was a burning sun bearing down on the picket line, and I was sweating. I was tired. The men all around me were hot and tired. But Mac was home, or at his mother-in-law's or some place, and he was comfortable. He wasn't hungry, and he was getting plenty of rest.

Men had their heads broken on that picket line. Men died on that picket line, ten of them, shot in the back by the cops, shot as they fled, unarmed. But Mac was home safe, or he was safe at his mother-in-law's, or he was attending to some business. When the ambulances howled through the streets, they weren't after Mac. Mac stayed home and didn't come out until the strike was over and we were back at work.

But when the union was recognized and just about everybody belonged, Mac was there in the hall at every meeting, raising hell about the company. The man really could speak, and he took the floor at every opportunity. Soon he was a steward. Now he's vice-president, a great Roosevelt man, really outstanding for his PAC activity.

We'll probably kick him out next election.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARCH 2, 1935

FARGO, N. D.—The strike of Drivers Local 173 continued, as 16 of its leaders were sentenced to terms totaling 44 months in prison for strike activities. In a ringing challenge to the police and boss persecution, the union workers thronged the highways with picket signs reading "Don't Trade in a Scab Town!"

Meanwhile 60 other strikers were still in prison, awaiting trial on the same trumped-up charges of "riot." From the Twin Cities came promises of aid, as Minneapolis Drivers Local 574 met to protest the treatment of their fellow-workers, and Miles Dunne, 574 leader, prepared to speak before the Minneapolis Farmer-Labor Convention on behalf of the Fargo victims.

COLUMBUS, O.—Headquarters of the National Unemployed League here announced plans for a nation-wide "Caravan to Washington" to present a nine-point program before Congress. Basic demands of the League included the 30-hour week for labor, a \$10,000,000,000 public works program on the basis of the 80-hour, \$30 week, and unemployment insurance. The League also demanded proportionate cash relief for all unemployed workers and farmers, pending establishment of a satisfactory public works program.



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# Fourth International

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY

Civil War in Greece.....By The Editors

1. Greece Up to the Metaxas Dictatorship
2. The Greek Civil War
3. The Lessons of Greece

The Campaign to Conscript Labor... By C. Thomas

Outlook for a Labor Party... By William Simmons

The Minneapolis Labor Case.....An Editorial

On the European Situation.....By Daniel Logan

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# THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

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

—LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

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

## Vote Trotskyist!

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, has from the outset of her campaign raised issues which are of vital concern to all wage earners regardless of creed or color. The gist of her message to the workers of Los Angeles may be set down in three propositions:

- 1.) The main strength of the masses lies in their vast numbers; but so long as they remain divided this numerical strength remains in reality only a source of weakness. Therefore:
- 2.) The main task is to organize themselves in order to express their common will and to further their own interests against the handful of the rich who prey upon them.
- 3.) The most effective form of organization is that of a political party based on a genuine working-class program.

The tests of the genuineness of such a program are not difficult ones. Labor's strength is in its own ranks. Its present weakness comes from its dependence on the so-called "friends" in the camp of the class enemy. The Trotskyist candidate alone has told the Los Angeles workers this truth by underscoring that labor dare not sacrifice any of its dearly-won rights, no matter what fraudulent "cause" may be advanced by the self-styled "friends of labor." It is the great merit of the California Socialist Workers Party and its candidate that they have brought this sharply to the fore in the mayoralty campaign. For example, they point out the urgent necessity of fighting against the wage-freeze by revoking the "no-strike" pledge, whereby organized workers have been deprived of their most effective economic weapon against the Big Business onslaught on their living standards.

No less important is the struggle against race discrimination. Race hatred is the sharpest wedge which the rich seek to drive in the ranks of the toilers. California today is one of the hotbeds of vigilante activity. In an open letter to the CIO Council and the AFL Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, the Trotskyist candidate has sounded the alarm and called for labor to close its ranks

in the struggle against vigilante terror. Labor cannot permit this threat to go unanswered. The issues in the Los Angeles mayoralty campaign are by no means simply local ones. We urge all the *Militant* readers to follow this campaign attentively. We urge those who live in Los Angeles to aid the campaign and help rally the greatest possible support for it. Every vote for Myra Tanner Weiss is a vote for the poor against the rich; a vote for the independent party of labor; a vote against the wage-freeze and the high cost of living; a blow against race discrimination.

## Capitalist Program

Adding insult to injury, the advocates of forced labor legislation vilify the workers in an attempt to justify their reactionary drive to shackle the labor movement. Roosevelt touched off the current labor conscription campaign with a blast that "Workers who quit war jobs were costing American lives." Picking up this cue, the rabid labor-hating head of the Army Service Forces, General Somervell, toured the country denouncing labor for "prolonging the war." Workers were quitting their war jobs, screamed Somervell. The cost-plus patriots and their political deputies try to smear the labor movement for their own crimes. They aim to unload their own responsibility for the war and its consequences onto the shoulders of the workers. The "optimism" about an early end of the war with Germany emanated from the top circles of the General Staff. So optimistic were the brass hats that they instituted a wide-scale program of cutbacks and plant shutdowns last summer throwing tens of thousands out of work.

At that time Congress enacted and Roosevelt signed the George Demobilization Bill. This measure provides for the disposal of billions worth of government-owned plant and equipment to the profit-bloated corporations. For the workers, the bill provides "states rights" unemployment compensation as low as \$2 a week.

In time of war—forced labor and frozen wages. In time of "peace"—unemployment and a starvation dole. That is the capitalist program imposed upon the working people.

## Menace Of Stalinism

The Yalta conference strikingly underscores the open counter-revolutionary role of the Kremlin. The main point on the agenda of this conference was the division of labor between the Allied imperialists and the Stalinist agency of imperialism in their plot to drown the European revolution in blood. The "Big Three" have been from the first in accord in their conspiracy against the unfolding Socialist revolution. Most of the disagreements among them have hitherto revolved around the price the Kremlin was to receive for its hangman's services. At Yalta Roosevelt and Churchill acceded to Stalin's terms involving the Curzon line, the Kremlin's share in the carving up and looting of Germany, the demarcation of Moscow's sphere of influence in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and so on.

In the light of the Yalta conference special importance attaches to the action last November of the Eleventh Convention of the American Trotskyist movement which, after reviewing the Trotskyist position on the USSR as a degenerated workers state in the setting of the new situation, adopted a shift of emphasis in the slogans to be advanced in the next period relating to the defense of the USSR. Our defense of the Soviet Union, as Leon Trotsky pointed out time and again, never had anything in common with the policies or methods of Stalinism which we opposed and continue to oppose irreconcilably. What we defend is the integral part of the world revolution which began in Russia in 1917 and its essential conquests which still remain. We defend all this in our own way exclusively through the methods of the class struggle. Never, as the Kremlin does, by supporting some imperialist governments against others, but always by preserving inviolate the independence of the revolutionary class politics of the proletariat.

So long as the armies of German imperialism directly threatened the remaining conquests of the October Revolution it was necessary to advance as the central slogan the unconditional defense of the USSR and to subordinate the political struggle for the overthrow of Stalin's regime to the needs of Soviet military defense. But this can no longer apply now that the direct military threat to the Soviet Union has been removed. Now that the Red Armies stand not before Leningrad, Moscow or Stalingrad but on the outskirts of Berlin, our defense of the Soviet Union must place as the central slogan on the order of the day *the defense of the European Revolution against all its enemies, especially its defense against the main internal enemy—Stalinism.* The political struggle for the annihilation of Stalinism inside and outside the USSR now comes to the fore.

The fate of the Soviet Union, we have always maintained, will be decided on the map of the international class struggle and not on European military maps. Translated in terms of the altered objective situation, this means that the fate of the USSR now directly hinges on the outcome of unfolding European revolution. Every blow to the European proletariat, and particularly its most powerful sector—the working class of Germany—is a nail driven into the coffin so far as the remaining conquests of October are concerned. The task of the revolutionary vanguard throughout the world is to patiently explain this to the insurgent masses and to rally them in the struggle for the European revolution and against the main internal enemy of the Soviet Union and the world working class—Stalinism.

# WORKERS' FORUM

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

## Seeks Information About Trotskyism

Editor: I am very interested in the Trotskyist movement. I have been informed that there was a Fourth International convention held in Chicago some time ago. Would it be possible for you to send me the program of the Socialist Workers Party that was drafted at the convention? I am a university student and very interested in the movement. If you have a copy of "Not Guilty" — the story of the trial of Trotsky that you'll send me, I'll pay as I am very anxious to have that book. If you haven't a copy of that book will you advise me where I can obtain one?  
S. H. Montana

## Small Business-Men And the Unions

Editor: I received your welcome letter and four postal sub cards some time ago, when I was in poor health. But am partly on the mend, and as soon as I get well I will get the subs for you and send you the money.

You asked me to write you and tell you what I think of The Militant. Allow me to congratulate you upon the firm stand you are taking in defending the masses, particularly the labor unions. Will they ever appreciate it? The Militant reminds me of the old Appeal to Reason when Mr. Wayland was editor of it nearly 40 years ago.

Now as to the labor unions, if I may state my opinions. The sit-down and walkout strikes they have pulled off may have had good results in some localities, but the reactionary capitalists through their press have built a wall of prejudice so high and strong that the labor unions cannot pierce an opening of a needle's eye through it. Take the independent merchant with a capital of from 20 to 40 thousand dollars, with possibly his wife and half-grown children working with him. He states he cannot clear ten dollars per day, and he thinks from reading only reactionary newspapers that unions are to blame. Other small businesses are in the same fix. Then come the floating popu-

lation, non-union, then the farmhands, and at last the farmer with valuable agricultural land, thousands of dollars invested in buildings, equipment, live stock, and his own labor besides the labor of his wife and half-grown children. All included cannot clear ten dollars a day, and they see a union man without skill or tools get from 10 to 15 or 20 dollars per day, with time and a half for overtime.

Now then, as a matter of fact there are few union men who get those wages, nevertheless that sits in the minds of the majority of non-union men. I have in mind an idea that would build a wall of prejudice around the capitalists much stronger than they have built around the labor unions, and time is ripe for it now. But I am not a union member at present, so I had better refrain from making any statement as it may be looked on as dictating to the unions.

Wishing you overwhelming success in your undertaking.  
M. A. W.  
Margie, Minn.

## Italian Aristocrats Play Both Sides

Editor: The following letter from Florence which appeared in the Italian-American paper La Parola, Feb. 17 shows how the rich aristocrats in this Italian city are playing their double game of keeping in good with both Fascists and the Allies.

"Our city, too, is witnessing the phenomenon common throughout the rest of liberated Italy. While the mass of the population suffers the most fearful misery and innumerable difficulties of the time, a privileged few manage to live comfortably and happy, increasing their wealth. In order to obtain the help of the Allies, they organize receptions, banquets and balls in honor of high officials.

"They are for the most part, the same people who, during the period of Nazi oppression, organized the same receptions, banquets and balls for the fascist hierarchy, professing unlimited faith in their beloved Duce. And these same people who formerly collaborated with the Germans, now send their daughters into the Allied offices.

"Unfortunately, these people find sympathy and protection among these officers seeking amusement. But these facts create highly unfavorable repercussions in the minds of the populations who see on every hand the truly humiliating treatment accorded the partisans who fought so valourously for the liberation of the city. In order to end this state of affairs, the parties of the left have drawn up a list of compromised elements who at present enjoy Allied protection."  
A. Rico  
New York

## Our Millionaires

Editor: A man told me this the other day: "This is the greatest country in the world," he said, "we have got more millionaires than any other country under the sun."

I told him that was proof that this is the dumbest country in the world, if our money and wealth is in the hands of millionaires. I asked him to subscribe to our paper and he looked scared and said someone might see it, and he started to run. I said I never hurt anyone in my life, and I had to be in a hurry to say goodbye!

L. B. C.  
Hamilton, O.

## Question - Box

Editor: I wish to make a tiny suggestion on the "Militant's Question-Box" column. There is no doubt that the idea is a good one. But I believe you should shorten the answers somewhat. Why not allow two or even three questions in the same column? The general impression is that you tend to tire out the reader with such a lengthy answer. Or that you are trying to make up in words and space what you lack in a straight-forward reply.

My suggestion is that you give a short, concise answer and that the answer consist of no more than 200 or 300 words. It should be just enough of an answer to make the reader want to read up further on the question.

At the bottom of each answer you might recommend a party publication, either book or pamphlet, which would supply a more adequate reply.

Mike Warren  
New York

## Private Working Capital Greatest in All History

War contracts and government bounty have raised the net working capital of America's corporations to the highest point in history. Last week the Securities and Exchange Commission issued its quarterly analysis for the three months of July, 1944 to September. An increase of \$1,200,000,000 was recorded over the previous three months, bringing total working capital as of September 1944 to \$45,100,000,000 (that's billions!).

According to the SEC report, this accumulation of working capital is due primarily to "retained profits"—that is profits siphoned into "capital reserve" funds in order to avoid payment of corporation income and excess profits taxes. These are profits which the corporations have concealed by pretending they are funds for further capital investments and expansion. Actually, they are juicy war profits melons which will be divided up after the war when the corporations hope to secure huge tax rate reductions.

The corporations have also increased accumulated "post-war credits in refundable taxes" to \$2,000,000,000 as of September 30, 1944, \$200,000,000 more than the previous three months. Other billions in government refunds have been accumulated through provisions of the income and excess profits tax laws for carrying back of "losses" and unused profits credits, for faster amortization of "emergency facilities" and recomputation of base-period income in excess profits determination.

Most of this tremendous increment of working capital is in so-called "liquid assets"—cash funds in the banks or invested in government securities. But this has not prevented Big Business from clamoring for greatly reduced taxes under the pretext of accumulating sufficient "working capital" to "provide jobs" at the cessation of hostilities.

## FHA Bars Negro Workers From Texas Housing Units

Roosevelt's National Housing Administration last week gave another typical demonstration of the kind of "democracy" for which the Negro people are being asked to fight and die.

That was the refusal of National Housing Administrator Blandford to permit Negro ordnance workers from occupying a 200-unit war housing project originally built for them in New Boston, Texas, but which on completion was turned over exclusively to white occupancy.

Representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had protested this discriminatory action to Blandford, but he upheld the ruling of the NHA Regional Director in Dallas who had originally ordered the transfer of the housing project to white tenants.

Even before the NAACP had the opportunity to appeal the local NHA official's decision, white families were hastily being moved into the housing units built for Negro families. Negro workers at the high-priority Lone Star and Red River ordnance plants in Texarkana and nearby New Boston must live far out in rural areas and travel as much as 70 miles to their jobs.

While the Roosevelt administration has been demanding a forced labor law on the pretext of a manpower "shortage," millions of Negro workers are either denied jobs or prevented from taking jobs by intolerable housing conditions in war production centers.

The National Housing Administration is not content with upholding the principle of racial segregation by restricting Negro workers to jim-crow housing units. It further denies the Negroes even such units, built with taxes collected from both Negro and white workers, and turns them over on completion exclusively to white tenants.

## "Millionaires Amendment" To Limit Taxes on Rich

Working with such quiet and secrecy that few people know of its existence, a movement of big business leaders and their political agents has already pushed through 18 state legislatures a resolution to Congress calling for a Constitutional amendment limiting federal income, gift and inheritance taxes to 25 per cent maximum. This "millionaires' amendment" is sponsored by wealthy publisher Frank Gannett's "Committee for Constitutional Government."

Present federal wartime tax laws permit taxes as high as 94 per cent on the very top income brackets. Because of enormous war profits, and tax loopholes this still permits personal net annual incomes after taxes of as much as a million dollars and more.

The object of the proposed constitutional amendment is to prevent Congress from even having the right to tax the rich in accordance with their ability to pay. This would mean placing the full burden of war debt payment openly and directly on the masses of low-income earners.

So complete has been the conspiracy of silence among the capitalist politicians and daily press about this movement that the resolution for calling a national constitutional convention to ratify the "millionaires' amendment" has passed 18 state legislatures without the knowledge of the general public. The Gannett plan calls for slicking the resolution through 14 more legislatures this year, making it mandatory for Congress to call a constitutional convention.

Some of the facts of this fantastic conspiracy came to light only last week, when the New York State Senate defeated the resolution by a 24-24 tie vote. Liberal newspaper columnists, startled that such a measure could get such support in the country's most populated state, investigated and discovered the headway the proposal had already made unknown to the people at large.

Under the proposed amendment, a man with a million dollars annual income could be taxed no more than \$250,000. To meet its expenses, the government would then be forced to tax even the smallest incomes at the top 25 per cent. The way would also be paved for heavy sales taxes to make up huge government deficits.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### France

Coal miners in Northern France are refusing to work on Sunday until their demands are granted to improve their unbearable conditions. A dispatch to the N. Y. Times from Paris (Feb. 22nd) reported that more than 50% of the miners in the Anzin district refused to work on Sunday February 18th.

This limited strike is directed against insufficient food supplies, failure to issue rations of soap, and the reduction of Sunday pay by 75 per cent.

As in the United States and Great Britain, the miners in Northern France are being viciously smeared by the capitalist press and charged with responsibility for hardships resulting from lack of fuel. The trade union officials have joined in this chorus with an appeal to the starved-out miners to step up production.

The de Gaulle government has turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the miners. A delegation, headed by the Mayor of Lille, returned empty-handed after making a special trip to Paris to plead with the Minister of Supplies, Paul Ramadier, for an increase in food rations. The Minister, who doesn't have to risk his life digging coal, rejected the request.

### Belgium

The new cabinet in Belgium headed by the Social-Democrat Van Acker has no brighter future than its predecessor the Pierlot government. Hardly had the new government taken office when its Minister of the Interior Adolphe van Glabbeke announced that Belgium is headed straight for chaos unless plenty of food, medical supplies and raw materials are immediately forthcoming from the United States.

"Confidential police reports," the Minister says, "tell of fighting in bakery shops and when there is fighting in the bakeries it is a sure sign of serious trouble two or three weeks ahead." To this

he added that one million people would die in Belgium if an epidemic broke out today.

The Anglo-American authorities, far from assisting the Belgian people in their desperate plight, are feeding the war industries only and siphoning their output for the military front. "Britain and the United States," complains the Minister, "are behaving oddly. It is unfair and dangerous."

There is nothing "odd" about the behavior of the Anglo-American imperialists. They are following a deliberate policy of reducing Belgium—as well as the rest of Europe—to the status of a colony. The danger, however, is obvious. It is the danger of Socialist revolution.

The government is powerless while the people are starving. "Belgium is not getting her share and what she is receiving is mixed up in two and a half governments trying to run the country..." (The Belgian Cabinet and the British Occupation Authority to which it is subordinated.)

How do "they (the British and Americans) expect us to keep order?" the Minister whines. Unless relief is forthcoming in adequate quantities before the next crops are harvested, the government, he moaned, will collapse in the next five or six months.

### Italy

More than 6,000 persons gathered in a mass meeting in Rome on Feb. 22nd to protest the vigilante raid on the offices of the Italian Socialist Party's newspaper *Avanti!* The hoodlum gang that wrecked the office consisted of fascist naval officers and a few sailors. Emboldened by the timidity of the workers' parties and their capitulation before the Anglo-American imperialists, the raid is only the most open indication that the reactionary forces are organizing their forces and preparing a sweeping assault on the labor

movement. That this raid should have been organized by naval officers points the finger directly to one of the festering sores of monarchist and militarist reaction—the Ministry of the Marine. Despite loud protests by Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders, the purge has never touched the navy—along with most other government institutions—and the old gang that ruled under Mussolini is still at the helm.

The Christian Democrats, a reactionary Catholic party, utilized the attack on the S. P. newspaper as a signal for a campaign of slander against the labor movement. Fanciful stories were published by them charging the defiling of church property, intimidation of priests and attacks on clerical supporters.

The workers have been demanding vigorous action against the repetition of such raids. Local Socialist committees in Rome adopted resolutions announcing that they are preparing defensive measures. But the party leaders are playing the same game that cleared the road for Mussolini to take power more than twenty years ago. The Socialist Party leadership is going to "appeal to the Government"—under whose right wing the attack was evidently inspired and planned. The mass meeting decided that "this time the protest would be confined to . . . speeches but if this incident is repeated immediate counter-measures will be taken."

The electrical atmosphere in the fleet is indicated by the report that leaflets have been distributed to the Italian sailors at the Taranto base calling upon them to emulate the Russian sailors of Kronstadt in 1917 and the French Black Sea mutiny after World War I. The information, published by the Vatican-inspired paper *Quotidiano*, says that the sailors were urged to establish "internal commissions" or cells on board the ships and at the naval bases.