

THE MILITANT BOOKSHOP
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UNION HEADS BACK FORCED LABOR PLAN

Allies Impose Harsh "Peace" On Greek ELAS

By Larissa Reed

After the civil war which raged for over a month in and around Athens, the Allied invaders and their Greek Quislings have succeeded in imposing savage terms upon the defeated ELAS forces. Weeks of negotiations ended on Feb. 12 when Premier Plastiras secured the signatures of the Stalinist leaders of the EAM-ELAS on his "peace agreement."

According to the provisions of this agreement, the ELAS forces have been ordered to "stack their arms within fourteen days." Determined to guarantee a complete disarming of the ELAS fighters, the government stipulated that within these two weeks at least 41,500 rifles, 1,000 light machine guns, 163 mortars, sub-machine guns, heavy machine guns, 32 pieces of assorted artillery and 15 radios must be turned in. Thus the British aim to carry through their plans of depriving the workers of their means of self-defense which were interrupted by the civil war beginning December 3.

As a condition for surrendering their arms, the ELAS leaders demanded the simultaneous disarming of the reactionary brigades which had shot down Greek workers for the Nazis during the occupation. Churchill and Scobie flatly rejected this demand. Thus the armistice provides only for disarming the ELAS forces. The government is permitting the British-created Royalist Mountain Brigades and the pro-Nazi Security Battalions to keep all their weapons.

REIGN OF TERROR.
The government also rejected the demand by EAM-ELAS for a general amnesty, thus leaving the way open for its continued reign of terror against the masses. General Plastiras can now proceed to frame up, imprison and execute workers in the fashion of Franco after the Spanish

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UAW Referendum On Strike Policy Nears Conclusion

The organized workers in every industry are anxiously awaiting the outcome of the CIO United Automobile Workers' referendum on the no-strike pledge. The referendum has been virtually concluded. The deadline for the active membership's mail vote was February 17, while members in the armed forces have until February 28 to send in their ballots.

Regardless of the voting results, which will probably not be disclosed for another month or more, the battle of the UAW militants to rescind the no-strike pledge has helped to educate millions in the labor movement about the disastrous consequences for the workers of the no-strike surrender policy and to arouse hundreds of thousands of auto workers to the need for a return to a militant union program.

The struggle for such a program in the UAW is bound to continue. It is ensured by the Rank and File Caucus, which organized and led the fight against the no-strike policy at the last UAW convention, and conducted a widely supported campaign nationally to win a majority vote

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Trying to Hold Down the Iron Lid



Real Aims Uniting The Allies At Secret Crimea Conference

By William F. Ward

The Crimea conference marks the highest degree of unity achieved by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. The elation expressed by the official press in Washington and London as well as in Moscow reflects this fact. If not all the questions dividing the Allies and bringing them into sharp conflict with each other were settled, it is clear that some of the most pressing problems which engendered serious friction between the meetings at Teheran and Yalta have been ironed out.

Among the major matters disposed of were the territorial partition of Poland and the kind of governments to be imposed upon Poland and Yugoslavia. The Baltic states are to remain part of the USSR. In return for these and other concessions in Eastern Europe, Stalin has evidently set aside his Free Germany Committee headed by Junker generals. The Allied plans for the military occupation, dismemberment, despoliation and enslavement of Germany signify that their policy in Italy will seem benefited compared to their projected treatment of Germany.

For a free hand in the Balkans and the states bordering on the Soviet Union, Stalin has given sureties to the Anglo-American imperialists that in the countries occupied by the Red Army he will continue to maintain intact capitalist property. He has also agreed to support governments in these countries which, while subservient to the Kremlin, are pledged to protect the capitalists and landlords against the demands of the popular masses.

As the EAM's shameful surrender to Scobie's "armistice" terms in Greece indicates, Stalin is also fully prepared to give unreserved support to the Allies in their schemes to dominate the countries allotted to their spheres of influence in Western Europe. He has thrown in the services of the Stalinist parties as small change in this deal.

UNPUBLISHED FACTS

In the horse-trading that went on at Yalta, there were undoubtedly a number of other commitments made about which the official pronouncements have not said a word. This is confirmed by a cable from London by Raymond Daniel published in the Feb. 18 N. Y. Times, stating that "the unpublished results of the conference may have as strong an influence on future events as those that have already been published." As one small example, N. Y. Times correspondent Harold Callender reported from Paris on Feb. 15 that "the British and Americans at the conference agreed that the Marianas and other islands mandated to Japan after World War I should be under American control after the defeat of Japan."

The Yalta conference did not and could not eradicate the deep-seated imperialist rivalries between the United States and Great Britain nor eliminate their underlying class hostility toward the USSR. The bitter competition between the capitalist cliques of the United States and England over markets, sources of raw materials, control of the air, the seas and the land and their other

dog-fights over the spoils of war are bound to break through all attempts at regulation and to increase in intensity. Nor have the Yalta decisions removed the fundamental sources of the sharp conflicts between England and the USSR over their respective spheres of influence which flared up in the past year from Iran to Poland. Above all, despite Stalin's efforts to deny and to suppress it, there remains the irreconcilable antagonism between the capitalist powers and the Soviet Union which flows from the existence of nationalized property in the USSR.

These differences and divisions which have repeatedly unsettled relations among the Allies will persist after Yalta as before. But their struggles against each other will perforce be conducted in a masked manner, accompanied by public protestations of

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HELEN JUDD

Her tired heart worn out by a life-time of toil and struggle on behalf of the working class, comrade Helen Judd, 71-year old pioneer Trotskyist, died suddenly of a heart attack in Chicago last Saturday. The sad news of the death of this sterling American Bolshevik arrived as The Militant was going to press.

Her passing means the loss of a veteran communist fighter and a link with the best traditions of the American Marxist movement going back before the last war. As a Debs Socialist, a founding member of the Communist Party and one of the first Trotskyists, she worked indefatigably for the cause of socialism to the moment of her final collapse.

Despite her advanced years, Helen insisted on doing more work than her full share of party work. Never did a day pass that she did not devote to party work, including literature distribution in the coldest weather. Characteristically she was hurrying to the party headquarters when her brave heart gave out. The Chicago SWP held a Memorial Service Tuesday night. Her funeral was on Wednesday.

(A more complete account of Comrade Helen Judd's life will appear in the next issue of The Militant.)

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SWP Candidate Files Nominating Petitions

(By Wire to THE MILITANT)

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 17.—Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, has qualified for a place on the ballot by filing last Wednesday her nominating petition with 930 signatures of registered voters. She will be the only working class candidate on the ballot.

Since the trade union movement has not put a labor party and labor candidate in the field but is following the bankrupt policy of supporting capitalist party candidates, the Trotskyist candidate has declared her definitive decision to run for the office of mayor.

Both the AFL and CIO here have declared support for capitalist candidates. The AFL has endorsed a lawyer, Anthony Entenza, while the CIO Council, Stalinist-dominated, has endorsed Mayor Gletcher Bowron, who is also backed by all the "notables," including the head of the Chamber of Commerce.

The first union meeting to receive the Trotskyist candidate's newly printed platform was the longshoremen's meeting at Wilmington Thursday night. Despite the announced opposition of the union officials, union rank and file outside the hall gave a friendly reception to the leaflets and contributed funds to the Trotskyist campaign.

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 14.—Offering the first serious labor challenge in many years to the corrupt and boss-ridden capitalist political machines here, Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the April 7 elections, this week issued the full militant workingclass program on which she will campaign against the candidates of the anti-labor parties.

The attractive and dynamic

Beating the Gun On Forced Labor

Even before a national slave labor bill has been passed by Congress, the City of Columbus, Miss., with a population of 20,000, put into action its own local forced labor law.

Every worker in the city is required to carry a card bearing his or her name, the name of the employer and place of employment. Anyone found without such a card is subject to prosecution as a "vagrant."

The card also indicates the number of hours per week the worker is forced to work. At the end of each day, the boss writes on these cards how many hours was actually put in. And every month the boss files with the city tax office a report on labor used and absenteeism.

tional workingclass solidarity. Myra Tanner Weiss calls for uncompromising defense of the European workers in their revolutionary struggles against imperialist domination and for self-government and self-determination. She appeals for the fighting unity of all workers against their common enemy—the capitalists of all lands.

CALLS FOR LABOR UNITY

The Trotskyist candidate's declaration points out that she is the only candidate for Los Angeles mayor who "stands unreservedly FOR the interests of the producers of society's wealth, the workers of all categories— and AGAINST the small minority of profiteering capitalists."

She advances a program for

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Support Vicious Substitute For May-Bailey Slave Bill

Join Employers to Urge Kilgore-Wagner Bill Freezing Workers to Jobs at Frozen Wages

By C. Thomas

The capitalist press last week gleefully announced that all "organized" resistance to compulsory labor legislation had ended, with the endorsement of a "substitute" manpower bill by top union officials. The labor leaders ended their "resistance" by joining with the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in support of the employer's "manpower program." This substitute measure was offered by Senators Kilgore and Wagner in place of the May-Bailey slave labor bill, now before the Senate. It empowers the War Manpower commission to enforce the job-freezing, compulsory labor decrees, issued by Roosevelt over the past three years. If enacted into law, the Kilgore-Wagner bill would tighten and extend these drastic labor controls into the "post-war" period.

Campaign Begins For 10,000 'Militant' Readers

In its most ambitious Militant subscription campaign, the Socialist Workers Party on February 25 will launch a drive for 10,000 new regular readers of the Trotskyist weekly. The drive will begin with a nationwide Red Sunday—a one-day full party membership mobilization for the sale of Militant subscriptions. This campaign is the next step in the fulfillment of the Program of Expansion adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its National Convention held last November.

The subscription campaign will last three months, closing officially with another Red Sunday on May 27. For the purpose of introducing The Militant to thousands of new worker-readers, the paper is offering a trial subscription for 26 weekly issues at the reduced price of 25 cents.

Last year's successful campaign, which began with a 3,000 quota and ended with over 7,800 new subscribers before the campaign deadline, demonstrated the growing receptivity to the Trotskyist ideas and the ability of the SWP membership to carry out a concerted and disciplined sub-drive in true Bolshevik fashion.

This year the SWP branches throughout the country have accepted their increased campaign quotas with enthusiasm and determination to go over the top in this drive to make The Militant the mass fighting paper of the American working class. Some branches have confidently raised the original quotas assigned them.

All sympathizers and readers of The Militant are urged to join the subscription campaign by selling trial subs to their friends and shopmates.

The Kilgore-Wagner "substitute" aims to put "teeth" in the existing manpower regulations by granting the WMC statutory authority to impose "legal" sanctions against the workers. The "teeth" are sharpened to chew the labor movement to pieces. One of the sharpest of these "teeth" would "legalize WMC's ruling that employers must do all their hiring through the United States Employment Service or other designated agencies." This provision would give the capitalist government "legal" authority to grant or withhold employment, to move workers from one plant to another, from one area to another, or to keep them frozen to their jobs.

ROOSEVELT'S ACTIONS

The Roosevelt administration has sought to concentrate this power in its hands for some time. On Dec. 5, 1942 Roosevelt issued an executive decree instructing the chairman of the War Manpower Commission to take all "lawful and appropriate" steps, "to assure that all hiring and recruitment of workers for jobs in any plants, facilities, occupation or areas designated by the chairman shall be conducted solely through the United States Employment Service or under arrangements he approves." Under this decree WMC Chairman McNutt later issued an order effective July 1, 1944, instructing employers to "hire all male help" through the offices of the U. S. Employment Service.

Under the Roosevelt-McNutt "controlled referral" plan, workers who refused to accept jobs in plants and areas designated by the WMC would be unable to get jobs elsewhere. In addition, McNutt declared, they "might be deprived of unemployment compensation." The "plan" was a "work - where - you're - told - or - starve" measure. It was denounced as illegal by Representative William J. Miller, Republican of Connecticut, who contended it invoked a national labor draft without Congressional sanc-

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WLB Chairman Davis Gives Whitewash Excuse For Board's Stalling Policies

By Art Preis

William H. Davis, chairman of the pro-corporation War Labor Board, last week came out with a prize example of hypocrisy. Trying to conceal the Board's function as the "graveyard of grievances," Davis complained that the Board is receiving too many cases which could be settled by direct negotiations between unions and employers.

"Too often," he asserted with a straight face, "the board finds a tendency among both unions and employers to drop small differences into the board's lap for settlement rather than seek agreement through negotiations. This delays the settlement of major issues, since the board refers back to the parties issues it feels have not been adequately negotiated."

The statement that "both" the unions and employers "drop small differences into the board's lap" can evoke only a big horse-laugh from the workers. The very existence of the compulsory arbitration board, dominated by the employers and their "public" agents, has provided the pretext for the corporations to brush aside direct negotiations with the unions.

The employers know that without the right to strike the workers can not clinch their bargain-

were often and promptly prohibited — and the board didn't spend a year or two years coming to a decision.

That's what happened in the coal miners case two years ago. After the union and the operators agreed to a contract, the WLB intervened to rule the wage concessions a "violation" of Roosevelt's "wage-stabilization" policy. Just a couple of weeks ago in New York, the WLB stepped in to order a wage cut for 8,000 pocketbook workers after the manufacturers had granted bonus and merit increases.

SHEER HYPOCRISY

What Davis is trying to do with his hypocritical statement is to whitewash the WLB and refurbish its tattered prestige. The workers have come to understand its function. They are demanding that the union representatives withdraw from the board. Davis is seeking to prop up the board by disclaiming its pro-employer function as an agency for stalling the workers' demands. That is why he tries to attribute its red-tape to "both" the workers and

bosses who "refuse" to negotiate "small grievances."

This hypocrisy stands doubly exposed in the light of the most important wage cases now pending in the WLB. What has held up the decisions in the packinghouse, auto, textile, glass, aluminum cases? Some of them have been before the WLB for over two years. Were they just swamped out by the volume of "small grievances" pouring into the board? No, these cases have been deliberately stalled by the WLB. And when this device became too crude and obvious, Roosevelt tried to take the heat off his WLB by getting his Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson to block any WLB wage decisions.

For Davis to pretend that the Board would not continue to stall grievances if it didn't have so many is as absurd as contending that a wild tiger devours raw meat not by preference but only because it can't get fresh vegetables.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Gang-Up on Miners

The government agencies and coal operators are laying down their preliminary joint barrage in anticipation of the impending struggle against the mine workers. Negotiations for a union contract renewal begin March 1 with the bituminous mine owners and April 1 with the anthracite bosses.

An editorial in the February 15 United Mine Workers Journal warns the miners that "poisoned publicity designed to arouse the populace against any and all wage demands" is already being widely peddled. "The membership of the UMWA may just as well know how the deck is stacked in advance of the policy committee meeting and wage negotiations. It is a formidable opposition."

All the government agencies are "backing the attack against the UMW" declares the editorial. "The lineup includes Director of War Mobilization James Byrnes, Director of Stabilization Fred Vinson, the WLB, the Solid Fuels Administration, the OPA, the Roosevelt administration and the coal operators, all concentrating upon utilizing an assumed authority under executive decrees and the infamous Smith-Connally enslavement law to deny the mine workers' wage demands on toto, regardless of the economic justice of the UMWA wage proposals."

The editorial charged Secretary of Interior Ickes with "planting" statements in the public press designed to prejudice the miners' case and discredit the UMW leaders. It further charged that one of the primary reasons for Vinson's recent ruling requiring OPA approval prior to any WLB grant of "fringe" wage increases is "to stop the UMWA."

It is reported that the UMW's policy committee, which meets to formulate demands on February 26, will consider a demand for a 25 per cent hourly wage increase, from \$1 to \$1.25, and full portal-to-portal pay instead of the present approximately 50 per cent won in the 1943 general coal strikes.

UMW and AFL

Of great importance for the impending miners' struggle is the outcome of the negotiations for reaffiliation of the UMW, with its over 600,000 members, to the AFL.

The AFL executive council meeting in Miami, Fla., last week voted to accept the UMW's request for reaffiliation with an apparent major concession to the mine union on the chief issue previously blocking the reaffiliation. That was the matter of jurisdictional disputes, especially around the disposition of District 50, the UMW's organization for coal by-products workers. The AFL leaders agreed to accept the UMW "as is," with jurisdictional questions to be ironed out after reaffiliation.

However, a further obstacle has arisen with the UMW's insistence upon a post on the AFL executive council. The council members contend they have no power to give Lewis such a post without approval of the AFL convention. This new issue, it appears, will not halt further negotiations, as AFL President William Green is reported to be getting together with UMW President John L. Lewis for additional parleys.

Not Out Yet!

The CIO United Automobile Workers, through its executive board, has declared "Three Strikes on WLB." The union's

official organ, the United Automobile Worker, February 15, announces the decision of the board calling on the CIO to "quit" the WLB. The paper states:

"The 'little steel formula' froze labor's pay and deprived the War Labor Board of any authority to grant increases. STRIKE ONE! Current orders from 'Assistant President' James F. Byrnes, transmitted through 'Stabilization Director' Judge Vinson, deprives the War Labor Board of the right to grant labor any concessions on 'fringe' economic issues, such as correction of inequalities, shift bonuses, severance pay, etc. STRIKE TWO! Federal Judge Philip L. Sullivan, declaring that government operation of the Montgomery Ward stores is illegal, has ruled that War Labor Board decisions cannot be enforced, they are merely 'advisory.' STRIKE THREE AND OUT!"

However the WLB is not "out" yet — and neither are the UAW officials on the WLB. Three strikes doesn't disqualify in this game where the rules are made by the government and the employers. In fact, the UAW, whose president R. J. Thomas and other officials still function on the WLB, are still "playing ball."

This game should never have been started, because the rules were all stacked against labor from the start. The UAW board just wants the WLB to retire to the dugout, but offers to give the big business government another chance at bat against labor with a new board.

NLRB Strike Polls

A real indication of the mood of the workers toward the no-strike policy is shown by the record of strike votes conducted during the past 12 months by the NLRB under the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act.

Seventy-one percent of the 98,224 workers voting in 381 strike polls favored strike action. Strike majorities resulted in 323 of the 381 voting units. Only 34 voted against strike. In 63 per cent of the cases where unions filed notices for strike, the notices were withdrawn before the vote, after mere notice of intent served to speed up settlements. In many cases after strike votes were taken, walkouts did not occur because settlements were hastily concluded.

These figures would indicate that the mere threat of strike backed by a solid vote of the workers in a number of instances proved effective in halting government and employer stalling on union grievances.

Employment Decline

Another exposure of Roosevelt's phony manpower "shortage" claim, which he deliberately cooked up in an attempt to push through his forced labor scheme, was presented by UAW Secretary-Treasurer Addes to Senate committee hearings last week on the May-Bailey slave labor bill.

Addes presented figures showing a 16 per cent employment decline in Detroit, key war-plants center. A survey of 192 major war plants showed a drop of 57,000 workers from the level of 847,000 in December, 1943, to the January 1945 level of 289,000. This would indicate a total decline of 100,000 from the Detroit employment peak of 700,000.

CIO Textile Workers President Emil Rieve disclosed that two thousand textile workers in the New Bedford area were threatened with unemployment because Army officials have demanded transfer of 800 key workers, whose removal from their present jobs would jeopardize production.

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund Campaign Total Goes Over Top Ahead Of Deadline

\$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

One more milestone has been passed in the forward march of the American Trotskyist movement. With one week still to go in its record-breaking campaign, the Socialist Workers Party has gone over the top in its \$18,000 Party Expansion Fund Campaign.

Inspired by the homecoming of the last of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyist leaders released from Roosevelt's prisons, the loyal members and sympathizers of the SWP this week shot the fund to \$18,221—101 per cent of the original quota.

The enthusiasm of the branches was translated into a race to score 100 per cent before the termination of the campaign on March 1. All but four of the branches have already reached their objective. And these four, which confronted special circumstances, will undoubtedly reach their full quotas before the deadline. The final scoreboard which will appear in the March 3 issue of *The Militant* will show why the SWP is called a "party of 100 per-centers." And something extra! With the balance of the quotas coming in during the next week, the last Scoreboard should register at least \$1,500 over the quota. That's our kind of party!

FROM THE BRANCHES

Twin Cities: "Check for balance of our quota on way. Credit us with 100% in this issue."

Dayton: "Enclosed another \$5 toward the Fund Campaign. I can think of no better way to welcome back the comrades from prison than to make the campaign an outstanding success. I was very pleased to learn that the cartoon I chose is on its way. Thanks."

Buffalo: "Though we already reached our 100% we are still collecting on the Fund. Enclosed find check."

Chicago: Belle Radlow—"Enclosed find check for the Fund Campaign which brings our total to \$1,680. Approximately \$200 of this was realized at an extremely successful bazaar which the branch conducted. We're also running a movie party and will send more money next week."

Flint: Thorne—"We undertook a quota of \$25 and have sent in \$40 so far. We expect a few more donations which were promised, so there may be more later."

Detroit: This branch reached its 100% on January 26th but kept on collecting on pledges. Comrade Brent says: "Enclosed find another \$75 toward the Expansion Fund."

Los Angeles: Myra Tanner Weiss—"Enclosed find check toward our quota. The election campaign is keeping us very busy but we were not too busy to take time out the day our comrades were released from prison to celebrate with a toast to them and their families." And Dan Roberts of the same branch writes: "Enclosed find check for \$400. We are anxious that all branches should have fulfilled their quotas by the end of the campaign. We definitely will have all our money in by March 1st. Through all the activity around the election campaign we never lost sight of our national pledge."



Judging from the enthusiasm and determination shown by reports from our agents, there should be no question about our completing the goal of 10,000 new readers during the Militant Subscription Campaign.

For instance, Youngstown was assigned a quota of 150 subscriptions, but Inez Cope, our agent, writes: "At our last branch meeting the members present all felt that the quota of 150 was too low and that 300 would be a more realistic figure."

Jeff Thorne of Flint raised their quota from 10 to 50, clinching the 50-quota by ordering that number of 25c. sub cards.

Seattle: "In our perspective for the next six months," writes R. Stevens, "we had set 500 subs as our quota but now we plan to oversubscribe the 400 quota set us by the National Office."

Minneapolis: "Our branch has voiced the opinion that we will be able to get at least 300 subs. We'll be ready to start February 25," according to A. Field, our agent.

J. Russo of Reading reports: "The Reading Branch was able to make a survey on the list of subscribers obtained in the previous sub drive and found that we received about 55 percent renewals and of these renewals 95% are unionists. The reason for our high percentage of renewals was due to the emphasis placed upon

our efforts among the trade union militants.

"We accept the proposed quota of 75 subs for the new campaign and hope to go over the top. The Militant, as expressed by a union militant, is in a 'class by itself.'"

The quota of 150 subs assigned Philadelphia is accepted by J. Miller who says, "Our branch will be out in full force on the twenty-fifth to start the campaign with a bang!"

A. Lynn of Los Angeles: "While we aren't increasing our designated quota of 2,000 you may be certain that Los Angeles will go over its quota, and at an early date too!"

George Grant, New York Local: "We accept our quota of 2,500. The New York branches are busy with preparations for this sub campaign. The New York comrades are confident that with the same enthusiasm and socialist competition we had in the first campaign we will exceed our quota."

Trial subscriptions pour in from the branches in ever-increasing quantities, being secured by our agents in shops, at socials, on vacation, through door-to-door work, etc.

H. Mason, Detroit: "Eleven of the sixteen 25c. subs were sold at our most recent social. It was about the best party we've given."

M. Bartell, Chicago: "Of the new subs, three are from a large auto plant, sold on the job, as most of our subs are. An interesting case was a call I received at the office from a steel worker. The Militant had been distributed at the plant the day before, and he got a copy. He found our address stamped on the paper, and called up very excitedly, wanting to know how he and his friends could get it every week. He said the paper was terrific, and he couldn't understand how come he hadn't run across it before. We sent someone to see him, whereupon he bought a sub, and took a few blanks for his friends."

Yetta Fine, San Pedro: "The twelve 25c. subs enclosed were sold by a new comrade while she was in New Orleans on a vacation. This makes nineteen subs she has turned in from there."



Full steam ahead

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	\$100	\$120	120%
Boston	400	474	118
Buffalo	400	473	118
Detroit	1250	1356	109
Pittsburgh	80	87	109
Toledo	300	323	108
Maritime Club	3000	3185	106
Youngstown	300	316	106
New York	3000	3023	101
Akron	300	300	100
Bayonne	300	300	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Newark	450	450	100
Reading	75	75	100
San Diego	150	150	100
San Francisco	1000	1000	100
Twin Cities	1000	1000	100
Chicago	2000	1680	84
Los Angeles	2500	1994	80
Seattle	1500	1112	74
Philadelphia	200	146	73
Members-at-large, groups and friends	500	405	135
TOTAL	\$18,221	\$18,221	101%

New York Forum To Hear Address On Yalta Parley

NEW YORK, Feb. 18—Frank Lawrence will speak on "The Yalta Conference" at the next Sunday Night Forum scheduled for 8 P.M. February 25 at the New York School of Social Science, 116 University Place. All readers of *The Militant* are urged to attend.

The meaning of the Labor Draft measures for the American workers was the subject under discussion at tonight's forum. Comrade C. Thomas gave a comprehensive picture of the latest developments in Congress on the forced labor drive and answered numerous questions posed by the audience.

New SWP Hall In San Pedro

SAN PEDRO, Feb. 10 — The San Pedro branch of the Socialist Workers Party tonight formally opened its new headquarters at 1008 South Pacific Street, room 214. Feature of the evening was a gala social with dancing, entertainment, and refreshments. The new headquarters will include a section devoted to the sale of books and pamphlets on all subjects of interest to workers, the branch announces. A full list of Pioneer Publishers' works and other Marxist classics, as well as *The Militant* and Fourth International, will be available.

In Philadelphia Buy THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL at LABOR FORUM 405 W. Girard Avenue and 13th and Market St., N.W. corner

Pioneer Notes

A woman who has just begun to study Marxist literature makes the following comment on the pamphlet, "The Founding Conference of the Fourth International."

"The pamphlet as a whole is wonderful, but I felt that the section entitled, 'The Road to the Woman Worker' was outstandingly interesting. It deals with the reasons why it is especially important for women to come into the Trotskyist movement. It points out that the decay of capitalism deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage earner and as a housewife. I had never before thought of women as a specific layer of the working class, with their own problems as an exploited group."

This pamphlet contains the program and resolutions of the Fourth International which were adopted at its founding conference in 1938.

The Socialist Workers Party branches are putting Pioneer's newest pamphlet, "American Workers Need a Labor Party," to good use, as the following letters testify.

The literature agent in Detroit writes: "We sold 17 more pamphlets at a union meeting where we previously had sold the same amount. Every active member of the local will have one before long."

Toledo: "We are having a local campaign on the Labor Party pamphlet and so far it has gone along fairly well. In the first two weeks we sold 200 of the 500 you sent us."

The Founding Conference of the Fourth Int'l 25c. American Workers Need a Labor Party 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

WORKERS LAID OFF DESPITE 'SHORTAGE'

The campaign of the Administration to put over forced labor, supported by claims of Army-Navy brass hats that a widespread "labor shortage" exists, is based upon misinformation and deliberate distortion of fact. This was virtually admitted by Undersecretary of War Patterson who told newspapermen last week that there is no actual shortage of manpower. He made this admission after testifying in favor of the slave labor measures before the Senate Military Affairs Committee.

The CIO Economic Outlook for February cites a number of instances to show that where production has been curtailed, it is not because of any alleged "labor shortage," but because employers are closing down their least profitable operations. The Woodworkers and Textile Workers Unions report two notable examples of military production curtailed by the employer's greed for profits. Despite the hue and cry about a lumber shortage, "Camps have been closed, men laid off and equipment left idle in the face of the protests of the loggers and of the Union with no other apparent reason than, as frankly admitted by one operator, that the operation was not profitable enough."

In the textile industry, "companies have deliberately made goods which have failed to meet military standards in order to sell

them at a large profit on the home market." Among other typical examples cited in Economic Outlook is the halting of all production at the American Locomotive plant, Schenectady, N. Y., and the discharge of the skilled workers employed there.

The CIO paper reports: "Ford's River Rouge plant—the largest foundry in the world—is operating at only half its capacity. Some six to seven thousand foundry workers have been laid off or transferred to other jobs within the plant. Many are put on light jobs which could be easily handled by women. Yet the Army has been furloughing soldiers to work in foundries, because of shortage of labor."

New York Local Welcomes Return Of Grace Carlson

Over 150 comrades and friends were on hand to greet Grace Carlson at a party given by the Socialist Workers Party Saturday evening Feb. 17 to welcome her back to New York after her absence of over 14 months from this city. Grace spent over 13 of these months in Alderson Penitentiary, West Virginia, as one of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Upon her release January 24 she went directly to the Twin Cities to spend a few weeks with her family and comrades.

Surrounded by sympathetic comrades and friends, Grace expressed her pleasure at being free again and said she was happy to be back in New York and to take up her work where she had left off. "I am ready to do whatever is needed to further the program of the only party that is worth fighting for and going to jail for," she said.

Discrimination against women workers is becoming common. Women workers are being fired, as at Yellow Truck and Coach Division of General Motors, while the companies clamor for more men. "There are today 20,000 women in Detroit with war work experience who cannot find jobs." These CIO reports directly from the production lines explode the false propaganda being issued by the administration to help ram through the forced labor bill.

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READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

A Report From France On What Workers Want

The following article appeared in the October 25, 1944 issue of "La Verite", the central organ of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (International Communist Party) French section of the Fourth International. In the four months since this article was written, the deGaulle government has more and more openly proceeded against the factory committees and militias referred to in the article.—EDITOR.

All the letters from the factories allude to the essential problems of the present hour: wages and above all the renewal of work in the factories; the purge [of collaborationists]; the militias; democratic liberties. Concerning wages, most of the letters have dealt with the dole of 1,600 francs allowed monthly to the workers. "We do not want doles, we want our wages, we want work, the establishment of rotation on jobs and the sliding scale of hours of work [so that all can have jobs]." This is the way the workers express themselves.

Everywhere they demand the renewal of work. "There is work for everyone in the France of today which is destroyed and pillaged. Let us destroy the opposition of the bosses, nationalize without compensation or indemnity the heavy industries, return to production according to a plan formulated by the trade unions, under workers' control exercised by the factory committees." Twenty-five thousand track workers demonstrate at the North (railroad) station against the coming layoff. "We want work," demand the hundreds of workers from the B.M.W. railroad demonstrating at Argenteuil.

WORKERS TAKE OVER

In the Caudron factory the workers show the way. They have chased out the old management. The new manager is an old trade union militant. He is assisted by two workers' delegates. The elected factory committee takes upon itself numerous functions: it rules on all questions concerning the organization of work, on wages, hiring new workers, etc. "In a word, it is the real governing organism of the factory." The purification commission, assisted by the militia, also works well: it has liquidated a good number of collaborators who pushed production under the Nazis.

The problem of the purge is, as a matter of fact, very often formulated by the workers. Strikes at the CARBONE-LORRAINE plant, at WESTINGHOUSE, at the C.M.S.C. factory, etc. have shown the workers' determination not to recommence work with managers and foremen who, backed by the S.S. and the Gestapo, super-exploited the workers during four years. A real purge, publication of the interrogations of the [big capitalists] Lehdeux, Worms, Gignoux etc., their speedy trial by the elected popular tribunals, the end

of favorable treatment accorded to these gentlemen (five doctors at the bedside of the collaborator Renault paid for by the money of the workers!)—such are the desires of the toiling class.

FACTORY MILITIAS

Concerning the Militias, numerous are the complaints of the workers who are indignant at the transformation of the factory militias into "patriotic guards," into "patriotic auxiliaries" under the orders of the chief of police and the bosses. "We want to keep our factory Militias, serving by rotation, with their own elected leaders."

The militias do not want to play the role of watchdogs in the service of the bosses, but will defend the workers' organizations, the workers' meetings and demonstrations, strikes against the red-baiters and the fascists. Notable is the existence of a Liaison Committee of Inter-Militias which has been established in the West suburb, grouping together about forty factories. An attempt is being made to sabotage this Committee despite the desire for it of the worker-militiamen. "Democracy should be observed in the factory," say also our correspondents. "We want meetings of the factory workers more frequently, wall newspapers so that all the workers can express themselves daily; we want all important decisions to be taken in accord with all the workers. Thus, in the Juno factory, the steering committee has been bureaucratically suppressed without the workers being able to give their views."

Such are the problems of the hour for the workers. Once again, only the action of the workers, resolute, unified, can make possible the triumph of the demands of the exploited masses.

UAW Referendum On Strike Policy Nears Conclusion

(Continued from page 1)

against the pledge in the referendum.

One of the features of the Rank and File campaign was the publication of a national paper, the Rank and File. The first issue of the paper, published by the National Steering Committee elected by the Rank and File delegates at the convention, came off the press several weeks ago.

The Rank and File, a four-page tabloid, explains the program of the Rank and File, contains a number of effective articles on the need for rescinding the no-strike pledge, blasts the threatened forced labor law, and calls on the auto workers to continue to build the militant caucus.

RANK AND FILE PROGRAM

In addition to opposition to the no-strike pledge, the three other major points of the Rank and File program are: Break the WLB by removing UAW members from regional and national War Labor Boards; Smash the Little Steel Formula by hitching wages to the rising cost of living; and begin today to build for an Independent Labor Party tomorrow.

All the top UAW officials, aided by the corporation newspapers, Roosevelt, the Murray-Hillman machine in the CIO and the Stalinists, ganged up against the UAW militants in a slanderous campaign during the referendum. Their chief argument was based on flag-waving in the name of the "boys in the foxholes."

However, some UAW militants in the armed forces did a bit of talking for themselves. A typical example of their sentiments was a letter from a Toledo auto worker now in the Army, Pvt. Floyd (Mike) Bracy, published in the February 1 Spicer Unit News. Private Bracy declared in part: "It seems to me that as long as the CIO maintains its no-strike pledge they are in the same boat that the Greek ELAS will be in as soon as the British talk them into surrendering their arms. Without the right to strike labor is in the same position as an army without arms."

His letter describes the experiences of several of his buddies ordered to work in private industry for a period under army command. One, who was sent to the Goodyear Tire and Rubber plant at Jackson, Michigan, stated that "what impressed him most was the dissatisfaction among the civilian workers. It seems that most of them were originally from Akron, Ohio. He was paid 78 cents per hour. The top rate was 96 cents. The same jobs in Akron are paying \$1.06 and \$1.12 per hour. He felt that was the main cause of the low morale of the workers."

His letter concluded: "So you see we G. I.'s get a line on what is actually going on in the world once in a while and are not entirely dependent on the daily press for an opinion about the home front."

"Might Is Right"

By Covington Hall (Tune: "Auld Lang Syne")

Might was right when Spartacus Went down in seas of blood, And when the Commune perished In the selfsame crimson flood; And might was right at Auto-Lite, At Ford and Chevrolet— "Tis the logic of the ancient world,

And the Gospel of today."

Might is right when Morgan builds

A hell in every home;

And might is right when banks foreclose,

And turn us out to roam.

And might is right when bosses fight,

To cut the workers' pay:

"Tis the logic of the ancient world,

And the Gospel of today."

Might was, it is, e'er will be,

The One and Only Right;

And so, O hosts of Toil awake!

O workingmen, unite!

Unite! Unite! For Might is Right,

'Tis freedom's only way—

"Tis the logic of the ancient world,

And the Gospel of today."

(Reprinted from Spicer Unit News.)

French Trotskyist Call to Action

PROLÉTAIRES DE TOUS LES PAYS, UNISSEZ-VOUS!

N° 74 - Nouvelle série, N° 11 NUMÉRO SPÉCIAL 11 AOÛT 1944

LA VÉRITÉ

Organe Central du PARTI COMMUNISTE INTERNATIONALISTE (Section Française de la IV^e Internationale)

Le journal des trotskystes

qui luttent depuis 5 ans dans l'illégalité contre la guerre impérialiste et la terreur fasciste.

Hitler s'effondre

LES Américains approchent de Paris. La classe ouvrière doit mettre à profit la situation et passer à l'action pour assurer elle-même sa libération contre le fascisme et la réaction, contre la terreur et la dictature contre ses exploités capitalistes. Suivez le mot d'ordre de grève générale de la C.G.T. illégale. Déjà, les chemins de fer sont entrés en lutte.

VIVE LA GRÈVE DES CHEMINIERS! SOUTENEZ LA, comme l'ont déjà fait les métallos qui ont débarrasé dans plusieurs usines, usines à votre travail et, surtout à la fois, dans les usines, les bureaux, les chantiers, etc.

GRÈVE GÉNÉRALE!

Pour vos revendications: le paiement de la prime de fin de mois, le retour aux conquêtes sociales de Juin 36.

Pour le contrôle des cantines et le travaillement par équipes.

Pour le contrôle de la production afin d'elle ne serve que le peuple.

Pour les libérés ouvriers: le droit de travailler, la reconnaissance du droit des ouvriers à l'armement et à l'organisation.

Pour la libération des prisonniers politiques.

Occupez les usines en Juin 36!

Renforcez les MILICES OUVRIÈRES DES QUARTIERS! Qu'elles occupent les points vitaux de l'usine et empêchent l'entrée de la Gestapo et de la police. Qu'elles établissent la liaison entre les usines et les brigades de la Résistance. Qu'elles protègent les grévistes contre les policiers, les brigades des S.S., de la Gestapo et de la Milice de Darmand.

Mais les Milices ouvrières sont marquées: la Résistance a refusé de les armer parce qu'elle a peur de la classe ouvrière. ARMEZ-VOUS vous-mêmes en désarmant les flics, les fascistes et les S.S., en vous emparant des arsenaux et des stocks d'armes.

Surtout, n'oubliez pas qu'au sein des armées d'occupation, les grévistes ont aussi des alliés. Les soldats allemands désertent en masse. Ce sont des alliés comme vous. APPELZ LES A MATERNISER, à vous donner leurs armes, A SE JOINDRE A VOUS DANS LA LUTTE CONTRE LEURS BOURREAUX ET LES NOTRES: LE S.S. ET LA GESTAPO.

Dès que le rapport des forces le permettra, OUVREZ LES PRISONS, OCCUPEZ LES MAIRIES et libérez les délégués démocratiquement élus par les assemblées d'entreprises et de quartiers.

Voilà le programme sur lequel nous, PARTI COMMUNISTE INTERNATIONALISTE, nous appelons les partis ouvriers, notamment le Parti Communiste Français et le Parti Socialiste à l'UNION D'ACTION.

Pour le PAIN, LA LIBERTÉ et la PAIX

VIVE LA GRÈVE GÉNÉRALE!

Le Comité Central du PARTI COMMUNISTE INTERNATIONALISTE (Section Française de la IV^e Internationale)

French Trotskyist Call To Revolutionary Action

The following call for general strike was issued in the critical days when the Nazi power was cracking in Paris and the Allies had not yet arrived. It was issued as a special number of "La Verite," organ of the Trotskyists of France which, as the heading states, "has been fighting for five years in illegality against the imperialist war and the fascist terror."

The text of the general strike call reads as follows:

"HITLER IS CRUMBLING"

"The Americans are nearing Paris. The working class must take advantage of the situation and go into action to secure by its own power its liberation against fascism and reaction, against terror and dictatorship, against its capitalist exploiters. Follow the order of the day for a general strike at the illegal C. G. T. (Trade Union Confederation). Already the railroad workers have begun the battle.

"LONG LIVE THE STRIKE OF THE RAILROAD WORKERS! SUPPORT IT as the metal workers who have stopped work in several factories have already done. Go to your place of work and, everywhere at the same time, in the factories, the offices, the yards, launch the GENERAL STRIKE!"

"For your demands: 50 per cent raise and a living wage, the return to the social conquests of June 1936.

"For control of the canteens and food distribution by your elected delegates.

"For control of production in order that it will no longer serve the imperialist war but the needs of the people.

Fight for Workers' Rights

"For workers' rights: the right of free trade unions, the recognition of the right of the workers to arm themselves and organize into Workers' Militias.

"For the immediate liberation of the hostages taken July 14, and of all political prisoners.

"Occupy your factories as in June 1936!

"Laid-off workers, support the strike. Go back

to your factories, occupy them or join factories fighting in your area.

"As in June 1936, get together in the factory and elect your delegates. Let them constitute the Factory Committee. Let the delegates of your Factory Committee get in contact with those of neighboring plants.

"By expanding to various corporations, to the various factories, the strike will become invincible as it was in June 1936.

"Join the Workers' Militias of the factories and districts. They must occupy the vital points of the factory and prevent the management from warning the Gestapo and the police. They must establish contact between the factories and the districts. They must organize food distribution. They must protect the strikers against the police, the brigades of the S.S., the Gestapo and the Militia of Darmand (Vichy).

"But the Workers' Militias are badly armed: the Resistance has refused to arm them because it fears the working class. Arm yourselves by disarming the cops, the fascists and the S.S., taking over arsenals and badly-guarded stocks.

Fraternize With German Soldiers

"Above all, do not forget that among the armies of occupation the strikers also have their allies. The German soldiers are deserting in droves. They are workers like you. Appeal to them to fraternize and give you their arms, to join you in the struggle against their hangmen and ours: the S. S. and the Gestapo.

"As soon as the relation of forces will permit, open the prisons, occupy the city halls and install there the delegates democratically elected by the factory and district councils.

"This is the program upon which we, the Internationalist Communist Party, call the workers' parties, particularly the French Communist Party and the Socialist Party, to unity of action.

"For bread, liberty and peace.

"LONG LIVE THE GENERAL STRIKE!"

(signed) Central Committee of the International Communist Party French Section of the Fourth International

NOTICE

The National Educational Department of the Socialist Workers Party is anxious to secure the following literature in English, German, French or Russian:

Theses of the first 3 congresses of the Communist International.

All copies of the magazine "The Communist International" of 1922 in which articles by Zinoviev appear.

Zinoviev's writings on the Italian Socialist Party, January-July 1923.

If you can give, loan or sell these to the National Office, please write to:

Charles Carsten National Educational Director, SWP 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

TROTSKYIST CANDIDATE ISSUES FULL PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1)

"socialism in a world of peace and plenty; independent working class political action; true freedom from want and fear; elevated living standards; social and cultural advancement of all mankind." She calls for a struggle against "capitalism with its wars and depressions; the wage and job freeze; lowered living standards; the regimentation of labor; race hatred and discrimination."

She further pledges to "use the power and influence of her office to fight for nationalization of industry and control of factories and plants by the workers' own organizations, the trade unions, as the one effective guarantee that maximum production and employment will be maintained in the interests of the vast majority of the people."

LABOR PARTY

Declaring that the political instrument needed now for the nationalization of industry is an Independent Labor Party, the SWP platform states that a vote for its candidate is a vote in favor of the formation of labor's own party. "There are no 'friends of labor' in the capitalist political parties, Democratic or Republican. Roosevelt has rewarded the workers who voted for him in the last election by pressing for forced labor legislation. Not content with having frozen wages, he now seeks to shackle the workers to their jobs and convert them into helpless prisoners of the profit-bloated bosses."

The Trotskyist candidate calls for the inclusion in every union



MYRA TANNER WEISS

contract of a provision for automatic wage increases to meet rising living costs and "the enforcement of this provision through continuous pressure of the labor unions." She points out how the Los Angeles "shipyard workers won such a provision in their union contract after long and persistent struggle. But the shipyard bosses, encouraged by the Roosevelt administration, have refused to carry it out."

Taking a fighting stand against any form of race hatred and discrimination as a chief weapon of labor's enemies, the Trotskyist candidate's program declares: "Racial discrimination and persecution are especially rampant in the Los Angeles area. Anti-Semitism is rife. Negroes, Mexicans, Filipinos and Japanese are slandered, threatened and victimized by fascist-minded vigilantes encouraged by cost-plus 'patriots' who drape themselves with the American flag and proceed to imitate Hitler and his Nazi gangsters."

The Trotskyist candidate denounces "the municipal system of 'race zoning,'" which has meant that "racial and national minorities are herded into virtual ghettos."

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WHY WE SUPPORTED 'EAM-ELAS' STRUGGLES

By M. Morrison

To explain why we supported the struggle of the Greek masses under the leadership of the EAM-ELAS, against the British imperialists and their Greek puppets, it is necessary to analyze the character of that struggle.

In the Spanish civil war the

Trotskyists gave material support to the Loyalist Government in its fight against Franco because we considered that fight to be one for bourgeois democracy against fascism.

Every one who read our literature knew that we were opposed to the Loyalist Government and would not have hesitated to replace it with a workers' and peasants' government had we had a majority of the people behind us. But our opposition to the Loyalist Government did not prevent us from giving it material support as against Franco. Bourgeois democracy is an evil which we want to replace with workers' democracy but it is to be defended against fascism.

Was the struggle of the EAM-ELAS one that can be said to have been similar in character to the struggle of the Loyalist Government against Franco? On the side of the EAM the leadership was certainly fighting for no more than bourgeois democracy. Undoubtedly there were fascists supporting the Greek Government and its British masters.

But it would be stretching the meaning of fascism far too much to say that the British imperialists and their Greek puppets represented fascism. As events showed they were perfectly willing to cover their rule with democratic promises, later to be fulfilled or not, depending on the militancy and power of the masses. While they used the methods of fascist dictatorship, the language was bourgeois democratic in character. The British masters and the Greek servants represented reaction in general but not that specific form of reaction which we designate by the term fascism.

Since the dominant role in the civil war against the EAM was played by the British imperialist army, it is very easy to fall into the error of considering the struggle to have been predominantly a national liberation struggle. That it had aspects of such a struggle is undeniable. For a long time Greece has been a semi-colonial country dominated by British finance capitalism. The fact that the Greek monarch, of German origin, remained loyal to the British imperialists shows how closely the Greek ruling class is connected with the class represented by Churchill.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Greek masses had just gotten rid of the German imperialist yoke and consequently were very sensitive to Churchill's attempt to decide the fate of Greece. It is undoubtedly true that many joined the EAM because they wanted the Greek people to be free of any alien control.

Revolutionary Marxists support struggles for national liberation except where they are submerged in an imperialist conflict. Under the particular conditions of the Greek civil war we could readily support those aspects of the EAM struggle which can be said to have been part of a struggle for national liberation. But it would be wrong to consider the struggle of the EAM as primarily a struggle for national liberation. One need only consider a struggle of the masses of India against British imperialism to realize the difference between the character of a struggle which is primarily one for national liberation and a struggle like the one waged by the Greek masses, in which the aspects of national liberation are present but are secondary in importance.

ented and the same is true of the Greek masses.

POPULAR FRONT

The struggle of the EAM was not one which had as its aim the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government determined to do its part in organizing a Socialist United States of Europe. The masses followed the EAM at the head of which was a combination of Stalinists, Social-Democrats and liberals. The leadership of the EAM is similar in character to the Spanish Popular Front Government. The Greek masses undoubtedly want a fundamental social change. That was also true of the Spanish masses in the Spanish civil war. But the Greek masses were following a leadership which limited itself to a struggle against the reactionary forces represented mainly by the monarchy and supported by British imperialism, just as the Spanish masses followed a leadership which limited itself to a struggle against fascism and for bourgeois democracy.

A common factor in the Russian Revolution of February 1917, in the struggle of the Russian masses against Kornilov, in the Spanish civil war and in the Greek civil war, is that objectively they can all be considered a stage in the struggle of the masses to establish their own workers' and peasants' government. The victory of the Russian masses in the February Revolution and against Kornilov permitted them to go on to the October Revolution. The defeat of the Loyalist Government was a set-back to the workers' revolution in Spain. The compromise between the EAM and the reactionary forces in Greece, disarming the ELAS soldiers, constitutes a terrible blow to the Greek workers and peasants.

On the part of the masses the struggles I mentioned above were struggles to make possible the victory of the workers' revolution. As revolutionary Marxists we were obligated to support those struggles.

ATTITUDE TOWARD EAM

At present we do not know to what extent Trotskyists participated in the struggle on the side of the EAM. We can take it for granted that there were many doing their utmost to defeat the British imperialists and their Greek puppets. Participating in that struggle, they undoubtedly explained to the worker-soldiers of the ELAS why they gave material but not political support to the struggle of the EAM. Their explanation must have been in somewhat the following manner:

1. We are fighting with you for the defeat of the reactionary forces represented by the monarchy and supported by British imperialism. We give material support to the EAM because the struggle it is waging is a progressive one.

2. We give no political support to the EAM because at the head of that organization is a Popular-Front combination that is satisfied with capitalist democracy. What the Greek masses need to solve their vital problems is a government of workers and peasants dedicated to the task of aiding in the establishment of a Socialist United States of Europe.

3. We warn you that the leadership of the EAM will make some compromise with the British imperialists and their puppets. Take power into your own hands and call upon the working masses of Europe and America to come to your aid.



'Freedom from Want'

Leon Sedov: Brave Revolutionary Fighter

Leon Sedov, the eldest son of Natalia Sedov Trotsky and Leon Trotsky, died in a Paris hospital seven years ago on February 16, 1938. Only thirty-two years old, Sedov had lived his entire life in the international Socialist movement, giving to it all of his talents, energies and devotion. He was a true son of the Russian revolution.

When the bitter news of Sedov's sudden death reached Leon Trotsky, exiled in Mexico, he wrote "Leon Sedov—Son, Friend, Fighter," a stirring tribute to this great young revolutionist. We reprint below sections from that pamphlet.

Sedov was one of the outstanding leaders of the young Soviet workers who fought in the Russian Left Opposition against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state and the Communist International. Throughout the struggles of the Left Opposition, Sedov worked side by side with Trotsky. After Trotsky's expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1928, Sedov voluntarily went into exile to work tirelessly as his father's collaborator.

The GPU, Stalin's secret police, hounded Sedov, laid trap after trap in attempts to kill him. In 1938, while Sedov, apparently recovering from an operation for appendicitis, lay helpless in a Paris hospital bed, Stalin's agents finally succeeded.

Sedov lives in our memory as a symbol of the revolutionary youth of the world. His name is indelibly inscribed on the banner of the Fourth International which will bring the liberation of all mankind.

By Leon Trotsky

While but a child—he was going on twelve—he had, in his own way, made the transition from the February revolution to that of October. His boyhood passed under high pressure. He added a year to his age so that he might more quickly join the Komsomol (Communist Youth), seething at that time with all the passion of awakened youth. The young bakers, among whom he carried on propaganda, would award him a fresh loaf of white bread which he happily brought home under his arm, protruding from the torn sleeve of his jacket. Those were fiery and cold, great and hungry years.

Of his own volition Leon left the Kremlin for a proletarian student dormitory, in order not to be any different from the others. He would not ride with us in an automobile, refusing to make use of this privilege of the bureaucrats. But he did participate ardently in all Red Saturdays and other "labor mobilizations," cleaning snow from the Moscow streets, "liquidating" illiteracy, unloading bread and firewood from freight cars, and later, as a polytechnic student, repairing locomotives.

If he did not get to the war front, it was only because even adding two or as much as three years to his age could not have helped him; for he was not yet fifteen when the civil war ended. However, he did accompany me several times to the front, absorbing its stark impressions, and firmly understanding why this bloody struggle was being waged.

Leon's Exposure of the Moscow Trials

Leon's chief literary work was his book, *The Red Book on the Moscow Trial*, devoted to the trial of the Sixteen (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, et al.) It was published in French, Russian and German. At that time my wife and I were captives in Norway, bound hand and foot, targets of the most monstrous slander. There are certain forms of paralysis in which people see, hear and understand everything but are unable to move a finger to ward off mortal danger. It was to such political paralysis that the Norwegian "Socialist" government subjected us. What a priceless gift to us, under these conditions, was Leon's book, the first crushing reply to the Kremlin falsifiers.

The first few pages, I recall, seemed to me pale. That was because they only restated a political appraisal, which had already been made, of the general condition of the USSR. But from the moment the author undertook an independent analysis of the trial, I became completely engrossed. Each succeeding chapter seemed to me better than the last. "Good boy, Levusyatka!" my wife and I said. "We have a defender!"

How his eyes must have glowed with pleasure as he read our warm praise! Several newspapers, in particular the central organ of the Danish Social Democracy, said with assurance that I apparently had, despite the strict conditions of internment, found the means of participating in the work which appeared under Sedov's name. "One feels the pen of Trotsky. . ." All this is—fiction. In the book there is not a line of my own. Many comrades who were inclined to regard Sedov merely as "Trotsky's son"—just as Karl Liebknecht was long regarded only as the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht—were able to convince themselves, if only from this little book, that he was not only an independent but an outstanding figure.

Leon wrote as he did everything else, that is, conscientiously, studying, reflecting, checking. The vanity of authorship was alien to him. At the same time every line he wrote glowed with a living flame, whose source was his unfeigned revolutionary temperament.

The Making of a Young Revolutionist

This temperament was formed and hardened by events of personal and family life indissolubly linked to the great political events of our epoch. In 1905, his mother sat in a Petersburg jail expecting a child. A gust of liberalism set her free in the autumn. In February of the next year, the boy was born. By that time I was already confined in prison. I was able to see my son for the first time only thirteen months later, when I escaped from Siberia.

His earliest impressions bore the breath of the first Russian revolution whose defeat drove us into Austria. The war, which drove us into Switzerland, hammered into the consciousness of the eight-year-old boy. The next big lesson for him was my deportation from France. On board ship he conversed, in sign language, about the revolution with a Catalan stoker. The revolution signified for him all possible boons, above all a return to Russia.

En route from America, near Halifax, the eleven-year-old Levik struck a British officer with his fist. He knew whom to hit; not the sailors who carried me off the ship, but the officer who issued the orders. In Canada, during my incarceration in the concentration camp, Leon learned how to conceal letters not read by the police and how to place them unobserved in the mailbox. In Petrograd he found himself immediately plunged into the atmosphere of Bolshevik-baiting. In the bourgeois school where he happened to be enrolled at the beginning, sons of liberals and Social Revolutionaries beat him up because he was Trotsky's son. Once he came to the Wood-Workers' Trade Union, where his mother worked, with his hands all bloody. He had had a political discussion in school with Kerensky's son.

Thus a future fighter took shape. For him, the revolution was not an abstraction. Oh no! It seeped into his very pores. Hence derived his serious attitude toward revolutionary duty beginning with the Red Saturdays, and tutoring of the backward ones. That is why he later joined so ardently in the struggle against the bureaucracy.

Stalin Is Responsible for His Death

Material difficulties and privations Leon bore lightly, jokingly, like a true proletarian: but of course they too left their mark. Infinitely more harrowing were the effects of subsequent moral tortures. The Moscow Trial of the Sixteen, the monstrous nature of the accusations, the nightmarish testimony of the defendants, among them Smirnov and Mrachkovsky, whom Leon so intimately knew and loved; the unexpected internment of his father and mother in Norway, the period of four months without any news; the theft of the archives, the mysterious removal of my wife and myself to Mexico; the second Moscow Trial with its even more



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delirious accusations and confessions, the disappearance of his brother Sergei, accused of "poisoning workers"; the shooting of countless people who had either been close friends or remained friends to the end; the persecutions and the attempts of the GPU in France, the murder of Reiss in Switzerland, the lies, the baseness, the perfidy, the frame-ups—no, "Stalinism" was for Leon not an abstract political concept but an endless series of moral blows and spiritual wounds.

Whether the Moscow masters resorted to chemistry, or whether everything they had previously done proved sufficient, the conclusion remains one and the same: It was they who killed him. The day of his death they marked on the Thermidorian calendar as a major celebration.

Good-by, Leon, good-by, dear and incomparable friend. Your mother and I never thought, never expected, that destiny would impose on us this terrible task of writing your obituary. We lived in the firm conviction that long after we were gone you would be the continuer of our common cause. But we were not able to protect you. Good-by, Leon! We bequeath your irrefragable memory to the younger generation of the workers of the world. You will rightly live in the hearts of all those who work, suffer and struggle for a better world. Revolutionary youth of all countries! Accept from us the memory of our Leon, adopt him as your son—he is worthy of it—and let him henceforth participate invisibly in your battles, since destiny has denied him the happiness of participating in your final victory.

Vicious Lies Spread About Greek ELAS

Not since Hitler and Mussolini rose to power has world public opinion been inundated by such gross lies as have poured forth from the British propaganda machine around the Greek events. Churchill has not stopped at any falsification in order to cover up the crimes of the Allies in Greece and to smear the people who are fighting for their rights and freedom against the intervention and terror of the British and their agents.

In his propaganda campaign Churchill has used the same techniques perfected by the fascists. But they were previously employed in his rabid provocations and armed interventions against the Bolsheviks from 1917 to 1921.

The London Tribune for Jan. 9th nails some of these poisonous devices.

1. The British report of an alleged plot to blow up the conference attended by Churchill and Eden. This, comments the Tribune, was "a particularly crude imitation of the Reichstag Fire technique of the Nazis." They further point out that it would seem rather stupid of the EAM to blow up a conference attended by its own delegates. Nevertheless, this crude frame-up was broadcast throughout the world.

2. This was followed up by stories of E.L.A.S. atrocities against British prisoners of war and of a supposed "reign of terror" all over Greece. In the House of Commons Churchill declared: "Nobody can estimate the number of people killed or arrested before the revolt in Athens actually began." In the N. Y. Post on Feb. 17, Leland Stowe reports that he had talked with half a dozen British and American correspondents who had traveled from one end of Greece to the other since mid-October. None of them had ever encountered anything remotely resembling such a "reign of terror"—until Scobie's troops and Papandreou's police began shooting unarmed demonstrators in Athens early in December.

3. The official agencies raised a howl about the ill-treatment of hostages by the EAM. However, according to the Tribune, one of the most prominent of these hostages, Madame Metaxas, wife of the former dictator of Greece, was presented with oranges by her cruel and ruthless jailers at the conclusion of her interrogation.

4. Then came the story that EAM had shot more than 100 trade union leaders. In answer to this the Tribune sarcastically observes: "As there were no trade unions, in our sense of the term, in Greece after 1936—and few before that—it is difficult to see where EAM managed to find so many trade union leaders to shoot."

5. To mislead British and American workers who were crying out against the Allied massacres and rallying in support of the embattled Greek workers, the British Broadcasting Co. spread reports that union delegations visited the British ambassador to assure him of their opposition to EAM and their agreement with British policy. It was soon disclosed that these so-called "labor leaders" were either completely unknown individuals or had been stooges for the Metaxas dictatorship who had now hired themselves out to the British.

6. Finally, during and after the suppression of the ELAS fighters, the British staged fake demonstrations in Athens to make the world believe that the Greek people approved their murderous actions. These demon-

BOSSSES LAUNCH ATTACK ON BRIGGS UAW LOCAL

By Jeanette Lane

DETROIT, Feb. 17.—New heights have been reached during the past two weeks in the corporation-government offensive against the powerful union movement here. Foremost in the line of fire has been Briggs Local 212, outstanding militant local of the CIO United Automobile Workers.

Allies Foist Harsh 'Peace' Terms On Greek EAM-ELAS

(Continued from page 1)

civil war. Ever since the "truce" imposed upon the Greek people on Jan. 15, "a full-blooded terror is raging against all who are suspected or denounced for having aided ELAS during the civil war," reports the Jan. 19 London Tribune. "Thousands of ELAS supporters and sympathizers have been imprisoned and are being held now by the self-same security police which hunted them on behalf of the Germans during the occupation."

Even while the "peace" negotiations were going on, five ELAS members were sentenced to death by a military firing squad and another received 10 years imprisonment. In a radio broadcast from Rome on Jan. 20, upon his return from Athens, foreign correspondent Leland Stowe declared: "The ELAS, which fought the Nazis, are referred to in British communiques as the enemy. . . Day and night the man-hunts continue. The police still cram the jails with those suspected of belonging to ELAS."

According to a dispatch from Athens on Feb. 17, the Royalist and fascist National Guard, accompanied by British units and armed with British weapons, are already pushing forward into the areas of Greece formerly held by the ELAS forces, and are disarming the ELAS fighters.

STALINIST SELL-OUT

The Stalinist leaders of the EAM-ELAS bear direct responsibility for giving Churchill, Scobie-Plastiras these sweeping powers to hunt down the Greek workers and peasants. George Siantos, Secretary-General of the Stalinist party and spokesman for the EAM during the negotiations, said he was pleased with the agreement and commented: "Our policy always has been to insure popular liberty and democratic evolution. For this we will continue to struggle." Naturally, Siantos did not say how the masses, now being disarmed in the face of their enemies, can struggle for their liberty against fully armed police, militia and Allied troops, at whose hands thousands have already been massacred.

Not even through their press are the Greek workers permitted to speak for "democracy." The day after the armistice was signed, Plastiras' police and militia attacked news vendors in Athens selling EAM's Free Greece newspaper which was discontinued during the civil war days. Many were injured, according to a Feb. 14 N. Y. Times report.

The Stalinist organ in Greece, Rizopostas, hails this sellout of the Greek workers to their worst enemies and adds that the armistice "secures internal peace and promises the restoration of the people's rights." How bitterly must the Greek masses feel about such shameless deceit! They know that such an armistice can bring only the "peace" of the prisons and the graveyards and a "restoration" not of their rights but of savage and bloody dictatorship.

The Stalinist paper brazenly boasts that this deal was made with the consent of Stalin in "the historic decision of the Crimea conference." Here is one of the first bitter fruits of the "Big Three" conspiracy against the European masses.

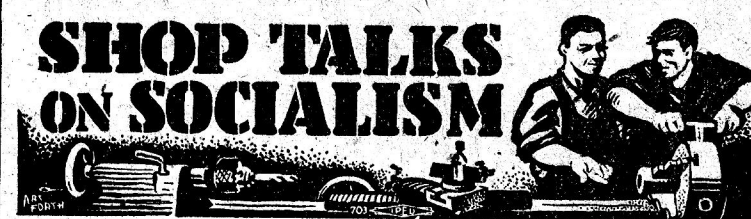
From the concerted and frenzied character of the attack on Local 212 it is obvious that the corporations have made it the main and immediate target in their planned offensive against the whole international union.

The tactics employed by Briggs follow the pattern previously established in the Budd Wheel strike. In the latter case, the company provoked a strike, conducted an "investigation" and then fired 14 committeemen and stewards and scores of militant union members, many of whom have never been able to get back into the plant.

Now, the deliberate failure of the UAW international officials to come to the defense of the Briggs workers against the company's contract violations, speed-ups, wage-cuts and nose-thumbing at bargaining procedure, gives the green light to the company's union-busting plans and invites similar assaults on other union locals.

The Militant

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



By V. Grey

"But look," young Mike was saying, "a man's entitled to what he earns, isn't he?"

"Sure, but you don't think Eugene Grace earned all his millions, do you kid?" asked Shorty from behind the orange he was peeling.

"Oh no," Mike said, and he turned a little red, because he was just a kid. Only eighteen. Just out of High School and waiting around for the draft to catch him. But he was twice as big as Shorty and stuck to his point. "But somebody earned it. His father and grandfather maybe. And they passed it on to him and he built it up."

"So what?" Shorty threw a peeling at Pop, but missed. "Well, that's why you can't take it away from him. It wouldn't be fair," Mike insisted.

"Somebody earned it all right," said Slim. "But it wasn't him." "Well, it wasn't me," Mike said with a generous wave of his hand.

"It was your old man, then," Slim kept on. "It wasn't Grace's old man, or his partner's, or any other big shots." Mike thought this was silly. And he said so.

"No 'tain't," said Slim. "Your old man and mine—and Shorty's here, and Pop's and all the working people earned it. Only they didn't pass it on to us. They had to turn it over to Grace and his pals. When we take things over, we'll just be taking what's rightly ours."

"Oh, I see what you mean," Mike said, although he didn't exactly. "But that's their capital you'd be taking. The workers got paid wages for their labor. The investor had to take millions of dollars and put it into industry to give people those wages." Mike took economics in High School. And he sounded pretty sharp.

"Just what is this capital you're talking about?" asked Slim. "It's money used as an instrument of production—didn't you know?" Mike quoted the best school book. And then Slim turned a little red because he hadn't ever got to High School and hadn't read all that stuff.

"There's your instrument of production," Breezy piped up, as he showed his arm and flexed his muscle. Mike waved him down derisively. Here was one subject, he thought, where these old timers didn't know a tenth as much as he.

"The way I figure it," reasoned Slim "is this. A million dollars might be money that someone has in the bank. But if you were to add up all the millions in banks and stocks and bonds it would be more money than there is anywhere. Could you change all that into money at once, Mike?"

"Of course not," chirruped Mike. "Then all this capital must be nothing else but factories and mines and the things we work at. Right, Mike?"

Mike didn't say anything. And now Slim really got going. "Let's say Eugene Grace is worth a hundred million dollars. That's just the same as saying he owns a lot of blast furnaces, open hearths, coke ovens, rolling mills and such, that anybody'd be willing to pay a hundred million for—if they had it."

"Now you were saying," Slim went on "that you own what you work for, and you're entitled to it, didn't you? OK. Who worked to build all those things? Eugene Grace or your old man and mine?"

"Well, of course, they did in a way," said Mike, a little confused by this strange departure from High School Economics. Then he remembered. "But they got paid for it, didn't they?"

"You might call it pay. I call it upkeep," Slim replied. "They got enough to keep them going, and to come back the next day to work again, and to bring up kids like you and me to work for Grace later on."

"And what have the workers got," he continued, "after all that work is over? They got their old age or a grave. Eugene Grace inherits what THEY made. And we inherit the same working conditions they had."

"Looks like the old boys should have got a better lawyer," gagged Breezy.

"Say!" Shorty exclaimed. "Look at that strip mill across the way. They just built that ten years ago. Now the company's making big dough out of it. And where are the guys that built it? Half of them are in the army. Fifty lousy bucks a month"—he threw the orange peelings at the trash box in disgust.

"Yeah," Slim said after he thought a minute, "all their sweat and part of their lifetime is locked up in that building. And more than that. Remember how a couple of the riggers got killed? Think the insurance paid their widows and orphans what they would have made the rest of their lives? Like hell it did." He stopped because he was beginning to burn.

Then he said, "That strip mill belongs to us working people. I don't care what the present laws say. The working people paid for it with their labor and their lives. And all that was ever paid to them was just enough to keep them going so they could build more mills and run them so Eugene Grace could suck the blood out of more of us than ever."

Protests Compel Reduction Of Court-Martial Sentence

As public indignation mounted in protest against the monstrous death penalty imposed a week ago on 27-year-old Private Henry P. Weber of Vancouver, Wash., his sentence has been progressively cut down. On Feb. 14 the Camp Roberts Military Court revoked the sentence of death by hanging and changed it to life imprisonment at hard labor.

When progressive and labor organizations continued to condemn this savage punishment of Weber for his Socialist views, and several senators asked about his case, the military authorities were forced to retreat still further. The reviewing board changed the sentence from life imprisonment to 20 years. Finally the Judge-Advocate in Washington set the sentence at five years at hard labor.

The present penalty inflicted upon Weber is not only unduly harsh in view of the offense with which he is charged, refusal to drill, but has been imposed in violation of the War Department's own regulations. These regulations instruct officers to assign draftees like Weber, who object to bearing arms, to non-combatant work without punishing them.

Before his induction into the army, Weber, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, openly declared his opposition to the



'The Four Freedoms'

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

The Army Comes Through

Having been given the go-ahead signal by the "liberal" Commander-in-Chief, the Army and Navy Departments are now evidently engaged in an all-out race to determine which group of brass hats can best keep the Negroes in their official, second-class place.

They have both agreed on a policy of "Keep the Negro down—and if he squawks about being down, kick him farther down."

The Navy recently came through with a killer-diller when it brazenly sentenced 50 Negro sailors to from 8 to 15 years after having convicted them on a phony "mutiny" charge. This "mutiny" was, in reality, merely a protest against the reactionary policy of dishonoring the most hazardous work to all-Negro groups. The Navy tried to force them to return to such work immediately after having seen 300 of their buddies blown to smithereens.

But let it never be said that the Army allowed the Navy to outdo them in any field. That good old competitive spirit, you know, — the Army must come through.

Well, the Army didn't let us down. It has just been revealed that 73 members of a Negro labor battalion who had been put to work on Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands have been convicted of "mutiny" by an army court-martial, sentenced to from 15 to 25 years at hard labor and given dishonorable discharges.

SOLDIERS PROTEST

According to Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, the court martial resulted from a no-work protest lodged by the soldiers when it was made known that their colored officers were to all be replaced with prejudiced Southern white officers.

It seems that there existed in this battalion the same reactionary policy that holds true for the 92nd in Italy. That is, as soon as any Negro officer is transferred or otherwise made absent a white officer replaces him. If there happens to be any Negro officer who has a higher rating than the transferred officer, then the white officer is advanced to such a rating that he is above this or any other Negro in this section. This policy is carried out regardless of the white officer's lack of qualifications or lack of years in service.

The Negro officers drew up a perfectly legitimate protest and delivered it to the War Department through perfectly legitimate means as provided for in the rules and regulations. They were careful to make their objections known through nothing but the regular channels.

And what did such polite comment on the policy of the big shots get for them? To the brass hats such impudence deserved — and received — a slap in the face. They were immediately removed from the post and replaced by all white officers. Thus did Roosevelt's War Department make it known again that it does not intend to recognize the suggestions or objections of even any Negro officers as to the official anti-Negro policy.

The Negro soldiers in the battalion, already resentful of the fact that they were designated to pick-and-shovel duty regardless of their qualifications, quite naturally did not relish the idea of being bossed around by the prejudiced white officers. Furthermore, they naturally felt like showing some loyalty to their former Negro officers who had just received such a dirty deal. They refused to leave their barracks to work.

HELD FOR MUTINY

The colonel was forced to ask one of the transferred Negro officers to order them out. They complied. The men were read the 66th Article of War and given 10 minutes to get their mess gear and go to work which they finally did. They even complied with the demand that they make up the lost time.

On the basis of these events they were held on mutiny charges a few days later and were subsequently sentenced to from 15 to 25 years.

Although these facts were allowed to come through there must have been other contributing conditions that made the War Department's sentences seem all the more vicious because additional parts of White's report were censored by the Army authorities. This is another Port Chicago case or even worse. It is time the Negro organizations were making some mass protest against such high handed methods that are being used to keep the Negro "in his place" in this so-called war for four freedoms. As after the case of the 60 sailors, we say again: the Negro masses must make themselves HEARD and SEEN in protest against this case or else there will be many more.

Union Leaders Combine With Employers To Push Vicious Substitute For May-Bailey Slavery Bill

(Continued from page 1)

tion. No wonder Mr. McNutt refused to ask for passage of a national service act," he said. "He does not need such a law if he can get away with present practices." (N. Y. Times, June 3, 1944).

James L. McDevitt, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, also at that time denounced the Roosevelt-McNutt "plan" as a forced labor scheme. It "had everything that a labor draft called for," he said. That is, "everything" except a legal cover. The Kilgore-Wagner "substitute" endorsed by the top officials of the AFL and CIO is designed to provide this legal cover. While the Roosevelt-McNutt plan applied only to male workers over 17 years of age, the Kilgore-Wagner bill covers both men and women in all age groups. In this respect it is more sweeping than the May-Bailey bill which applies only to male workers in the 18-45 age group.

The capitulation of the union leaders to the "labor program" of the employers was prepared in a series of secret conferences organized to work out a "compromise" to the pending May-Bailey bill. In an exclusive dispatch from Washington, published over a month ago on Jan. 11, a staff writer of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported: "The collapse of organized resistance to a modified national service bill, with the condition, however, that the military shall not have the final say on the assignment of men to war jobs, will be announced soon as a result of an agreement reached with organized farm, labor and industry representatives, the N. Y. Herald-Tribune learned tonight."

SECRET AGREEMENT

The agreement, "was reached in secret White House meetings," under the "aegis of the recently created War Mobilization and Reconversion Advisory Board. The Board is composed of representatives of business, agriculture and labor. The labor representatives are William Green, AFL, Philip Murray, CIO and T. C. Cashen, Railroad Brotherhood. The secret agreement provided that the administration of the proposed forced labor legislation be turned over to the War Manpower Commission instead of the Selective Service which is under direct control of the brass hats. It was presented to James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, who with-

Graveyard of Grievances



draw "his previous opposition to transferring the important assignment power from the military to the War Manpower Commission."

The above reported "conference" was one of a number of secret meetings which has now resulted in the open support by "labor, agriculture and industry," for the Kilgore-Wagner "modified" national service bill. An interesting sidelight on this behind-the-scenes betrayal of labor was Philip Murray's statement to the Senate Military Affairs Committee, whining that Byrnes had double-crossed his "advisory board." "We respectfully submit," said Murray, "that this Senate committee should inquire why the advisory committee was not consulted in advance of the proposed forced labor legislation to a Congressional committee of the May-Bailey bill."

This deal to endorse forced labor legislation was engineered behind the backs of the union membership. It was conceived behind closed doors and hidden from the eyes of the union member-

ship until the labor bureaucrats sprung it in public. They neither consulted nor advised the rank and file. This incident again confirms the truth of our contention that the struggle for the defense of the unions must be conducted against the bureaucracy for the restoration of internal union democracy.

This complete collapse of all resistance by the union officialdom to forced labor legislation has simply served to embolden reaction. Immediately following the labor bureaucrats' endorsement of the Kilgore-Wagner bill, the brass hats announced the formation of forced labor battalions. From now on workers who quit their jobs "without permission" are to be inducted into a works corps and forced to work at army pay in government-owned munitions plants. The struggle of the workers against forced labor will have to be carried forward under the leadership of the union militants. There can be no compromise on this issue.

Unrest Mounting Inside Germany

Isolated reports continue to trickle through the press censorship, revealing widespread unrest among the armed forces inside Germany. Sporadic soldiers' and sailors' revolts, hunger riots and peace demonstrations have occurred in Berlin and other cities. To cope with the growing insurrection of the war-weary people, Himmler has intensified the Gestapo terror against the German masses.

Most significant of the reported revolts was that of the German naval personnel in the port of Bremen. Here began the mutiny of German sailors which preceded the end of World War I and precipitated the German revolution of 1918.

According to the N. Y. Times, Feb. 11: "A German-language broadcast by the Soviet radio stated that sailors who had been 'dragged' from ships for army duty had barricaded themselves in barracks and had refused to go to the front. German Elite Guard troops were dispatched to Bremen, Moscow said, and their attempts to quell the revolt resulted in a battle, with a number of casualties on both sides."

REVOLT IN ARMY

An earlier account on Feb. 9 hinted that revolt was rife in the German Army. "Berlin is swept by a new wave of panic," it said, "special Elite Guard detachments had been forced to shoot soldiers who tried to surrender." This was preceded by reports on Feb. 4 of mutiny among German occupation troops in Norway who "fired on their officers when ordered to the Eastern Front."

Peace demonstrations among the civilian populace exhibit the same rebellious mood. An AP dispatch from London on Feb. 14 quoted a captured German soldier who said there were large scale peace demonstrations in Leipzig.

FOOD RIOTS

Food riots have usually been a forerunner of revolutionary action. A dispatch from Berlin in the N. Y. Times of Jan. 31 admitted that famished women in that city had rioted and overturned a truck-load of potatoes. Police fired on them, wounding thirty-seven. Such incidents are the rule, according to George Axelsen, Times correspondent in Sweden, who reported that "The task of maintaining some semblance of law and order and keeping up food supplies is said to be beyond the ability of the police and the Nazi party."

No revolutionary movement can succeed today that does not base itself upon the organizations and self-action of the working class. Moscow broadcasts say such organizations are being created within Hitler Germany. Reporting new clashes and unrest in Berlin and other cities, the Soviet radio said on Feb. 12 that "anti-Hitler peoples councils" and workers councils were being formed, and that these councils are "calling on workers and civil servants to strike."

Already in Greece, Belgium, Italy and elsewhere the workers have displayed their determination to resist their would-be enslavers and fight for their emancipation. And these are only the first actions in a struggle which will not end until the Socialist United States of Europe becomes a reality.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

The locker room is old and gray and dirty, and the sinks and showers and toilets are old and dirty too.

In the locker room, there is a great, fetid stink. In the winter time when the doors and windows are closed, it crawls up out of the toilets and spreads out over the floor and reaches up into the air, fouling it and thickening it so that when you breathe it you feel that it is unclean, and it is thick in your throat and sticky and clinging on your face.

In the summertime the doors are open and the windows too, but a great, fetid stink drips down from the sweat-soaked, dirt-covered clothing of the furnace and stockhouse men. It drips down and oozes over the floor and rises up again into the air, fouling and thickening it, so that when you first come into the locker room, you catch your breath and try not to let the foulness go down into your lungs.

In the summer and in the winter both, little brown-shelled roaches go scurrying along the walls and over the floor on long, fast legs, and sometimes when the labor gang eats lunch there, opening their paper bags and eating their sandwiches in the far end, away from the toilets, the cockroaches will go running up to the men, trying to get at those paper bags of sandwiches and Polish sausage and cheap, dry store cake.

Sometimes when the men brush them away, they will go scurrying right back as though they were willing to fight the men over the contents of the paper bags, and they don't stop until one of the men gets up swearing and crushes a heavy workshoe down upon them, so that the brown shell goes "pop" and they make a dirty little blob on the floor of the locker room.

And in the winter and in the summer both, there is a scrawny little man that stays in the locker room, an old little man with high Slavic cheekbones and scrubby gray hair and a Slavic face cut deep with a web of wrinkles, an old man named John.

They say that old John was once a big powerful man. They say that when he left the farmlands of his European home for the fabulous cities of "free America" he was a strong man with clear eyes and a proudly-held head.

Old John Is All Worked Out

But that was thirty-five years ago, and I never knew John then; but he's nothing like that now. He's worked out. His old body is warped and shrunken, and his old mind is a little silly. John will jabber at you for an hour straight if you let him, and you'll never know what he's trying to tell you.

The fellows say he "froze his brains" when he used to work out at the cinder dump in the cold winters. They say that's how he got silly, and some of them say that's why the company never fired him when he got old. But I don't believe that, because the company had to have a janitor; and why not give it to John as well as anyone else?

The company had to have a janitor to clean up the locker room so it wouldn't get too rotten with filth. They had to have somebody to mop up the big splashes of tobacco juice that spattered the floor. There had to be somebody to sweep up the clay and the iron ore that dusted the floor and piled up in the corners and jumped into the air in tiny whirlwinds as you walked by with your heavy, steel-capped shoes.

The company had to have somebody who could take a brush and scrub the porcelain urinals, someone who could take a mop and wash up the floor in front of the old toilets. There had to be somebody who would spend the day shifts and the dark, weary night shifts in the thick, brown stench of the locker room.

And if the company could get somebody who was a little bit silly, somebody who had "frozen his brains," then perhaps he would work out better than an ordinary man, who might think, "Here I've worked all my life for the company, I've sweated and steamed on the furnaces in the hottest weather. I've done all kinds of bull work, going home tired and falling asleep right after supper. Now I'm all worked out, all worn out. And all I get is a stinking locker room that ought to be torn down. All I get is a stinking brush to scrub out the toilets!"

And who knows? Maybe that's all the boss is planning to give you and me.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

FEBRUARY 23, 1935

SACRAMENTO—Norman Mini, one of the 18 Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union leaders on trial in the frame-up "Criminal Syndicalism" case initiated by California agricultural lords, took the stand. Mini courageously defended his Trotskyist ideas under a vitriolic examination by prosecutor McAlister.

Presiding Judge Lemmon overruled the attempts of defense attorney Albert Goldman to introduce socialist explanations of "evidence" introduced by McAlister while he gave full rein to the prosecution.

WAPAK, OHIO—Unemployed workers of Anglaize County on February 15 stormed the relief offices in Wapak, the county seat, with an impressive list of demands. One of the leading organizers of the demonstration was a mother of 5 children, whose militancy and courage was a measure of the wrath of mothers condemned by the relief system to see their families in want.

Eight demands granted by the relief bureau included the right to go to any physician for medical care; free transportation to and from relief jobs; no discrimination; publication of a list of all available surplus foods and their immediate distribution. Also immediate distribution of adequate clothing; direct relief to all those hired on work relief, until receipt of the first work check; no "payment in kind" on work relief, that is, no payment in commodities; no one to be cut from relief rolls while still in need.

WASHINGTON—The Militant again warned American workers of impending war in the Pacific. "The preparations involve political changes as well as physical ones," said a feature article outlining Roosevelt's designs. "In Hawaii... it means a change to a governor completely under instruction of the U. S. Navy. The propaganda for tightening the military grip on the Philippines is already evident."

Real Aims That United Allies At Yalta Parley

(Continued from page 1)

unbreakable friendship and complete harmony.

For the time being, however, unanimity prevails among the "Big Three." It is important to understand the main factors which have impelled these powers at this juncture of events to override their differences and agree upon common policy. There is first the military necessity of completing the crushing of German resistance and defeating Japan. It was these military needs of the Allies which induced Churchill to conclude his 20-year treaty with Stalin in 1941 and led Roosevelt to give such extensive lend-lease aid to the USSR.

But the principal motives behind the Yalta decisions were political rather than military in character. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin were primarily preoccupied with the revolutionary mass movements which are beginning to erupt throughout Europe and which they anticipate will spread like wild-fire after Hitler's collapse.

FEAR MASSES

These three Allied leaders fear that the war-weary tortured, starved, and desperate peoples will turn in mighty wrath against all the authorities and institutions of the existing system in an iron resolve to take their destinies into their own hands. They are afraid that the insurgent workers and peasants will drive out the capitalists and landlords and take possession of the factories and fields. They are afraid that the peoples will set up genuinely democratic governments of their own choosing and make peace among themselves while they combat the possessing classes and their supporters.

It is this common fear of the revolutionary self-action of the masses that binds together Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin and animated all of their deliberations and decisions at Yalta.

These three evil men have already exhibited in action their counter-revolutionary aims in Italy, Greece and Belgium and they will not hesitate to pursue the same criminal course in any other country.

Their published plans for Germany are not solely designed to crush German militarism or to eliminate Germany as an industrial rival. They are primarily constructed to keep the German masses in chains in order to prevent them from overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers' republic on the ruins of Hitler's Reich. In their eyes a far greater danger than either Hitlerism or Junker militarism is Communism which both Churchill and Stalin have already designated by its proper contemporary name of Trotskyism.

THIRD WORLD WAR

If these conspirators succeed in carrying through their counter-revolutionary aims, if the joint struggles of the workers and peasants for socialism do not frustrate their designs, they will have sown the seeds of the Third World War. The strangling of the proletarian revolutions in Germany and other European countries at the close of the First World War by the capitalists and their Social-Democratic accomplices paved the way for the rise of fascism and the present war. The definitive defeat of the coming revolutions in Europe by the Anglo-American imperialists aided by the Stalinists can only plow the ground for a new and far more ferocious reaction. This would in turn inevitably culminate in another world war which would be the graveyard of civilization.

These are the terrible perspectives which issue out of the secret conference at Yalta. But the counter-revolutionary conspiracies hatched there are far from realization. Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are now coming to grips with a force potentially far more powerful than themselves. This is the revolutionary might of the insurgent European masses impelled by the urge to hew their way out of the bloody capitalist chaos and create a new Socialist society.

Already in Greece, Belgium, Italy and elsewhere the workers have displayed their determination to resist their would-be enslavers and fight for their emancipation. And these are only the first actions in a struggle which will not end until the Socialist United States of Europe becomes a reality.

In Detroit, Mich.

You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

What the Real Score Was in Greece

Corroboration that British troops were sent to Greece expressly to crush the ELAS forces is given in the official figures showing the number of British casualties since their arrival in October.

Up to December 3rd, the day General Scobie on Churchill's orders provoked the civil war in Greece, and all during the period when the ELAS ranks were driving out the remainder of the Nazis, the British casualties numbered 300.

Between December 3 — the day of the British massacre of Greek workers and peasants in Athens — and January 6, British casualties were 2,101.

Thus, SEVEN times as many British soldiers and sailors were killed, wounded or captured in the ONE month they were fighting the "liberated" Greek people, as in the TWO months they were fighting the Nazis!

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Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISM OFFERS FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR YOUTH, WOMEN

There is not and there will not be any place for careerism, the ulcer of the old Internationals, in the Fourth International. Only those who wish to live for the movement, and not at the expense of the movement, will find access to us. The revolutionary workers should feel themselves to be the masters. The doors of our organization are wide open to them.

Of course, even among the workers who had at one time risen to the first ranks, there are

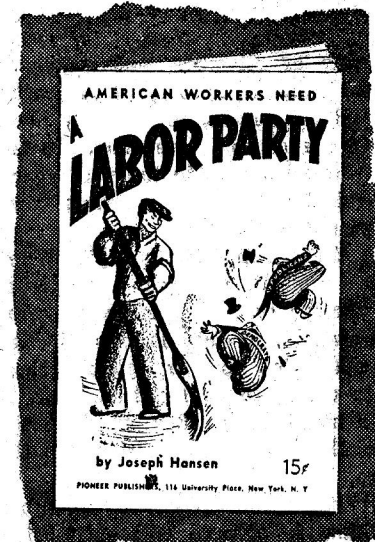
not a few tired and disillusioned ones. They will remain, at least for the next period, as bystanders. When a program of an organization wears out, the generation which carried it on its shoulders wears out with it. The movement is revitalized by the youth who are free of responsibility for the past.

The Fourth International pays particular attention to the young generation of the proletariat. All of its policies strive to inspire the youth with belief in its own strength and in the future. Only the fresh enthusiasm and aggressive spirit of the youth can guarantee the preliminary successes in the struggle; only these successes can return the best elements of the older generation to the road of revolution. Thus it was, thus it will be.

Opportunist organizations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage-earner and as a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class; consequently, among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness and readiness to sacrifice.

Down with the bureaucracy and careerism! Open the road to the youth! Turn to the woman worker! These slogans are emblazoned on the banner of the Fourth International.

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

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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.

Stalinists In Greece

Although the whole world knows of the infamous crimes of the Allies in Greece, the workers are not so familiar with the treacherous role played by the Stalinist leaders of the EAM-ELAS in these tragic events.

The movement headed by the Stalinists originated during the German occupation as a genuine movement of the insurgent workers and peasants. These masses wanted not only to drive out the Nazi invaders but to rid themselves once and for all of their own native capitalists, landlords, militarists and monarchists.

These political aims and social aspirations could have been achieved only through irreconcilable revolutionary struggle for the conquest of power by the workers and the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

But from the first the Stalinist leaders of EAM-ELAS strove to derail the promising movement of the masses from its proper revolutionary course by restricting it to purely national aims within the boundaries of capitalist rule and by subverting it into an appendage of Anglo-American imperialism.

They told the rebellious people to place complete confidence in the benevolent intentions of the Allies. Over protests from the EAM-ELAS ranks, Stalinist representatives entered the British-backed monarchist Papandreu government-in-exile, which had imprisoned thousands of Greek soldiers and sailors sympathetic to EAM-ELAS.

When the Germans were driven from the country in October, reliable correspondents report that EAM-ELAS could easily have taken power since it constituted the sole organized force in Greece. Instead the Stalinist leadership prevented the armed workers from assuming power and advised them to welcome the Allied troops as liberators and the puppet Papandreu government as bearers of democracy.

Systematically deceiving their followers, the Stalinists led them blindfolded into the bloody trap prepared by General Scobie for the massacre

of the Athens demonstrators on December 3, which precipitated the civil war. During the subsequent fighting, forced upon the EAM-ELAS leaders by Churchill's provocations on one side and the workers' demand for self-defense on the other, the Stalinists deliberately refrained from organizing their forces for a struggle to the end and from raising the slogans needed to inspire and rally the masses for a definitive settlement with their enemies. On the contrary, they continued negotiations for compromise terms which ended in their present capitulation.

As a result of these treacherous policies, the worker and peasant supporters of EAM-ELAS have now been handed over to the British conquerors and their armed mercenaries. And to add insult to injury, the Stalinist leaders impudently proclaim that democracy and freedom is assured for the Greek people.

The events in Greece constitute one of the most flagrant sellouts of the workers in recent years. But they will not have been entirely in vain if the advanced workers learn from them the necessity of rejecting the class collaborationist People's Front policy of the Stalinists and driving these cunning and criminal agents of their enemies out of labor's ranks.

End Of Isolationism

The Crimean conference marks the definitive collapse of American "isolationism." The most authoritative spokesmen for all sections of the capitalist class have acclaimed its decisions. The Yalta decisions explicitly commit the United States to permanent intervention in European and world affairs in order to promote and implement the war aims of Wall Street.

The leading figures in the Republican Party fell quickly into line with Roosevelt's policy. "Before 1,000 persons high in the leadership of the Republican Party," reports the *N. Y. Times*, "former President Herbert Hoover, long a spokesman for an important section of his party, gave an enthusiastic endorsement last night to the agreement reached by President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Winston Churchill at the Big-Three Conference in the Crimea." This was supplemented by similar expressions from Dewey and other high-ranking Republicans.

Thus all lines of demarcation between the Democratic and Republican leaders in foreign policy have been erased. The two capitalist parties stand united behind Wall Street's plans for world domination. Could there be more striking evidence of the essential identity of these political arms of Big Business?

Betrayal Technique

The dispute over the enactment of a national service law has revealed a division in the ranks of the employers. One section of the employers supports the demand of the brass hats that the military caste be given direct control over labor. The other prefers that control be vested in a "civilian" agency, the War Manpower Commission. In principle, both sections support the drive to forge additional instruments of labor repression to shackle the unions and regiment the working class. What is involved in this family dispute is merely the question of method.

The National Association of Manufacturers has taken the lead in advancing the program of that section of the employers which prefers civilian controls. The NAM calls for tightening and extending the drastic job freeze decrees issued by Roosevelt. It calls for rigid enforcement of these decrees. It asks that the War Manpower Commission be given statutory authority to strengthen its power in the application of "legal" compulsion. To supplement this compulsion the NAM demands, "immediate application of the work-or-fight principle, within the present framework of the Selective Service authority and machinery."

Under the hypocritical guise of defending "voluntary" labor, the NAM presents its plan for perpetuating and extending the system of forced-labor-by-executive-decree which Roosevelt has been building up during the past three years. The program of this employers association has been embodied in the Kilgore-Wagner bill as a "substitute" for the brass-hat sponsored May-Bailey slave labor measure. The Kilgore-Wagner substitute has been endorsed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Philip Murray of the CIO, William Green of the AFL, and the Stalinist Teheran Political Association.

This unholy alliance between the anti-union employers associations and the union leaders reveals the true essence of the Hillman-Murray-Green "non partisan" political policy. The "non partisan" policy reduces itself to supporting one section of the employers against the other—at the expense of the workers. By keeping the working class politically atomized and subservient to the capitalist parties, the labor officials render the unions incapable of defending their interests in a period when all vital questions immediately assume the sharpest political character. The continuation of this policy will inevitably result in similar "compromise" surrenders of one position after another.

The workers can defend their interests effectively only by making a decisive break with this policy of company unionism on the political field. It is up to the militants in the unions and in the shops to take the lead in arousing and organizing the ranks in the fight for the formation of an Independent Labor Party. A Labor Party based on the trade unions is the indispensable instrument for combating the drive of the administration and the bosses to enslave the American workers.

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.

The Weber Case

The enclosed clipping concerns Private Henry Weber, recently court-martialed.

We know that it was not solely for refusing to drill that he was sentenced to hang. Knowing that gave me a momentary shiver, being a grade A candidate for re-education, and having a fairly familiar knowledge of military court and prison methods. And that his first sentence was altered to life imprisonment is no cause for us to relax and compromise. I for one want to cry "stink" until they can't stand it. For a day or two it was first interest conversation in the yards here, even if it was back page copy in the paper. And the boys who may see the army haven't forgotten, particularly certain ones who have been shown that they share certain ideas with Private Weber for which he has been victimized.

H. C.
Everest, Wash.

Fascist Activities

Accounts have been reaching the papers lately on the increased fascist activity going on in some sections of the country. The 30,000 to 40,000 men who are being released by the armed services each month poses a new problem. And the ruling class is by no means sleeping on it.

In San Antonio, Texas, the "Fight for Free Enterprise, Inc.," a fascist-minded organization, has just opened up for business. Its leaders are no simple-minded, misled individuals seeking an honest way out, but people directly connected with big business.

The advisory board of the F.F.E. is made up of big oil men, cattle raisers, the superintendent of the San Antonio State Hospital, and a trustee of the Texas State Medical Assn. Quite a selection of leading citizens!

Its program, as is to be expected, is anti-labor and it uses any and all issues racial or otherwise, to direct the attention of the

ex-servicemen into harmful channels. It publishes a tabloid newspaper and seeks time on many big radio hookups. The labor movement must keep tab of these new "friends" and prepare to deal with them in proper fashion.

Mike Warren,
New York.

There Is More Than One Hitler

Why are our American boys and young men drafted and shipped off like driven cattle to fight and die in the age-old hell-hole of Europe? Some deceiver or ignoramus will become very indignant at such a question and will shout back the answer that our boys and young men are fighting and dying in Europe to crush vile Hitlerism which threatened to engulf the liberties of all mankind. That can not be for vile Hitlerism has cursed the world ever since the days of the ancient Babylonian empire and Hitlerism in the form of Churchillism and Stalinism will dictate a vile peace for Europe after this war, regardless of that disgusting hocuspocus pronouncement of the Big Three at the Yalta conference regarding the Atlantic Charter and the United States and regardless of anything which the United States can NOW do to prevent it.

Adolf Hitler is not the only Hitler in the world today. British Hitlers have been Hitlerizing a very large part of the world for centuries and are determined to continue to do so as long as they possibly can. Three Hitlers in the persons of Roosevelt and Churchill and Stalin are very seriously threatening the liberties of all mankind today, and if their shrewdly concocted Yalta plan is not brought to nought, a most monstrous crime will be committed against humanity — a monstrous crime that will not produce world peace even for our generation but will cry aloud for expiation.

It was disgusting to see the sardonic smile of Stalin which he exhibited in one of his photographs at the Yalta conference;

but it was still more disgusting to see Roosevelt and Churchill locking hands with Stalin, the Tartar tyrant, in a compact of fellowship for the commission of one of the most monstrous crimes of history and all in the hypocritical name of liberty and the self-determination of nations to deceive the suckers of the world. The scene at Yalta reminded me of the time when British brigands locked hands with the Tartar oppressors of China to crush in rivers of blood the Taiping revolution during our Civil War. Just actions, not lying words, are what the enlightened and justice-loving part of humanity want and demand!

Hitler is not the only Hitler in the world that ought to be crushed. Adolf Hitler atrociously persecuted the Jews; but what did the Hitlers in other countries do to relieve the Jews? Australia refused to allow a Jewish refugee settlement in Australia. Britain closed the doors of Palestine to the Jewish refugees. Russia could have absorbed all the Jews of Europe with great benefit to the Russian people but Russia refused to lift a little finger to help herself by helping the helpless Jews.

Even the United States, let it be said in deep shame and repentance, did not open our doors to the outrageously persecuted children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who have done more for civilization than all the other peoples of the world combined. Talk about Adolf Hitler; he is not the only diabolical Hitler in the world today. Every nation in the world today has enough on its hands if only it will clean its own house. If all nations will only do that, they will have neither the time nor the inclination to be fighting one another.

Ernest Bradshaw
Chicago

For the Poor

Dear Editor:

A friend of mine told me about The Militant, the poor person's paper, but he did not know about the price or anything. I wonder if you would kindly send me a sample copy. Thank you.

Andy Molander
Junction City, Wash.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Belgium

The *N. Y. Times* correspondent David Anderson is not very optimistic about the future of Premier Van Acker's new government.

In a cable from Brussels on Feb. 17 he says that "there is a marked tendency to treat it as a makeshift compromise good for the next few months only. While the premier is saluted on all sides as the man of the moment, the rest of the Cabinet is often dismissed as a 'Pierlot team, whitewashed and rejuvenated.'"

While the mass of the people are becoming hungrier, and food rations are being reduced, the black market is flourishing and keeping the wealthy supplied with food. "The rich live well at the expense of the poor, and the well-to-do have no complaint, as the writer can testify, having eaten better in Belgian homes than in British."

In view of these conditions, it is easy to imagine how the masses greeted Premier Van Acker's declaration that confidence is more important to a Belgian than a crust of bread. Any government like his which dares not attack the capitalist roots of the present crisis, will not command much confidence from the Belgian people.

Greece

The General Plastiras who was flown from France by the British to head the present Greek government is an old hand at hiring himself out to the imperialists. Plastiras lived unmoored in France throughout the Nazi occupation. At the height of the German success in the summer of 1941, the Labour M. P. Aneurin Bevan disclosed in the House of Commons, that Plastiras was negotiating with the Germans to reach an agreement with them similar to that which he has now reached with Churchill.

He was in contact with two agents of Otto Abetz, who was Hitler's undercover man in pre-war France. These were the S.S. General Thomas and the S.S. leader Roland Nosenk. But nego-

tiations broke down when Plastiras' faith in the Germans was shattered by their reverses in Russia in the winter of 1941.

Premier Plastiras is no admirer of the Soviet Union. In 1919 he commanded the Greek contingents that invaded the Soviet Ukraine in the war of intervention against the young Soviet government.

Italy

More information has appeared in the press regarding the secret Italian armistice terms. Senator H. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire made public a review of the terms in the *Geneva International Law Review*, which confirms disclosures made last week about the colonies.

Great Britain is to receive the islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa and others of strategic importance. France will receive Elba and her frontier with Italy would be revised. Yugoslavia will get Istria and the cities of Fiume and Zara and Greece will receive all the Italian islands in the Aegean Sea. "The fate of the Italian colonies, Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea shall be settled at the peace conference, and Italy shall reconcile herself with its decisions," states the Review.

The Badoglio government consented to send 2,000,000 workers "to the conquering countries" for reconstruction work. The document apportioned these slave labor gangs as follows: 800,000 to Russia, 200,000 to the United States, 200,000 to Great Britain, 200,000 to Australia, 200,000 to South Africa, 200,000 to Brazil and the remainder to other United Nations.

Recently at an international Socialist conference in France, a representative of the Italian Socialist Party, Signor Buffoni, revealed that there exists another secret clause in the armistice agreement which guarantees certain rights to the House of Savoy. Buffoni claims that the Socialist Party quit the Bonomi government because of the operation of this clause.

At first, when the wrath of the people was at its height, the

House of Savoy refrained from demanding strict obedience to these rights unwritten by the Allies. But since Churchill's open intervention in Italian politics and the Stalinist party's approval of the monarchy, the monarchists insist upon its strict application. This was demonstrated during the last Cabinet crisis, when the Lord Lieutenant of the Realm, Prince Umberto, who is acting as stand-in for King Victor Emmanuel, insisted on exercising his full sovereign rights.

France

Wherever in the "liberated" countries the governments, under pressure of the masses, have been obliged to take a few half-hearted measures against Big Business, the financial interests which constitute the real power under capitalism have banded together to sabotage them. The *English Tribune* for Jan. 12 cites two such examples from France "to which many more could be added from other liberated countries."

When the nationalization of the coal mines in northern France was announced, the banks flung on the market their entire holding of shares with the aim of sabotaging the credit position of the mines.

Even worse is the case of the Franco-German chemical industry, Francolor, which was taken over by the French Ministry of Production. French banks who had granted this concern almost unlimited credit under German occupation now refused all financial help.

The European financiers are counting upon and receiving assistance in their maneuvers from British and American bankers. The *Financial News of London*, for example, warns the resistance movements that economic aid from abroad will be given only if the governments adopt policies approved by the international bankers. "American bankers and business men, for example, will certainly withhold their support until they have ascertained that a new regime can claim stability."

The Militant's Question-Box

For the service of our readers, we are starting in this issue a new feature, "The Question Box." The Militant invites its readers to submit for answer their questions on economic and political problems.

Editor:

Why do you keep smearing this administration when it is leaning as far to the "left" as it can and still maintain unity?

L. J. Sims
Los Angeles

(Editor's Answer) In order to ascertain the real character of Roosevelt's administration, let us first establish whether or not it is actually leaning to the "left", that is, to the working mass of the population, or whether it is leaning on the "right", that is, on the ruling big business class.

Far from leaning in the slightest degree to the "left", Roosevelt is in fact driving deliberately and ruthlessly to the extreme right. We need go back no further than the brief period since the last elections to observe indisputable evidence of Roosevelt's increasingly reactionary aims and program. Indeed, these have been so clearly revealed as the aims and program of Wall Street that many of Roosevelt's liberal and labor supporters have begun to wail. "Who won the elections?"

The first important act of the administration since last November 7 was to reinforce the wage-freeze through the decision of Roosevelt's compulsory arbitration War Labor Board in the steel wage case. The Board, basing its ruling squarely on Roosevelt's "Hold the line" policy, refused to grant any of the major wage demands of the steel workers or to recommend upward revision of the Little Steel Formula.

Roosevelt gave a further demonstration of his role as chief governmental representative of Big Business by turning over the State Department and leading government agencies to the direct representative's of the dominant financial interests.

Now he is acting as the spearhead in the drive to impose forced labor upon the American workers. He has come forth as the main spokesman for probably the most dictatorial anti-labor legislation that has ever been placed before Congress.

These are but a continuation and intensification of the policies he has pursued throughout the war and prior to the war. Roosevelt has steadily pressed for enforcement of complete compulsory arbitration to curb the independent action of the workers. He has imposed a rigid wage freeze in the face of steadily mounting prices and profits. He has ruthlessly employed the power of the government and its armed forces to break the defensive strike actions of the workers.

Roosevelt's Policy in Foreign Affairs

Is Roosevelt perhaps going to the left in the sphere of foreign affairs? Many misguided people are induced to believe so by the high-sounding promises in his speeches and pronouncements. But actions speak louder than words.

The policies of Roosevelt and his Allies in the "liberated" countries of Europe glaringly expose the real reactionary designs behind his deceitful phrases and false promises of democracy and self-government. In no case have the European peoples been freely permitted to establish their own governments, to hold democratic elections, to oust their hated native capitalist, landlord and militarist oppressors. Instead their "liberators" have imposed and propped up with their bayonets the most hated puppet regimes.

In Athens Greek men, women and children who carried banners with slogans calling upon Roosevelt for help were shot down by lend-lease tanks supplied by Roosevelt. That is how they learned where Roosevelt stands—on the extreme right behind the King and the present dictatorial regime.

Why does Roosevelt act in this fashion? Because he is not a free and independent agent. He is the head of a capitalist government designed to protect the interests of American capitalism. He is also leader of the Democratic Party which is dominated by Wall Street. He cannot do otherwise than to carry out both at home and abroad the program of Big Business which controls both the government and the Democratic Party.

It is true that in the past during the long-dead "New Deal" era Roosevelt instituted some limited reforms which still help him retain his reputation as a "liberal." But these were granted not out of goodwill but because of practical necessity. These concessions were exacted by the mass pressure of the workers and intended to quiet them until Roosevelt and Big Business could detour around the rough spots on their road.

But this most costly of all wars, undertaken to conquer economic and political mastery of the entire world for American Big Business, forbids any more such concessions and forces the government to try to deprive labor of the gains won in the past years. That is why Roosevelt is compelled to crack down on the working class so openly.

This brings us to the question of "unity." When spokesmen for the capitalists demand "national unity", they mean "unity" only on their own terms and so long as it serves their class interests. They want the workers to abandon any struggle for their rights and submit to unlimited exploitation. This is like the "unity" of a horse and a rider, in which the capitalists maintain their present position on the backs of the workers.

This kind of unity that Roosevelt and his labor lieutenants are seeking to enforce will only bring further disasters to the workers. The kind of unity the workers need is the unity of their own independent forces in struggle against the anti-labor offensive of the employers and their government agents like Roosevelt.

By pointing out these facts, The Militant aims to help the workers distinguish their true friends from the false. The most powerful of these fake "friends" is Roosevelt. When we remove the mask from his face, we are not, as our correspondent implies, "smearing" him. We are simply showing what Roosevelt really is—an enemy of the workers and an extremely clever agent of Big Business.