

BIG WILLOW RUN PLANT TO SHUT DOWN

German, French Workers Battle Class Enemies

May Day in Europe this year, unlike previous May Days during the present war, has approached to the accompaniment of growing mass rebellion of the war-tortured peoples.

In Germany and France, the two leading capitalist countries, the workers are beginning to rise against capitalism and assert once more their determination to end the system which plunged them into the insane holocaust of misery and death.

The great cities of Germany are convulsed by gigantic peace demonstrations heralding the approaching revolutionary storm. In France, the workers have been summoned to a one-day general strike on May 1 by the General Confederation of Labor.

On April 20, the Luxembourg radio reported that Germany was torn by civil war marked by "gigantic peace demonstrations" in Berlin and Munich. "Berlin is burning with unrest, civil war is rife, on all buildings in the workers' district red flags have appeared." Berlin workers "shouted for peace and waved Red flags as the Russians stormed the eastern gates."

The same source reported that "in Munich, police and Gestapo detachments have been sent to quell the gigantic peace demonstrations" in which "scores of thousands" of people took part, shouting the slogan, "We Want Peace!"

On April 17, the Luxembourg radio reported that riots had broken out in Stuttgart, directly in the path of American and French forces storming through southern Germany. The riots were so severe that "they may be called a revolution." Anti-Nazi groups were said to have seized control of the city administration.

Meanwhile, unrest is mounting in France. The General Federation of Labor's call for a general strike on May Day asks the workers to protest against the new increase in the price of bread, the inadequate wages, and the failure of the de Gaulle regime to carry out a real purge of fascist elements.

"The whole population," said a Federation statement, "is going to suffer from the new rise in the cost of living and the trusts and the financial oligarchy will alone continue to profit from a liberalism (sic) which for them will bring a new golden age of high profits."

France and Germany mirror the situation throughout Europe. Capitalism faces a mortal crisis as the workers gird themselves for struggle.

May Day 1945



Ford Bomber Unit Cutback To Result In Mass Layoff

Union Spokesman Asks Why Government Plant Is Not Used to Produce Civilian Goods

By C. Thomas

The Ford-operated Willow Run B-24 bomber plant at Detroit Michigan, built by the government and widely publicized as the most efficient mass production unit in the world, is slated for the scrap heap. Thousands of workers are being laid off as the working force of 22,000 is reduced in preparation for a complete shutdown scheduled for August 1.

It is estimated that the shutdown of this one plant will affect several hundred thousand workers in related industries.

Meat Profiteers Handed Gift of Larger Subsidies

The government on April 23 bowed to the clamor of the profiteering meat trust which has been blaming meat shortages and black marketeering on price ceilings.

William H. Davis, new Director of Economic Stabilization, who as former head of the WLB helped clamp the wage-freeze on the workers, announced that the government will give huge new subsidies to packers and slaughterers to "ease" the meat shortage.

The packers—who the OPA officials have increased their profits seven times over their pay raise and grabbed over \$600,000,000 in government subsidies in the past 18 months—are to receive a minimum of \$15,000,000 additional subsidies per year.

This is being passed off as not meaning an increase in retail meat prices because the funds will come from the public treasury. But every penny of these subsidies comes from taxes paid by the people.

In addition to outright gifts, the meat barons, who have deliberately aggravated the meat shortage to pressure up prices and subsidies, are to receive \$7,000,000 more annually for the beef they sell to the government. Pork packers and slaughterers have been promised an increase in subsidies or prices, retroactive to April 1, if a government "study" finds it "necessary."

Davis made no claim that his 10-point program will actually solve the meat shortage "in the sense of giving everybody all the meat he wants." In fact, OPA officials before the recent Senate hearings flatly denied that bigger profits to the meat trust will yield more meat to the consumers. It will only encourage the profiteers to put on a bigger scarcity squeeze for still more profits.

The Willow Run plant cost the government \$96,450,000 to build and equip with the most modern machinery. In addition, \$26,000,000 was spent on a housing project for the workers and their families. A highway from the city of Detroit to the plant costing \$20,000,000 was constructed at government expense. To appreciate its size, it is only necessary to point out that the Willow Run plant has an airport bigger than the huge La Guardia Field in New York.

Professing the announced intention of shutting down Willow Run, a union spokesman demanded to know: "If we can't make bombers, why can't we make bathtubs, or any one of the other many items which have become scarce since war production started?" The plant is capable of producing tractors, farm equipment, pre-fabricated houses,

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Socialist Workers Party Manifesto: A May Day Call To American Labor

On May Day 1945 the world working class stands once again at a great crossroads of history. After almost six long years the war in Europe is drawing to a close. What lies ahead? The choice before toiling humanity is the same today as it was after the First World War: Forward to socialism or backward into barbarism and perpetual wars.

Since 1886 the working class of all countries have dedicated themselves on May Day to the struggle for Peace, Socialism, the Brotherhood of Man. The future of mankind depends upon the victory of the working class. It alone can wrest power from the tiny oligarchy of finance capitalists and inaugurate a new, progressive, social order.

But thus far only in one country—in October 1917 in Russia under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky—did the working class conquer this power. Everywhere else, betrayed by the false and corrupt leadership of Social Democracy and Stalinism, the Revolution was thrown back and reaction triumphed. In its death agony capitalism can rule only by the brute force of Fascism and military dictatorship, preparing fresh agonies for mankind. Hitler, said Trotsky in 1940, is "nothing but the personification of all the destructive forces of imperialism."

To enlist the masses in the imperialist conflict for the redivision of the world the "democratic" powers were obliged to make the "struggle against fascism" one of their war aims. Again and again Churchill, Stalin and the late Roosevelt promised to destroy fascism and permit the peoples to determine their own fate. Let us call the roll of the "liberated" countries in Europe and see what has happened to these promises.

The Fate of the "Liberated" Countries

In Italy, the people overthrew the hated regime of Mussolini and moved to settle accounts with the capitalist-landlord ruling cliques. But the Allies had other plans. With the help of their Stalinist and Social-Democratic lackeys, they saddled the military-monarchist regime of Badoglio and the House of Savoy, helpers of Mussolini for twenty-two years, on the backs of the Italian people. Badoglio, who had not the slightest shred of support among the masses, was replaced by Bonomi. But the Bonomi regime no more represents the Italian masses than did its predecessor. It rules only by the consent—and in the final analysis by the bayonets—of the Allies.

In Greece, after years of the most extreme poverty, suffering and famine, the masses flung the Nazi invader from their land. But the British imperialists would not permit the Greek people to determine their own fate. Royalist gangsters were armed and shipped into Greece. The scum that only yesterday worked for Hitler, joined with British troops to bring Greece under the domination of British imperialism. A civil war was provoked by Churchill. Hundreds of workers were murdered and tens of thousands jailed so that reaction might become secure in Greece.

In France, DeGaulle rules by decree. By a thousand pretenses he postpones any democratic expression of the will of the French people. Meanwhile, with the help of the Allies, he is rebuilding the army and police so that tomorrow he may be prepared to crush the revolutionary working class of France.

In Belgium, with slight variations, the situation is the same. With the aid of British tanks, Belgian police killed workmen on the streets of Brussels last November because they refused to surrender their arms to a government of bankers and industrialists who only yesterday had collaborated with the Nazis.

In Spain the Allies have throughout the war and to this very

day maintained diplomatic relations with the butcher Franco and have propped up his fascist regime with loans and trade.

The promises of democracy, self-determination and anti-fascism are buried in the same grave with the corpses of millions of Allied soldiers. The guns of counter-revolution will thunder on the whole continent, if need be, so that the victorious capitalists may preserve their plunder and loot.

HANDS OFF THE EUROPEAN MASSES! LET THEM DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE WITHOUT INTER- FERENCE BY FOREIGN ARMIES!

Together with democracy, "Freedom from Want"—another glittering promise of the early days of the war—lies buried under the ashes and ruins of Europe. Famine stalks the entire continent. When Allied soldiers set foot on Europe almost two years ago, the statesmen in Washington and London promised to send food to the starving people. For a long time they published columns of statistics about the aid they were giving, but finally the truth broke the padlock of censorship and it was revealed that only a tiny trickle of foodstuffs reached the continent.

One thing only they fear! That out of famine and misery will come resistance, and that resistance will grow into revolution. In Greece, Churchill's General Scobie threatened that the people "would NOT be fed" unless they disarmed and submitted to the rule of British imperialism and Greek reaction. When the people refused to be intimidated into submission, the relief ships left the harbor. The formula is: Starve the revolution and feed the counter-revolution!

Workers of America! May Day is a day of international solidarity. The first and most elementary act of solidarity is to prevent the Wall Street government from using food as a counter-revolutionary weapon.

DEMAND THAT THE SHIPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD TO STARVING EUROPE BE SUPER- VISED AND CONTROLLED BY WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, EN- GLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT!

If hunger is the lot of the "liberated" nations, what a terrible fate is in store for vanquished Germany! Here the plans of the Allies and of Stalin have been openly broadcast. After laying waste the great German industrial plant and reducing the important cities to heaps of rubble, they now propose to dismember the country, to carve it up into small states like those in the middle ages, to send German workers to Russia and other foreign lands as slave labor, and to keep their troops quartered in Germany indefinitely to extract the last ounce of reparations.

They charge the German people with responsibility for fascism. They lie! The great majority of the German people opposed Hitler. They voted against him by the millions. When, despite their distress and their struggles, and because of the betrayal of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic misleaders, Hitler came to power, the struggle was continued underground. The Nazis could only maintain themselves in power by unceasing terror.

As the Allies advanced into Germany, they came upon the hideous concentration camps where the Nazis had starved, tortured

(Continued on page 4)

OUR MARTYRS

On this May Day, 1945, we pay tribute to the martyrs of the Fourth International who were slain for their revolutionary ideas and activities by the forces of reaction in the second imperialist war. We pledge anew to carry on the struggle for the emancipation of the working class in which our comrades laid down their lives. In the coming victory of the international socialist revolution, our martyrs will find the reward of their sacrifice.

- Leon Trotsky, slain by Stalin's GPU, August 20, 1940.
- Robert Sheldon Harte, member of Socialist Workers Party, U. S.; slain by the GPU in Mexico, May 24, 1940.
- Comrades Renery, Van Belle and Lemmens, members of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, murdered by Hitler's Gestapo in 1943.
- Leon Lesoil, Belgian Trotskyist leader, died in a Nazi concentration camp, 1942.
- Eleven members of the Archo-Marxist Party of Greece; seven, including General Secretary Vite, shot in Athens and four executed in Salonika by Nazi firing squads, 1944.
- C. Poulipoulis, Secretary of the Greek Trotskyist Party, and two other leaders, shot by Nazi firing squads in 1943.
- Wintley, leader of the German Trotskyist group in France, executed by the Nazis, 1944.
- Sixty-five comrades who edited Der Arbeiter (The Worker) including 30 German soldiers—arrested in Brittany in October, 1943, deported and murdered by the Nazis.
- Jean Meichler, ex-manager of Unser Wort, killed by the Nazis in Paris, 1941.
- Marc Bourhis, former secretary of Concarneau district of the French Internationalist Communist Party, shot by the Nazis in October, 1941.
- Guegen, former Communist Party Mayor of Concarneau, who joined the Trotskyist movement—shot by the Nazis in 1941.
- Timbaud, member of French Internationalist Communist Party, slain by Nazis in October, 1941.
- Lebacher, Trotskyist worker of Drancy, France, brutally tortured and murdered by the Gestapo.
- Thiolon, a teacher in the 11th Arrondissement, Paris, murdered by the Gestapo.
- Van Hulst, Trotskyist worker of Suresnes, slain by the Gestapo in France.
- Cruau, regional leader of the Trotskyist movement in Nantes, slain by the Gestapo.
- Jules Joffe, member of the French Internationalist Communist Party, shot by Nazis, 1942.
- Lucian Brawlowski and Belle Lampert, arrested with Comrade Joffe; fate unknown.

J. PIERPONT MONEYBAGS Says: "CUTBACKS DONT HARM ME— THE GOVT GUARANTEES MY PROFITS!"



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16,000 Goodrich Rubber Workers Strike in Akron

(Special to THE MILITANT)

AKRON, O., April 22 — 16,000 Goodrich workers, members of CIO United Rubber Workers Local 5, walked out of the plant here as one man early Saturday morning, April 21, in reply to the mounting anti-union drive of the company. Workers gathered in the early morning rain at the change of shift said: "We may as well throw all our grievances in the hopper and teach the company a lesson."

The immediate issue involved was the arbitrary suspension of a union committee man and the wholesale issuing of reprimands to workers for "absenteeism." But the quick spread of the strike throughout the plant was the reply of the workers to company attempts to slash wage standards and speed up production. The workers are fighting mad at the rubber barons' campaign to wreck all that the unions have won.

The Goodrich strike, the first plant-wide strike since the spring of '42, is the most recent and most serious of a whole series of walk-outs that have shut down various departments of the Goodyear, Firestone, and General Tire and Rubber Co. here in Akron during the last two weeks.

Workers gathered at the Goodrich plant gate Saturday morning declared: "Now that the peace is near they don't give a damn about us."

"This is what we get for winning the war for them," a committee man stated, commenting on the company's attempt to slash piece work rates. This strike promises to be a stubborn one. Word has gone around that the Goodrich Rubber Local No. 5 top committee has taken the position that there shall be no work until the company gives in.

Lockheed Workers Ask Strike Poll

By Buddy Lens

LOS ANGELES, April 14.—On April 11, the last of eight lodges of Local 727, International Association of Machinists (AFL) voted to petition the National Labor Relations Board for a strike vote in the plants of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Thus all eight lodges have voted emphatically in favor of a strike poll, some unanimously.

The reasons for the seemingly sudden unrest at one of the largest aircraft plants in the country are not hard to find, nor is the situation very new or different from many similar ones throughout the country. The workers are simply fed up with the government and company run-around and their endurance in the face of continuous provocation is breaking.

In an order dated March 3 the War Labor Board, after months and months of stalling, finally handed down a decision affecting the wage rates of all aircraft workers. This was falsely reported by the daily press and the company newspapers as a wage increase.

The aircraft unions labelled this "about the biggest joke that the WLB has issued to date." What the directive actually did was to allow for a possible five cent increase in some categories of work—which the corporations show no signs of giving—while automatically cutting the top rates in several groups by five cents and ten cents!

DEMANDS REJECTED

All of the union's various demands for general increases, second shift bonuses, etc. were simply ignored or rejected.

The companies are taking this as a signal for an all-out-anti-labor drive. They now feel that with the government agencies solidly in back of them, there is no limit to how far they can go in grinding their heels in the workers' backs. One of the worst offenders in this respect is Lockheed Aircraft, employing at present about 57,000 workers.

The company either pays no attention to grievances or flatly denies every request for adjustments. The company's trick lawyers deliberately stall and impede contract negotiations. Workers are suspended without pay for errors made inadvertently under pressure of speed-up production schedules. Flight technicians who risk their lives in test-flying new planes are told that their jobs are no more hazardous than any line job, and therefore they are not entitled to flight pay.

Two out of three WLB witnesses and nine flight technicians have been killed recently on these flights.

RANKS AROUSED

Although the union men are almost unanimously determined to act, the union leaders cross their fingers and pray that everything will be "legal." They even point out that if the strike vote passes, a strike will not be called "except as a last resort!" Nevertheless, the pressure of the rank and file is so great that the leaders cannot hedge indefinitely. They are forced to recognize that the grievances are legitimate, and that all means except a strike have failed so far to win a single point for the workers.

President Tom McNett, voicing the sentiments of the entire local, writes in the union newspaper American Aeronaut, April 6:

"We cannot go on forever taking wage cuts, downgrading, classification freezes, and other current company practices. We have experienced the interminable delays of the various government agencies. . . . And when we asked that matters be expedited through these various channels, we were rebuffed with the statement that the workers on the West Coast were satisfied—there was no trouble.

"Now there is trouble. We still intend to handle the entire mat-

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ter as prescribed by law. But now, we may be able to get action!" Before the regular meetings of the eight lodges, two mass meetings called almost spontaneously showed the pitch to which the workers have been aroused. The union newspaper reported:

LIST GRIEVANCES

"The temper of the men and women at these two meetings, held for both Swing and Day workers was at the boiling point. They have been down-graded, they have met with a definite "No" when they were entitled to up-grading; they have been told to transfer to some other shift or "else"; they have seen their negotiations for a contract dragged out for almost two years; they have seen the Company make unilateral job classifications (all to the detriment of the workers). They have stayed on the job and built planes under the abortive War Labor Board Directive of March 3rd, 1943, and have in every way complied with the law and the Government's plea for more production, only to have the latest Directive just issued, cut the maximum in the four top Labor Grades. They have been denied a raise in the hiring-in rate and the proposed differential of 10 per hour for the second shift.

"The Senior Board of the Union . . . finds that on most of its proposals the answer is "No" even before they are presented and that it will be necessary to take them to conciliation and perhaps eventually to the War Labor Board.

"These are but a few of the many things that have caused so much unrest and confusion in the Lockheed plants.

"The workers at Lockheed do not want to be compelled to strike but having met with rebuffs and the trickery of a big corporation they have evidently decided that extreme measures are necessary."

SOLIDARITY IMPERATIVE

Simultaneously with the meetings voting for a strike vote petition, the IAM representing Lockheed, Burbank; Consolidated-Vultee, San Diego; Rohr Aircraft, Chula Vista; Douglas, El Segundo; and Douglas, Santa Monica, withdrew from the California Aircraft "Re-Study Committee." This is a committee of company and union (AFL and CIO) representatives which has been deliberating since January, 1944 on questions of job evaluations, wage relief, etc. To date it has accomplished practically nothing. The bosses are only willing to stall and to grant nothing at all. The AFL leaders have finally recognized this fact. The next step is action! The CIO must take heed of this correct action and follow suit.

There's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip. The NLRB will now determine which sections of the Lockheed plants are affected by the grievances stated in the strike vote petition. Then ALL employees in those sections will vote, regardless of whether they are union members or not. The vote will take place 30 days after the petition is filed. Then, if the strike vote carries, the union officials can still call it off if they see fit! Only the united, unyielding, continuous militant pressure of the ranks will guarantee that the action goes through.

Now it is up to the other AFL and UAW-CIO locals in aircraft to demonstrate their solidarity with their Lockheed brothers and sisters. They must follow suit with the same action. Together, the aircraft workers form so powerful a block that all the combined forces of the employers, even aided by the government, cannot defeat them.

They Showed the Way



Dayton, Ohio, telephone girls on the picket line in their strike last December which provided the impetus for the present struggle of the 18,000 local and long-distance operators in New York. The WLB issued an order on April 21 stopping the practice of giving salary-plus-expense to operators imported into Dayton and authorizing wage increases of from \$3.00 to \$3.50 a week for the local operators. These issues had precipitated the walkout of the 5,000 Ohio operators.

Telephone Union Leader Gives Operators' Story

By Evelyn Atwood

"A telephone girl, to the general public, is just a voice at the other end of the phone, and usually she is at fault in that, too," said Mrs. Norma F. Naughton, Chairman of Branch 101 of the Federation of Long Lines telephone operators; in my interview with her on April 19 at the local offices of the union, 260 West Broadway, New York.

Willing and eager to present the case of the 18,000 local and long distance telephone girls who voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike action on April 17, she said: "We work for the long lines department of the A. T. & T.," explained Mrs. Naughton. "We handle all long-haul traffic, overseas traffic and practically all the essential lines in radio and telephone communications.

"In order to negotiate with A.T. & T. (American) Telegraph and Telephone trust) we have the Long Lines Federation, which is broken up into branches over 42 states. All told it has a membership of about 16,000. But there are only a few people in each state. We in New York are the largest group, with a membership of about 5,200 at this time."

TAKE STRIKE VOTE

Mrs. Naughton's light-blue eyes flashed as she launched into the whole story of the runaround given the telephone girls by the War Labor Board. "Our case goes back to Jan. 10, 1944 when we combined with the Traffic Employees Association to demand a \$5 general increase for all members. The Company turned thumbs down. Then our case was brought before the National Panel of the WLB. They issued a recommendation of \$5 increase for all long line operators and employees in New York. The Company fought this bitterly. They said the award was unheard of, and they couldn't even consider such a thing.

"We finally took a strike vote

what you get. And then, don't forget, how much of their wages are taken out before they even receive their pay.

"There is the 20% federal tax, 10% war bonds, 1% social security. On a \$80 wage, these girls, even with over-time, are lucky to make \$16 or \$17 a week. And you know how prices keep going up all the time."

Regarding the working conditions of the girls, Mrs. Naughton spoke with justified outrage. "We have an extremely complicated set of hours — and the public never gets to know what all this means to the girls. In many cases the hours are split up. That's to take care of peaks in traffic — to have girls on the job just when they are needed.

"For example, a girl may work from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Then she comes back to work from 6 P.M. to 10 P.M. That's called a tour. For this she gets a very small differential in pay — 42 cents a day."

RIGID SUPERVISION

I asked Mrs. Naughton what the girls do in the five hours or so between "tours." She replied: "That's just it. They don't get paid for it. If they go home it means two more hours of traveling time."

She then explained the extreme tension the girls work under. Every moment of their working day is policed. "They are subject to all types of service observation at all times. This is one thing it is very hard to make clear to other people: just how much supervision is necessary and where it should stop.

"The supervisors, like the operators, are members of this union. They explain the work to the girls and correct mistakes. But then in addition, the girls are subject to all kinds of special types of service observation. "These are called service observers. They get the same wage scale as the supervisors, that is, \$6.00 a week more than the operators. And behind the service observers are the Chief Operators and Assistant Chief Operators.

"These are always Company people, and they have disciplinary powers. They can call the girls up to the desk any time they want to, they can tell them off—make their lives miserable—even recommend firing them."

GROWING UNITY

At this point Mrs. Naughton said with evident satisfaction: "We have learned in the past year how to stand on our own feet. Our union has become much stronger. We have no hesitations any more about putting these people on the pan and filing charges against them for undue pressure, etc. We have found that the only way we can get any real satisfaction or action is to take it ourselves."

NMU Heads Offer 'Unity' Scheme to Offset Bonus Cut

By Art Sharon

The elimination of war bonuses for merchant seamen that will come with the end of war in Europe has aroused wide uneasiness and fear among the thousands of seamen sailing in Atlantic and Mediterranean waters. No longer able to hide behind sonorous speeches about Teheran and Yalta, the Stalinist leadership of the CIO National Maritime Union is seeking to re-assure the seamen by holding out a glittering prospect of a \$200 basic wage to replace the present basic wage of \$100.

The fast-talking Stalinist leadership hastens, however, to reassure the ship-owners that they do not intend any wage increases to come from the operators' super-profits. The golden pot that will provide bigger and better profits for the shipowners and increased wages for the seamen is—Bretton Woods!

More than that, the NMU leadership proposes that their union "favor the continuance of subsidies in the shipping industry." Subsidies is a subject very close to a shipowner's heart and the NMU's support of subsidies from the public treasury to the parasitic shipping fraternity is warmly welcomed by the latter.

In return for this support, the NMU leadership looks for the support of the shipowners and all other "right thinking people" for their wage proposals.

NMU LEADERS' POLICY

The first step the NMU leaders propose is to secure from the War Labor Board the establishment of a 56c an hour minimum aboard ship. This would bring the lowest rating, messman, up to a wage of \$132 a month. If the present differential of \$12.50 were maintained between the lowest rating and the able bodied seaman, the latter's wage would be \$144.50. After that is secured they propose to rally behind Senator Pepper's bill to make the minimum wage 65c an hour.

This bill was defeated last year in Congress, among other reasons, because "the President's programs and policies had not yet been consolidated," according to the NMU statement. However, this time a "favorable situation" prevails which will assure the passing of the Pepper bill, advises the Stalinist clique. The Pepper bill minimum applied in like manner would give the able bodied seaman \$168.50.

After all this is secured—in how many years the NMU leaders don't say—the final step would be made with a proposed national campaign of the CIO to establish 72c an hour minimum. This last step would bring the able-bodied seaman up to \$185.30. Just where the remainder would come to bring the wage up to the promised \$200 is not made clear. Presumably that would be thrown in somewhere along the line as a generous extra concession.

Concealed by the NMU leadership is the sad and bitter experience of the seamen's unions before and during the war. There has never been a single penny wage increase voluntarily given by the shipowners. The seamen never even secured such a modest demand as "milk in port," provisions for milk and green vegetables while in port, except by an organized militant fight.

NEED MILITANT ACTION

During the war, when the government agencies have taken over for the shipowner in dealing with the seamen, there has been a steady breakdown in all conditions aboard ship established by the strikes in 1934 and 1936-37.

Because of their unconditional "no-strike pledge" the National Maritime Union and the other maritime unions are powerless to intervene. After prolonged negotiations to secure wage increases to meet the rising cost of living, the West Coast unions, including the Sailors Union of the Pacific, AFL, Marine Firemen and the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards, were denied all their major demands. They were granted merely a nickel increase in the overtime hourly rate.

The wage program of the NMU is nothing more than an empty gesture, because it is backed up by no policy of militant union action. Point Number One in a serious program to get a wage increase would be to revoke the "no-strike pledge." Point Number Two would be the preparation of the union for militant action. Upon the adoption of such a program there will be no need for union officials to run to Washington to plead with such arrogant stooges of the shipowners as Admiral Land, Captain McCauley, Herbert Wyckoff and others for a handout.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Union Conventions

The Office Of Defense Transportation's War Committee on Conventions has denied the application of the CIO Textile Workers Union for permission to hold its fourth biennial convention, originally scheduled for May 7-11. The union is reapplying for permission to hold a convention in the fall.

The TWU's original application pointed out that such conventions are required by the union's constitution. "Regular conventions by labor unions constitute the assurance and preservation of the American internal democratic process."

But the War Committee on Conventions isn't bothered about preserving the "internal democratic process" — especially in the unions. Its action is a tip-off to the auto workers and other unions which also have filed applications for permission to hold their regular conventions this year.

The ban on union conventions comes as the rank and file workers everywhere are pressing for more aggressive policies against the wage-freeze, price inflation, cutbacks and unemployment, and the general union-busting offensive of the employers.

A lot of top union bureaucrats who are playing the bosses' game and trying to curb the militancy of labor would secretly be very pleased if the government stepped in and denied the applications they have signed for conventions this year.

Not Closed—Yet!

We learn from the April 13 Dive Bomber, organ of Akron Local 856, CIO United Automobile Workers, that a WLB arbitrator has directed the General Tire and Rubber Company to rehire the

last nine of 74 workers fired early last year after Sherman H. Dalrymple, president of the CIO United Rubber Workers, had arbitrarily expelled them from the union, Local 9, for participation in a strike.

Included in the arbitrator's order are Raymond Sullivan and Howard Haas who were expelled by Dalrymple for helping to organize a rank and file protest movement against the original bureaucratic expulsions. The fired workers are to be rehired with full seniority — but no back pay.

The Dive Bomber states that "this famous case is now drawing to an official close." It will not be drawn to a real close so long as Dalrymple, who continues to exercise arbitrary powers against the militant rubber workers, is heading the URW-CIO and acting as a cop for the rubber corporations against the union ranks.

Suspend Best Unionists

Resistance to the no-strike policy and anti-union company provocations is growing throughout the unions. In many instances, union officials who are more anxious to please the employers than to defend the union membership are retaliating against union militants with expulsions and suspensions.

Last week in New York City, the executive advisory board of Bakery Drivers Local 550, affiliated with Daniel J. Tobin's AFL Teamsters, suspended six members and removed from office the shop committee at the Atlantic Avenue unit of Purity Bakeries, Inc. The "crime" of these workers was that they had refused to take out their trucks when the company fired a union shop steward in a move to undermine the union. The shop committee had then ordered a general stoppage.

The penalized workers have been denied their right to speak on the union floor and their eligibility in union elections. They are also threatened with "immediate suspension from the union" for "further violations."

Company Provokes Second Walkout At Kelsey-Hayes

BULLETIN

DETROIT, April 24—The firing of thirteen workers along with seven others by the company after the WLB had ordered their reinstatement caused a renewal of the walkout of 5,500 Kelsey-Hayes employees here today.

By Jerry Kirk

DETROIT, April 21—After nine-days of militant strike action, 5,000 Kelsey-Hayes workers at three plants here have won a smashing victory. The striking members of Amalgamated Local 174, CIO United Automobile Workers, have forced the Regional War Labor Board to order the reinstatement to their jobs of six fired committeemen and a chief steward. This is the first time the WLB has ever issued such an order while a strike was still in progress.

The strike began on April 9 after the company attempted to transfer a foreman into a leader's job just vacated by a worker who was drafted. The management insisted on jumping over the union's list of ten workers, with 5 to 10 years seniority and the proper job qualifications. The company refused to negotiate the issue, and the provoked workers on April 9 escorted the foreman from the department. The company then responded by firing 4 committeemen and chief steward during the strike.

The strikers refused to submit to demands of the WLB and their own local officials that they return to their jobs while the fired men were still out. Just one hour later after the WLB was finally compelled to make its unprecedented decision, a telegram came from the UAW International Executive Board meeting in Milwaukee threatening drastic penalties against the Local 174 officers and members for non-compliance with the no-strike pledge. This telegram enraged the strikers. As one of the reinstated committeemen said: "If the telegram had been sent a day earlier or an hour earlier, our chances of getting back would have been jeopardized."

The company, following the deliberate policies being pursued throughout the industry, had been attempting repeated provocations in order to get a pretext for firing union militants. But the determination of the strikers, plus the fear that their action might lead to a tie-up of some 12 Kelsey-Hayes plants and set off a huge strike wave in Detroit, forced the WLB and company to retreat.

Railway Express Strike

A strike of 10,000 Railway Express Agency employes in the New York metropolitan area was authorized on April 18 at a huge mass meeting of the local Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, AFL.

The meeting was part of a one-day strike demonstration involving 5,000 workers at express terminals in New York City, Long Island and northern New Jersey. The union adopted a resolution demanding prompt settlement of their mounting grievances, including elimination of company practices causing the loss of jobs, equalization of pay, discontinuance of the company's compulsory group insurance plan, etc.

At the meeting, Alfred J. Mazanec, general chairman of the brotherhood, announced the union would begin immediate, full preparation of strike machinery to show the company the union means business if its demands are not settled within 30 days.

Mazanec also stated the union is raising general demands on vacation schedules, seniority rights, and severance pay for men inducted into the armed forces. "We do not intend to stand a pushing around forever," he said. "While we are taking action to clean up the principal grievances, we'll clean up the whole mess at one shot."



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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Thomas De Lorenzo Tells How Brass Hats Use Army Draft In Attempt To 'Get' Him

The following interview with Thomas De Lorenzo, President of UAW-CIO Local 365, gives the facts behind the deliberate government persecution of a militant union leader through the use of the army draft machinery. The Militant has reported an increasing number of cases of such use of the Selective Service machinery in reprisal against union militants. Among these were Paul M. Fessenden, 39-year old father of three children and executive secretary of the Akron CIO Council; the majority of the main plant bargaining committee members of Detroit Briggs Local 212; Chicago workers who refused forced labor jobs at greatly reduced pay.

By Larissa Reed

Thomas De Lorenzo, President of Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, was sitting at his desk talking to a few of his union brothers when I entered to interview him at the local union offices in Long Island City on April 20. "How is it taking an old man like you with three children into the army?" I joked, as he greeted me cordially and pulled up a chair for me close to his desk.

"What is there to tell?" he

shrugged, "except that the government went to extreme measures in order to make me eligible to the draft. You know, the regulations call for deferment for people over 34 who are in essential connecting industry. And you don't even have to be essential, only in an essential connecting industry."

"I was out on appeal until last month, on a \$2,000 bail bond," he said, referring to the government's attempt to railroad him to prison last year on a trivial rig-to-charge of "falsifying" a civil service application. "Then the district attorney, on the request of Selective Service, had me called into court and asked the Judge to release me from the bond so that Selective Service could 'process' me for induction."

BRASS HAT PERSECUTION

He leaned over with a smile. "The truth is, they want to get rid of me because they figure the union will fold up if I am out. They just don't know how unions are built. Maybe they also figure the union will grow too fast if I am here instead of in the army." The telephone rang, and as DeLorenzo turned to answer it, one of his union brothers explained:

"They're out to do a job on him because he is one of the outstanding aggressive labor leaders in the country. Ninety-nine percent of other men of his age are not being bothered by the draft board."

"The brass hats have got it in for him because they couldn't bulldoze him. They used to come in during negotiations with the company, bedecked with lots of gold-braid and waving their flags. They would talk about the boys in the foxholes getting only fifty bucks a month. But Tom would just quietly say: 'I'm working for the boys in the foxholes by working for the boys in Brewster. And our Brewster boys will work for \$50 a month too, just as soon as your airplanes are made without profit!' That would really get them! Because you know, they were making about \$80,000 profit on each airplane."

CONGRESSMAN JOINS CAMPAIGN

When De Lorenzo returned to the conversation, I asked him why Congressman Hebert of Louisiana had joined in the vicious press campaign against him. "Well, he's a member of the Vinson House Naval Affairs Committee," he said, as though that answered the whole question. Then he told me about the plot between the U. S. Rubber Company and the Navy Department to capture the Brewster Company for the rubber trust and at the same time break the militant local union.

BANKERS' SCHEMES

"The U. S. Rubber Co. wanted a place to invest their huge war profits in order to make more war profits. They picked on Brewster, the 10th biggest com-



THOMAS DE LORENZO

pany in the country and the only independent one not yet owned by the big bankers. When the company refused to sell, they went to James B. Forrestal, who was then Asst. Secretary of the Navy. Forrestal was also president of the banking house for U. S. Rubber. Two other big-shot bankers, who were in on the deal, were also members of the Navy Department.

"They practically grabbed the company by claiming that the company was failing in its production on war contracts. They put in their own Board of Directors. But our union fought them and all three of the presidents they put in the company.

"WE SET THE PATTERN"

"And we won. We set the pattern for the closed shop in our industry; we got the highest pay in the country and better conditions. So when the Vinson Committee found they couldn't capture the company or bust the union, they set out to get me as president of the union out of the way by trying to railroad me to jail." He paused for a moment and reflected. "But even that didn't work, so now I am to be inducted into the army," he said.

As De Lorenzo rose to accompany me to the door at the end of the interview, his thoughts

were no longer on the persecutions against him, but on the injustices against the auto and aircraft workers. "Why just look at what's happening today" he said with indignation. "Here's the Bell plant in Buffalo and Ford's Willow-Run plant in Detroit closing down and thousands of workers are just being thrown out on the streets!"

THE BREWSTER SIT-IN

"Why only last year — when we had that sit-in strike at Brewster's — we were promised by Roosevelt and Byrnes that workers wouldn't be thrown out during reconversion without notice. They promised full provisions would be made. As a matter of fact, that's why we left the plant. Just on the basis of these promises by the government. We felt we had done a job for the workers — that they wouldn't be fired out like bums. But now it's happening all over. It just goes to prove that the workers can never put their confidence in promises."

For a Rising Scale
Of Wages to Meet
Rising Living Costs

STALINISTS DEFEATED IN FORD 600 ELECTION

By Roy Weston

DETROIT, April 19—Striking a devastating blow against the Stalinists and their fink policies, the membership of Ford Local 600, largest in the CIO United Automobile Workers, have voted out the entire W. G. Grant-Shelton Tappes machine in the recent election.

A Reutherite slate headed by Joe McCusker, a vice-president of the Michigan CIO Council, made a clean sweep, although run-off elections are still pending for all local posts except Recording Secretary and Financial Secretary.

Because of a third slate in the field, the Reutherites secured only a plurality instead of the required 51 per cent majority. However, it appears that they will win the run-offs. McCusker led Grant for the presidency by 1,660 votes. 31,000 ballots were cast.

The vote for the Reutherites, who represent the faction of Walter Reuther, UAW second vice-president, represents not so much support for the Reutherite policies as revulsion against the dictatorial rule and betrayal policies of the Stalinists.

The platforms of both the Reutherite and Stalinist slates were virtually identical. Both supported current CIO policy to the letter, including the no-strike pledge, and ignored the immediate pressing problems of the Ford workers, substituting demagogic promises about the "postwar" era.

It is apparent that many workers supported the Reutherites despite their reactionary program because no militant slate was in the field and solely in the hope that the Reutherites might be a slight improvement over the Grant-Tappes slate.

TAPPEES DEFEATED

In the biggest upset of the elections Shelton Tappes, incumbent Ford 600 Recording Secretary, was defeated by Wise W. Stone, of the Aircraft Unit. Tappes' defeat was due solely to his espousal of Stalinist policies. A great many Negro workers, who formerly supported him, have turned against him.

Horace Sheffield, rank and file candidate for the Production Foundry Unit presidency, was barely defeated by the incumbent Stalinist-dominated president. Sheffield opposed the no-strike pledge, called for removal of labor members from the WLB, and the smashing of the Little Steel Formula. He was subjected to fantastic slander by the Stalinists, who even accused him—a Negro—of connections with the Ku Klux Klan!

In the bitterest unit contest, the Press Steel Unit Rank and File Committee ran a full slate against the most powerful Stalinist-dominated group in Local 600, giving the Press Steel Stalinists their only serious opposition in several years.

The Rank and File presidential candidate, running on a program similar to Sheffield's, lost by only 19 votes, and there will be a recount. The Rank and File candidate for Three Year Trustee beat his incumbent opponent, one of the oldest Stalinists in the Ford Rouge plant, by 113 votes. This in spite of the fact that the successful candidate, as a result of company-Stalinist connivance, was transferred out of the building for 10 days before the election. The Stalinists had baited him as a "Trotskyite agitator" and "Hitler agent."

The overall results of the elec-

tions indicate that the Ford workers are ready to support a real militant program and leadership. The task now is to build the Rank and File Caucus in preparation for an organized campaign to establish such a genuine fighting policy and leadership.

Negro Officers Protest Jim Crow, 101 Under Arrest

The mass arrest of 101 Negro officers of the 477th Bombardment Group of Freeman Field, Indiana, is the latest demonstration of Jim Crow in action in the U. S. Army. All 101 officers were arrested following their protest against discrimination at the base and transferred under guard to Godman Field, Kentucky. There they are being confined in a stockade until the War Department completes its investigation into the case.

When the 477 Bomber Group came to Freeman Field on April 5, the Negro officers found two officers' clubs there, one assigned to Officers' Training Unit personnel (white), the other to Base and Supervisor personnel (Negro). Realizing that this plan was merely a Jim Crow device, groups of Negro officers attempted to enter the white officers' club.

Sixty-one Negro officers were promptly arrested, but all were released except three of their leaders. These three men, Lieut. Marsdon Thompson and Lieut. Roger Terry of Los Angeles and Lieut. Shirley Clinton of Camden, N. J., were held under technical arrest, charged with "jostling" a provost marshal. Once before, in 1943, these same three officers had been arrested at Selridge Field, Michigan, for protesting a ban on Negro use of "white" officers' clubs, but had later been released.

OFFICERS RE-ARRESTED

Pressure was put on the 58 Negro officers who had previously been arrested to sign a statement declaring their intentions to obey the Jim Crow orders. When they refused to do so, the commanding officer, Col. Robert Selway, ordered their transfer to Godman Field, Kentucky, where they were re-arrested. Approximately 40 other Negro officers at Freeman Field, who joined in the refusal to sign the statement were likewise arrested, bringing the total number under arrest to 101.

Defense of the 101 Negro officers is in the hands of Judge William H. Hastie who has been retained by the NAACP. Theodore Berry, Secretary of the Cincinnati Branch of the NAACP, will aid him.

As a result of the widespread publicity given the case in the Negro press and the many letters and wires of protest it has received, the War Department has been forced to order an investigation.

Los Angeles SWP Calls On Unions To Support Two Negro Candidates

LOS ANGELES, April 23—Myra Tanner Weiss, who recently ran as candidate for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) ticket in Los Angeles, today sent a telegram to the CIO and AFL calling upon all of organized labor to support Charlotte Bass and Fay Allen, independent Negro candidates for Councilwoman for the 7th District and for the Board of Education respectively, in the May 1 run-off elections in that city.

"Dear Brothers and Sisters: In its best traditions the trade union movement has always opposed race discrimination and fought for equal rights for all working people regardless of race, color or creed. Now we face a situation in Los Angeles which makes it necessary to demonstrate in action the solidarity of the labor movement with the persecuted Negro people.

"Over 100 organizations in the Negro community of Los Angeles met together to select a candidate to represent them in the

City Council. They selected Charlotte Bass as Councilman candidate from District Seven. The same united front of Negro organizations endorsed the candidacy of Fay Allen for the Board of Education. Both candidates have been endorsed by numerous union organizations.

CALL TO ACTION
"However, allow me to urge that the official leadership of the labor movement in Los Angeles do more than 'go on record.' The ranks of labor must be summoned to action on May First by measures far beyond routine endorsement. The union membership must become aware of the fight to elect these representatives of a minority group and cognizant of the burning issue at stake. The union movement has within its power the possibility of guaranteeing the success of this struggle for representation of the Negroes in the government.

"To use this power the unions should not only endorse but vigorously campaign for their election. There is still time to tip the scales to victory."

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

"What's May Day, anyhow?" Joey asked me. It was fifteen years ago; Joey was eleven then, and Little Dick was seven. Today Joey is in the army, and Dick lies in a little grave. Fifteen years... but it seems like yesterday.

"Well, son," I answered him, "that was a great day in the history of labor."

"Men used to work twelve, fourteen, or even sixteen hours every day in the factories. It was too much, son. They began to fight it, organizing what they called 'Eight Hour Leagues.' And on May 1, 1886 there was to be a general strike for the eight hour day... only forty-four years ago."

"The companies fought tooth and nail, Joey. They said a worker would spend all his time in the saloons if he didn't work any longer than eight hours."

"Well, there happened to be some fighting between scabs and strikers at the McCormick works in Chicago, and cops shot at the strikers, killing three or four and wounding a lot more. The workers were unarmed."

"Next night there was a big meeting in Haymarket Square to protest against what the Chicago cops had done. Everything was quiet and peaceful, Joey, and finally the crowd began to go home. Pretty soon there were only about five hundred left, when back came the cops again, a hundred and seventy-six of them, armed to the teeth, spoiling for trouble."

"Then somebody threw a bomb, and the cops began shooting like mad. Some of the workers had pistols, and they shot back. Altogether seven cops were killed and sixty wounded. Two, maybe three times that many workers were hurt and killed."

Joey's clear young eyes widened. "Geef! Who threw it?" he said, and Little Dick over in the corner said, "Boom."

"Nobody ever found out, son," I told Joey. "They never found out who threw it or even who made it. But that didn't stop them. The police picked up some men who had been trying to organize the workers and charged eight of them with murder, in spite of the fact that there was no evidence against them. The trial was a frameup from start to finish. You remember what I told you about Sacco and Vanzetti, Joey?" He nodded.

"Well," I said, "it was like that. They never had a chance. Finally three of them were sent to jail for long terms; four were hanged and died on the gallows like the brave, honest men they were; and one of them, a very proud man who despised all the labor-haters, blew off his head with a percussion cap. He wouldn't give the state the satisfaction of killing him. He wasn't afraid of the gallows, son, he was just too proud for them."

What May Day Means to the Working Class

"But that didn't finish it, Joey. There were more strikes for the eight hour day, and there were lockouts to try to beat the workers. Soon the European labor movement took it up and fought for the eight hour day. And so it came about that May 1 began to be recognized as a day dedicated to labor's struggles."

"On May Day in 1916 a man in Germany, named Liebknecht, led a great demonstration against the capitalist war, a great protest against the bloody murder of workmen of all nationalities."

"Now we've got the eight hour day throughout most of industry. But we got it, son, by fighting. Workers gave their lives for it, ordinary workmen like me, Joey, or Mr. Miller next door, or like Angie di Rosa's dad."

"And on that day May 1, we look forward to future struggles that will win for us a better life with no more depressions like this one," I told Joey fifteen years ago.

"So May Day means you, Joey, and me, and Mom; it means all the working people. It means the Haymarket Martyrs and Sacco and Vanzetti."

"May Day is for guys that are hungry and ragged in all countries, for guys on relief, who want a chance in life for their kids and better conditions for their families."

"May Day means steelworkers on strike in Gary, Indiana; and miners shooting it out with scabs in Harlan, Kentucky; and auto workers organizing unions in Detroit, Michigan; and rubber workers getting tough in Akron, Ohio; and textile workers fighting and bleeding on picket lines in Paterson, New Jersey."

"May Day is for all the workers who have died for their comrades, and for other workers who will die for them in days to come."

"May Day means hatred of injustice, poverty, disease, and war. It means ORGANIZATION: organization to fight for a better world."

"Do you understand, son?" Joey nodded, said he did understand. And in the fifteen years that have followed, he has shown that he did. It makes a man proud.

FORD BOMBER UNIT CUTBACK TO RESULT IN MASS LAYOFFS

(Continued from page 1)

household equipment, etc., in large quantities. It was built with funds provided by the public treasury. If it is no longer needed for war production, why can't it be used in the public interest to manufacture civilian goods now so urgently needed by the people?

But that would violate the sacred "principle" of "free private enterprise" which guides administration policy and decrees that government-owned plants and equipment shall not be used to "compete" with private industry. The employers and their political agents in Washington cannot tolerate any "confusion" on this point. To avoid such embarrassing questions, J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board, indicated "that since the announcement that Willow Run would end its output of Liberators had caused so much confusion, the Army may announce cutbacks henceforth from Washington instead of locally."

WPB POLICY

Krug told a press conference that the Army made a mistake in telling the workers of the Willow Run plant, but he said: "I don't think they'll try it again." The method advocated by WPB chairman Krug of dealing with the "reconversion" problem is to tighten the lid on information relating to

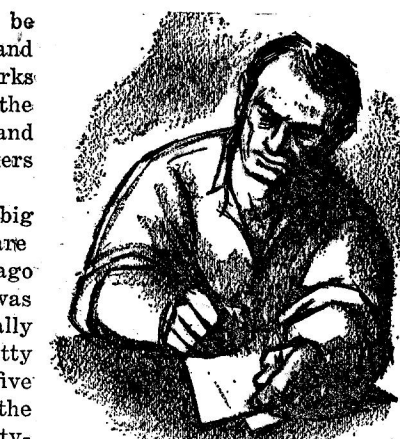


Illustration of a man working at a desk

In this way, they hope to avoid the occupation of the plants by large groups of workers driven to protest the callous disregard of labor's welfare by Wall Street's "demobilization" representatives in Washington.

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Celebrate This May Day With The Trotskyists In Your City

THE MILITANT invites all its old friends and thousands of new readers to observe May Day, the international holiday of the workers, by attending the meetings of the Socialist Workers Party branches listed below. The Trotskyists are the only group in America who are celebrating May Day this year in its true spirit of workers' solidarity and struggle.

New York
Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.
Speakers:
JAMES P. CANNON
ALBERT GOLDMAN
WEBSTER HALL
11 St. Between B'way and 3rd Avenue

Toledo
Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Joseph Andrews
Organizer, Akron Branch SWP
Roi Davis Building
905 JEFFERSON AVENUE
Rooms 228-230
Admission Free

Boston
Sunday, May 6, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Grace Carlson
Workers Educational Center
30 STUART STREET

Newark
Sat., April 28, 7:30 p. m.
"Czar to Lenin"
Historical Film of the October Revolution
Speaker:
Sylvia Stein
423 Springfield Avenue
Buffet Supper Admission 75c

Twin Cities
Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Max Geldman
10 SOUTH 4th STREET
MINNEAPOLIS

Cleveland
Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.
Speakers:
T. Black David Lands
Auspices: Cleveland Branch, SWP
Carnegie Hall
1220 HURON ROAD

Chicago
Thursday, May 3, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Vincent Dunne
Buckingham Hall
59 EAST VAN BUREN ST.
Admission 25 cents

Buffalo
Sunday, April 29, 8:30 p. m.
Speakers:
R. Riley Bill Gray
950 MAIN STREET
Room 5
Admission free

Philadelphia
Sunday, May 6, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
George Grant
Labor Forum
405 W. Gerard

Los Angeles
Sunday, April 29, 3 p. m.
Elks Lodge Hall
4016 SOUTH CENTRAL AVE.
Auspices: Los Angeles Branch, SWP

Milwaukee
Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Mike Bartell
926 N. Plankington Avenue
Room 21 Admission 25c

Allentown
Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Grace Carlson
Hotel Allen
ALLENTOWN, PA.

San Francisco
Meeting and Social
Sunday, May 6
8 p. m.
305 Grant Avenue, 4th floor

Detroit
Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.
Speaker:
Jeanette Lane
Auspices: Detroit Branch, SWP
3513 WOODWARD AVENUE
Room 21

Socialist Workers Party May Day Call To Labor

(Continued from page 1)

and murdered German anti-fascists for twelve years. Dozens of newspaper reports relate how German workers in city after city are now fighting in the streets against Hitler's picked troops and his Gestapo.

But the Allies and Stalin have no intention of allowing the German workers to settle accounts with the Nazis. More likely they will protect many Nazis, just as they protected Mussolini's fascists from the wrath of the Italian workers. Von Papen, the Nazi diplomat, understood this perfectly when he conveniently arranged to be captured by the Allied troops.

No! It was not against German fascism that the Allies made war. They were content to live at peace with Hitler and even to help bolster up his regime as a bulwark against working-class revolution in Germany until German imperialism began to threaten their world domination. The major war aim of the Allies has been and remains the elimination of German capitalism from the arena of international competition for trade and markets. And if, in the meantime, it becomes necessary to use the old repressive organs of the capitalist state machine to prevent the German workers from establishing their own government, the Allies, as they have already shown, will not be stopped by anti-fascist principles.

Much of this is clear to many workers today. But they hope that the participation of the Soviet Union in the "Big Three" alliance will somehow change the situation. But the Soviet Union is no longer what it was in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. Because the capitalists succeeded in preventing its spread, the isolated workers state degenerated. The Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, democratically elected in the factories and the regiments, have long since disappeared and were even wiped out formally by the Stalin Constitution of 1936. Now the Soviet Union is ruled by a privileged bureaucracy which is infinitely closer to the capitalists than to the working class in its outlook.

This bureaucracy is part of the "Big Three" because it shares the concern of the capitalists in crushing workers' revolutions, since successful revolutions in Europe would surely arouse the Soviet masses to overthrow the bureaucracy and regain their rights. Reduced to a mere tool of this bureaucracy, the so-called Communist parties throughout the world are serving the "Big Three" in betraying the workers' movement. Never in history, indeed, has there been available to the capitalists such an instrument of confusion and corruption.

In only one way can Europe be rebuilt and its peoples provided with an abundant life, secure against national hatreds, wars and fascism. In only one way can the Soviet Union be saved for the Socialist future. That road has been pointed out by the parties of the Fourth International in Europe. In the coming years of struggle it will become the program of millions:

THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

On May Day, 1945 the San Francisco conference will be in session. This conference will not secure peace for the war-weary peoples. It will be nothing but a rubber stamp for the pattern of hell on earth already drawn by the conspirators at Teheran and Yalta.

The end of the war with Germany is at hand, but after that the slaughter will continue in the Pacific. There, indeed, are the greatest stakes of all: domination of more than half the human race. In preparation for a robbers' peace there, the American people are inundated with lies about the viciousness of the Japanese people (who are identified with their despotic military and capitalist government) and the incapacity for self-government of the other peoples of the East.

But in the coming years, these lies will be refuted by the rising of the peoples of the East—against the imperialists and against their native oppressors. In that struggle American labor has the elementary duty to stand with the oppressed against the oppressor. The right to determine their own fate is the right of every people not only in the western but also in the eastern hemisphere.

UNITE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES FROM THE TYRANNY OF IMPERIALIST RULE!

What awaits us here in the United States after three and a half years of direct involvement in the war, with almost a million casualties and the prospect of more thousands of dead and maimed in the Far East?

Beginning as the wealthiest nation in the world, years of war have wasted the country's resources and accumulated a \$250 billion national debt that will weigh like a mountain on generations yet unborn. Were the economy of the United States geared to the needs of the people, a vast program of expansion of production—to raise the standard of living of the working class, to wipe out the slums and build homes for the people, to help feed, clothe and rebuild Europe, to lift the masses of Asia and Africa from the depths of abject poverty—would soon wipe out the national debt. The achievements of American industry in war could be dwarfed by comparison with the miracle of production that is possible for peace! American industry could become a fountain of abundance and prosperity for the peoples of the whole world.

But this is not possible so long as the octopus of monopoly capital has its tentacles fastened around the productive plant of

Press Weeps Over "Hungry" Heiress; Suppresses News Of Ill-Fed Workers

By Grace Carlson

In the "Society Today" column of the April 14 N. Y. World-Telegram, this sad, sad story appeared.

"Nancy Oakes de Marigny, daughter of Lady Oakes and the late Sir Harry Oakes and heiress to a share of one of the greatest gold mine fortunes in the world, is thinking seriously of writing a book entitled 'Heiresses Get Just As Hungry As Home Folks'."

"Having miscalculated the date on which her allowance from the estate was to arrive, Nancy found that her immediate fortune consisted of \$1.40 in American currency and one Canadian dime. . . . 'For the next few days the young lady will one day come into millions nibbled on sandwiches and quaffed soup at the Automat, carefully avoiding all of her friends."

POOR RICH GIRL

"Nancy comes of age next month, but it won't alter the financial situation. Neither she nor her brothers and sisters come into a penny of their inheritance until they reach the age of 30. 'I guess Daddy wanted to be sure we would have sense enough to handle our money wisely when we came into it,' sighs the poor, little rich girl. Meanwhile, she lives on a comparatively small allowance from the estate."

Whenever a young cub reporter brings back a story to his editor telling of a dog biting a man, the editor tears the story up and advises the writer that it isn't news unless "a man bites a dog." "The Story of the Hungry Heiress" illustrates the same thing.

If a reporter on a capitalist pa-



Poor Little Rich Girl: "Brother, can you spare a dime?"

per were to bring in a story, telling of an undernourished miner's child, whose limbs were twisted by rickets or of an ill-fed Negro share-cropper suffering from pellagra, his editor would throw him out of the office. It isn't news when poor people are hungry! But there are so very, very few "hungry heiresses" that even if one of them is hungry only a couple of days, you can make a feature story out of it—and get it published.

It isn't even news to the capitalist press when poor people starve to death in the United States! There were no stories written about the 2,373 American citizens who died from dietary deficiency diseases in 1940. These deaths from pellagra, beriberi, scurvy and rickets could have been pre-

vented if a way had been found to supply the patients with enough fresh meat, milk, eggs, fresh fruits and vegetables. But the richest country in the world couldn't find the way.

HUNGER AND DEATH

And this is only a part of the tragic picture of Hunger and Death! In commenting on the figures, listing deaths from starvation, the doctors on the National Research Council's committee on Nutrition say, "It is thus probable that deaths actually due to malnutrition are many times greater than the mortality statistics indicate. . . . It would be interesting to know how much malnutrition is concealed in the 370,600 deaths recorded in 1938 under the heading, 'diseases of

with the war veterans. It must elaborate a program to defend their interests. It must teach them how the culmination of the anti-labor program of the American Legion was tear-gas for the "bonus marchers" in the streets of the capital of the United States in 1932.

FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE WAR VETERANS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE TRADE UNIONS!

No matter how strong the defensive front of the labor movement may be, its power will be undermined if factories stand idle and millions are unemployed. The CIO has correctly set for itself the goal of full employment. But if the methods of Philip Murray—crawling servility before the gods of private profit—remain the methods of the CIO, the goal of full employment will never be more than a pious wish. Full employment is incompatible with the interests of the big trusts that dominate the economic life of the United States.

We saw in the last depression how the monopolies allowed industry and commerce to stagnate and the people to starve rather than operate the productive plant on an unprofitable basis. Only the continuous operation of the idle factories and plants under control of the workers, for the purpose of producing consumer goods and homes for the people, can assure full employment. Labor can never realize this program by trying to sneak it in the back door, through a cabinet post for a Henry Wallace or any other capitalist politician. There is only one way to realize the program of full employment: Labor must boldly organize into an Independent Labor Party in firm alliance with the poor farmers, in order to drive out the money-changers and establish the power of the workers and farmers, so that our resources and industrial life can be organized to serve the interests of the toiling people.

OUT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BANKERS AND MONOPOLISTS!

FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT!

Workers of America! This is the program of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) on May Day, 1945. May Day originated in the United States. On the banner of the first May Day demonstration in 1886 was inscribed the great slogan of working-class solidarity: "An injury to one is an injury to all!" Internationalism is not an abstract ideal. The struggle of the workers and peasants of Europe for their own government, or of the Indian people for freedom from British imperialism, is as much the battle of the American workers today as the strike of Chicago unions in 1886 for an Eight-Hour Day was the battle of the workers of London, Paris and Berlin. The needs and interests of the workers of all the continents are fundamentally the same.

WE HAVE A COMMON ENEMY — MONOPOLY CAPITALISM!

WE NEED A COMMON METHOD — THE CLASS STRUGGLE!

WE CAN HAVE ONLY ONE GOAL: THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

Let us engrave in our hearts and our minds the great slogan of working class victory:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

(Signed) National Committee, Socialist Workers Party
MAY 1, 1945

NEW YORK
Socialist Youth Group
 Friday, May 4, 8 p. m.
 "THE MEANING OF MAY DAY"
 Speaker: ARTHUR SIMMONS

Questions Discussion
 Followed by Social Evening and Dancing

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
 (corner 13th St., between Broadway and Fifth Avenue
 near Union Square)

Free Admission Refreshments

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Big Business Anti-Negroism Unmasked

Another glaring revelation which proves that the big business interests are the real enemy of the Negro people and that the capitalists purposely strive to suppress the dark-skinned workers and prevent them from obtaining job equality, was brought to light in the recent column of Harry S. McAlpin, White House correspondent for NNPA.

He exposed a confidential memorandum sent out on March 20, 1945 by the National Association of State Chambers of Commerce to all State Chambers of Commerce throughout the country. These protectors of the exploitive rights of Big Business are evidently concerned over the enactment by various states of FEPC laws which would make it illegal to discriminate against a worker because of the color of his skin.

The memorandum states: "Following the enactment in New York, under the urgent advocacy of Gov. T. E. Dewey, of a so-called Fair Employment Practices Act, there has broken out a rash of similar bills in a number of state legislatures. New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, Indiana and Ohio have similar measures before them. "There are also pending before Congress one bill in the Senate and eight bills in the House on this same subject.

"RADICAL ELEMENTS" "It is quite evident that all of this hue and cry for legislation covering fair employment practices is the result of a concerted effort by certain RADICAL ELEMENTS TO SOW DISCORD into our economic and political system, so that they may turn this discord to their own benefit.

"The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York and many other business service organizations in that state put up a determined fight against the New York bill but as you no doubt know, the bill was passed.

"The New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce is doing everything possible to defeat the bills that have been presented to the New Jersey Legislature on this subject. A meeting under the sponsorship of the New Jersey Chamber of local Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations was recently held to discuss this matter and plan united action. Without dissenting vote, every one of the 33 organizations present pledged themselves to work to the utmost for the defeat of these bills.

"Enclosed is a copy of an abstract of the provisions contained in one group of seven companion bills now before the New Jersey Legislature. This should reemphasize the fact that the Negro people must counter-attack through active, ORGANIZED struggle in the progressive labor movement and, yes, with such hated and feared "radical elements" as the Socialist Workers Party in order to successfully stave off this reactionary threat to their struggle for job equality.

"Secondly, we see the systematized fashion in which the bosses go about their campaign to secure the defeat of measures which are against their interests. They exchange information about the nature of the bills which, to them, represent the opposition. They leave no stones unturned. Knowing the situation in every state and operating in an organized manner, they are all the better prepared to combat the forces of progress which are so detrimental to their exploitive interests.

"This should reemphasize the fact that the Negro people must counter-attack through active, ORGANIZED struggle in the progressive labor movement and, yes, with such hated and feared "radical elements" as the Socialist Workers Party in order to successfully stave off this reactionary threat to their struggle for job equality.



LENIN ON MAY DAY

One of Lenin's earliest appeals to the Russian workers is the May Day manifesto which he wrote in 1896 for the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-class. This was written in prison, from which it was smuggled out by Lenin's comrades, mimeographed and distributed to workers of 40 factories in St. Petersburg, now Leningrad.

Great strike struggles, inspired by Lenin's leaflet, eventually grew into those greater battles culminating in the 1905 Revolution, forerunner of the victorious Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Following is part of the text of Lenin's historic manifesto.

COMRADES! Let us examine the conditions in which we spend our lives. What do we see? We produce endless wealth, gold and apparel, satins and silks. From the depths of the earth we extract iron and coal. We build machines, we outfit ships, we construct railroads. All the wealth of the world is the product of our hands, of our sweat and blood.

And what kind of wages do we get for this forced labor? . . . Our bosses push down wages, force us to work overtime, place unjust fines upon us—in a word oppress us in every way. And then when we give voice to our dissatisfaction, we are thrown into prison without further ado. . . . Ignorance and slavery—these are the means through which the capitalists and the government that serves them oppress us.

WE CAN RELY ONLY UPON OURSELVES! Our strength lies in our unity, our method is the united stubborn resistance against the bosses. Our masters realize, of course, in what our strength lies, and they try in every way to divide us. . . .

We, Petersburg workers, members of the League, call upon all the rest of our comrades to join the League and cooperate in the great task of unifying the working-class in the struggle for their interests. It's time we Russian workers smashed the chains that the bosses and the government have placed upon us. It is time we joined our fellow-workers of other lands in the struggle—under a common flag bearing the words: "WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!"

READ
"THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL"

Pioneer Paragraphs

NEW SOCIAL SYSTEM IS GOAL OF FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth International in numbers and especially in preparation possesses infinite advantages over its predecessors at the beginning of the last war. The Fourth International is the direct heir of Bolshevism in its flower. The Fourth International has absorbed the tradition of the October Revolution and has transmuted into theory the experience of the richest historical period between the two imperialist wars. It has faith in itself and its future.

War, let us once again recall, speeds up enormously the political development. Those great tasks which only yesterday seemed long years, if not decades away, can loom up directly before us in the next two or three years, and even sooner. Programs which are based on habitual peace-time conditions will inevitably remain dangling in mid-air. On the other hand, the Fourth International's Program of Transitional Demands which seemed so "unreal" to near-sighted politicians, will reveal its full significance in the process of the mobilization of the masses for the conquest of state power.

At the beginning of the new revolution, the opportunists will once again strive, just as they did

a quarter of a century ago, to imbue the workers with the idea that it is impossible to build socialism on ruins and devastation. As if the proletariat is free to choose! It is necessary to build on those foundations which history provides. The Russian Revolution showed that workers' rule can raise even a very backward country out of deepest poverty. All the greater are the miracles open to the proletariat of the advanced countries.

War destroys structures, railroads, factories, mines; but it cannot destroy technology, science, skills. After creating its own state, correctly organizing its own ranks, drawing into the work qualified forces bequeathed by the bourgeois regime and organizing production according to a unified plan, the proletariat will not only restore within a few years everything destroyed by war, but will also create conditions for the greatest blossoming of culture on the foundation of solidarity.

(From "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," published by Socialist Workers Party, 1940; pp. 43-44, 48 pp., 5 cents. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

What Was Roosevelt's Real Role?

A MARXIST EVALUATION

By Felix Morrow

I. What Was the Cause of the Depression?

With the passing of Roosevelt, the country has been deluged with evaluations of his role. The verdict has been well-nigh unanimous. Whatever the political label of the evaluator—Republican, "liberal" or conservative Democrat, or Stalinist—all have united in concluding that America and the world progressed as a result of his twelve years' rule.

The Republicans and his opponents in his own party forgot their differences with him. Nor was this merely a sentimental gesture on the occasion of his death. It was much more than that. It was the recognition that far transcending their differences was the leadership which he provided to the capitalist class as a whole in its war for world domination.

The Stalinists long ago forgot their differences with him. During his first term they called him a "semi-fascist" and condemned his preparations for war, only to switch to support of him in 1936 in the name of "collective security" for "world peace." In the 1940 campaign—and during the whole period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact—they branded him as a war-monger, only once again to switch to him on June 22, 1941. Now they praise everything he did, including what was once "semi-fascist" and "war-monger."

The CIO and AFL national leadership had found it growingly difficult to defend Roosevelt's policies—the wage-freeze, the National Service Act which he was still seeking on the eve of his death, the shackling of the unions through participation in the War Labor Board and the observance of the no-strike pledge, etc. To the end, however, the union leaders maintained their strange system of double-bookkeeping whereby they attributed labor's gains to Roosevelt while blaming labor's losses on Roosevelt's subordinates in the various government agencies to which the unions are subjected. The loss of Roosevelt's prestige weighs heavily on the CIO and AFL leadership as they face the grim future of increasing opposition in the ranks of the workers.

This unanimity, however, has been arrived at only by avoiding an analysis of the basic questions of our epoch. In contrast to this, we propose to state and answer these questions in this and subsequent articles.

The first question is: Did Roosevelt have a policy for solving the economic crisis? Did he find a way to avoid the cyclical crises of capitalism and maintain full employment?

Roosevelt and the Economic Crisis

The record shows that he did not. Those who grew up during the war may not remember, but the rest of us should recall vividly enough that mass unemployment continued until well after the war was in full progress in Europe and Roosevelt had begun the gigantic armament program which led into America's participation in the war. The depression which began in 1929 was still going on in 1940. The most that could be claimed for Roosevelt was that he reduced unemployment from twenty millions in 1932 to eleven millions in 1940. But eleven million unemployed still represented a mortal crisis for the capitalist system. Production for war—the one unlimited market which exists under capitalism—could only be an interlude for a renewal of the crisis in a more intensified form at a later stage.

But—the protagonists of Roosevelt say—why blame Roosevelt for the crisis? He could not in the few short years of peace under the national and international consequences of the crisis which had gone so far in 1929-1933 under Hoover.

Suppose we grant this. But this brings us to the crucial question: what if Roosevelt and not Hoover had been president from 1928 on (or from 1924 on instead of Coolidge), would the depression have been avoided?

This was in effect the claim of Roosevelt's election campaign of 1932 against Hoover. And after election, in his first inaugural address, Roosevelt blamed the depression on "the unscrupulous money changers" who now had "fled from their high seats in the temple of our administration." Likewise in succeeding elections, the CIO and PAC contrasted Hoover and Roosevelt as though their policies were polar opposites, leading to opposite consequences.

It is necessary, therefore, to analyze precisely wherein Hoover and Roosevelt differed—and wherein they remained in basic agreement.

It so happens that for many years Roosevelt and Hoover were close friends. They met in 1913, when Roosevelt became assistant secretary of the Navy. The older man became Food Administrator and a member of Wilson's War Cabinet. Hoover was without party label, but of course his basic views were already firmly formed: for Big Business. Roosevelt wanted Hoover to be the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party in 1924 and, needless to say, he was not asking Hoover to change his economic views. As the N. Y. Times obituary of Roosevelt states it, "Mr. Roosevelt sought to prevail upon Mr. Hoover to become a Democrat with a view to grooming him for the Democratic nomination for President in 1924, and actually thought he had succeeded when Republicans of prominence managed to persuade Mr. Hoover that he would profit politically by becoming a Republican."

In the 1928 presidential contest between Hoover and Smith, Roosevelt spoke for Smith. Comb his speeches—not to speak of the Democratic platform—and you will find no real differences. No less than Hoover, Roosevelt looked upon the prevailing prosperity as proof of the efficiency of Big Business.

It was not until some time after the depression came in 1929 that Roosevelt began to adopt views differing from those of Hoover. It was therefore pure demagoguery on Roosevelt's part, when he later blamed Hoover's policies as the cause of the depression. It was good campaign material, but had nothing to do with the facts.

Could Roosevelt Prevent the Depression?

Suppose, however, that Roosevelt's later program had been the law of the land in 1928. Would it have prevented the depression, as he and his propagandists have claimed?

One has only to get down to itemizing the specific legislation adopted under Roosevelt to realize the absurdity of such a claim.

What would NRA have done in 1928? Stripped of the baloney which accompanied it, it was nothing but legalization of trade associations in each industry which were enabled to curtail production and regulate competition in ways that were illegal under the anti-trust laws. It enabled the monopolies to get a stronger hold in some industries, but it had little effect on increasing employment. Roosevelt himself was well content when the Supreme Court took it off his hands by declaring it unconstitutional in 1935.

What would Roosevelt's farm program have done in 1928? It would have simply started earlier the outrageous spectacle of destroying pigs and plowing under cotton and wheat.

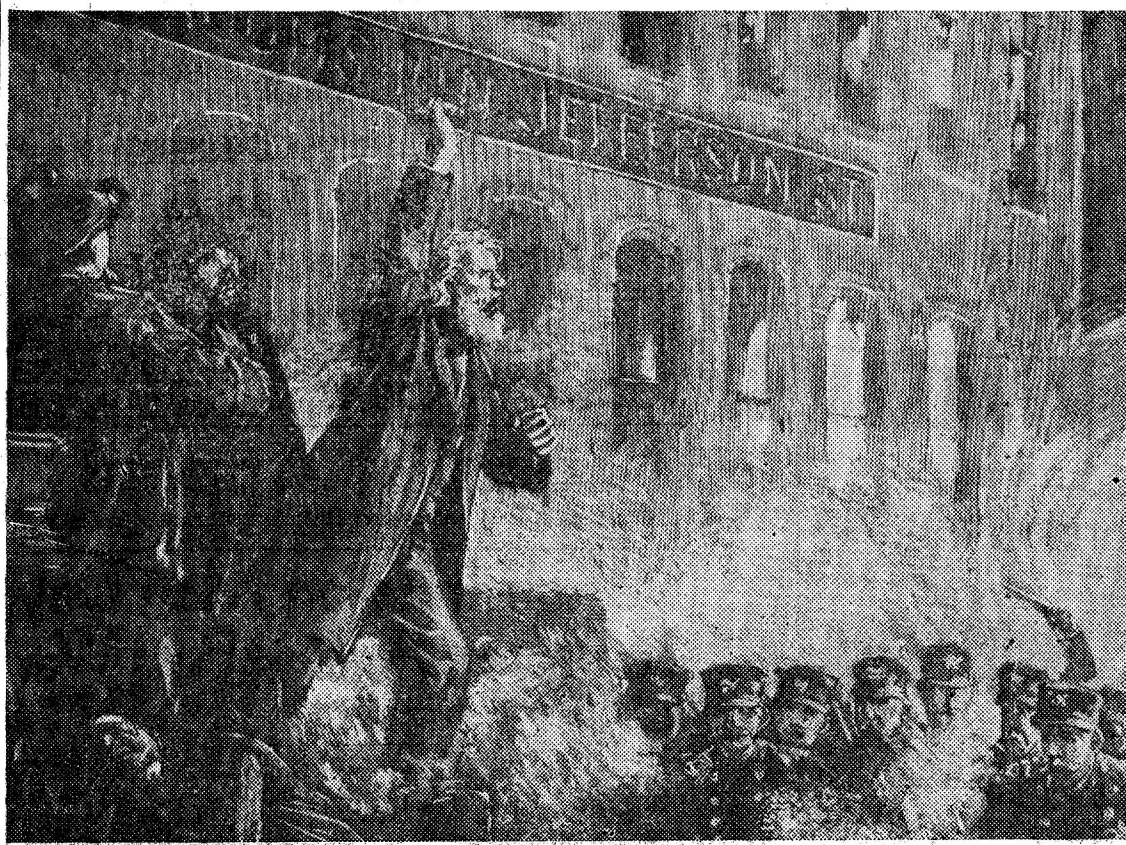
Would Roosevelt's banking laws and SEC regulation of stocks have prevented the stock market rise and speculation which preceded the crash of 1929? Nothing in these laws gives the slightest warrant for thinking so. When wartime prosperity began in 1941, these laws did not stand in the way of any of the forms of speculation and manipulation of stocks which have invariably accompanied an increase of business activity.

Would the Minimum Wage and Hour Act have prevented the depression? But the fact is that on the eve of the crash prevailing wages were far higher than the miserable minimums established by the law. It is, indeed, a fact that wages are always at their highest point, as part of the general prosperity, just on the eve of a new crisis.

As for the rest of Roosevelt's legislation, no one can even pretend that it would have affected the factors making for the depression.

The essential point to understand is that the depression would have come when it did no matter who was president, and no matter what his policies, given the fact that industry was in the hands of

Famous 1886 Haymarket Demonstration



May Day, the international holiday of the working class, was born in Chicago in 1886 with the Haymarket Square demonstration for the 8-hour day. Police assaulted the demonstration, pictured above. An unknown person, believed to be a provocateur, threw a bomb, killing several policemen. In the frame-up trials that followed, eight working class leaders were convicted; four were hanged.

May Day Had Its Origin In 8-Hour Day Struggle

By Larissa Reed

The bosses have hated and feared May Day ever since it came into being 59 years ago on May 1, 1886. In times of war and unbridled reaction they seek to ban its celebration. When the workers down their tools and go out in defiance of their exploiters, police and gunmen have been hurled against them to break up their huge demonstrations. In addition to violence, the bosses resort to deceit. They try to prejudice uninformed workers against the idea of May Day by representing it as "un-American," imported into this country by "alien agitators."

But in reality May Day originated in the United States. It was the climax of a mighty national movement of the American workers in their struggle for an 8-hour day and decent working conditions. The industrial crisis of the 1880's brought intolerable misery to the workers. A million men were on the streets. Wages were slashed; the 12 hour day stretched into 14 and 16 hours. In the textile mills men earned \$1.25 a day; women 80 cents a day. In the southern mills children as young as six and seven were working 12 hours for 10 cents a day.

In rebellion against these murderous conditions, the workers began to organize by the hundred thousands in the Knights of Labor, the dominant union movement of that day. A wave of strikes broke out. Federal troops were sent to crush the strikes. But all over the country the Eight-Hour Leagues formed by the militant workers kept hammering away for the 8-hour day.

The capitalists, Depressions are an inevitable aspect of the capitalist system. They come under liberals like Wilson or conservatives like Taft. One must look for their basic cause beyond the immediate incident which ushers them in. Sometimes, as in 1929, that incident is a stock-market crash. At other times, as in 1907, it may be a wave of bankruptcies and bank failures. In 1920, it looked like the aftermath of the war. But back of these different immediate incidents is the basic character of capitalism itself.

The Basic Cause Is Capitalism

A look abroad will serve to make this clear. The Weimar Republic of Germany operated under legislation far more liberal than that of the New Deal. Indeed, Roosevelt merely copied part of it. Yet the German republic was engulfed by economic depression, and the failure of the workers' parties to go beyond a "New Deal" to socialism was the essential cause of Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

The basic cause of economic crises is capitalism itself. It is a system where industry operates only if it makes profit and not directly to feed and clothe the population. The drive for profit takes precedence over human needs. There is no way under capitalism to make the abundance, brought about by science and mass production, available to the masses.

In the past, the periodic crises were temporarily overcome by finding new fields for capital expansion both at home and abroad. In the course of time the great capitalist powers thus divided the whole world among themselves. After that, every new crisis became a driving force to try to re-divide the world by force—that was the cause of the first World War, and of the second, which was made inevitable by the world crisis which began in 1929.

Neither in 1924, when Roosevelt wanted Hoover to be president, nor in 1928, nor during his twelve years' rule, did Roosevelt's basic attitude toward economic crisis differ from that of Hoover. Both of them, like the capitalist class as a whole, had no solution for these periodic cataclysms and their end in war. The capitalists do much wishful thinking during periods of economic upturn, claiming that at last they have solved the problem of crises which have wracked the capitalist system ever since its rise and which grow ever worse. But at bottom the capitalists know that these cyclical crises are an inevitable accompaniment of the capitalist system. They know that capitalism itself is the cause of crisis. They have no intention of removing that cause. Against the revolutionary socialist movement which would remove that cause, Hoover and Roosevelt always saw eye to eye.

(This is the first of a series of articles evaluating the role of Roosevelt. The second will appear next week.)

European Crisis Analyzed in April Issue of the F. I.

"No longer can any fundamental social question be decided for any one nation in Europe alone," writes William Simmons in "European Perspectives," feature article of the April issue of Fourth International, now on sale.

Comrade Simmons presents a brilliant analysis of the complex antagonisms between Allied and German imperialism on the one hand and between world capitalism and the nationalized property of the USSR on the other hand. What political regimes can be built upon the devastated continent? Upon what economic base? What will Stalin's commitment to the preservation of capitalism mean for the European revolution, and what in turn will European upheavals do to the structure of the Soviet Union? What will be the effects upon the Stalinist and Socialist parties of Europe as a result of their betrayals of the revolutionary working class in Greece, Italy, France? These are the vital questions discussed in this article.

"French Imperialism and World War II" by N. Marc is translated from the April-May issue of Quatrième Internationale, theoretical organ of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The stagnation of France's "imperialist" economy in the period between two imperialist world wars is clearly described. The maneuvers by which, despite this stagnation, French capitalism has managed to hold the reins of power, are explained. The financial collaboration between Vichy France and the so-called "Free" French government in Algiers is exposed. The tasks of the French proletariat are set forth in the program of the Trotskyists.

With the clarity that has made his MILITANT column, "Shop Talks on Socialism" so popular, V. Grey writes a remarkable article on "Modern Welding and the Welder." He traces the dialectics of change—first in the welding process itself as a scientific phenomenon, then in the technological development of industrial welding under modern capitalism, and finally in the welder himself, who has been transformed from a skilled craftsman into a mass production worker through this analysis of a specific branch of industry Comrade Grey provides both examples and proof of the correctness of the Marxist method of dialectical materialism.

In "The Arsenal of Marxism" the editors reprint Leon Trotsky's brilliant article on the Spanish revolution, "The Lessons of Spain—the Last Warning."

"Review of the Month," by the editors of Fourth International discusses the Stalinist betrayals in Greece and the despicable role of the British labor bureaucrats who whitewashed Churchill's bloody attacks upon the Greek people. The editors also lay bare the motives behind the monstrous hate propaganda against the entire German people used by the Allies to "justify" their plans for brutal military occupation of Germany.

Single copies of Fourth International can be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscriptions \$2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

The Haymarket tragedy, instead of killing the young labor movement, as the bosses expected, served to harden its will to resistance. It aroused the workers in the United States to renewed struggle in which the European workers openly joined hands with them. In 1890 the International Workingmen's Association, at its first Congress, issued the call to the workers of Europe to join the American workers in May Day demonstrations against their capitalist enemies. There was a tremendous response to the call.

This first call brought forth the most gigantic demonstrations of international working-class solidarity the world had yet seen. In France, traditional home of revolution, the workers were first to take up the banner. Colossal strikes were called which took the government eight days to suppress. In Italy the whole working class came out and engaged in pitched battles over barricades for 10 days. Over 100 were killed—but the price of bread was reduced.

In the blood of the Haymarket martyrs, May Day was born. It brought the workers of all nations, all colors, all creeds together. Since its inception May Day has been the symbol of international working-class solidarity, of united and independent struggle of the workers against their capitalist oppressors.

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

STALIN'S DENUNCIATION OF SOVIET-JAPAN PACT

By M. Morrison

When, after the conference at Yalta, the announcement was made that a United Nations Security Conference would be held at San Francisco, beginning April 25, and when it became known that both the Soviet Union and China would be present at the conference, the correct deduction was made that Stalin had decided to denounce the neutrality pact which the Soviet Union signed with Japan on April 13, 1941. This pact was to be valid for five years and automatically renewed for another five years unless, a year before the expiration of the first five year period, either party announced its intention to end or modify it.

Up to now Stalin refused to enter into discussions with the Allies if China was present, lest the presence of that country should be interpreted by Japan as a violation of the pact of neutrality. The pact still has a year to run but Stalin now feels free to participate in a conference where Chinese spokesmen are present.

Does the denunciation of the treaty mean that Stalin has decided to declare war on Japan in the near future? Formally the treaty has another year of life but it would be foolish to base one's judgment on the existence of a treaty. Molotov cited the attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union and the Alliance of Japan with Hitler as justification for the denunciation of the treaty but Japan's help to Hitler could easily have been made a cause for the breaking of the treaty and a declaration of war at any time since Hitler's attack. Only gullible people believe that treaties really determine the relations between nations.

Will the situation change if Stalin attacks Japan? I can not of course speak for the party which will consider the problem if and when it arises. I can only say for myself that the Soviet Union is in no danger from Japanese imperialism. Stalin's entry into the war against Japan can under no circumstances be justified on the basis of any danger to the Soviet Union coming from Japan.

ANOTHER CRIME

Whatever our decision may then be with reference to the slogan of "Defense of the Soviet Union," it is certain that Stalin will be committing another terrible crime against the Soviet masses, if he throws the Soviet masses, who have suffered so much in the last three years, into another war, when it is no longer a question of the necessity of defending the Soviet Union.

What motivated Stalin in denouncing the treaty are the facts that the war in Europe is drawing to a close and that his aims in the Far East need to be asserted soon, because Japan is on her last legs. His attitude in the Far East has become a very active one and has displaced the passive attitude which he had to assume because he was so occupied with the war against Hitler. He does not intend to permit the United States alone to determine the fate of the Far East. He has certain aims which he wants to realize and the denunciation of the treaty constitutes notice to everybody that he intends to realize them.

It is assumed that what Stalin wants is all of Southern and Northern Manchuria plus Korea. As always he would prefer to achieve his aims without going to war. It is hardly likely that after almost four years of a devastating conflict the Soviet Union is in a condition to wage another war with the ease that most correspondents so glibly assert. The denunciation of the treaty affords him an opportunity to negotiate with Japan. What chance is there for a peaceful surrender of Manchuria and Korea by Japan to the Soviet Union? Hardly any. Stalin must therefore be prepared to enter the conflict whenever he thinks the situation demands it.

Entering the war would enable him to occupy Manchuria and Korea, place his own puppet governments in control, and exclude both Kuomintang China and American imperialism from any control of that important section of China.

Stalin's ambitions in the Far East bring him into direct conflict with Kuomintang China and U. S. imperialism. That is why it is difficult to believe the assertions of some commentators that Roosevelt at Yalta agreed to give Manchuria to Stalin, if the Soviet Union declares war on Japan. When it is a question of Rumania or Poland, American imperialism will make a few half-hearted protests on behalf of the "principles of democracy." But the interests of American imperialism are not greatly affected by Stalin's seizure of the Balkan or Baltic countries.

MAIN RIVALRIES

American imperialist interests would be seriously affected by Stalin's gaining control of Manchuria and Korea. It is not an accident that soon after Yalta an official announcement was made by American representatives that they can send no arms to the Chinese "Communists." If Stalin declares war on Japan the Chinese Stalinists will play a very important role. It is they who will do a large share of the fighting and possibly constitute the puppet government in Manchuria. American imperialism can hardly look with favor upon such a development.

Undoubtedly Roosevelt yielded much to Stalin with reference to Poland, the Baltic and Balkan countries but it is exceedingly unlikely that he promised very much as far as Manchuria is concerned. The most acute rivalries between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism do not lie primarily in Eastern Europe but in the Far East.

When Hitler's armies attacked the Soviet Union the Trotskyists unhesitatingly came out for the defense of the Soviet Union. That did not mean that we supported

Tobin Is Haunted By Case of the 18 He Helped Frame

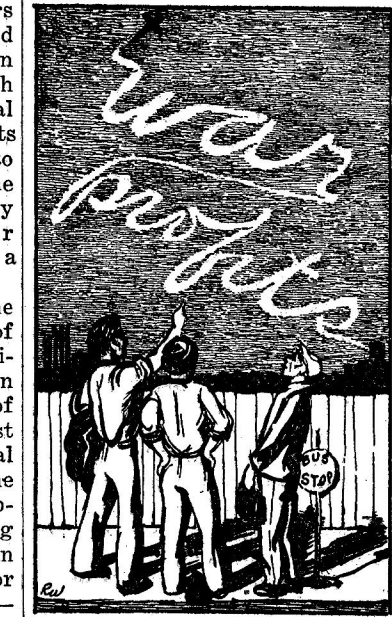
Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the AFL Teamsters Union, is haunted by the Minneapolis labor case. Tobin was the main instigator of the frame-up which sent 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party to prison for "violating" the vicious anti-labor Smith "Gag" Act. Hundreds of union, liberal and labor fraternal organizations, representing over 6,000,000 workers, were rallied for the Civil Rights Defense Committee in support of the fight to "Free the 18" and "Repeal the Smith 'Gag' Law."

The volume of labor protest against the frame-up of the 18 kept mounting during their terms of imprisonment. It rolled over Tobin whose efforts to stem the tide were reinforced by the slanders of the Stalinist machine. The Stalinist press and Tobin's monthly magazine, The International Teamster, spewed a steady stream of hate propaganda and lynch incitation against the 18 victims of the Minneapolis frame-up. Despite their joint efforts, the movement in support of the 18 kept growing until the hour of their release from prison.

But the release of the 18 does not end the struggle. The fight to restore their civil rights and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act continues. In this fight the Tobin-Stalinist gang stand opposed to the millions of workers who have shown their determination to defend labor's right to free speech which the Smith Act denies. In the April issue of the International Teamster, Lester M. Hunt, Assistant Editor, replies to an inquiry regarding the Minneapolis case with the usual shower of filth and lies. In an attempt to discourage support to the campaign to repeal the Smith Act, Hunt, who recently put the International Teamster on record in support of the Little Steel formula, declares: "The case is closed."

But the Minneapolis case will not be "closed" until the Smith Act is wiped off the statute books and the civil rights of the 18 are restored.

IN MINNEAPOLIS BUY "THE MILITANT" at the LABOR BOOK STORE 10 S. 4th Street



The Sky's the Limit

The sky's the limit on war profits. The latest revised figures of the Department of Commerce on corporation profits—after taxes—shows a total of \$9.9 billion for 1944 as compared to \$4.2 billion for 1939.

The aircraft and aircraft-parts industry in 1944 increased its profits 1,686 per cent over 1939; the automotive industry, 896 per cent; rubber, 697 per cent; textiles, 522 per cent; etc. The latter figures come from a suppressed report of the Office of Price Administration. This report was disclosed by CIO President Philip Murray.

May Days During The First World War

By Ruth Johnson

The first great resurgence of the working class in World War I came like a lightning flash over Berlin on May Day, 1916. On that day Karl Liebknecht, revolutionary socialist member of the Reichstag, called upon the German workers to go into the streets in opposition to the imperialist war-makers. Thousands answered his call in a mighty demonstration.

"The main enemy is in your own country," declared Liebknecht. In other lands, other revolutionists raised the same cry. Their call was to rally millions of workers in every European nation in the ensuing years, penetrating the ranks of the soldiers in the trenches and inspiring the sailors on battleships at sea.

Lenin and Trotsky, speaking and writing in exile, urged the Russian workers and peasants to overthrow czarism and capitalism and establish their own workers' government. In Italy the Socialists voted to oppose the war, raising the Red Banner of internationalism.

In February, 1917, the workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia overthrew the Romanov dynasty. It was the first stage of the revolution which was by November to establish the first workers' state. May Day, 1917 found the workers of Russia celebrating their triumph over Czarism.

FRANCE AND GERMANY
Not only from the German soldiers, but from the German workers as well came enthusiastic responses to the revolution in Russia. There were May Day strikes and demonstrations that year throughout Germany. 250,000 workers downed tools in protest against starvation rations. At Kiel 125,000 shipyard workers walked out, crippling production. With in sight of Kiel, crews of German ships in Squadron IV set up committees and seized control of their ships. Only after bitter fighting was this mutiny subdued.

In France, too the tide of workers' solidarity was rising. In Paris on May Day, 1917, a great demonstration of workers, the first since the beginning of the war, was held under the auspices of the "Committee for the Renewal of International Relations." Strikes that were called spread all over France. French soldiers in the trenches mutinied. Returning to the rear the soldiers shouted, "Long Live Peace! They have been assassinating us!" On May 3, 1917 the Minister of War, Painleve, recorded the fact that "no more than two divisions between Soissons and Paris could be absolutely relied on."

The United States declared war in April, 1917. On May Day, just three weeks later, the American workers too were in the streets, demonstrating against the war. Bloody battles and mass arrests took place as police and hoodlums organized by the bosses assaulted the demonstrators.

OCTOBER REVOLUTION
By May Day, 1918, the first Workers' State in history was in power in Russia. The victorious Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviets' call for immediate peace without annexations, cracked the "morale" of the capitalist armies. All over Europe the fronts began to collapse as soldiers responded to the Soviet proclamations. Kings, queens and their thrones were swept away.

But in America in 1918, the capitalists, still powerful and undefeated, called in their labor lieutenants who obeyed their masters and voluntarily cancelled all May Day Demonstrations.

CLEVELAND IN 1919
The next year, however, found the American workers engaged in one of the mightiest May Day demonstrations ever held in the United States, with thousands marching beneath red banners, proclaiming solidarity with the October Revolution.

In Cleveland alone 50,000 paraded led by a revolutionary Socialist anti-war fighter Charles E. Ruthenberger. The parade was attacked by armed members of the American Legion and mounted police. In the terrible battle that followed hundreds of workers were injured and two were killed. This was the capitalist "democracy" for which American workers in uniform had so recently bled and died!

The record of May Day in the first World War is one of courage and glory, rising to unparalleled heights as the Russian workers opened the flood-gates of revolution. As this sixth May Day of the Second War dawns, the workers of Europe, bitterly disillusioned with Allied and Stalinist war aims, are turning again to mass struggle to win the demands for which the Russian workers fought in 1917—Peace, Bread, Freedom!

Pre-War May Day Issues of 'The Militant'



May Day, the international holiday of the working class, has always been celebrated by the Trotskyists. Pictured above are headlines of the Trotskyist papers during the pre-war period when American workers downed tools to parade on May 1st. Papers include The Militant, organ of the Communist League of America, the first form of the Trotskyist movement in America; the New Militant, published after the fusion of the American Trotskyists with the Muste group; and the Socialist Appeal, published by the Trotskyists after their expulsion from the Socialist Party in 1937.

During the war years, when the advanced workers have not been able to throng the streets with banners proclaiming their demands, the Trotskyists have held meetings throughout the country upholding the spirit of international solidarity

How May Days Were Celebrated Under Lenin -- And Under Stalin

By Grace Carlson

Before and after taking power in Russia, in days of persecution and struggle as well as in days of triumph, the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky raised high the banner of working-class internationalism—the true symbol of May Day. Reporting on the 1917 May Day celebration in Russia—six months before the Bolsheviks led the October revolution which established the first workers' state in history—Trotsky wrote this stirring account of Bolshevik internationalism in action:

"In both capitals and in the industrial centers the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them, the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly, with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Marinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: 'Long Live the Third International!...' So far as it could, the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches, banners and revolutionary songs in the trenches and there were responses from the German side." (History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. I, p. 333).

Two years later, at a time when the young Soviet state was surrounded by the hostile armies of the counter revolution and the "democratic" imperialists, Lenin paid tribute to the basic working-class character of May Day in a speech delivered at a gigantic mass meeting in the Red Square at Moscow. No transcript of Lenin's speech is available but the following is a newspaper account of the speech.

LENIN'S SPEECH
"The majority of those assembled here — said Lenin—who have not reached the age of 30-35 will see the flowering of communism, from which we are still so far removed.

"Pointing to the children, Lenin said that they, now participating in the holiday of labor's emancipation, will enjoy the full measure of the fruits gained through the efforts and sacrifices of revolutionists.

"Our grandchildren will gaze in wonder at the documents and memorials of the epoch of the capitalist system. It will be difficult for them to understand how the trade in primary necessities of life could have been left in private hands; how factories and mills could have belonged to private individuals; how one man could have been permitted to exploit another; how people could have lived without any useful work to do. Up to now, we talked about what our children would see, as if it were a fairy tale, but now, comrades, you see with your own eyes, that the structure of socialism lodged by us is not a utopia. And our children will work still more zealously to build this structure." (Vechnye Izvestia of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Red Army Deputies, May 3, 1919).

But even the far-sighted Lenin could not have foreseen what tremendous obstacles were to be placed in the pathway of the

Russian workers and peasants who were trying to build this "structure of socialism." Betrayals by the parties of the Second International in the advanced capitalist countries were... later matched by the infamous crimes of the Stalinist Third International against the principles of revolutionary internationalism.

In the course of its progressive degeneration Stalinism has violated every socialist tradition and principle, including the glorious revolutionary traditions of May Day, which the Stalinist bureaucracy is now attempting to destroy. In his Order of the Day, issued on May 1, 1944, Stalin carefully avoided any reference to the class character of this working-class holiday or to its traditions of socialist struggle. He did not pledge solidarity with the working-class of any European country, least of all Germany. On the contrary, he lumped the German workers together with the Nazis, under the epithet of "German vermin."

EHRENBURG'S ARTICLE
An attempt at a theoretical justification for this shameful violation of the revolutionary internationalist traditions of May Day was made by the well-known Stalinist hack, Ilya Ehrenburg. In an article written in connection with the 1944 "observance" of May Day in the Soviet Union, Ehrenburg tried to show that the origin of May Day lay simply in seasonal changes — the coming of spring — and not in the class struggle at all.

"From time immemorial," he wrote, "man has always associated the coming of spring with the idea of the triumph of life. The Greeks created the Eleusinian mysteries: young Persephone held captive by the god of the infernal regions returns to the earth. In spring, the early Christians celebrated the triumph of life. Sprouting seed, green shoot

and flower-bud inspired men to wage war on darkness.

"Hence arose May Day. Progressive minds associated the will of the peoples for a better world with the spirit of spring." (Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the USSR in Washington, May 6, 1944, Vol. IV, No. 54).

Under the great leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolsheviks cherished the glorious working-class traditions of May Day. The revolutionary internationalism which May Day symbolized was the cornerstone of their ideas and policies. It was through these ideas and policies that they defended the young Soviet state against its enemies and prepared the Socialist future of the whole world working-class.

The Soviet bureaucracy under Stalin usurped control in the Bolshevik Party and the Third International. In the course of a few years they trampled under foot every idea, every principle, every policy of Lenin and Trotsky. All the traditions of Bolshevism were besmirched, and in the end discarded, by the reactionary clique which now rules in the Kremlin. May Day and its traditions are no exception. The traditions of this symbolic day have been turned into their opposites. Soviet chauvinism, reviving all the villainies of the Great Russian chauvinism of Tsarist days, has been substituted for the idea of international working class solidarity. Pleas for class peace, and for submission of the workers to their capitalist foes have taken the place of the Bolshevik call for intensified struggle against capitalism.

Stalin and his clique have already gone down in history as the gravediggers of Bolshevism and betrayers of the struggle for Socialism. But the ideas of Bolshevism cannot be killed and buried. The Bolsheviks of today — the Trotskyists — have preserved them and are carrying them forward.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Greece
George Papandreou, Churchill's puppet Premier during the recent civil war against the Greek masses, now confirms what The Militant and Fourth International repeated time and again about the real situation in the workers' movement there.

In an article written for the Boston Sunday Advertiser (April 15, 1945) Papandreou states that the Stalinist leaders of EAM were prepared to betray the armed masses, but pressure exerted by the indignant rank and file forced the Stalinists to abandon their agreement and temporarily lead the fight against the government decree ordering disarmament.

Papandreou states: "When Mr. Eden was in Athens, as he later stated in the House of Commons, he was visited by the Communist members of my cabinet who assured him that I had their full confidence and that they entirely agreed with the program I had put forward which included the disarmament of the guerrilla organizations and the creation of a regular army to be formed by calling under arms certain age classes."

He continues: "Suddenly however the Communist Party changed its mind. The extreme elements of the party, and especially the members of the 'Kaptani,' who were the non-military leaders of the guerrilla bands, decided to refuse to disarm and finally imposed their

decision on the party." In another place he labels these working class militants "the armed minority of the Communist extremists — the Trotskyists — as Winston Churchill called them." While Papandreou completely exonerates British imperialism from the provocations and massacres in which he himself was implicated, his description of the internal situation in the workers' movement seems to conform to the facts as we know them.

Great Britain
The wartime Tory-Labour coalition government is apparently coming to an end. After five and a half years of submission to the policies of British imperialism at home and abroad the Labour leaders have been obliged by the leftward-moving British masses to take a preliminary step toward breaking the coalition and going before the country for a general election.

Signs are already multiplying that the chickens of the wartime betrayal of the British Labour leaders will come home to roost in the coming election contest. Churchill's Tory campaigners will hammer again and again the unassailable truth that the Labour Leaders were supple tools of his foreign policy. They supported and continue to support his "war aims," continued enslavement of India, preservation of the British Empire, dismemberment of Germany and hate

campaign against the German masses, crucifixion of Greece and support of monarchist "puppet" governments in "liberated" countries.

But increasing pressure from the workers has compelled the adoption of a more radical home program. The recently announced election platform of the Labour Party calls for public ownership of the Bank of England, the fuel, power, iron and steel industries and inland transport. There are many loopholes in this program to indicate that Bevin, Morrison and Co. have no intention of seriously clashing with the British ruling class. Cartels and monopolies will not be nationalized but only brought under government supervision. "Private constructive enterprise" (whatever that may mean) will be given "opportunities." And to top it all no mention is made concerning the terms of indemnification on which the specified industries will be taken over by the Labour Party government when and if it assumes power.

France
A strike of Marseilles jurymen has dramatically disclosed how the so-called "anti-fascist" General de Gaulle is sabotaging the purge of those who collaborated with the Nazis. Death sentences meted out to former Vichy police chiefs and other reactionaries have been commuted by de Gaulle through the power vested in him as the final arbiter of all court decisions. The strike of the Marseilles jurymen, against this policy followed by a similar protest in Toulon, caused a commotion in the Consultative Assembly. In answer to queries about the extent of his prerogatives, de Gaulle declared that he was not compelled to indicate the number of instances in which his prerogative "as between myself and my conscience" has operated. The irony of the situation is that de Gaulle's government plans to end the "purge" entirely this month.

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

ARBEITER UND SOLDAT
AB 1. MAI 1944 KURS AUF DIE REVOLUTION!
Ein Schicksalstag der deutschen Arbeiter

"Arbeiter und Soldat"—Worker and Soldier—is the name of the revolutionary socialist paper illegally published in France under Nazi occupation by German Trotskyists. We reproduce above the front page of the May Day 1944 issue, which reviews the history of the German working class and proclaims: "Forward to the Revolution!"

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

Pop was putting his crane cables away. The welders were winding up their lines. Tony put his chisels where the next shift wouldn't find them, and stacked the chipping gun and the air line neatly in the corner. A couple of big presses at the other end were still thumping away. But you could almost hear them getting ready to stop. It was just before quitting time when some of the fellows are telling stories, and some just horsing around with each other.

Somebody started talking about the war in Germany. Somebody else tried to get up a pool on when it would be over. And they were talking about the latest newspaper stories and wondering whether you could believe them all or not. Slim said don't forget, the stories are always worse when a bond drive is due.

Then Breezy piped up, "Hey, Dutchie, you're from over there. What are those Germans like anyhow?"

"Dutchie" is really Fred Schultz. He's been working in the shop about thirteen years. He's a good workman and a sort of jack of all trades—good at them all, too.

"Well," said Dutchie, not knowing whether to get mad or not. And not being a fast talker like Breezy he said it again after a minute—"Well—I'm a German, ain't I? What am I like?"

That floored Breezy. Everybody likes Dutchie and figures he's a pretty good guy. And Breezy being Breezy he changed his argument.

"What the hell do they still want to fight for? Our boys are going through there like grease through a tin horn." (This was a couple of weeks ago when the Yanks were going through Thuringer.)

"Maybe they don't," observed Dutchie, as though he was pretty sure they didn't. "And maybe the leaders are afraid to surrender before the Americans get to Berlin."

Slim was curious. "What do you mean by that?" he asked. "Just you wait. It will be like the last war. You will see."

"Say, you must have been there after the last war, Dutchie?" Shorty was interested now too. And a little knot of six or seven fellows gathered around Dutchie, sensing an "inside" story.

THE GERMAN WORKERS IN 1917 AND 1918
Dutchie was embarrassed. He doesn't talk very much. "I was just a farm boy in Thuringer," he said. "But I had an uncle in Berlin. I went to visit him in April 1916. I was there for May Day. You should have seen the people pouring out on the streets protesting against the war."

His voice dropped very low—mainly from shyness from telling a long story. But everybody listened quietly. And Slim helped out by asking, "Did you get in the parade too?"

"Yes. My uncle was a socialist. I didn't know anything about that—politics and that. But I knew my people back home hated the war. He gave me—my uncle gave me a little red flag to carry in the parade." Dutchie's eyes were shining with the remembrance of it.

"There was a man there who made a wonderful speech. He spoke about the working people all over the world. He spoke against the war."

"I bet they gave him the business," said Breezy. "Yes, the Kaiser put him in jail. His name was Liebknecht."

"Well, there you are," Breezy exclaimed, as though this proved that the German workers were hopeless. And the fellows almost started to drift to the locker room.

"But wait!" Dutchie was excited himself now. And he was determined to tell his story. "Two years later there was a big revolution. It started just before the Armistice. It was all over. Everywhere. Even in Thuringer where I lived. The soldiers came back home and told us about it. Even some of the farmers became reds."

"And the big shots don't want that to happen again, eh?" said Slim.

"I know they don't want it to. I think Hitler wants the Allies to take Berlin before the workers take it. —I guess the Allies will, too. —But," he added, with another burst of enthusiasm, "You should know those German workers."

The fellows drifted apart. And Breezy said to Slim on the way to the washroom, "Say, can you imagine that? Dutchie comes from Thuringer. Gee, our boys were bombing hell out of Thuringer yesterday."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 27, 1935
NEW YORK—The May Day issue of The Militant called upon the workers of America to join the mass demonstrations and parades scheduled in numerous cities to celebrate the workers' international holiday.

Recalling the tremendous labor struggles and many union gains of 1934, The Militant published the manifesto of the Workers Party of America (Trotskyist) with slogans of action for coming battles against the capitalist ruling class.

"Against wage cutting! For a decent standard of living!" proclaimed the manifesto. "For the 6-hour day and 30-hour week! For the unlimited right to organize, strike and picket. For the 100 percent unionization of workers in every industry! For a united trade union movement! For solidarity of employed and unemployed!"

"Against the capitalist system which offers nothing but misery, insecurity, brutal oppression, degradation of the masses! For the unity of the workers of every race and of all lands against their oppressors! For the Fourth International! For a Workers' World!"

SOMERSET, PA.—The brutal disregard of human welfare by the relief agencies throughout the nation in the terrible depression of the thirties was graphically demonstrated by a brief news item from Somerset.

"Boy triplets were born to Mrs. Walter Kiser in an abandoned schoolhouse near Somerset. The father was removed from relief rolls when gifts reached \$50, the limit of cash allowed relief recipients in Pennsylvania."

Simultaneously came the report of exorbitant salaries paid to greedy corporation heads. "Three officers of Bethlehem Steel Corporation draw a yearly salary of \$480,000," The Militant revealed.

NEW YORK
THE MILITANT invites you to join the MILITANT READERS' DISCUSSION CLUB EVERY WEDNESDAY 8 p. m.
French Colonial Society Hall
225 West 116th Street
Harlem
Admission Free
For further information call GR. 7-9317

NEWARK
Progressive Workers' School
Announces A Series of Lectures On
"THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR"
Speaker: JOHN HUDSON
Friday Evenings at 8:45 p. m.
May 4—"The Socialist Party"
May 11—"The Communist Party"
May 18—"The Establishment of the CIO"
Admission Free
PROGRESSIVE WORKERS' SCHOOL
423 Springfield Avenue

LESSONS FOR LABOR IN DETROIT ELECTION

By John Saunders

DETROIT—The clean sweep by Republican Party candidates in the Wayne County (Detroit) and Michigan state elections held on April 2nd has caused a great stir in the ranks of labor and a widespread search for the reasons for the annihilating defeat suffered by the candidates endorsed by the CIO-PAC.

In the city of Detroit only 75,000 out of a total of 780,000 registered voters took the trouble to cast ballots. Out of that number only 29,823 followed the advice of the CIO leaders to vote for Victor G. Reuther, assistant director of the UAW-CIO War Policy Division, for one of two posts on the Detroit Board of Education. Reuther ran last in a four man contest and received fewer votes than there are members in one of the larger locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers in this area.

Most surprised of all were the Republicans, who won in Wayne County for the first time since 1933. One of the Wayne County Republican leaders was so overwhelmed when notified of the victory that he exclaimed: "What! You mean we won?" Archibald Leadbetter elected as county auditor on the Republican ticket had no better explanation than "Elections run in cycles and it was time for the Democratic cycle to end. It's now time for the Republicans to have a voice in the government."

But the fact remains that the hundreds of thousands of auto workers in this area who turned out en masse in the presidential election five months previously to put Michigan in the Democratic column, on April 2 stayed away in droves despite the efforts of the CIO-PAC to herd them to the polls to vote for Victor Reuther and the Democratic candidates for State Highway Commissioner, Supreme Court Justice and other contested offices.

FALSE EXPLANATIONS

The leaders of the State PAC, the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, and the UAW-CIO either placed the blame on the workers, who they intimated were just too dumb to vote for their own interests, or looked for their weaknesses within the PAC machinery. Thus according to a statement issued on April 18 by R. J. Thomas, president of the UAW-CIO, the Wayne County Council now dominated by the Stalinists will henceforth direct all political activities of the auto union in the Detroit area. Ben Probe, business manager of the CIO Council, official publication of the Wayne County CIO Council, merely scratched his head and cited example after example trying to show how difficult it is to get workers to recognize where their true interests lie.

One of the office girls in the State CIO-PAC came nearest to what the workers in the shops are openly saying, when she told The Militant reporter: "The apathy of the workers is perhaps due to the fact that PAC oversold Roosevelt to the workers in the last campaign." The workers have not forgotten the advice of the PAC that it was essential to vote for Roosevelt so that the enemies of labor be repulsed and "labor's friend" be reelected to carry through a program which would help the working class.

They remember only too well how they flocked to the polls and got all their friends and neighbors to do likewise and rolled up a handsome majority for all PAC-endorsed candidates. And even before the official returns were in, they watched with amazement and disquietude at the way Roosevelt reorganized the State Department by appointing the direct agents of monopoly capitalism to the important posts. All the enemies of labor like Vinson, Davis and Taylor, who under Roosevelt's direction were handing down decisions against labor, were promoted to positions of greater influence. The Little Steel formula was reinforced. Wages were frozen more tightly than ever. To climax the open drive against labor, Roosevelt himself spearheaded the cam-

paigned to speed the Labor Draft "Slave" Bill through Congress.

WORKERS DISILLUSIONED

Under the administration which labor's votes brought to power the National Association of Manufacturers got the green light to start the most vicious union-busting drive since the last war. Since these events were too fresh in the minds of the workers for them to forget, they were not so easily corralled in the April 2 election. Even the CIO Councillor (April 7th) is forced to confess that "CIO's candidates fail to attract voters in April 2 elections." Of course it refuses to go to the root of the problem—the fact that the workers could see no difference in the contending candidates of both anti-labor, capitalist parties. Instead it searches elsewhere for the reasons underlying the apathy of the workers. "Speculation buzzed in labor political circles over whether the election flop was due to insufficient campaigning or to the selection of candidates. Some felt that political action processes should be reexamined all the way down the line." If only they tighten up the machinery everything will be OK!

An editorial in the Michigan CIO News of March 23rd urged the workers to vote for the CIO-PAC-backed candidates and told them how carefully these candidates were selected. "These endorsements have been based on the character and reputation of the men named, and on close appraisals of how they will act in the future." But it is precisely because the workers have seen how these PAC-supported capitalist candidates with "character and reputation" have been acting after election that they pay no further attention to such rubbish. They want candidates over whom they can exercise control after election. That can be done only if these candidates are members of an independent party of labor.

REUTHER'S CAMPAIGN

Although Victor G. Reuther ran for one of the two posts on the Detroit Board of Education in a contest which was "non-partisan" according to local election laws, and received the support of the CIO, he suffered from the disrepute into which the PAC has fallen in Detroit.

While the AFL endorsed another one of the four candidates for the two posts, there was no attempt to unite the two labor-endorsed candidates in one slate. Instead each labor organization was knifing the candidate endorsed by its rival. An independent labor party based on the whole working class in this area would have prevented this kind of sniping.

Reuther ran on a progressive program for the improvement of the school system: more schools to do away with the present overcrowded condition; a larger educational budget to provide free books and supplies for children; more education in the "fundamentals of democracy;" expanded adult education and vocational training programs; a greater Wayne University; equal opportunity to students and staff regardless of race, creed and color.

But most workers felt that it is not in the power of an Educational Board member to implement this program. For that it is necessary to build up a labor party which will conduct an all-out fight against the capitalist masters who fully control our school system today. The failure of the PAC to build such a party and its simultaneous endorsement of Democratic hacks who, while in office, have continually opposed the very program on which Reuther ran, served notice on the workers that neither Reuther nor the PAC was serious in having this program implemented.

NEED FOR LABOR PARTY

But the apathy of the workers also has its favorable side. Not only has it set the officers of the PAC and UAW thinking, but more important it has sharply brought to the attention of the rank and file workers the necessity of doing something to rectify the present ignominious situation where in a predominantly working class city the capitalist candidates are winning by default because there is no independent labor party in existence.

Thus the election results are another factor which has helped to shake the ranks out of their lethargy and has turned their attention to building up a Rank and File Caucus which has as one of its objectives the formation of a labor party. This can be accomplished only by an all-out struggle against the top leadership of the CIO auto union who dominate the labor movement in this area.

'Militant' Gains 11,860 New Subscribers As Campaign Hits 116 Per Cent Of Quota

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

The record-breaking pace of the Socialist Workers Party branches, which fulfilled our national campaign quota of 10,000 new Militant subscriptions in half the allotted time, is being maintained. This week the comrades placed The Militant in 1,400 additional working class homes. With five weeks to go, most branches are aiming to double and triple their quotas.

FROM THE BRANCHES

P. Mertens, St. Paul: "I know St. Paul's Pace-Setters are way behind the national leaders. Still, Paul Pearson and I are both determined to get on that scoreboard before the campaign ends. So far, Pearson has 41, Mertens 39. At least 40 points too few, isn't it! But we intend to get there yet. In the meantime, it surely is an inspiring challenge to watch the scoreboard climb."

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "Enclosed are 73 subs. We still can't see the horizon as far as our perspectives are concerned. What was yesterday a fantastic prediction of 500 is today outdated. As far as individual scores go, Bob Kingsley is leading the branch with 56; Izzy London and Dave Lands are running a close second with 51."

O. White, Rochester: "Among the enclosed subs are three former readers of the Daily Worker. One of these subscribers expressed hatred toward the Communist Party and spoke at length about its present policies. These subs were obtained by Sue and Bettie who have formed a team. They are challenging any team in Buffalo which will accept the challenge. From now on they are to be known as the 'Rochester Rosebuds.' The Pace-Setter for Rochester is Comrade Alma. Her score to date is 26 subs."

A. Field, Minneapolis: "We're over our quota now. The Branch voted tonight to make 600 (double) or more as our goal. So we're off to our second 300. Our leading Pace-Setter is Comrade Simpson with a total of 60 subs. We expect to have one of our Minneapolis people on the Militant Pace-Setter list soon."

R. Russo, Reading: "Our Pace-Setter, Elmer Oakie, has 54 subs."

Bernard Forrest, Chicago: "The subs enclosed should put us over the top. We have set ourselves a new quota of 1,500. Our leading Pace-Setter, Paul Kujac, discovered that a rainy Sunday can be a very good day. He was covering a rooming-house neighborhood when a thunder-storm broke out and since everyone was confined to their homes, it was easy for him to get in and speak to people. Consequently he sold 35 subs on that day."

R. Haddon, San Francisco: "This week many of our subs are from friends. One person subscribed last week, attended a meeting and brought in 29 subs this week. She will undoubtedly win the prize for subscribers who get the most subs locally, a copy of J. P. Cannon's 'History of American Trotskyism.' This will be awarded at a social at the close of the campaign (when the winning teams gets treated to a dinner). We are aiming at 500 subs by the end of the campaign."

Inez Cope, Youngstown: "We concluded the half-way mark with the teams running neck to neck. We consider this a victory in itself, since it helps triple our quota."

Maggie McGowan, Toledo: "I sold a sub to a woman last week who welcomed me at the door with a perfectly huge smile. 'Come in,' says she, 'I've been waiting for you to come around. I'd like to see this Militant that's putting the Toledo Blade out of business in this neighborhood.'"

Doris Hilson, Akron: "I'm not working very hard on sub-getting. Last week I went out only three days. I walk to the office and sell subs door-to-door on my way. My schedule calls for 12 hours weekly (walking to and from town). My average is between six and eight subs an hour. They just sell themselves."

FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

The list of subscribers who are helping us by sending in subscriptions for their friends is growing larger every week. We invite YOU to help us too.

C. E. K. of Monclova, Ohio wrote: "Send The Militant to the two friends listed. I want to thank you very much for reminding me that my subscription is expiring. I don't want to miss any issue if I can help it. Keep up the good work."

The following subscribers have sent in six or more subs this week:

J. D. of Rochester; B. D. of Wilson, S. C.; W. F. A. of Cleveland; R. R. of Oakland; G. S. B. of Roncverte, W. Va.; M. L. of Detroit; V. I. of East Boston; C. F. of Los Angeles; L. M. of Buffalo.

Jerry Kirk, Detroit, informs us that "Ernest Drake, one of Detroit's Pace-Setters, signed up a subscriber who asked him for some cards. This new subscriber came back a day later with nine new readers to the paper."

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Table with 3 columns: Name, Branch, Subs Sold. Lists top 20 subscribers like Mike Warren (546), Jerry Kirk (291), Paul Kujac (189), etc.

SCOREBOARD

Table with 4 columns: Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, Quotas, Subs, Percent. Lists branches like Akron (85), Allentown (50), Flint (50), etc.



Letters and reports describe how The Militant is being recognized more and more by the workers as the paper that understands their problems and fights for their rights.

Jerry Kirk of Detroit writes: "As a result of our work in the campaign, one of the housing project newspapers carried Charles Jackson's column, 'The Negro Struggle.'"

"In one of the auto plants here we now have so many readers of the paper that it has become impractical for us to distribute the paper at union meetings. And a steady stream of subs continue to come in from this source."

"One of the presidents of a local CIO union has asked us for a score of the issue for April 7th containing Gray's cartoon of the coal miner digging his pick into the negotiations table with a resounding vote for strike action. He is an ex-coal miner."

P. Davidson of Boston informs us that "Jackson's column is very popular and well-known in the Negro district. Several readers clip the column and keep them in a scrapbook. We met a young housewife who told us that she found the 'Diary of a Steel Worker' very illuminating, and described her own personal problems. Through the column she has gained insight into the world around her."

This appreciative and informative letter was sent to us from Ireland: "We here in Ireland are enamoured with your paper. With a degree of expectancy bordering on obsession, we await The Militant for its up-to-date theoretical and practical content. Its precise analysis of all situations and the literary styles of its contributors are in fact scintillating."

'TRAILBLAZERS' REPORT SUCCESS IN ROCHESTER

The Trail-Blazers have obtained to date a total of 603 subscriptions to The Militant. Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes report that 284 of these were secured during their three weeks in Rochester, N. Y. They write:

"We barely scratched the surface in Rochester and our work was mainly within the Italian working-class area. First among the sentiments that impressed themselves upon us are disillusionment with the war and weariness. Whatever illusions they cling to are only because of their concern for their sons, brothers and husbands. Every family we met has two or more boys overseas—they seem sick of war talk and full of bitterness. They respond to our exposure of the sham of 'equality of sacrifice.'"

"We got a terrifically interesting response every time we showed them that behind the workers' strikes lies the provocation of the fat bosses—that in reality it is the boss who causes the strikes, etc. We tell the workers who are victims of confusion on the question of the no-strike pledge that The Militant exposes the deliberate provocations of the greedy bosses and they understand this."

NEW FRIENDS

"One of our new subscribers is an Italian worker who told us about his experiences in the revolutionary struggles that swept over Italy after the First World War. As a participant in the strike wave that led to the seizure of the factories by the Italian workers, this man not only knows what a class war means; he also knows what it means to be betrayed by corrupted leaders. He is bitter toward the Social Democrats, because of his own experiences, and equally indignant toward the Stalinists for their treacherous role in Europe today."

"Nevertheless he retains confidence in the future of the working class and he was deeply impressed with our internationalist program, as well as our firm adherence to the line of CLASS struggle. While he had never made contact with the Trotskyist movement before, he expressed admiration for the principled fight for socialism that Trotsky, the real revolutionist, had never forsaken."

"Another couple told us they also had their eyes opened by developments in Europe since the war. They are workers in the garment industry. They see the present war as a struggle of rival capitalist powers to rule and exploit greater sections of the world's working class. When we explained how internationalists would carry on the struggle against the war, against Stalin and in defense of the Soviet Union, they became so interested that it was an hour before we could even think of leaving. They, like other workers, have been repelled and puzzled watching the counter-revolutionary performances of Stalinism, but until we told them about the Leninist way of fighting, their own doubts and questions had no realistic answer. The fact that Stalin has made a bid for the use of German slave-labor has not reached many of these workers. When they hear about this, they burn with indignation."

"Among our new readers in Rochester are:"

- Kodak 20, Teamsters 16, Shoe Mfg. 7, Radio parts 7, Optical Instr. 10, Garment 20, Railroad 5

The Trail-Blazers are on their way to Buffalo for a few days, after which they plan to go to Pittsburgh.

Columnist V. Grey Speaks in Toledo

TOLEDO, April 17—An enthusiastic audience, mostly auto workers, heard V. Grey speak at the Toledo Sunday evening forum in the headquarters of the Toledo branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Comrade Grey, author of The Militant column, "Shop Talks on Socialism" spoke on "The Socialist Future of Man-Kind."

Many readers of Comrade Grey's column had been asking for a personal appearance and several who had never before attended the forums came down to hear him talk. Comrade Grey told what life would be like under socialism with the tremendous productive resources at our command. He explained what could have been done with all the production of the last five years if it had been applied to socially necessary needs instead of for war. He called upon his listeners to join in the fight that will assure a future with no wars and where the workers will rule society for the benefit of all.

After his lecture there was a lively question and discussion period in which many of the workers present participated.

WHERE YOU CAN BUY THE 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

- AKRON: News Exchange, 51 S. Main. Militant Bookshop, Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street, Rm. 405. CHICAGO: 51st St. L Station; Ceshinsky's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St.; University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 63 W. Randolph. NEWARK: Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave.

Advertisement for 'YOUR STANDARD OF LIVING' by C. Charles, featuring a silhouette of a person and the Pioneer Publishers logo.

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

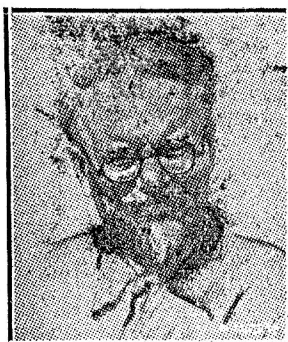
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Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy. — Leon Trotsky

Voice Of The Future

In reviewing the momentous events that have transpired since May Day 1944, one historic development stands forth like a towering mountain peak. That is the re-emergence throughout this world of capitalist war and terror of the Trotskyist Fourth International—the workingclass combat parties of international revolutionary socialism.

The press and radio of the warring imperialist powers may blare forth the triumphs and conquests of their statesmen and generals, the pomp and show of their military parleys and "peace" conferences. These are but the transient achievements of power and privilege. Above their boasts and lies, the murderous thunder of their bombs and shells, sounds the clarion voice of the Fourth International—"Workers of the World Unite!" That is the enduring voice of the future.

So on this May Day 1945, we Trotskyists of the United States record with joy and pride the news of our comrades and cothinkers which in the past year has finally broken through the walls of terror and censorship—the news that throughout Europe and in the vast colonies of Allied imperialism the Trotskyist cadres have emerged stronger despite abominable persecutions. They are reorganizing and strengthening their ranks. They have remained true and loyal to the tested principles of Trotskyism and its program. They are taking their places everywhere at the head of the workers' struggle for socialist emancipation.

Only during the past year—after five long years of confident waiting—did we learn that the Trotskyist movement in Europe had survived under the bestial terrorism of the Nazi conquerors, though hundreds of our comrades were murdered. We heard at last that in February 1944 in France, under the very noses of the Gestapo, parties and groups of the Fourth International from France, Germany, Spain, Greece and Belgium, had convened a European conference.

From France we also heard the account of the fusion of the Trotskyists into the International Communist Party and its glorious role in the August 1944 Paris insurrection. In Italy, the Trotskyist cadres have drawn together to form the Workers Communist Party, whose paper, "Il Militante" (The Militant), is carrying the message of Trotskyism to the rebellious masses. Only a few weeks ago we reported the activities of our Belgian comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party on behalf of the miners' and longshoremen's struggles. In Britain, the Revolutionary Communist Party has withstood the test of persecution and the imprisonment of four of its leaders because of its aid to striking workers. And Churchill himself has publicly hurled his sharpest epithets and basest slanders at the Greek Trotskyists in the forefront of the fight against imperialist domination and capitalist reaction.

And what has taken place in Europe has had its counterpart in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. From India, where millions have starved and died under the savage rule of British imperialism, the Trotskyists have sent forth their publications and documents. They have formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Ceylon and Burma—firm and incorruptible fighters for the principles of the Fourth International. The roll is long—South Africa, Egypt, Australia, Ireland, Canada, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Chile—from all the continents we have at last received the papers and direct messages of solidarity that tell us: The Fourth International lives! It is growing! It will triumph!

This is what we proudly record on May Day 1945. This—the one sure hope of the war-weary masses everywhere—that there is a world party of revolutionary socialism whose ideas are so invincible that no power can destroy it.

No Idle Factories!

From reports filtering through from all sections of the country we learn that steady streams of workers are being "disemployed" by cutbacks in war production. These streams of "disemployment" will soon become a torrent of mass unemployment as thousands of feeder plants begin to feel the full impact of the shutdown of large war production units. In the meantime the government is following a policy of hearing nothing, saying nothing, and doing nothing about the human side of "demobilization."

The only "plans" thus far enacted by Congress are designed wholly to protect the interests of Big Business. Legislation has been adopted providing immediate cash payment to the cost-plus patriots upon the termination of their war contracts. The tax laws have been framed to permit the profit-hogs to deduct taxes sufficient to guarantee a handsome profit even though they fail to produce a single commodity. They may shut down their plants but their profits are maintained by grants from the public treasury. In addition, the corporations have accumulated huge capital reserves, the largest in history, to tide them over the "reconversion" period.

That is why little complaint is heard from the Wall Street plunderbund and their associated freebooters about cutbacks and plant shutdowns. In fact, they are all for it! Written into their basic "post-war" plan, the Baruch-Hancock blueprint for the preservation of monopoly capitalism, is the following clause: "No Government operation of surplus war plants in competition with private industry." This is the cornerstone of all "post-war" planning of the Administration and Congress. It is the "sacred principle" of the profit system.

This dictum imposes on the workers the obligation of finding a "private" master in order to earn a livelihood. It decrees that the labor power of the worker shall be employed ONLY under conditions where it produces profits for a boss. In order to "preserve" this system, plants are shut down, production is curtailed, unemployment mounts, while tens of millions remain ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clad.

But the overwhelming majority of the people have no interest in preserving a system which brings poverty, insecurity and want in the midst of potential abundance. The vast industrial apparatus built during the war at public expense can become the key to the future if the masses insist that there shall be no idle factories as long as there are idle workers. The labor organizations must demand the uninterrupted operation of all government-owned plants and equipment under workers' control of production to provide jobs for all and consumer's goods for the people.

The New 'Militant'

With this issue *The Militant* becomes an eight-page paper! This significant event in the history of American Trotskyism is part of the successful expansion program of the Socialist Workers Party adopted at its 11th national convention last November.

The publication of a bigger and better *Militant* testifies to the vitality and growing influence of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. It is also the most forceful of answers to the persecution of the Socialist Workers Party by the capitalist government at Washington for its political views and opposition to the imperialist war-makers.

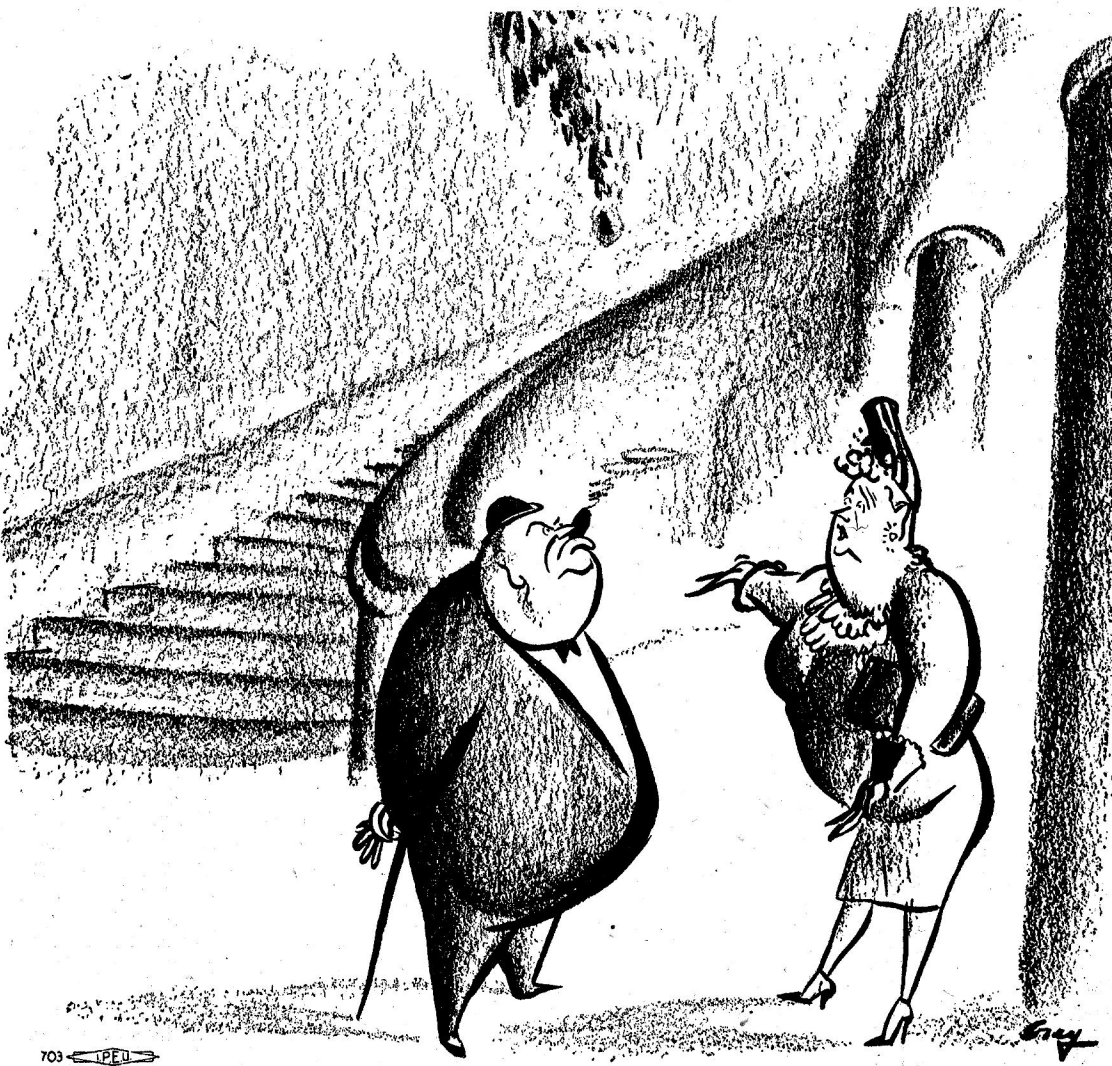
The frameup conviction and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist leaders did not stifle the voice of revolutionary socialism, as the enemies of labor hoped it would. Instead the SWP members rallied around their banner with increased fervor and devotion. A host of new friends were made for the Trotskyist movement, many new members were recruited. Today the voice of Trotskyism is heard in the factories, neighborhoods, mines and mills from coast to coast!

The best proof of this is the rapidly growing response of the workers to *The Militant's* message. In our first extensive subscription campaign last spring—soon after the 18 had been railroaded to prison—7614 new subscribers were obtained, more than double the set goal of 3000. In the present subscription drive, with five weeks yet to go, 11,860 more readers have already been gained for the paper. Each day's mail brings to our office letters from new worker-readers, expressing their enthusiasm for *The Militant* and enclosing additional subscriptions for their shopmates and friends.

The Militant's widening popularity comes from the program it advocates—a program of irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist exploiters of all countries, their wars, oppression, and imperialist "peace" plans.

The American workers today face ever greater problems created by wartime shortages, frozen wages and rapidly rising living costs. They are threatened with unemployment and hunger as war-production slackens. They are seeking a political solution to their needs. More and more workers are turning toward the Trotskyist program of revolutionary socialism, the only program which can inspire and lead them to the abolition of capitalism and the socialist reconstruction of society.

The new eight-page *Militant* will be a far more effective educator of these workers in the ideas of socialism. It will also become the most valuable of guides in their coming struggles against the bosses and their agents.



"But with the housing shortage this is the best I could do!"

WORKERS' FORUM

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

"The Clink of Golden Dollars"

Editor: Enclosed find a piece of information that was taken from the November 1944 issue of *Fortune*. The article deals with the problem of post-war shipping and what is to be done with the surplus of ships that will face the shipowners following the end of hostilities. They present numerous ideas, such as scrapping the surplus at the expense of the taxpayer, put them "on ice" in preparation for World War III, use as many as possible to corner the world market. In looking for the best solution they search for every means for increasing their already tremendous swollen profits. (Naturally the question of aiding the seamen or supplying them with jobs is completely ignored — they have other plans — to smash the unions as soon as they can.) They even wax eloquent in their dreams of a post-war heaven — a heaven of dollars and more dollars. L. R. Hussa, Vice-President of Albina Engine and Machine works of Portland, Ore., says:

"The spirit of America from ocean to ocean, can be alive with the odor of spices, the bite of salt spray, the chuckle of winds across the decks and the heart throbs of a multitude of engines. And, what to us is the most pleasing of all, the clink of the flow of golden dollars." No seaman I'm sure ever felt so romantic and it's a certainty they never hear "the clink of golden dollars."

Eddie Shea, New York

Anti-Labor Interests Spread Anti-Semitism

Editor: The rapidly mounting anti-Semitic prejudice that from all accounts is sweeping the country is certainly evident here in Buffalo. In the Hertel district, where a section of the relatively small Jewish population in the city lives, a number of violent incidents, directed primarily against Jewish youths, have occurred. The latest one took place just a short time ago when a gang of young hoodlums provoked a bloody fight with Jewish youngsters coming out of a neighborhood theater. Mose serious, however, is the growth of anti-Semitic ideas among workers in the plants. Frequently now we hear workers blame all their misfortunes on the Jews—"The Jews are profiting by the war—The Jews own everything—Maybe Hitler was right about the Jews," etc.

The rapid increase in prejudice against minority groups such as the Jews and Negroes cannot be explained solely by the thoughtless habit of people to blame them for the economic and social problems arising out of the war. A year or so ago when in one major city after another, violent attacks on the Negroes took place, it was revealed that fascist groups, well supplied with funds by powerful industrial interests, were behind these attacks. These same groups are also fomenting anti-Semitism. Their connections and resources

are tremendous, with sections of the press and radio spouting a torrent of rumors and lies about the Jews.

It is much more than a coincidence that these fascist groups are always anti-labor and that their financial backers are always anti-labor big business interests. Workers must understand that the aim of these groups is to turn the dissatisfaction of the workers away from the bosses who are responsible for the low wages and high prices and place the blame for these conditions on minority groups not powerful enough to defend themselves.

Workers must be shown that the purpose of the Fascists is to preserve the profit system while the working class exhausts itself fighting among its own ranks on racial and religious issues. Once divided and confused, the workers will be easy pickings for the bosses to set up their fascist rule of terror against all the workers. This was the pattern used by Hitler. From this same pattern the American fascists and their big business backers are tracing out the development of a native fascist movement. The Militant is doing a magnificent job in fighting Negro dis-

crimination and Jim Crow. It also has a sterling record of achievements in fighting anti-Semitism in the past. Today *The Militant* can make an additional contribution in this necessary fight. It can expose the lie, widely believed, that "The Jews have all the money." It can make known the great part played by the Jewish workers in the building of the labor movement in this country. I might add that it could publicize the little-known fact that the majority of the Jews in the United States are workers.

B. G. Buffalo

The Workers Want To Read the Truth

Editor: I never heard of *The Militant* until I picked up a few sheets of it that someone else had. And after reading it I was surprised to know that *The Militant* is able to print the truth about what goes on in this country today. The capitalist newspapers try to keep as much truth away from the people as possible. After reading your newspaper I found out that freedom of the press does not prevail in capitalistic news. *The Militant* news is the news that the working man must read because the working man today wants to read the truth. He also wants to read news that expresses HIS feelings, opinions and views. He doesn't want to hear about the troubles of the poor, poor capitalist.

The capitalist "never done nothing" for the working man unless he knew it would profit him. Anything that the worker got from the capitalist you'll find that the workers had to put up a stiff battle to get. So keep printing the truth, because the people today no longer want to be kept ignorant. To keep a man ignorant, he must not know the truth. The more ignorant the people, the more profit to the capitalist.

R. A. Alloggio Allentown, Pa.

"Still Time to Die"

Editor: I have just finished reading the American war correspondent Belden's "Still Time to Die," after having it brought to my attention by Li Fu-jen's review in the *Fourth International*. As usual, I found reading it worthwhile, as has been the case with almost every book suggested in either *The Militant* or *Fourth International*. Though the book does not come to any clear-cut revolutionary conclusions, it does stimulate readers to think by exposing the war in its present stage. Therefore why not carry a short review of it in *The Militant*, which reaches a much greater number of people? Parts of the first and last chapters might be reprinted as in the *Fourth International*. I feel sure that many *Militant* readers would be thankful for having it brought to their attention.

F. B. Detroit

Briggs Union Answers Boss Lies to Soldiers

The big business press recently had an anti-labor field day republishing and commenting upon a letter attacking strikers written by Pvt. Robert Stone, a notorious Stalinist who was formerly on the CIO United Automobile Workers' International payroll.

This letter had been sent to R. J. Thomas and George Addes, top officers of the union, and was first published in the April 15 *United Automobile Workers*.

But the corporation kept press hasn't seen fit to publish another letter, sent by Detroit Briggs Local 212, UAW-CIO, to all its members in the armed forces. Recently Local 212 was forced to strike for 10 days after 15 of its leading committeemen and shop stewards were fired. The Local 212 letter, signed by G. Klare Kurth, recording secretary, answers the type of propaganda fed the soldiers and reflected in Pvt. Stone's letter.

"You are, no doubt, in the dark concerning the recent wave of work stoppages in the Detroit area," says the Local 212 letter. "In the first place, this is a nation-wide move on the part of the manufacturers to bust the labor movement and to beat down the wages before we go into peace-time production. They are a very well organized group with unlimited resources and legal help. They also know that this is a most opportune time to strike this blow—building up ill-feeling between the servicemen and the unions."

The letter further explains: "Here are a few facts that I believe you should know. Since September 1944 Briggs alone have laid off 12,000 workers in their Detroit plants. In January 75% of the skilled trades division were laid off. . . . At the present time there are 30,000 people on unemployment compensation in Detroit alone."

"You never hear about the companies closing down for 10 days for inventory. You also never hear about the wage structure being lower than it was during automobile production and the cost of living being up 42%. . . . If the work week was cut to 40 hours 90% of the people could not live and support families. . . . Don't be misled by the press. Why won't the post office let us send you the union papers the same as the *Detroit News*, *Times* and *Free Press*? Why do they make us fold it in an envelope and send it first class? The government only lets you get the information it wants you to get. Do you know that Briggs made 8 million dollars last year?"

Wartime Advertising Pays In Lower Corporate Taxes

One of the big wartime rackets is the hundreds of millions spent by big corporations on "good will" advertising for products that the people can't buy. Huge sums have been spent—which are deductible from tax returns.

Advertising Age recently published the sums spent in 1943 and 1944 by the largest advertisers in magazines, network radio and national farm publications. These are the figures:

Advertiser	1944	1943
Procter & Gamble	\$18,956,615	\$15,501,236
General Foods	13,880,784	11,730,650
General Motors	12,013,778	10,130,409
Lever Bros.	11,067,749	8,449,107
Sterling Drug	9,423,941	8,669,431
General Mills	7,942,290	7,454,223
Colgate-Palmolive-Peet	6,426,669	5,290,563
American Home Products	6,369,612	5,731,917
Liggett & Myers	6,020,742	5,847,693
General Electric	5,617,205	5,103,115
Coca-Cola	5,245,379	5,037,143
Miles Laboratories	5,226,865	4,057,957
American Tobacco	5,172,378	5,653,176

"Strategic Advertising," a pamphlet issued by a Cambridge, Mass. advertising agency, advises profit-bloated companies to buy expanded advertising at an 85% per cent discount. Thus, comments Colston Warne, in his "The Scandal of Wartime Advertising" published by the *People's Lobby Bulletin*, "The advertiser can engage in 'strategic bombing' of postwar markets while depriving the Government of excess profits taxes."

Dump Government Plants In Ocean, Say Monopolists

What's going to happen to the billions worth of government-built plants in the coming period? Surplus War Property Board Chairman Guy Gillette, testified a couple of weeks ago before the Senate Small Business Committee about the real plans of the monopolists for the "disposal" of vast government-owned plants.

He disclosed that many of these plants had been deliberately designed and located by government servants of the corporations so they could not be utilized after the war. This was to remove them from production and aid the monopolies which thrive on limitation of production.

He stated: "These plants have been installed . . . either by accident, necessity, or, unfortunately in some case, by design, or were located and established so they would not enter the competitive field after the conclusion of hostilities."

"I think the latter reason prevailed in many instances," bluntly declared Senator Ellender of Louisiana. When one Senator tried to protest against this indictment of "big interests," Senator Ellender pointed out: "The companies may not have had anything to do with it, but WFB and other agencies of the Government are checkful of their representatives, and they are the ones that make the decisions."

The companies whose representatives make the war production decisions are now also making the decisions about "reconversion" to civilian production. They are out to "blow under" a tremendous portion of the productive facilities.

The promise of 60,000,000 jobs under monopoly capitalism is lying demagogy. The only way in which a real beginning can be made toward providing full employment is by the operation of all the government-built plants in the basic industries through a program of planned production under workers' control.