"The History Of American Trotskyism"

- SEE PAGE 6 -

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Labor Leaders Denounce Vinson's

BEAD MEN

LIVE MEN

VOL. IX—No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1945

Capitalism in War and Peace

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Mine Strikers Win \$1.37 Daily Wage Increase

MAY 19. — The fighting policy of the coal miners has won another major victory. After a three-week strike during which not an ounce of anthracite was mined to swell the profits of the operators, the 72,000 hard coal miners of the United Mine Workers today secured an agreement on a new contract granting average wage increases of an estimated \$1.37½ per day.

By Larissa Reed

rope ended, thousands of vet-

This was an increase of 1,300

Trying to explain away the

present unemployment among

over the previous week. Now,

Most of the increase will come@from portal-to-portal pay for travel time inside the mines. This was the issue on which the operators stalled, even after the recent favorable decision on portal-to-portal pay by the U.S. Supreme Court. The mine owners' greed precipitated and prolonged the strike.

They were aided in this by the Truman administration which ex- Even before the war in Euerted all the governmental pressure it dared in order to whip the erans were tramping the streets miners back into the pits before in search of jobs. Veterans Adacontract was signed. The mines were "seized" two days after the ministration figures for the strike began on May 1. An ultimatum was issued ordering a re- 28,992 veterans who applied turn to work by the following for jobs were given instead un-Monday. This ultimatum was ig- employment relief payments.

Attorney General Biddle admitted he had sent FBI agents into the Pennsylvania had a complete the into the Pennsylvania hard coal Committee "is worried" befields in an attempt to get "evi- cause "at least 2,000,000 vetdence" of violation of the Smith- erans will be poured into the Connally anti-strike law. He labor market." This means milfurther admitted with "regret" lions more will soon be trampthat he could uncover nothing ing the streets in search of jobs. which could be used "legally" to railroad any miners to jail.

The miners had taken the pre- the veterans of World War II caution to vote for strike under Frank Newcomer, veterans' repthe provisions of the Smith-Con- resentative of the United States nally act. They had walked out Employment Service, stated that to a man on the expiration of "the men were dissatisfied with their old contract, without any the jobs offered and refused to formal urging of their leaders. take them." He complained The act provides penalties only "Veterans coming back today for "encouraging and inciting" a have a fantastic idea of what strike ca property under governy jobs are paying."

ment control. Secretary of Interior Ickes "FREEDOM FROM WANT" claims credit for the final com- But where did the soldiers get promise terms of the new con- this "fantastic idea?" Accordtract. He, however, was the one ing to Newcomer himself, they who issued most of the bluster- "hear greatly exaggerated stoing threats against the miners, ries regarding present pay by into break their strike and dustry." This is corroborated by discredit them through the daily a Memphis USES official who press and radio. Ickes is trying stated last month: "They read to save face and claim credit for in the newspapers, magazines, and gains the miners won for them- radio about the enormous wages selves through hard struggle and war plant workers are pulling down." The fact is, the soldiers their unbreakable solidarity.

The administration and its War abroad were told these lies about Labor Board, as in the case of high wages in order to discredit the previous victory of the soft the workers at h o m e who coal miners, are trying to cover were striving for a living wage up the extent of the concessions and decent working conditions. to the hard coal miners by claim-ing that these are within the and "disgruntled" when they ing Little Steel formula. But as salaries." the N. Y. Times, May 20, sadly affirmed, a "violation of the Lit- that veterans "want to have betnically avoided." The top leaders of the CIO and begin with, the soldiers who were

(Continued on page 2)

huge profits of the meat trusts.

this committee were:

of hogs.

President Truman's appoint-

tee had recommended in a May only to favored customers. Most

ministrator for food be created are open only one or two hours to have supervision over both the a day. Office of Price Administration But, according to W. B. Court- against the "wage freeze" which Court of Los Angeles by Myra and the War Food Administra- ney, writing in the May 12 and is supposedly based on a stable Tanner Weiss, Socialist Worktion." Other recommendations of 19 issues of Collier's magazine, price system. But now the Sen-Raising the support price hoof and in refrigerators - in mits that "the OPA has failed

to feeders through a higher sub-3. Changes in the Price Con- people of the United States face cost of living, which were issued cialist Workers Party in coopertrol act to give to the processors the most critical sugar famine last March to justify the wage- ation with the Southern Califorof cattle a "reasonable margin of | in their history," said O. H. Lam- | freeze, were fraudulent. The | nia branch of the American Civil The Senate Committee's re- Co., sugar brokers, on May 17. AFL-CIO charges on the falsity A broadcast prepared by Comcommendations, like those of a Like the meat packers, the sugar of these figures which were based rade Weiss for April 1 was cen- flagrant political censorship. is in the same boat. He has at their posts but aren't work-

producers is the central point of the "new" meat control program

announced May 18 by Fred M. Vinson, director of the Office

of War Mobilization and recently-appointed food czar. This is

the fourth time this year that meat subsidy payments have been

15 report that "a supreme ad- butcher shops in New York City

similar Food Investigating Com- brokers have also been crying on the claim that OPA had main- sored by the radio station offimittee of the House, are meant about their alleged losses in tained price ceilings. markets in the country. Most of posite. "The greatest improve- the "wage freeze" is to continue. 31 Comrade Weiss was informed action of Station KFAC.

increased. In the face of the greatest meat shortage in the country's history, the Administration's one idea is to guarantee the ment of Vinson was made after the available meat is sold at the Senate Agricultural Commit- black market prices — and then

Mr. Newcomer also complains

before entering the services." To

(Continued on page 2)

Propose Fatter Profits

2. An increase in the return before.'

Serious shortages in sugar and

Payment of higher subsidies to meat packers and cattle 9ment was in the sugar refining industry where five companies reported combined earnings of year's total of \$8,155,445," the report states.

piled up during the war by the food trusts - and Vinson's program promises even higher profits for them. But the wages of sorship of a radio speech by the workers are still "frozen." a broadcasting station during a For the past four years, trade political campaign was instiunionists have been struggling tuted this week in the Federal "There is more meat - on the ate Agricultural Committee adthe United States now than ever miserably to enforce price and ration control regulation."

eggs have also developed. "The Labor Statistics figures on the vin Smith, was filed by the Soborn, president of Lamborn & Senate committee confirms the Liberties Union.

\$12,348,138 for 1944, an increase of 61 per cent over the previous Sues Radio Station Tremendous profits have been The first suit filed in any fed-

eral court in the United States ten. for damages for unlawful ceners Party candidate for mayor in the April primaries.

The suit, seeking damages totalling \$6,000 against radio sta-This means that the Bureau of tion KFAC and its manager, Cal-

LOS ANGELES, May 19. - I that her speech could not be broadcast as the script was writ-

> The station stated that Mrs. date for the Los Angeles City | been in vain?" Council, and that her broadcast would be permitted only if she omitted sections dealing with the candidacy of Charlotta Bass. on March 31.

appeared from millions of legal Times of May 7, is quite the op- the OPA price control program, by political candidates. On March the fight against the arbitrary be told. Some are not anxious the courts.

Fraudulent 'Reconversion' Report Disprove His False Figures On Coming Layoffs, Pay Cuts

Unionists Seek Shorter Work Week, Higher Wages to Hold Jobs and 'Take Home' Pay

By Art Preis

War Mobilization and Reconversion Director Fred Vinson's report on the economic outlook for the workers and returning veterans, analyzed in last week's Militant, has touched off a volley of protest from virtually all sections of organized labor.

Army Discharge Plan Discriminates deliberately distorts the **Against Negroes**

The Army's point system for demobilization in Europe was time, it offers not a single detail characterized as "the rankest kind of discrimination" against Negro servicemen overseas at a to Vinson's vague and misleading mass meeting in San Francisco optimism was expressed by Ted on May 13. Edgar G. Brown, F. Silvey, chairman of the CIO's Chairman of the National Negro Council, which sponsored charged on May 12 that Vinson's the meeting charged that "99 report "gives no cognizance of per cent of the Negroes in the overseas armies will be the last to return home."

setup of the Army the 80 perg flood of unemployment."
cent Negro troops who are forc- Vinson's extremely conservations. ed to serve in labor battalions figures on cut-backs, Silvey and noncombatant units will be declared, are "inaccurate and unable to obtain points for com- thoroughly discredited" as "every hat service. Moreover, the General Staff of the Army has an- knows." nounced that there will be a great need in the Pacific area for CIO PROTESTS the "service troops" who build Many of the service troops will, military

against under this release plan. unemployment from the house-"Because of the segregation pol- tops." icy of the Army, the units must remain all-Negro," McAlpin which he attempted to minimize points out, so that even those the tremendous decline in weekly Negro troops "with sufficient earnings facing the workers, CIO credits for release will have to wait for 'Negro' replacements."

It is charged that Vinson's report conceals more than it reveals. It prospects for employment and gives only glib reassurances and unsubstantiated "estimates" about the real extent of war production cutbacks. At the same of a genuine program to maintain employment and wages.

The reaction of the CIO leaders Reconversion Committee. He the possible deep cutbacks and cancellation of war orders right now being determined by the military which are about to Because of the rigid Jim descend on the country in a rush-

> Vinson's extremely conservative informed person in Washington

"It is ridiculous to use these the airports, harbors and bases. figures," said Silvey, "which the procurement therefore, be shipped directly to themselves know to be wrong, and in some pollyanna manner Harry McAlpin, writing in the expect that unemployment will May 19 issue of the New York somehow or other work out all Negro paper, The Amsterdam right if we don't talk much about News, says that even Negro com- it. But the CIO will talk about it bat troops will be discriminated and shout the danger of mass

Following Vinson's report, in

(Continued on page 3)

The above cartoon which first appeared in THE MILITANT of Sept. 9, 1944 has been reproduced in the labor press of a num-

International Rivalries Grow Following Defeat Of Germany

By Li Fu-jen

LIVE PLANTS

DEAD PLANTS

Now that German imperialism has been eliminated as a formal limits of the wage-freez- come back and "don't get big factor in the relationships of the Big Powers, the ground has been cleared for a reassertion of international rivalries and antagonisms which were thrust into the background by the exigentle Steel formula" is only "tech- ter jobs than the ones they held cies of the military alliance against Hitler's Third Reich. A new relation of forces has been established on the international state, with the most powerful arena and is finding its first expression in growing friction between the Allied imperialists and the Soviet Union.

The gushing "friendliness" To "End" Food Shortage a conspicuous separation. Issues engendering friction and animo-

sity are multiplying. One does not have to seek far for the causes, which reside in the changed international position of the Soviet Union.

Germany's defeat has made the

Soviet Union the most powerful military forces, on the European continent. With the defeat of Japan, the Soviet Union will also Real Cause of the War emerge as the greatest power in which marked the period of the eastern Asia. Naturally, the im-Allied-Soviet alliance against perialists are worried. They did Eric A. Johnston, head of the Germany has all but disappear- not fight Germany in order to ed. Where hitherto the "Big have Stalin seize a large part of Three" were amicably coupled in the spoils of war and make the the capitalist press, we now see Soviet Union the master of Eur-

(Continued on page 4)

Urging the celebration of

out that responsibilty."

IN THE NEWS

Secretary of Navy Forrestal

on May 16 said that the United

States "will continue to bear re-

sponsibility for the security of

the Philippines and will have

to have bases and strategic areas

supporting those bases to carry

'Independence'

'National Foreign Trade Week,' U. S. Chamber of Commerce, on May 18 stated: "We Americans recognize the principle t h a t economic causes underlie almost every diplomatic and military

'Peace' Hits England

2,000 were declared "redundant" struck, causing a renewed stopno longer employed. Shouting page in the pits. "We want Work!," the demonstrators marched to Hyde Park from the plant in a west London general strike called by the suburb. They carried banners Weiss would not be permitted to with the slogans: "We produced ing the strike a large demonstracomment on her recommendation for war, we can produce for tion of strikers carring banners that listeners vote for Charlotta 'peace," and "Unemployment ap- and singing the "Internationale" Bass, independent Negro candi- peared in 1918 - has this war stormed the prefecture, broke

Not Anxious

Columnist Drew Pearson des-These expurgated portions of the cribed in his May 16 (N. Y. Mirspeech, giving critical support to ror) column why Allied leaders Mrs. Bass as a candidate of the are not rushing trials of Nazi oppressed Negro people, were and collaborationist leaders. enforce demands for "social republished in full by The Militant "Many oppose a trial of Laval. form." One was a protest at the He has a strongbox in a Madrid slowness of the government On April 7 The Militant re- bank, containing correspondence purge of former Vichyites. ported Station KFAC's mutila- with various people, including Even prison and police guards tion of the broadcast and called the British, which will be scan- were involved in the walkout. Refor protest action against this dalous if made public Petain ports state that they "remained American Civil Liberties Union even a signed treaty with ing" and were refusing to open cials in direct violation of provi- attorneys are now cooperating Churchili... If Goering goes to the doors so prisoners could not to deal with the scandalous food scarcity. Meat has virtually dis-

STRIKE WAVE SWEEPS

By Harry Martell A wave of strikes is sweep-

ing through the "liberated" countries of Europe. Strikes in France last week brought the coal mines of the Northern Pas de Calais departments to a standstill. Immediately after-On May 17 in London, 8,000 ward workers in private railworkers of the Napier engineer- roads in the same mining areas

In Lyon and the whole Rhone department there was a one-day Rhone Federation of Labor. Durthrough an iron fence, invaded the building and demanded to see Ives Farge, the commissioner. They left only after the commissioner assured them of increases ir wages and food allowances.

In addition to wage and food demands the strike was called to

strikes by flour porters in markets, coal truckdrivers, printers, dockworkers, movie employes and ten thousand workers in social insurance offices. The latter strike has now spread to the provinces.

Delegations of workers appeared before Rene Pleven, Minister of Finance and National Economy, on May 20th in Paris protesting "insufficient pay. insufficient food and insufficient civil liberties." Despite wage increases, the delegations pointed

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COLUMNS AND FEATURES Trade Union Notes Diary of Steelworker The Negro Struggle Pioneer Paragraphs Shoptalks on Socialism Militant Army Pioneer Notes Workers Forum

Bethlehem Steel Workers At Lackawanna, TRADE N. Y., Strike Against Threat Of Layoffs

LACKAWANNA, N. Y., May 16. — After the biggest strike in this area for a generation, the Bethlehem Steel workers voted tonight to return to work. Memorial Auditorium here was so tightly packed that the overflow crowd streamed out onto the steps and sidewalk on Ridge Road.

The inevitable War Labor. Board order to return to work the big strike of February 27-28, was greeted with stubbornness 1941. All the thirty-odd open and antagonism. Only after the hearth furnaces, for example, most skillful persuasion by in- were cold. Six out of the seven ternational representatives and huge blast furnaces were idle. officials of the CIO Steel Work- The strip mill men had their ers, the WLB and military brass walkout at 5 A.M. Tuesday. hats and after three hours of Hardly a dozen workers scabbed. debate, did the men vote two to Yet four years ago the strike one to return to work with the was only fifty per cent effective still unsettled grievance in the there. hands of the WLB.

Friday, May 11, was provoked "I never thought so-and-so would by the lock-out of eighteen lime come out" was a common remark. leaders. The company last week The women were as solid as the cut two men from each shift of men. The big meeting Monday the lime and raw material work- night revealed a will to struggle ers, even though their total out- that has long been hidden under put was doubled because of "me- the surface. chanical improvements."

this job. They had loaded 24 cars ed that Thomas Knowlton of the daily. With the introduction of Regional WLB tell the body new machinery this output was whether he had the power to send that two men could be cut from the full crew of lime loaders go

WORKERS AROUSED

backs, layoffs and the near re- case under the old conditions turn to a five day week, the not under the new company plan workers of Bethlehem Steel of six to a shift. were in no mood to let this action go unchallenged. "We'll be cry, "We'll go back when 8 men workers. "If they get away with spiring demonstration of union this, what's to prevent them from | solidarity. Every union man felt cutting out the 3rd helper's job the importance of this issue. as they did when Montgomery was here?"

This was the feeling throughout the entire great sprawled- was obviously afraid to come out cut plant. It ran from shop to strongly in his back-to-work plea. shop like a burning fuse. The In fact, at no time did he conopen hearths shut down Satur- demn the men for going out. He increase after months of negotiations. day, the blast furnaces banked said several times what a splenup Sunday. Blast furnace work- did demonstration had been specialty shop went home early protest action of the men.

met and voted eight-to-one to to stay out, it became clear continue the strike. The meeting that only one of their own could razzed and booed district union turn the tide. This was done by pay taxes on their increase. I pay officials who suggested accept. Tim Smith, president of Local as much as \$8 to \$10 a week in panel to hear the case, and that ance of a back-to-work order 2603, well known in the past as taxes. That's because I work a decision will be handed down ly 5,000 of the plant's 11,000 was able to. He attacked the Intotal. But by Tuesday it had reached about 8,000.



48 pages, paper .15 Pioneer Publishers 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

The steelworkers themselves The strike, which began on were surprised at their power.

At the strikers' meeting to-There had formerly been three night, the very first rank and shifts of light workers apiece on file militant who spoke, demanddoubled. However, the company the original eight men (24 for planted a time-study clerk over three shifts) back to their jobs. the men. After a period of ob- And when Knowlton answered servation (spying) he decided "yes," the speaker demanded that back "as they were" and the whole membership would go back "as they were." And the WLB

said the blast furnace go back, not 6," It was an in-

BACK-TO-WORK PLEAS

Moloney, the district director,

ternational officials from Philip

with an appeal for retreat his attack on the no-strike pledge cents after two hours overtime did not seem very much to the work. point. In fact, McNichols from WLB ATTITUDE the International seized the op- In spiteful retaliation against

"Will you obey the government's nounced its plans to move into order to return to work?" It was the Empire State Building on significant that the overwhelming majority did not vote. This

On M was the Bethlehem Steel work- returned to work to permit the ers' first real tangle with the WLB to review the case, follow-War Labor Board and govern- ing an agreement between the mental machinery. They went back a little wiser from the first the Union on a new contract emlesson. And they went back with bodying the increase. their heads high.

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What the Future Holds



In the face of coming cutcou'd decide the merits of the case under the old conditions— Exploited Cleaning Women of six to a shift. This became the main battle cry, "We'll go back when 8 men Strike For Five-Cent Raise

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK, May 19. — Denied their demand for a five (1943) was 1,374,000 employes. cent an hour increase by the War Labor Board, the entire force of 130 cleaning women employed by the Empire State Building went on strike May 16. They formed in picket lines around all five entrances to the 102 story building, protesting the WLB decision when the Empire State management had agreed to the

Mrs. Margaret Lawlor, 604 W. 9ers reporting Monday turned staged. Neither he, Knowlton, nor three children, expressed the senaround and went home. The coke | Captain David Miller of the Ar- | timents of the women picketing oven workers, strip mill and my dared really to attack the the building: "I see the Congress- felt that the differential in pay men put themselves down for a But as speaker after speaker big expense bill and they're get- get 55 cents an hour and the On Monday night May 14, from the aroused rank and file ting it. But when it comes to us porters who get 71 cents an hour some 3,000 Bethlehem workers reflected the same determination poor people, we can't even get a living wage. And it seems the of work the women do. Congressmen won't even have to

Murray on down-attacked the mothers, 60 years old and more, The plant was shut down more | War Labor Board-attacked the | and many of them are mothers effectively than it was even in no-strike pledge—but wound up of men in the service. All are members of Local 32-J, AFL Whatever Smith's intention Building Service Employes Unwas, the tide was turned, and ion. In addition to the five cents several speakers from his local an hour increase, they are detook the same general line. Even manding a food allowance of 50

portunity to remind the men that the striking women, the WLB, the pledge was still in effect. which refused the demand on the Both he and district director Mo- ground that it was "contrary to loney used Smith's statement "We the provisions of the wage stabmust retreat" to heighten the ilization act," stated that "the confusion caused by the back-to- case would be put on the bottom work appeal dressed up in mil- of the pile" of appeals now beitant language, Army and Navy fore the Board. This meant a despeakers near the close of the lay of at least several days in discussion urged the men to obey consideration of the case. Pretheir leaders and return to work. vious to the strike, the WLB The vote to go back was 602 which now has its regional office to 308. The ballot was worded at 220 East 42nd St., had an-

> On May 17 the cleaning women Empire State management and

"We are confident of success,"

140th St., New York, who has said Mr. Albert E. Perry, vicepresident and business manager of Local 32-J. "We have always

"It is my understanding that the Board is setting up a special next Tuesday. Furthermore we ry since it is entirely inadequate

Veterans Discover Jobs Hard to Get

(Continued from page 1)

drafted into the war were led to expect some rewards for themselves. Moreover, N e w c o m e r points out "A large number of veterans such as radio operators and airplane mechanics had acquired certain technical skills while in service and were fitted for better jobs." But now they are told they "desire places above their newly learned skills" and must go where they "belong" -to low-paid jobs or starvation.

Another "excuse" for veterans' unemployment, according to USES, is that "veterans have a natural desire to work near home and there are no jobs in their home communities." This, it seems, is particularly true iarge cities, such as New York. But if a veteran can't get a job in a big industrial city, what guarantee is there that he can get one in a small town? And what will happen to the veterans who come back to the small towns? Evidently the penniless veterans are supposed to uproot their families and cart them off to "another area" in search of a possible job that is likely to fold up under them in the huge impending industrial crisis ahead, when millions of both veterans and civilian workers will be dumped into the unemployed

Meanwhile, Mr. Newcomer sums up complacently: "The veterans are just shopping around for jobs... they have every right to do this." Yes, under capitalist anarchy, they have every right to hunt for work at decent wages while their families suffer. This is the only right they have. This is the real reward of their participation in the war which was going to bring them "freedom from want"

at the

and "freedom from fear."

IN MINNEAPOLIS

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POSTWAR JOB PROSPECT RAILROAD INDUSTRY

By John Russo

Great praise is being heaped ipon the railway workers and the "Iron Horse" for their mitaculous performances in the transportation field during this war. Despite this the prospect of the railway industry under capitalism in maintaining employment after the war for its more than a million employes is none too bright.

In the late 1880's and early 1900's it was practically every boy's ambition to work for the railroad despite long hours and strenuous work. The expansion and development of the rail industry was rapid. The peak in employment came in 1920 when 2,075,886 employes were on the

From 1920 to 1929 the employment figures remained fairly stable because of the power American capitalism was able to wield after the last war at the expense of impoverished Europe. From 1929 on there was a steady decline in employment which reached the lowest ebb in 1938 when 958,280 employes were listed. The artificial stimulation of prosperity due to the Second World War has given the railroads another lease on life. But even with the war it has not reached the employment figure of 1920. The latest figure available

LESS LABOR NEEDED

But one must note carefully the difference in employment and understand fully how the situation in 1920 differs from that of more recent years. In 1920 locomotives in service on all railroads numbered about 69,000 and carried 2,427,622,267 tons of freight and more than a million and a quarter passengers.

From 1920 to 1925 the freight in tons carried remained fairly even and locomotives in service remained about the same. Yet in 1925 this task was performed with about 300,000 fewer e

pulling power of the steam locoance of a back-to-work order telegraphed by the WLB. Inspired by this big demonstration, spired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else tured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by the WLB. Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the Inspired by this big demonstration, as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to the plant's 11,000 wertime. But I can't take care hope that our struggle in this case will result in breaking the motives was becoming more and overtime. And all of us work plenty hard for our money—12 hours a night for all the cleaners in the industry, since it is entirely inadequate sands of locomotives. sands of locomotives. ocomotives in service less labor AFL who spat their strikebreak-

> The figures show then that in (75,000 less than in 1920), one million MORE tons of freight was hauled with 400,000 FEWER

DISMAL FUTURE

Improvements continued after 1929 and the competition from the then young trucking industry compelled more improvements. The figures show that by the end of 1941 when all previous records were broken 44,375 locomotives carried more freight than in any previous year.

The employment figures of 1941 are listed as 1,159,025. Contrast these figures with the peak year of 1920. More freight was hauled in 1941 with about 45 per cent less labor power and about 30 per cent fewer locomotives. The dismal future for full employment under capitalism in the railroad industry is evident. Competition after the war will come not only from the trucking industry but also from aviation.

If the rate of development in the improvement of the pulling power of locomotives prior to the war meant less jobs, the rate of decline in employment will become more rapid after the war when the railroads begin to cut expenses to the bone.

problem is government ownership of the railroads and their operation under workers' control.

The only solution to this whole



War-Profits and Layoffs

Turning out airplanes for the government on a cost-plus basis is a highly profitable enterprise. Lawrence D. Bell, president of Bell Aircraft Corporation, for instance, informed well-pleased stockholders on May 14 that net earnings for 1944 had risen to \$3,756,-975. Split up among the owners, this juicy take paid each share \$9.53. In 1943 net profits after all

tax deductions amounted to \$3,062,414, a shake down of \$7.77 for each share. The books of the corporation now list current assets at \$87,746,-561. Mr. Bell appeared optimistic over continued future profits for the stockholders since the backlog of unfilled orders at the end of the first quarter of 1945 was in excess of \$500,000,000.

P. S.-Bell has been laying off workers by the thousands.

Hard Coal Miners Constant improvement in the Win Pay Increase **Bv 3-Week Strike**

(Continued from page 1)

ists openly played the bosses' game and publicly velled "treason" against the magnificent and courageous battle of the miners.

From first to last, the miners showed the only way to win for labor. They didn't enter negotiations meekly pleading they didn't intend to strike. Their leaders were armed in advance with an overwhelming strike vote.

When the old contract terminated, the miners permitted neither the operators nor the government to stall and intimidate them. They shut off the operators' profits by closing the mines down tight. Then they had the guts and will to stick it out. All labor owes the miners a debt of gratitude. That debt can be paid by following the miners' inspiring example.

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Thomas' Bright Idea

After fumbling around with the problem of employment for the thousands to be laid off with United Automobile Workers finally burst into print with an back to work. inspiration."

The government claims it has no more war contracts for this now beginning to feel in position government-owned plant. Henry to revert to the pre-war pattern Ford, who operated it most pro- of pressure on striking workers. fitably during the war, says it That is the threat that a jobless would be a white elephant to worker is standing outside the him. So Thomas proposed on May gate waiting for your job and if 15 in Detroit that Henry J. you strike you are merely Kaiser, shipbuilding tycoon and "quitting" to make room for an government contract promoter, eager job applicant. ouy up the plant and produce automobiles.

Evidently, Thomas has swalowed without even chewing the myth about Kaiser, the "indus- bend in order to lick the boots trial genius." That "genius" of the employers and capitalist consisted exclusively of the abili- government, is a question being ty to wangle new plants and asked more and more frequently profitable contracts out of the these days. government. On that basis, just two of his west coast ship- East Side Tool & Die Local 155, yards. Even Thomas himself, UAW-CIO, before the emergenwhom no one describes as a ge- cy meeting of nearly 40 local nius of any kind, could have done UAW presidents in Detroit, as much if the government had May 15. handed him the plants and stuffed the dough into his pockets, as it did with Kaiser.

that Kaiser the "industrial genius" has run dry in the shipyard industry with the turning off of the tap of government orders. He can't even provide jobs for the tens of thousands of shipvard workers he employed on war orders. Most of them will be on the street by the first of the year.

Why should Thomas ask that the government turn over the Willow Run plant, built with the fear that such "union propaganpeople's taxes, to some plutocratic profiteer like Kaiser? He ment relations"—thereby showcught to be shouting for the ing he prefers to expound the government to operate this and all other government-built plants to produce consumers goods. And he auto workers should control these plants to ensure their efficient and uninterrupted opera-

"Work Or Quit" Order

ers, members of the United Steel | ming of war, for many realize Workers, CIO, went on strike that at no time has peace ever last week at the Jones and provided an adequate number Laughlin Steel Corp., South Side of jobs for the workers. The talk plant in Pittsburgh.

the company didn't howl for the just talk and headlines ing venom against the miners' government to drive them back mean nothing to the worker strike two years ago this time to work. Instead it sent them in-1929 with 61,257 locomotives (75,000 less than in 1920). one remained silent. Their own ranks dividual telegrams to return to are seething and pressing for work within 24 hours or be considered as having "quit your which may again bring him Steel formula. Only the Stalin- job," and forfeiting "all vacation, unemployment and want."

pension, seniority and other

Just a short while ago the corporations and their government the thousands to be laid off with were insisting that a worker the closing of the huge Ford couldn't "quit" his job. There Thomas, president of the CIO was a job freeze, draft threats, even troops to force strikers

Evidently the corporations are

How Low Can They Go?

How low can the Stalinists

The answer can be seen in the Kaiser ran a \$100,000 investment statement of Stalinist John Anup to a profit of \$27,274,487 on derson, president of the Detroit

Anderson just spilled all over with the auto corporation pro-It's a funny thing, though, paganda about the high pay of to refute R. J. Thomas' absolutely correct statement that a return to the 40 hour week with no overtime pay would reduce average auto wages to around \$32 a week.

> Anderson called Thomas' statement, substantiated by t h e other local presidents present, "eyewash" and "union propaganda." He further expressed the corporation propaganda.

What Price "Peace"?

An editorial in the May 18 Toledo Union Journal, organ of 60,000 Northwest Ohio CIO members, states: "Today, to millions of American workers, the threat of sudden peace is almost Sixty-four soaking pit work- as terrifying as the sudden co-It's a sign of the times that of 60,000,000 jobs up to now is awaiting with misgivings the doubtful blessing of a peace

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NMU Leaders Squawk At Exposure

At the April 26th membership meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union in the Port of New York, the top Stalinist clique in the NMU raised a hysterical hue and cry over Trotskyism and The Militant. The best part of the three hour long meeting was turned over to ranting against the "Trotskyites."

The immediate occasion for their vicious and slanderous attack was the analysis of their highly |publicized "wage pro-gram" published in The Militant of April 28. Avoiding any attempt to answer any of the criticisms given in The Militant the Stalinist clique resorted to the timeworn device of dragging in the "red herring." No lie was too brazen nor any slander too outrageous to use in order to becloud the real issue and confuse the membership of the NMU.

This method has become quite familiar to the labor movement. Whether it be the United Mine Workers carrying out their famed slogan, "No contract, no work" Detroit seeking to defend their method at work. The mine workers, the auto workers and now the seamen who don't go for the Stalinist sell-out policies are labeled as "Trotskyite disrupters," so on, ad nauseum.

STALINIST TECHNIQUES

The frame-up practice of linking the militant sections of the labor movement with the hated fascists and reactionaries has become a trade mark of Stalinism throughout the world. It is the infamous "Moscow Trial" tech-

and their government boards. It answer. comes at a time when this leadership is trying with might and do them no good. They still must main to paralyze the NMU with answer the burning problems of a permanent no-strike pledge. the seamen's standard of living While they scream "Trotskyite" after the bonus cut. The memand give long-winded orations on bership will not tolerate for very Yalta, Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton ings with "Red Herring displays" Woods and Sleepy Hollow, they no matter how artistically done. prepare to kiss the hiring hall They are interested in knowing goodbye, throw the overtime how to get those \$200 "pork clauses of the contract over-board as "unnecessary," and in so much about.

general scuttle the hard-won conditions of the men who sail the

Joseph Curran, Joe Stack, Blackie Meyers, McKenzie, Ferdinand Smith and the other members of the top Stalinist committee in the NMU are attempting to intimidate and terrorize their critics inside and outside the NMU. Any rank and file seaman who hits the deck at a membership meeting to criticize the program or leadership of the Stalinist clique gets the full blast from the machine-men.

Long-winded, fast-talking and glib, they hold him up to ridicule, then blast him as a "Trotskyite." or the militant auto workers of Nine times out of ten the bewildered rank and filer never heard union against attack from with-in or without, there you find the in no unmistakable terms that he Stalinist frame-up and slander had better get in line — or else! \$200 "PORK CHOPS"

As the sharp problems of the postwar period come closer, the hysterical and frenzied attacks "fascists," "stool pigeons" and against militant critics of the Stalinist policy of unconditional surrender to the shipowners will increase. Not satisfied with trying to prevent the membership from expressing any opposition to their program and leadership, the Stalinist gang in the NMU attempts to keep them from reading any criticism. Now they slander The Militant for daring nique brought into the American to criticize them. Very likely, they will even attempt to pre-This present attack coincides vent their membership from with the attempt of the Stalinist reading The Militant for fear leadership of the NMU to sell that it will raise questions the the union to the ship operators NMU leaders do not and cannot

But terror and intimidation will "Trotskyite sabotage" of long the taking up of their meet-

Stalinist Slander Campaign In Chicago CIO Council Rebuffed

CHICAGO, May 15. A serious rebuff has been dealt the Stalinist minority in the CIO Council here by the recently-released report of John Brophy, Director of Industrial Union Councils for the national CIO, who completely rejected the scabby charges brought by the Stalinists against the leaders of the local council.

In an attempt to seize control of the council to put over their the anti-labor policies, the Stalinists sage of President Roosevelt, in have been conducting a vicious campaign of slander and disruption, culminating in the breaking up of a council meeting on March 15. The next day various Stalinist stooges on the local council executive board, including Louis Torre, Jack Spiegel, Morris Yanoff and Albert Glenn, wired CIO President Philip Murray complaining that the executive board majority, particularly Secretary Michael Mann, were "violating CIO policy" and creating a "growing crisis."

Murray designated Brophy to investigate the charges. Among the charges made against the Chicago council majority were that they had supported the Montgomery Ward strikers, opposed Roosevelt's proposal for a forced labor law, and refused to give financial aid to the faction of the United Automobile Workers which supported the nostrike pledge in the auto union's referendum last winter.

BROPHY'S REPORT

26, not only dismissed completely the dictates of the Stalinists, the Stalinist charges but indicated that it is the Stalinists themselves who have followed a course not only at variance with CHARGES BACKFIRE CIO policies but also reactionary and anti-labor.

Taking up the Stalinist comright in their opposition to Na- who laid them before me." tional Service Legislation," Brophy declared, "the criticisms are completely without foundation." He scored the "critics" who "apparently feel that the at the hearings that those oppos- of Silence Council should have gone on record unequivocally in support of

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spite of his call for National Service legislation." On the contrary, he commended Mann and

His report further gave an implied condemnation of the Stalinists' strikebreaking actions in ers at Long Island, New York. the Montgomery Ward strikes. Against the fink accusations of that issue."

The refusal of the council to only a pip-squeak. vote funds for the no-strike faction in the UAW was "fully well have violated the CIO rules ance of jobs. governing Councils."

attack, Brophy termed as "comthread" of Stalinist statements ed to the Stalinists "were 'anti-CIO,' to use the phrase which came up constantly, or were agents of groups within the CIO

whose purpose was to deliver it to its enemies." This was a di-

ordered the deferment of the meeting to make a lot more—promises. council elections for three months

Brewster "Sit-In" - June, 1944



Scene at the Brewster Aeronautical Company's Long Island, New York plant last spring when 13,500 workers staged a "sit-in" strike in protest against a plant-wide shutdown caused by sudden termination of a Navy contract. Their action focused attention on cut-backs and unemployment.

A PICTURE -- AND ITS LESSONS

An Editorial

Take a good look at the picture printed his supporters for upholding CIO above. It was first published in the June 10, policy in opposition to forced la- 1944 issue of The Militant. It is a scene during the dramatic two-day "sit-in" of some 13,-500 Brewster Aeronautical Corporation work-

That picture and similar ones were flashed the Stalinists, Brophy stated: "I across the front pages of the nation's entire retary were not only within their press just about a year ago. The day before rights in declaring their support this picture was taken, 13,500 workers faced for the Montgomery Ward em- immediate unemployment through the sudden been regarded remiss in their termination of a Navy contract. Hardly anyduty to organized labor had they one, outside of Brewster, knew about it. The failed to take a strong stand on press was silent. Washington was silent. The international union officials were letting out

Then the workers themselves did something. within CIO policy," Brophy stat- They took some united, militant ACTION. ed. Local councils, he said, "are They were members of Local 365, CIO United not permitted to intervene in the Automobile Workers, and they were not going internal affairs of their affiliates to be thrown into the streets on 72-hour noor their International unions." In tice without making a fight. What they did Brophy's report, dated April fact, if the council had followed was to "sit-in." They occupied the plant and Brophy pointed out, "it might refused to budge out of it without some assur-

Around the plant they threw a demonstration picket line. They carried banners pro-On a whole series of other claiming "Is This Post War Reconversion?" rigged charges, Brophy declared and "Is This What My Husband Is Fighting that "the accusations reflect, by For?" They draped big banners out of the plaint that the accused "took virtue of their inaccuracy and plant windows like "We're Sitting Tight, We positions which were too forth- their pettiness, upon the persons Want Work!" Down to the City Hall, Mayor LaGuardia's office, they sent a parade of sev-In summarizing the Stalinist eral hundred veterans of the last war and this.

pletely baseless" the "persistent Their Action Broke the Conspiracy

Within one day this militant action smashed the conspiracy of silence. From coast-to-coast their ACTION was headline news. Their top supposedly trying to destroy the union officials stopped sitting on their hands CIO, or were acting on behalf of and began shuttling back and forth between sinister forces outside the CIO the Brewster plant and Washington.

Administration spokesmen promised to push rect thrust at the frameup meth- legislation immediately through Congress for ods and slander which the Stalin- severance pay, unemployment compensation, ists invariably use against their etc. The War Production Board promised to progressive and militant oppon- take action on new contracts for Brewster. The ents within the labor movement. Navy Department promised to see about an-As a result of the disruption other contract to keep the plant going. A promcreated by the Stalinists, Brophy inent Senator was dispatched to the Brewster

And then along came Richard T. Franken-

steen, a UAW vice-president, who told the workers that they can "depend" on their "friend in the White House." That he was "convinced that the intervention of President Roosevelt, James F. Byrnes, a Senate subcommittee and other Federal officials would bring which R. J. Thomas added: "The early re-employment to the 13,500 employes facing dismissal."

That's the second lesson of this picture. The workers fell for these "promises." They took them for good coin. But the real purpose of these promises was to get them out of the plant by hook or crook, break up their organized mass action, scatter them, and weave together once more the torn web of the conspiracy of

Yes, the workers left the Brewster plant on the basis of the promises of capitalist politicians. And a month later, the United Automobile Worker, July 15, reported that only 500 Donald Montgomery, chairman of workers out of 13,500 retained jobs at Brewster. Many were forced to take work elsewhere mittee. at lower pay. Others are still walking the

What Labor Must Fight for Today

What happened a year ago at the Brewster plant now immediately confronts the workers in thousands of plants. The corporations, their government and their press are engaged in a conspiracy of silence or misinformation about the impending fate of millions, who are to be protect the workers from mass tossed on the wayside like so much scrap.

What must the workers do to avert this catastrophe? The Brewster experience provides some potent lessons.

The only way to break the conspiracy of silence and misinformation and force the government to take the necessary measures to avert unemployment and wage slashes is through INDEPENDENT UNION ACTION.

The workers must place no confidence whatsoever in the cheap promises of the capitalist politicians, seconded by the present top union officialdom.

Labor must fight for full employment and iob security for all workers and veterans. Its program must be: 1.) Reduce the work week, with no reduction in weekly earnings; 2.) No idle plants while there are any unemployed; 3.) Full operation by the government of all ployed in the past. government-owned plants under workers con-

Vinson's Report **Assailed As False By Union Leaders**

President Philip Murray on May 13 addressed a statement to Vinson reviving the CIO Steelworkers' demand for a general 17 cents an hour wage increase "and similar amounts in other industries.'

In fact, stated Murray, a 20 per cent increase in hourly wage rates would be the minimum necessary "simply to restore prewar relationships between wage rates, prices and productivity per

Under pressure of the hundreds of thousands of aroused auto workers in the Detroit area, R. J. Thomas, CIO United Automobile Workers president, Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president, and other auto union leaders, have added their voices to the growing clamor against the administration's hunger and unemployment program for labor, and priceboosting and fat tax rebates policy for the war profits-bloated orporations.

Reuther declared in a letter to Vinson on May 12 that the administration's "optimistic report . . . finds no confirmation in the current experience of automobile workers." He asserted that "sharp and disastrous curtailment of workers' spendings is the fact, now and in the immediate future - deflation of total spending power is not merely a prediction for the Detroit area, it is here." He recited the reduction in "takehome" pay of the Ford workers alone, whose weekly earnings have been cut \$2,500,000 by a return to the 40-hour week.

FALSE PROPAGANDA

Vinson's report, it is clear from the overwhelming testimony of all sections of organized labor, is part of a planned propaganda program to delude the workers and veterans about their imnediate future under "free enterorise" monopoly capitalism. A prize example of the nature of this propaganda campaign were the reports last week on "reconversion" plans in auto. On May 16 Washington officials

ssued a statement that the auto industry would need eight months to produce at a rate of 2,000,000 cars a year, "enough to make money." In 15 months, they would be producing at the rate of possibly 6,500,000 cars a year. On May 17, the War Production Board issued further details. 000 cars by the end of 1945; 450,000 cars within the next 12 months. But the next day, James

H. Marks, executive vice president of Packard Motor, termed the WPB's figures "a little misleading." They could turn out 200,000 or 450,000 cars "if the necessary materials can be obtained." which he "doubted." To cutlook for auto workers in Detroit is not promising."

OUTLOOK FOR BOSSES

But the outlook is most promising for the big banks and corporations. Truman and Morganthau have given their approval to an excess profits taxrebate and tax-cut program which will swell corporation coffers by six billions within the next two years. As for "price control," the new OPA policy announced last week is summed up in the phrase, "in case of doubt, raise prices," according to the CIO Cost of Living Com-

"OPA now changes the rule as every single item produced)," Economic Stabilizer Davis and WLB Chairman Taylor unanimously announce that the wage freeze continues indefinitely."

The top union leaders are not short of proposals on how to unemployment and big slashes in their "take-home" pay. The principal demand is for the spreading of work by reducing the work week and the maintenance of the workers' weekly incomes by a big increase in hourly wage rates.

ATEST DEMANDS

the auto union's program for a the Social-Democratic role in 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay. It | World War I. is the essence of Murray's plea for a 17 cents an hour increase in steel.

Today Murray has no other way authority." of attempting to secure this demand than the demonstrably rankrupt methods he has em-

wages is accompanied with the demands.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky.

Emil pushed my beer over the bar. He said, "Here you are," and handed me forty-two dollars change, keeping the three cents for cashing the paycheck.

I raised the beer and took a drink. It was cold and clear, and was leaning on the bar, relaxing and enjoying it, thinking how good such little pleasures were after eight hours on the furnace. started to raise the glass again, when Jimmy, Tom, Reuben, and Gus Miller came in, Jimmy sputtering in indignation. "That lousy, cheap Harry," he said.

The others were grinning at his anger. I grinned too. "What's he matter with Harry?"

Tom said. "Jimmy thought Harry was going to buy him a drink, and Harry wouldn't do it." Jimmy scowled. "I ain't begging. I got money.'

"Don't let Harry hear you say all those things about him," Reuben warned. "He's liable to beat the life out of you. He's a big man." Jimmy snorted. "Big! Why he's

just as scary as he is cheap. What do I care how big he is?" Jimmy turned to me. "These

guys are kidding, but I'm really sore. That damn, cheap Harry is out in front right now, waiting for a ride home, but he won't come in here and cash his check just for fear he'll have to spend a few cents."

"Well, Jimmy," I said. "Don't forget Harry has a lot of trouble

"Who hasn't?" Jimmy wanted to know. "Sure he's got troubles, but he can come out to work drunk sometimes and lay up and hide while somebody else does his work for him, can't he? Give these

guys another beer," he added, turning to Emil. "Well, Jimmy," I said, "you can't just look at it that way." Jimmy said, "Baloney," and Gus Miller said, "You can't argue

with Jimmy about Harry." Once more Jimmy's voice came to us, muffled and hollow as he spoke into the half empty glass of beer. "The damn cheapskate."

Afterwards I couldn't get that little incident out of my mind because, in a way, I always have liked Harry.

What's the Trouble With Harry

Harry's a weak man. Physically big and strong, his interior is spongy with fear. Harry is "scary," as all the fellows say whenever the sparks and iron and cinder are flying about the furnace floor. He is scary as he drills out the tapping hole; scary as he puts the pipe in to burn it the rest of the way. The fellows don't like that. They aren't scary themselves.

And Harry is "cheap," as the gang was telling me. He won't spend a penny with the gang. He won't buy a beer for himself when you're around for fear he'll have to buy you one; and yet he's always at your shoulder for a chew of your tobacco.

"And then he'll come in drunk!" Jimmy says. It's not the idea that Harry gets drunk. That's just something that happens, like eating, or paying taxes, or wearing clothes. It's just a part of life. Let him come in drunk sometimes if he wants; that's his business. But if he can afford to come in drunk, why can't he afford to spend twenty cents buying a beer for two other guys sometimes?

It's not hard to figure out, although I can't seem to convince Jimmy. Harry says, "The old woman's sick-been in her bed all year and had two operations already. I got to do all the housework and cook for the kids and pay for the doctor."

He doesn't tell you that every now and then he has to cut loose and go on a little tear. He doesn't say how guilty he feels Actually its plan called for 200,- when he sobers up and realizes that he spent a few dollars on whisky, nor does he mention the fact that he won't spend a penny buying drinks for any of the rest of us, because he needs every penny he can get, and more too, for his own family.

And of course the poor guy never tells anyone that he really is scared up on the furnace floor. Some people just can't get used to all that fire; but Harry can't afford to quit and lose all his seniority.

He's just another example of a guy, an ordinary guy, that capitalism has wrecked and made kind of mean and cheap, because somehow he wasn't tough enough to take the jolts. It could happen to a lot of us if we ran into a string of bad breaks like Harry did. Too bad Jimmy can't get to see it this way.

DISCUSSIONS ON SOVIET UNION IN MAY 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

The May issue of Fourth In- | adopted by the European Conternational, now on sale, features a continuation of discussions on the Soviet Union which are taking place in many sections of the world Trotskyist movement. This month "The USSR and Stalinism" by a European comrade, Gabriel, anayzes the nature of the Soviet Union; the meaning of the sloto prices (to permit a profit on gan: "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union;" and the desaid Montgomery, "while Vinson, velopments within the USSR and its relations to the capitalist five-sixths of the globe dur-

ing the war. A discussion of the policies of the Stalinist parties during the war is reprinted from Quatrieme Internationale, theoretical organ of the 4th International European Executive Committee. Comrade capitulation of Stalinist parties in "Allied" capitalist nations to kind. the program of their ruling class. He describes the similarities and armament and the United States the differences between the Stal-This demand is expressed in inist role in World War II and pears in the Arsenal of Marx-Previous issues of Fourth In-

ternational published two theses

The latter demand was first assertion that "wage controls all fetters of national boundaries raised in the fall of 1943. It was must be maintained, at least until from the forces of production. stalled until January 1945, when V-J Day, if we are to maintain the WLB, under the late Presi- the no-strike pledge." Also the editors discusses the 4th Internadent Roosevelt, flatly rejected it. WLB must be given "greater tional movement on May Day

In short, Murray's demands and in Europe. those of the other union leaders are just plain bluff if they are national may be obtained for 20 not accompanied by a fighting cents, yearly subscription \$2, by

ference of the 4th International in January, 1944. This issue presents the section dealing with the Conference analysis of the Soviet Further information on the

Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held in New York last November is included in the May Fourth International: two statements by the SWP Political Committee and a presentation by Felix Morrow of the minority viewpoint on the European

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE "Socialism Reaffirmed," Lily

Roy's brilliant reply to an Indian follower of James Burnham, is concluded this month. The final installment discusses the Marxist conception of the historical necessity for overthrowing capitalism by the proletarian revo-Spero exposes the unprincipled lution to establish the socialist society which will free all man-

Leon Trotsky's article "Disof Europe," written in 1929, apism. Trotsky exposes the utopianism of capitalist attempts to unify Europe. He counterposes the working class solution, the Socialist United States of Europe, as the only means of removing

"Review of the Month" by the 1945 and the coming of "peace'

Single copies of Fourth Inter-Thus his latest bid for higher program which can enforce these writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Victors Renew Rivalries After Germany's Fall

hegemony in the East.

Austria. It also explains the from the United States. persistent refusal of Britain and America to recognize the puppet powers and the Soviet Union has regimes which Stalin has set up also been made manifest at the in Austria, Poland, Czechoslov- San Francisco conference of the akia, Hungary, Rumania and "United Nations." Here the Al-Bulgaria. The imperialist wolves lied delegations rallied their have their own plans for Europe numerous small satellite states and these plans conflict sharply for an overwhelming vote to de-

cuss in a further article, the egation against the admission of imperialists are compelled to re- a delegation of Stalin's puppet frain, if at all possible, from Polish government. Molotov plunging into a fresh war in thereupon made a demonstrative Europe at this time. It is knowl- exit from the conference. edge of this fact which has encouraged Stalin in his unbridled ANTI-SOVIET BLOC "expansionism" in Europe. The imperialists must now largely confine themselves to exerting if and when more forceful measures are contemplated.

Thus Washington and London ander, accuses Tito of using the methods of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan in seizing former Italian and Austrian territories. Churchill, in the British parliament, aims an oblique attack at the punishing the Hitlerites... if totalitarian or police governments were to take the place of the German invaders." (Churchill was not, of course, referring to puppet dictatorships set up by the Allies in Italy, Greece and Belgium, but to Stalin's puppet regimes in eastern Europe and the Balkans).

At the same time, reports have been appearing in the British press of alleged mistreatment by the Red Army of Allied soldiers liberated from German prison camps. There is also the tremendous furore raised over Stalin's arrest of the 16 Polish un- maneuver for as strong a posi- ing food." derground leaders. All this is tion as possible in anticipation of part of the propaganda build-up.



ope. They are not fighting Ja- ion. Shipments to the Soviet Unpan in order to establish Stalin's ion under Lend-Lease have totalled some \$9,000,000,000. Al-This explains the concern of though fighting in Europe has Washington and London over the ceased, the Soviet Union is still action of Stalin's Yugoslav pup- in dire need of aid from abroad, pet, Marshall Tito, in occupying especially in the matter of conthe Italian peninsula of Istria, sumers' goods. The Kremlin is including the highly strategic even now trying to secure an Adriatic port of Trieste, and the American loan of \$6,000,000,000 province of Carinthia in southern with which to finance imports

The friction between the Allied feat Molotov's attempt to trade For reasons which we shall dis- admission of the Argentine del-

there has been plainly manifested a tendency by the two big imdiplomatic and economic pres- perialist powers — United States lic opinion which will be needed observed by at least one observer at the San Francisco conference, I. F. Stone, correspondent for the newspaper PM. In the combine to demand withdrawal of May 4 issue of that paper he wrote that there was a "tend-British general, Sir Harold Alexence, which is very strong, if not of a group of West Virginia dominant, to regard the United miners. According to an Asso-Nations Conference on International Organization as a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc."

was not his opinion alone; that that "there would be little use in it was the opinion privately held pany store there. By May 17, "by some of the most astute more than 1,000 men were out. newspapermen here;" and that he "did not set this down on paper until I found confirmation in trustworthy official American quarters I cannot identify."

> To this, the correspondent added the following significant statement: "The main question in the minds of many State, War and Navy Dept. officials, and too many members of the American delegation, is the balance of forces between the USA and the USSR, an implied assumption that war between them is inevitthat conflict."

sure, Washington has announced Soviet Union and the imperial- are right! Men who are doing foods in their diets. In the de- now. Pork is the poor man's coordination committee including the imminent suspension, or at ists, especially the American im- exhausting physical work need pression days, before the out- meat. If the workers must eat British and American experts. least the drastic curtailment, of perialists, is a patent reality. more food—and, most particular—break of World War II, there pork, they want to eat "high up The government cabled Kyriakos But it is by no means the only istic international scene, will be

Just A Dream



ANTI-SOVIET BLOC Upon this and other issues there has been plainly manifested INO Meat - No Work! Say diplomatic and economic pressure on the Kremlin, while working to create an anti-Soviet publing to create an anti-Soviet public of the create and create an anti-Soviet public of the create an anti-Soviet public of the create and crea

By Grace Carlson

"No Meat - No Work!" This appears to be the slogan ciated Press dispatch, 200 men pointed out but they will not re- In 1944, the average per capita went on strike at Earling, West Virginia on May 11 because with vitamins and minerals, pro-Stone went on to say that this there was no meat in the com-William Blizzard, vice-presi-

dent of the United Mine Workers Union, District 17, said that this was the first mine to be closed down because of a lack of meat in company stores but he predicted that "there will be other shutdowns unless this situation is corrected." In giving the background of the strike situation, Blizzard said. "The menat Earling decided they could not work at their arduous duties unless meat is available . . . It is a fact that miners cannot work able and that it is our job to without sufficient strength-build

PROTEINS ESSENTIAL

Growing friction between the And the West Virginia miners reality. There are the counter- other sections of the population. ers who could not afford to buy not fatback and "chitlins." revolutionary aims held in com- Proteins are found in all kinds enough lean meat for themselves mon by the imperialists and the of cereals, nuts, and vegetables and their families. This was Kremlin. There is the continu-but first-class proteins are found particularly true of the Negro ing war against Japan. There only in foods of animal origin, workers of the South who rarely are dreaming about and talking is the rivalry between the Brit- that is, in meat, eggs and cheese. tasted any other kind of meat about and striking for! They for higher wages to meet the ish and American imperialists, as The West Virginia miners lined than salt pork. Although the av- want some good prime ribs of rising cost of living are spreadwell as the common front against themselves up with the best nu- erage per capita consumption of beef or maybe a tender sirloin ing to the provinces. In the past the Soviet Union which at pres- tritional experts when they de- meat from 1936 to 1939 was 125 steak or perhaps a juicy beef pot week prices in some cases douent unites them. These potent cided by their strike action to de- pounds, per year, which repre- roast. When they know that bled. Some commodities had disfactors, all part of the antagon- mand first-class protein food. sents a little more than two there's plenty of beef in the appeared from the markets be-

in Washington last year, giving ly more than a pound per week. hungry people what have been lightly called "energy foods" is not enough. These so-called energy foods- breads, cereals, other build broken-down tissues nor will they build muscles. Along teins are essentials in the diet. Proteins are the muscle-building, the tissue-building food.

"Any old protein" will not do, cheaper vegetable grain and nut they can afford to pay. In many protein foods lack one or more of the important chemicals called meat has just about disappeared market, has now lashed out with amino-acids which the body needs from the legal meat markets. for proper health. Only the animal protein foods have all of essential tissue-building these elements. No diet is a good diet unless it includes proper amounts of lean meat, eggs and cheese, Professor Cannon concluded.

ly, more protein food-than were millions of American work- on the hog"-roasts and chops, Varvaresso,, governor of the For, declared Professor Paul pounds per week, over half of country, but they're not getting cause of runs and queues famdiscussed in a further article Cannon of the University of Chi the workers averaged only 75 it, it makes them "fighting mad." iliar during the Nazi occupation

wages, due to the decrease in unemployment and the greatly cheap carbohydrates- will sat- lengthened work week, the workisfy hunger Professor Cannon ers have been buying more meat. meat consumption was 147 pounds. It almost goes without saying that the low-paid workers were not averaging this much

But, as more and more meat is going into the black market workers are again finding it im-Professor Cannon. The possible to find meat, at prices

Collier's, W. B. Courtney writes, "there are today more than 600 pounds of beef cattle grazing on the ranch lands or chomping in the feedlots and stockvards for this sound scientific advice, the this nation." And that's what the peared to be sending the country miners and other sections of the miners would like—their 600 toward another crisis. Because of working class have been trying pounds apiece of beef! Because cabinet differences the situation to include more high protein it's beef that the workers want was thrown into the hands of a

But it's beef that the miners onomic powers. cago at a nutritional conference pounds per year which is slight- Even as you and I!

Wave of Strikes Sweeps Through Western Europe (Continued from page 1)

out categories of workers earnng no more than \$70 a month. starvation wage for a married

It is also reported that under workers the official leaders of the General Confederation of Labor are threatening to declare strikes throughout the country to secure wage increases.

The strikes arise from three main grievances. Firstly, failure of wages to keep pace with soaring living costs; secondly, insufficient rations; thirdly, failure of the government to carry out its promised purge of all former Vi-

UNION OFFICIALS

With black markets in food and clothing completely out of control and with the prospect of anhomes facing the workers, both the government and the C.G.T. fear an even more serious wave of strikes and social unrest in the coming months. Thus far the strikes have taken place-without the backing or the approval of the leaders of the CGT.

CGT Secretary-General Leon ouhaux who recently returned rom imprisonment in Germany s using his personal influence to prevent strikes from spreading to vital industries but one of his aides declared that "empty stomachs won't listen to reason.' Jouhaux sold out the great sit-in With the increase in wartime strikes in France in June 1936

and the general strike of 1938. In Belgium strikes are continuing in the mining district and a general walkout is being threatened. One of the main points of the strikers' demands is cancellation of the civil "call-up" (conscription.) Where this "call-up" previously applied only to mining, trade, it is now being extended to all phases of the country's

The Social-Democratic premier, Achille Van Acker, who recently buckled under to threats of reactionaries when he proposed to centers, as in Earling, West Va., take measures against the black greater vigor at the workers. He has declared all strikes illegal for the duration of the "call-up" In an article in the May 19 and ordered the arrest of anyone promoting a strike.

CRISIS IN GREECE

In tortured Greece rapid price rises, spreading strikes and runs every man, woman and child in on a number of commodities ap-Greek bank and a notorious rovalist, to hasten back from London so he may be given full ec-

Strikes of workers in Athens began to reappear.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE by CHARLES JACKSON

"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself

Jewish Officer's Stand Against Jim Crow

To point out an important truth we reprint a letter published in the May, 1945 issue of The Crisis, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

To the Editor of the Crisis: I think you will experience the same thrill that I did in hearing the following story concerning interracial relationships.

A Major (name withheld), in the Medical Corps, stationed in the South Pacific area, recently returned home on leave. He stated that the GI's at his hospital were entirely devoid of racial feeling. The colored and white patients were side by side other freezing winter in unheated in the wards; they attended movies arm in arm; they ate in the same mess hall; they played cards; they indulged in all sports, and they played ping pong in the Red Cross recreation room.

SECRET ORDERS Not very long ago the officers

of the station were called to an urgent, important secret meeting. The Commanding Officer instructed them that the information to be divulged was secret. No word of this could be written to the States. The CO then instructed his officers that two weeks from date the colored soldiers were to be segregated from the whites. They would occupy separate wards in the hospital; they would be seated in a ropedoff area at the movies: they would eat at separate tables or attend mess at a different time: they would not be permitted to indulge in sport activities with the whites. The CO then asked service. transport and part of the food for questions. One or two officers rose to ask questions of a technical nature.

The Major, about whom speak, belongs to a minority who had guts enough to make group (Jewish) himself. He this protest at great personal risk hesitated to be the first to pro- was Jewish. It is high time that test. It appeared as though the many guilty Negroes throw off meeting would be adjourned their foolish anti-Jewish prewithout a single protest when he judice. The real capitalist ruling rose to his feet.

He queried the CO:"Who gave this order?"

The CO answered: "I am not official order from a 'brass hat'." or verbal order?" CO: "Verbal order."

Major: "How binding is a ver-

CO: "It is an official order." Major: "Since the order is official, I, as a member of the armed forces, must obey. Moreover, I am aware that I shall not be able to write this incident in a letter since it will be censored. However, I wish to inform you that I shall make every determined effort to convey this outrage to the States by every means available. I also wish to remind you that patients and friends of mine are returning shortly to the States. I shall make it my business to report this situation to every liberal newspaper and magazine in the States. Furthermore, I shall immediately ask for transfer to a zone of operation where such prejudice does not

With these words he sat down, his face was scarlet and he was boiling within.

He expected his colleagues to rise to their feet and strengthen his words. Not one spoke. The meeting was adjourned

Ten days later the Commanding Officer called the Major to his office. He said: "Major, I'm sure you will be pleased to learn that the order concerning the colored men has been rescinded." It is my opinion that this friend of mine has rendered an invaluable and commendable

Bernard N. E. Cohn, M. D. Denver, Colorado March 30, 1945

It is significant that the officer class (of which only a small per cent are Jews) by its poisonous propaganda attempts to set the oppressed Negroes against the permitted to state, but it is an entire Jewish people just as they set the white workers against The major: "Is this a written the black. White, black, Jew or gentile - let's all struggle together as working people for our common protection and our common liberation.

Wall Street Agents To Govern Germany Who are the men appointed

by the Allies as governors over the German people? This question is of grave concern to the American labor movement. If the governors are reactionaries, they will try to save German imperialism from the wrath of the people. They will try to safeguard the dying capitalist system — the source of fascism and wars - from being overthrown by the German workers.

If, on the other hand the military rulers of Germany should permit the German labor movement to revive, the labor movement here would correspondingly find a new source of inspiration and strength. American Big Business understands this very thoroughly as can be seen from the choice of governors for the occupation of Germany.

Among these officers are a ists. These brass hats have been shaped from youth to carry out the wishes of Wall Street. Not a single one is a trade unionist. In fact their training includes ploying troops against workers on strike.

WALL STREET MEN Among the civilians appears

Robert D. Murphy, who is listed as political adviser to Eisenhower on German affairs. This Wall Street politician gained notoriety during the Spanish civil war. His sympathies were wholly with Franco, butcher of the Spanish working class. During the Second World War he backed such reactionary figures of the Vichy regime as Giraud. Nogues, Boisson and Pevrouton. It was Murphy who supported Darlan in North Africa, engineering a cynical deal with this Quisling that shocked the entire labor move-

Another civilian entrusted with rule over the German people is Lewis W. Douglas. He was formerly deputy administrator of the War Shipping Administration whose handling of billions of dollars of public funds has been singularly remunerative to the steel trust and various shipbuilding profiteers. As president of the Mutual Life Insurance Co., he is likewise an inside member of the life insurance trust.



MURPHY

This unsavory crew is reinforcnumber of professional militar- ed by Brig. Gen. William H. Draper, whose first concern is with German economics. His views on the labor movement may be judged from his successful career with the tactics and strategy of de- Dillon, Read & Co., powerful Wall Street banking and investment outfit. Draper has moved in the intimate circles of the Morgans. Rockefellers, duPonts, etc. since Such are Wall Street's Gauleit-

ers for Germany.

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Outcome Of Roosevelt's New Deal

By Felix Morrow

A glance at the AFL's unemployment chart shows graphically how the New Deal failed to find ways and means of permanently reviving American economy under peacetime conditions. From 1933 into the fall of 1937, the chart shows a slow fall in the number of unemployed, from 15 millions to under eight.

Then, suddenly, the line of the chart rises steeply, straight up to eleven millions and over. Toward the middle of 1938 it drops a little only, at the end of the year, to go up to over 11.5 millions. And it remains around 11 millions until war breaks out in Europe in the fall of 1939. And even with the first war production for Europe, it remains through most of 1940 above 10 millions. It does not drop below that point until production is underway on the United States' own war production, begun with 15 billion dollars' appropriations asked by Roosevelt after the fall of France in June 1940.

The significance of this picture of peacetime failure is even further enhanced if we keep in mind two facts. The AFL figures for unemployment were notoriously conservative. And from the very beginning of Roosevelt's administration production for war began-quite openly in the case of the navy-building program, and in numerous hidden forms: PWA and WPA building of airports and military roads and extension of military camps, etc.

On the eve of the outbreak of World War II, the United States presented a picture of economic stagnation which could be changed by nothing short of war. The pump-priming of the New Deal had failed to revive private investment in capital goods—the dynamic element of capitalist economy. Some figures will make this fact vivid. During the nine years of 1921-1929, some 71 billion dollars had been put into plant and equipment. During the nine years of 1930-1938, only 55 billion dollars had been put in.

Whereas capitalism requires a constantly increasing amount of investment in capital goods, the 1930's brought a decrease of nearly 25 per

Even more startling is one of the key figures of capital investment: housing construction. In this field, during 1921-1929, there was invested 36.7 billions. But in the 1930-1938 period, there was invested only 10 billions.

The result was enormous sums of idle capital. An article in the January 9, 1941 N. Y. Times showed the extent of this in the case of the chief money market, New York state. In 1929 New York banks and trust companies employed 57 per cent of their total resources in the form of loans to private enterprise; but in 1940 only 18 per cent of their resources were thus employed!

Signs of Capitalist Stagnation

Economic stagnation had reached the point where it was more profitable to lend money to the government (traditionally such loans had been least profitable) than to business. The president of the Central Hanover Bank, one of the financial giants, was authority for the fact (New York Times, January 10, 1941) that average return on commercial loans was 2.08 per cent, whereas interest rate on the federal debt stood at 2.58 per cent. Unable to find fields of investment, savings banks were paying only 1.5 per cent interest.

It was to break out of this economic stagnation that government spending far beyond government income had been begun in 1933. After eight years of the New Deal, the result was that the federal debt had risen from 22.5 billions in June 1933 to 49 billions in June 1941, without producing any basic change in the economic

Today, when the war has brought the federal debt to 300 billions, the earlier figures are dwarfed. But one must understand their full significance. In the first place, only the previous long generations of prosperity before 1929 had announced that Philadelphia was refusing to made possible the low figure of the federal debt as it stood when Roosevelt entered office. Thus Roosevelt's deficit spending was made possible only thanks to the previous prosperity.

But how long could it go on? After eight years, and more than doubling the federal debt, there was still an endless vista of economic stagnation and unemployment, and the consequent necessity of continuing federal deficit spending. Simple arithmetic made it obvious that it was impossible indefinitely to continue to pile up debt which generations yet unborn would have to pay.

Seek New Investment Fields

In a word, the total economic situation dictated finding another way out than that of the 1933-1940 New Deal. The way out for capitalism always means

finding new fields for private investment. Eight years had demonstrated that no such new fields were to be found within the United States. That meant the new fields would have to be found abroad.

Superficially, it might seem that the urgency of expanding abroad had been softened by the employment of millions on WPA (if one leaves aside the pressure of the growing federal debt). Perhaps this was so in the first years of the New Deal. By 1938, however, government spending on useful peacetime projects had become increasingly difficult and made all the more imperative the need for expansion abroad.

Government spending was largely limited to projects which in no way competed with private industry. This meant building roads, parkways, playgrounds, schools, hospitals, etc. which after completion had to be maintained by the local governments. But the latter, with their limited means of taxation, found it increasingly difficult to maintain the completed projects turned over to them. They were already slashing their school, highway and welfare budgets. In 1938 the WPA

accept projects which would put forty thousand men to work immediately. Other cities followed Hence indefinite continuation of government

spending on useful peacetime projects would have had to move increasingly into fields where it would compete with private industry. But this would come up against resistance from the capitalists. Could a capitalist government overcome such resistance? The record shows it did not. One alleged exception is the Tennessee Valley Authority and the other federal electricpower projects, which were bitterly resisted by the utility companies. But in the light of the aftermath, these power

projects take on a different meaning. They made possible the necessary expansion of war production, which the short-sighted policy of the utility companies would have rendered impossible. When the secret archives of the government and the great industrialists are opened, we may well find that the overriding needs of the coming war was the argument with which the government marshalled enough support to have its way against the private utilities.

New Deal Ends in War

In the end, then, government spending served as a further pressure to seek the expansion of private investments abroad which was dictated by the total economic situation.

Expansion where? Two fields had long beckoned: China and Latin America. But Japan was in China, and Great Britain and Germany were crowding US business in Latin America.

That is where the New Deal led—to the battle to make the Far Eastern and Latin American markets exclusive financial and commercial American preserves.

(This is the fifth of a series of articles on the role of Roosevelt.)

Allies Impose Barbarous Rule On German People

By Joseph Hansen

Twentieth century barbarism tightened its rule over Europe this week as the Allied conquerors began imposing their "peace" on Germany in accordance with the secret agreements of the Yalta conference. It is an ugly, sinister "peace," sentencing tens of millions of workers and poor people to slavery, starvation and death in order to satisfy the sordid aims of the Anglo-American profiteers and their accomplices in the Kremlin.

The Atlantic Charter which announced the signatories "seek Europe," was 90 per cent knockno aggrandizement, territorial or ed out. Other cities and manuother," has been thrown into the facturing centers were about 50 ashcan. Wall Street has taken per cent destroyed. Berlin, capiover "a sort of mandated Colony tal of Germany, once a modern in the center of Europe," to use city of 4,000,000, is "a lifeless the expression of Demaree Bess mound of debris.' in the Saturday Evening Post of Although the Anglo-American April 14. "The Russians and the imperialists have thus crushed British are to have similar inde- their main rival, they have no pendence in their respective wish to destroy capitalism in of portions of Germany was ments about dismantling Geragreed upon at Yalta, Mr. Bess many's war industries, they have reveals. The beneficiaries are to proceeded very cautiously. Acland, France and "other smaller R. Daniell, "The Ford factory countries."

south because this area is near- today." competed directly with British capitalism in Germany. industry."

Washington grabbed the mental hostility toward the Nazi port of Bremen.

Yalta communique."

CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

N. Y. Times. The caloric ration were supporters of the Hitler rehas been set at 1,150 per day gime." of bread). Not even this famine Allied policy is to retain "munilevel can be met, however, with- cipa, county and state governout importing supplies. Occupa- mental structures." That struction authorities have already cut ture however is the structure the British area revealed.

ers now in prison camps are not ified the non-fraternization order up against the Trotskyists. being returned to produce food | because we haven't found any deand the other necessities of life. cent people in Germany," cyni- ister of Air in the de Gaulle They are forced to repair roads, cally declared General Clay. hand tools outside of Germany. clearly aimed to suppress any Trotskyists. The April 26 issue of begin the struggle against the These slaves are doled 10 cents revolutionary tendencies of the L'Humanite, French Stalinist Nazi occupation in France, that two automobiles and kidnapping members of the Communist day in cash and 80 cents a day German workers. In the opinion newspaper, reports that Tillon La Verite was the first paper to the guard who had been on duty, Party. Among them a number an arbitrary manner at this n "credits," while their families of some commentators, a revolu- has turned over to a military be published illegally in opposi- Robert Sheldon Harte, a young had confessed to participation time? He is evidently deterface starvation at home.

The "iron control" of the Al- elop. more brutal than that imposed organized underground groups," of the state." Castandet, Flamieu ecuted by Nazi firing squads or by the Nazis on occupied coun- writes the Times correspondent and others are accused of having tries. All entertainment is out- James MacDonald (May 17) distributed leaflets published by lawed. Postal circulation is for- "... German soldiers, many of "Hitlerite Trotskyists" which bidden. Use of telephones is whom were straggling along had "the double aim of creating banned. The curfew is enforced, the highways wondering what to incidents among the population Travel is prohibited by any do and where to go, are still be- of the Parisian region and of means except foot and bicycle. ing held behind barbed-wire en- organizing a veritable provocafood remain closed. Millions are these soldiers go to work on the in a number of areas.

The Ruhr, the "great forge of two or three months."

Outright "annexation" Germany. Despite announceinclude Belgium, Holland, Po- cording to N. Y. Times reporter

at Cologne has received permis-England has taken over north- sion to resume operations bewestern Germany. This was cause, undamaged as it was by decided in secret at the sec- air attack, it was in a position ond Quebec conference, says Mr. to build trucks for Allied use. In Bess. "The British wanted north- fact, the first vehicle was schedern Germany rather than the uled to roll off the assembly line The miraculous presest to the British Isles, and also ervation of Henry Ford's propbecause it includes most of Ger- erty from Allied bombs is a conmany's raw materials and those crete illustration of Anglo-Amerheavy industries which have ican concern over maintaining

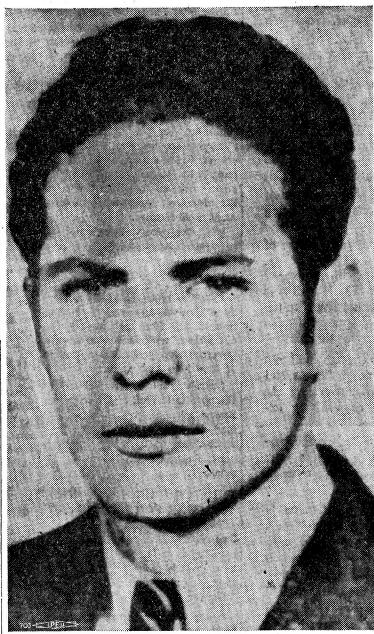
The Allies display no funda-

southwestern portion after the agents of German imperialism British agreed to American in spite of the propaganda that "control of railways running hopes to make scapegoats of the from the southern zone through notorious officials. "The emphthe British northern zone . . . So asis on expediency had tended to cur zone now included... a sort of override long-term considera-'Danzig Corridor' through the tions involved in retaining Nazis British area, together with the in key positions," says Daniell. "That condition is likely to conti-No time limit has been set on nue for some time, for there just the occupation. "Fifteen years," are not enough anti-Nazis readideclares Mr. Bess, "is the length ly accessible with technical skill cf time estimated as the mini- to take over. The Saar coal and mum required to achieve the pro- iron mines have reopened with gram roughly sketched in the 5,000 of the former workmen back on the job. The management consists pretty much of the same people who ran them as "There is going to be a grave feeders for the Nazi war indus-

"individual daily food consump- of the same German capital-

Germans face starvation this strictly enforcing their non-frawinter in the Ruhr alone," the ternization rule toward the tens Military Government director in of thousands of heroic anti-Nazi Germans released from concen-The millions of German work- tration camps. "We haven't mod-

Murdered By Stalin's GPU



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE 1915-1940

shortage of food in Germany try and who, to the knowledge of this winter," declares the May 20 Military Government officials, The colorie retire thas been set at 1,150 per day (about eleven and one-half slices of bread). Not even this famine. Alied policy is to retain "muni-

Beset by growing dissatisfac- | The French Trotskyists in their tion in the ranks of the Com- paper, La Verite, properly munist Party and among the branded these charges as lies and workers generally with the demanded the creation of an imtion to 1,007 calories," reports ism which produced Nazism. workers generally with the the Times of May 15. "4,000,000 Meanwhile the Allies are treacherous policy of submission to the de Gaulle government, the Stalinist bureaucrats in France are using their old methods of slander and frame-

> Charles Tillon, Stalinist Mingovernment, is the instigator of Allied policy in Germany is the latest frame-up against the

Shops outside of those handling closures. However . . . when tion against the Air Ministry." The Stalinist paper charges homeless and nothing is being land, in coal mines or on rail- that the Trotskyists are part of mass struggle against the big the orders of the Kremlin to guard. done about housing. Civilian un- roads, it is conceivable that an international organized from employment is rapidly spreading. they may try to form subversive Berlin, that they are associated Epidemic diseases are smoldering groups, and precautions are be with the Cagoulards, a secret ing taken to guard against seri- fascist organization in France, campaign of the Stalinists is Industry has been devastated, ous outbreaks within the next that Himmler provided money closely associated with the

agitates for an active policy of capitalist trusts. A few weeks ago it was clearly demonstrated how the frame-up from struggle to improve their conditions. On the orders of the same Stalinist Minister Tillon, the police arrested eight workers suburb of Colombes. These workwhich have been frozen by the

movement to investigate the

Stalinist accusations. Naturally

challenge, knowing that the find-

tortured and killed in Nazi con-

La Verite must still be published

is the only organization which

centration camps.

The charge of Trotskyism, so

their garrisons. A general strike only party which defends the inwas called in protest in Lebanon. terests of the workers; every In Damascus clashes took worker in a struggle for his

colors to quit and join the Syrian paper, and more recently the protest as a 'Hitlerite' provoca-army within a month. Young Socialists meeting in con-

STALIN'S MACHINE-GUN **ASSAULT ON TROTSKY**

By Paul Abbott

Among heroic struggles that stand out in history none was ever waged against greater odds than the struggle carried on by Leon Trotsky against Stalinism. On the one side he was a lone exile, hounded from country to country, without funds, without a press. Trotsky was singled out by world reaction as the object of its special hatred not only because he was co-founder with Lenin of the Soviet Union and organizer of the Red Army but because he remained true to the Communist program of world revolution. Trotsky then named people the

police should investigate: "It

that the former and present

the local director of the GPU.

portant and active GPU mem-

of the previous and the present

very much to throw light on the

instigators of the assassination

attempt and together with them

The Communist Party and the

ndividuals under its influence

such as Lombardo Toledano, the

head of the Mexican trade union

organization CTM, did their ut-

most to turn aside the investiga-

tion. They opened up a cam-

raign accusing Trotsky of com-

mitting "self-assault." In gross

contradiction to this thesis, they

SIQUEIROS

nounced they had solved

police, following the clues pro-

His body was then thrown into

Trotsky knew his life was in

mortal danger. Stalin would

the grave and covered.

Reprinted from "Excelsior"

discover their accomplices."

ARREST CP MEMBERS

On the other side was Stalin, sinister butcher of the generation which led the Russian revolution. The Cain in the Kremlin had at his disposal a mighty state apparatus, the armed forces, the courts, the GPU - largest and most ruthless secret service in the world, unlimited financial resources, and a diplomatic service able to command highly discirlined parties throughout the world. In this unequal battle Trotsky's objective was to tell the truth about Stalinism. Stalin's objective - to defame and murder Trotsky.

How many times Stalin attempted to take Trotsky's life before he finally succeeded will probably never be known until the Soviet workers overthrow the Stalin regime and open up the GPU archives. The attempt made just five years ago, on May 24, however, received great publicity, for it was a brazen assault in which one of Trotsky's young guards was murdered. Only a blunder on the part of the assassins spared the lives of Leon Trotsky and his wife Natalia.

ASSAULT AT NIGHT

At approximately four in the slandered the kidnapped Harte as morning Trotsky and his wife were awakened by a sound similar to exploding firecrackers. For a moment the revolutionary leader thought it to be in celebration of one of the frequent Mexican holidays. Then he realized it was machine gun fire. These revolutionists who had been persecuted so long by the GPU instantly realized it was the attempt they had been expecting.

They threw themselves out of bed and into a corner of the room, lying flat, as machine gun slugs criss-crossed over their beds, the fire coming through the door to the study on one side ganizations and the resistance and a barricaded French window to the patio on the other. The third door, opening on their grandson's room, burst open as the Stalinists ignored this the machine gun fire ceased. In the flames of an incendiary bomb ings of such a commission would Natalia Trotsky saw an assassin, pistol in hand, pour shot after ing he had "betrayed" his trust. completely expose the frame-up. The Trotskyists could easily shot into the beds they had just prove that they were the first to vacated. The GPU gang fled, stealing case. Under arrest were 27 charges.

tionary situation can swiftly dev- tribunal a certain "Castandet and tion to the Vichy-Nazi regime, member of the Socialist Workers and described how it was organ- mined to retain complete control "The Germans have not accomplices" who are charged that many members of the Trot- Party. What had happened was ized. The leader of the gang of Poland and he chooses this prove Stalin's treacherous arrest. lies, from all reports, sounds yet had time to form strongly with a "plot against the security skyist organization were expised together bit by bit. Dis- was none other than David A. method of openly flouting the Finally it would be shown that in illegality and the Trotskyist means they induced Harte to ted the crime. Mexican justice nevertheless, leave him in control cpen the doors. Pinning the however proved responsive to the of that country. Arresting the present. Internationalist Communist Party other guards in their rooms by pressure of the GPU and he was sixteen Poles who, at his invitamust function secretly because it short bursts of machine gun fire, the gang attempted to carry out murder Trotsky.

> TROTSKY EXPOSES GPU The Mexican police launched found the body of Robert Shel-

and plans for their work, etc., attempt to prevent the workers knowledge of the GPU assisted to a small cabin in the nearby final settlement. He will have are now in the clutches of the them enormously, On May 31 mountains. In the cellar a grave that much greater bargaining he explained in a release to the had been dug and filled with power. Creating a provisional Mexican press:

at the Amiot plant in the Paris affirm that the attempted assas- his wife. sination could only be instigated ers had demanded that the Gen- by the Kremlin; by Stalin one of the Stalinist gangsters, yield, in order to assure that he eaucracy and its puppet, the eral Confederation of Labor or- through the agency of the GPU the last of the GPU members keeps what he really wants. ganize action to raise wages abroad. During the last few with Harte were Luis and Leoyears, Stalin has shot hundreds poldo Arenal, well-known Stal- ALLIED OPPOSITION government. Stalinist party and of real or supposed friends of inists whose whereabouts to this trade union functionaries in this mine. He actually exterminated day remain unknown. One bul- American imperialism are deeply plant acted as fingermen for the plant acted as fingermen for the my entire family, except me, my let from a .38 caliber revolver concerned with Stalin's highly are for the masses of Poland The people of the Levantine police; the workers were arrested wife and one of my grandchildren. was fired into Harte's temple, independent attitude. There and for their unconditional right Through his agents abroad he assassinated one of the old leaders of the GPU, Ignace Reiss, ence from French imperialism. In indiscriminately used against who had publicly declared himthe very midst of discussions worker-militants inside and out- self a partisan of mine. This fact has been established by the now hesitate at nothing since his French police and the Swiss ju- hand had already been exposed

before the whole world as the "The same GPU agents who organizer of the May 24 assault. killed Reiss trailed my son in Trotsky likewise knew how great Paris. On the night of November were the odds. Nevertheless he 7, 1936, GPU agents broke into fought with all his energy to place between French troops and demands unconsciously practices the Scientific Institute of Paris expose the GPU. He could not and stole part of my archives. know that among the individuals set on fire. Seventeen persons of the Hispano, the Gnome, and Two of my secretaries, Erwin with access to the household, one Wolf and Rudolf Klement, were was a highly trained GPU agent. assassinated by the GPU; the He could not know that this infirst in Spain, the second in Pa- dividual a few months later on ris. All the theatrical Moscow August 20, 1940 would stand be-In Beirut, women participated in Stalinist leaders have no other trials during 1936-1937 had as hind his back, raise a pickaxe Journal Officiel (similar to the all subjection to French imperi-

STALINIST REPRESSION OF MASSES IN POLAND

By Albert Goldman

Stalin's ruthless and treacherous act in arresting sixteen representatives of the Polish underground affords an opportunity for the representatives of American and British imperialism and their hangers-on to shed copious tears and incidentally prepare the masses for a possible conflict with the Soviet Union. The cynicism of the Kremlin dictator in first inviting the Polish leaders to a conference and then arresting them is surpassed only by the hypocrisy of the spokesmen of American and British imperialism, who have not lifted and will not lift a finger on behalf of the thousands and tens of thousands of Polish and Jewish workers who have been deported by Stalin to the concentration camps of Siberia. Where were the protests of the

fficial representatives of the Inited States and Great Britain when Erlich and Alter, leaders of Jewish socialist workers, were cannot be doubted in the least arrested and murdered by Stalin? These Jewish socialist leaders chiefs of the CP know who is with a record of many years of service to the cause of socialism Permit me also to assume that were charged with being fascists David Alfaro Siquieros, who by the cynical GPU. Only their took part in the civil war in immediate friends and the revo Spain as an active Stalinist, may lutionary workers rejected the a so know who are the most imcharge as a slander and accused Stalin of murdering two of his bers, Spanish, Mexican and other conscious political opponents nationalities who are arriving at The officials who are now prodifferent times in Mexico, espetesting the arrest of the sixteen cially via Paris. The questioning Polish leaders of the official underground were then silent as the general secretary of the CP and also of Siqueiros, would help When Stalin, by agreement

with Hitler, seized the eastern part of Poland he deported tens of thousands of Jewish and Polish workers to the Soviet Union. Most of these deportees are still in his clutches. The capitalist press writes nothing about their fate; there is no hue and cry about their whereabouts. It is absolutely certain that when the Stalinist army drove the German army out of Poland more thousands of Polish workers were arrested by the GPU and deported. Stettinius and Eden did not bitions. It appears that both the see fit to lodge any protest in British and American Governfavor of the unknown workers ments have determined to show who were dealt such cruel blows Stalin that he should not count by Stalin's GPU.

STALIN'S MOTIVES

The Stalinists and their fellowtravellers are shouting to high only tolerate his own kind of dicheaven that the sixteen arrested tatorships). Foles are guilty of "diversionary activities." It was to be expected that the Stalinists would accuse any one they want to arrest for political reasons of being guilty of sabotage or some other crime allegedly committed against the Stalinist army. But if the charges are true why did it take the Stalinists so long to make them public? Why did they conceal the fact of the arrest for several weeks? As a general proposition it is safe to reject as a falsehood any charge made by "leader" of the assault, declar- the Stalinists against political opponents where the Stalinists On June 18 the police an- are unwilling to permit an im-

Why should Stalin act in such guised in police uniforms, the Siqueiros, whom Toledano had Allies to notify them that he in-GPU had surprised the Mexican defended as an "honor to Mex- tends to be master of Poland. It police guarding the Trotsky ico." Sigueiros went into hiding. is not of course excluded that ers. If there are any fascists household on the outskirts of Later when he was apprehended Stalin will compromise with the Coyocan. Then through some and brought into court, he admit- Allies but the compromise will, permitted to go free despite the tion, came to discuss a possible murder of Trotsky's 25-year old settlement of the Polish situation, gives Stalin an additional On the night of June 25 the trump card.

Stalin acts on the hypothesis vided by the Stalinist prisoners, that to grab as much as he pos- of Polish and Jewish workers sibly can, including Polish offi- who have been deported from an investigation. Trotsky's don Harte. He had been taken cials, can do him no harm in the Poland to the Soviet Union and lime, apparently in preparation government in Austria and seiz-"It is first of all necessary to for the bodies of Trotsky and ing, through Tito, the city of Trieste, can serve the same pur- mine their own fate. We have According to the confession of pose of giving him something to no trust in the Stalinist bur-

What Is the Fate Of Walter Held? While the Allied govern-

ments wait for Stalin to answer their inquiries concerning the fate of 16 Polish underground leaders arrested by the GPU, not a word has appeared in their press demanding to know the fate of Walter Held. The 16 Poles represent an exiled capitalist government. Walter Held was a revolutionary working class fighter.

Held and his family disappeared in the Soviet Union while en route from Sweden to refuge in the United States. Because of his militant opposition to Nazism, he had been persecuted by the Gestapo since Hitler's rise to power.

Erlich, one of the Polish Jewish socialist leaders murdered by Stalin, reported before his death that he shared a cell with Held at Saratov prison. All inquiries as to his subsequent fate have been met by silence and evasion on the part of the Stalinist officialdom.

on their continued yielding. That is the explanation of Churchill's warning that he will not tolerate totalitarian governments in Europe. (Churchill will of course

The firm note sent by London and Washington on the question of Trieste is another indication that British and American imperialism are not going to permit Stalin to have his own way everywhere. The incident of Stalin's arrest of the representatives of the Polish Underground has aroused a good deal of popular resentment. London and Washington are not slow to exploit this resentment in order to mobilize popular sentiment against the Soviet Union.

Class - conscious w o r k e r s absolutely independent of, and against, both Stalin and the British and American imperialists. We do not in the slightest apunderground movement, some of whom represent socialist workamong those arrested let Stalin prove it in an open trial, where labor representatives can be

If London and Washington concern themselves with the sixteen Polish officials let the world labor movement demand an accounting of Stalin about what has happened to the thousands

Let the world labor movement demand that the peoples of Poland be given the right to deter-Lublin Government. We have no trust in British and American imperialism and in the Lon-On the other hand British and don Government-in-exile. We another in back of his right ear. seems to be no limit to his am- to choose their own government.

Algeria

Africa ignited native hatred and cial legislation in force nor do opposition to their French over- the starvation wages which Mor- Syria lords on "V-E Day." Armed occans receive permit them to groups of Arabs marched into improve their standard of living. the town of Seif where they strate against the food shortage. the French officials. The leader of the group was Ferrit Abbas, President of the Mussulman delegation to the Algerian Finance

French troops were immediately repressive measures" taken. The local commander warned the native leaders that "he would not his disposal if the disorders oc- and foreign manufactured curred again."

The real situation in the North African colonies can be seen in Congressional Record) of the alism. ing the age of two."

says Paul Aurange, "today live Napoleon III." in a state of almost complete "Moslem Moroccans have army within a month.

nudity; men, women and children neither freedom of speech nor are in rags... Sanitary conditions freedom of assembly. No news-Acute food shortage in North are deplorable... There is no so- papers, no organizations."

"The Moroccan administration dream only of enriching themsel-They are reported to have killed ves as quickly as possible at the expense of their co-religionists... As far as education is concerned, there are only 27,000 students out of an urban population of one million and 8,000 students out of six million rural populaordered into action and "stern tion... Finally, nothing has been done to industrialize Morocco. Its economy has been conceived from the beginning as the recephesitate to use all the force at tacle for metropolitan (French)

goods." The political regime in North the following quotation from Africa is one of complete colon-"The Third Republic," French Consultative Assembly, says another deputy, "has not near east. Deputy Joanny Berliez states found the time in sixty-five years

states, Syria and Lebanon, have and imprisoned on their denunciaurged the population to demon- is composed of feudal cadres who once again taken to the streets to struggle for their independwith French negotiators over the side the Communist party, is terms of independence, French neither surprising nor completely

> demonstrators. French cars were Trotskyism. . . Thus the workers were wounded. Eight were killed the Jumo Factories were baptised and twenty-five wounded when as leftists or Trotskyists. . ." In French troops fired on workers order to beat back this growing. demonstrations in Aleppo homes. influence of "Trotskyism" the first instances of this kind in the ism" with "Hitlerism."

Meanwhile the Syrian Parlia- resorts to the grossest use of the vention in Bordeaux. In trade that "in Algeria out of 38 native to give the colonies a constitu- ment was considering a law sti- accusation of Hitlerism. Those union meetings, at the convention children who come into the tion... Their political statutes pulating the creation of a Syrian who are Hitlerites, according to of the young Communists, in world, 20 to 25 die before reach- were contained in their entirety Army formed by volunteers and this rag, include not only the branches of the French Comin the Royal decrees of Charles at the same time calling on all Trotskyists but also the editors munist Party it has become the "The masses of the people," X and in the senatus-consultes of Syrian nationals under French of Combat, the liberal 'Resistance' custom to brand the most timid

military authorities were landing incorrect, La Verite states. "The Trotskyists constitute the troops in Lebanon to reinforce

La Verite reports: "L'Humanite

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History Of American Trotskyism -- I

THE FIRST DAYS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

It seems rather appropriate, Comrades, to give a course of lectures on the history of American Trotskyism in this Labor Temple. It was right here in this auditorium at the beginning of our historic fight in 1928 that I made the first public speech in defense of Trotsky and the Russian Opposition, The speech was given not without some difficulties, for the Stalinists tried to break. up our meeting by physical force. But we managed to get through with it. Our public speaking activity as avowed Trotskyists really began here in this Labor Temple, thirteen, nearly fourteen, years ago.

No doubt, in reading the literature of the Trotskyist movement in this country, you frequently noted the repeated statements that we have no new revelation: Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practised in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist In-

Bolshevism A Restoration of Marxism

Bolshevism itself was also a revival, a restoration, of genuine Marxism after this doctrine had been corrupted by the opportunists of the Second International, who culminated their betrayal of the proletariat by supporting the imperialist governments in the World War of 1914-18. When you study the particular period I am going to speak about in this course—the last thirteen years—or any other period since the time of Marx and Engels, one thing is observable. That is, the uninterrupted continuity of the revolutionary Marxist movement.

Marxism has never lacked authentic representatives. Despite all perversions and betrayals which have disoriented the movement from time to time, a new force has always arisen, a new element has come forward to put it back on the right course; that is, on the course of orthodox Marxism. This was so in our case, too.

We are rooted in the past. Our movement which we call Trotskyism, now crystallized in the Socialist Workers Party, did not spring fullblown from nowhere. It arose directly from the Communist Party of the United States. The Communist Party itself grew out of the preceding movement, the Socialist Party, and, in part, the Industrial Workers of the World. It grew out of the movement of the revolutionary workers in America in the pre-war and wartime period.

The Communist Party, which took organiza-



James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and author of "The History of American Trotskyism," photographed as he spoke at the May Day 1945 meeting of the SWP held in New York at Webster Hall.

tional form in 1919, was originally the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. It was from the Socialist Party that the great body of Communist troops came. As a matter of fact, the formal launching of the Party in September 1919 was simply the organizational culmination of a protracted struggle inside the Socialist Party. There the program had been worked out and there, within the Socialist Party, the original cadres were shaped. This internal struggle eventually led to a split and the formation of a separate organization, the Communist Party.

First Years of American Communism

In the first years of the consolidation of the Communist movement—that is, you may say. from the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 until the organization of the Communist Party in this country two years later, and even for a year or two after that—the chief labor was the factional

struggle against opportunist socialism, then represented by the Socialist Party. That is almost always the case when a worker's political organization deteriorates and at the same time gives birth to a revolutionary wing. The struggle for the majority, for the consolidation of forces within the party, almost invariably limits the initial activity of a new movement to a rather narrow, intra-party struggle which does not end with the formal split.

The new party continues to seek proselytes in the old. It takes time for the new party to learn how to stand firmly on its own feet. Thus even after the formal split had taken place in 1919, through the force of inertia and habit and also because the fight was not really ended, the factional struggle continued. People remained in the Socialist Party who were undecided and who were the most likely candidates for the new party organization. The Communist Party concentrated

Two Ways To Handle Fascists --

Cases Of Goering And Mussolini

clarify doctrine and win over additional forces from the Socialist Party. Of course, as is almost invariably the case in such historical developments, this factional phase eventually gave way to direct activity in the class struggle, to recruitment of new forces and the development of the new organization on an entirely independent

Left Wing of Socialist Party

The Socialist Party Left Wing, which later became the Communist Party, was directly inspired by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Prior to that time American militants had very little opportunity to acquire a genu ne Marxist education. The leaders of the Socialist Party were not Marxists. The literature of Marxism printed in this country was quite meager and confined almost solely to the economic side of the doctrine. The Socialist Party was a heterogeneous body; its political activity, its agitation and propagandistic teachings were a terrible hodgepodge of all kinds of radical, revolutionary and reformist ideas. In those days before the last war, and even during the war, young militants coming to the party looking for a clear programmatic guide had a hard time finding it. They couldn't get it from the official leadership of the party which lacked serious knowledge of such things. The prominent heads of the Socialist Party were American counterparts of the opportunist leaders of the Social Democratic parties of Europe, only more ignorant and more contemptuous of theory. Consequently, despite their revolutionary impulses and spirit, the great mass of young militants of the American movement were able to learn little Marxism; and without Marxism it is impossible to have a consistent revolutionary

Bolshevik Revolution Changed Everything.

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia changed everything almost overnight. Here was demonstrated in action the conquest of power by the proletariat. As in every other country, the tremendous impact of this proletarian revolutionary victory shook our movement in America to its very foundation. The inspiration alone of the deed enormously strengthened the revolutionary wing of the party, gave the workers new hope and aroused new interest in those theoretical problems of revolution which had not received proper recognition before that time.

(This is the first installment of James P. Cannon's "History of American Trotskyism." The second installment will appear next week.)

By V. Grey =

Sometimes a fellow thinks he's not getting much brighter as time goes on. And sometimes he wonders how he's ever going to get smart enough to understand the theory of socialism. Karl Marx, Lenin and Trotsky seem like geniuses out of this world. And you can't even understand their words without a dictionary. At least that's the way it looks at first.

And you find yourself thinking, "Well, this socialism stuff is all right for college people and geniuses. But look at me. I only work for a living. I even fall asleep over a newspaper when I've had a hard day. How am I going to understand the books when I don't even read all the articles in The Militant?"

Well that reminds me of the first helper's job on the open hearth. You know, it wasn't so many years ago-just before we got the union, in fact—that a first helper made out that his job was like one of the mysteries of the Knights of Columbus. And nobody but him could understand it. That was in the days when the superintendent would put his boy friends in your job at the drop

If the second helper was a little brash and bold he might ask he aristocratic first helper to explain something about the job. But the answer was always "It can't be explained, my boy. It's too complicated. You'll understand after you're a first helper.'

That was pretty good! How could you ever get to be a first helper if no one could tell you the first thing about running the furnace? You would look into that furnace every day of your life and see the iron soup bubbling and blowing like the devil's own brew. But you never knew just what temperature to run the oil at to make the iron boil. That was one of the mysteries.

You'd shovel manganese into a flaming ladle in the pit when he "heat" was being tapped out. You'd hold your head down to keep your face from being burned-or try to. But no one ever told you what the manganese was for or why there was more one day and less another. Same with the silicon on the other side of the spout that you used to throw in when you were a third helper.

Read about it? That's a joke. You flop down on the davenport the minute you get home, and the one time you feel good at the end of the week, three shots go straight to your head, and you're done for on your day off, too.

HOW YOU WILL LEARN-AND TEACH OTHERS

You'd see the first helper shovel "spar" into the furnace every so often. It brought the slag to the top, somehow. But how much or how litt'e to use was one of the slick tricks of the trade. And he hugged all his instruments like a lioness watches her cubs. You'd watch him make notations on a scratch pad that looked like a cross between shorthand and Chinese arithmetic. You began to think you were just a dummy.

Well, after the union came in and seniority prevailed, after the first helper didn't have to worry that he was going to be kicked out for somebody's brother-in-law, some of the first helpers began to open up a little and teach the fellows a few things. Well that isn't the point, exact'y. The point is that the second helpers began to see that it wasn't such a mystery after all. And the theory was only something that corresponded to their own experience. It sort of lit up and clarified what they had already been thinking about.

That's the way it is with life, too. The class struggle bubbles and boils. And at first that seems to be quite a mystery to understand too. You see it every day of your life and take part in it yourself. Wars, depressions, wage-cuts-strikes, picket lines, revolu-

There's one big difference, though. First helpers like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are waiting eagerly in their books to explain the process. There are others in The Militant doing the same explaining the day-to-day fight as well as the coming struggle. The first helpers of the socialist revolution are anxious for you to be a first helper too. And you're going to find, as you make the first steps forward, that it's not such an impossible thing as you

You've already seen it a little when you've explained The Militant's position to a fellow worker. And later when the class struggle reaches the boiling point, you're going to step up front and tell dozens-maybe hundreds or thousands-of other working people how to turn the shapeless, boiling mass of revolutionary iron into the high quality steel of a workers' government. And in the process you'll find out you weren't so dumb as you thought.

CONDITIONS FOR THE VICTORY

OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

RANKIN SEEKS WHITEWASH IN VETS' HOSPITAL PROBE

By Grace Carlson

Headed by the reactionary poll-taxer Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, the House Committee on World War Veterans Legislation is attempting to convert its so-called in- and Milan ripped to shreds the vestigation of conditions in veterans' hospitals into a witch-hunt crafty camouflage which has against newspapermen, doctors and veterans who exposed the bad state of affairs in these institutions. The Committee's latest move was the indictment of Albert Deutsch, reporter for PM on May ture of the war. They knew 18. Deutsch was cited for "contempt of Congress" when he re- what "liberation" meant. In fused to reveal the names of doctors who had supplied him with North Africa it meant Darlan, information for a series of articles criticizing the treatment of French collaborator with the discharged servicemen in Veterans Administration hospitals. This whitewash of the Veter-De-

ans Administration was under- to announce two weeks ago that taken by the Rankin-led Com- the Committee would hold open and judges, policemen and admittee in order to head off an hearings on the charges made ministrators. In southern Italy "impartial investigation" into against the Veterans Adminis- it meant the King and Badoglio complaints of conditions in vet-tration. erans' hospitals proposed | late in March by Representative REPORTER INDICTED Philbin of Massachusetts. By a parliamentary maneuver Rankin had Philbin's motion killed and not permitted to give the facts their cities, the workers of North then announced that each member of his Committee would visit veterans' hospitals during the Easter recess to check up on conditions. At the same time he called Brigadier General Frank Hines, Administrator of Veterans Affairs before a closed session of his Committee and immediately afterward issued a statement complimenting Gen- motion for instituting criminal fallen in the struggle against the eral Hines for the manner in proceedings against Deutsch. fascist tyranny. It was a which veterans hospitals are op-

upon the members of Congress to March and April issues of Cos- howled. The powerful fury of an permit so cynical a whitewash of mopolitan, is also scheduled to aroused working class scared the Veterans Administration. Too testify before the Rankin Com- them half to death. These people many letters were pouring in mittee. A student of military who have ordered millions killed from veterans and members of their families complaining about Wounded Get Back," Maisel con- the Italian people being "primithe terrible conditions in the vet- trasts the skillful care given to tive," "uncivilized" and "unerans' hospitals. Rankin tried to wounded soldiers in Army hosdiscredit this evidence against pitals with the ill-treatment of and with crafty schemes in mind the Veteran Administration of discharged servicemen in veter- they whined that Mussolini should ficials in a speech in the House ans' hospitals. The decline in the have been turned over to the on May 11, in which he said, death rate of wounded fighting Allied brass hats for a "proper" "Many such letters have been men from 8.1 per cent in World trial—like General Roatta who received by Members of Congress from individuals that we checked war bears out the truth of Mai- during his trial. up and found to be insane."

But Rankin could not pass off as "insane" such writers as bine to give our sick and wound-Deutsch, Leo Egan of the N. Y. ed the best that modern medi-Times, Thomas Niall of the As- cine can provide." sociated Press and Victor Maisel of Cosmopolitan magazine. Pressure put upon the members of the House Committee by readers of the changed only because after of Spain, and in the remote hills the articles of these informed long service, they have received and plains of Abyssinia. Everyinvestigators of conditions in veterans' hospitals forced Rankin

For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet **Rising Living Costs**

Called before the House Committee on May 18, Deutsch was forces of "democracy" to reach as to overcrowding, inadequate treatment, etc., which he had gathered in his five-month surther blackshirts. Thousands of vey. Challenged by Rankin for fascists were arrested and shot. the names of his informants in The carcass of Mussolini, butcher the veterans' hospitals, Deutsch refused to give their names, say- up by the heels alongside sixteen ing that he feared there might of his gangsters in Milan. It was be reprisals against them. Ran- a glorious day of revenge for the kin then set the machinery in

ed Third Rate Medicine for First over Italy. But there was too much heat Rate Men, which appeared in the sel's statement that "endless resources and priceless skill com-

"But I have been shocked and a veteran's honorable discharge -are suffering needlessly and all too often dying needlessly in our veterans' hospitals.

"Yes, our disabled veterans are being betrayed by the in- front the brass hats of the Amercompetence, bureaucracy and ican and British forces are have to be lopped off here and callousness of the Veterans Ad- demonstrating their method - there. The millions of soldiers and

served to disguise the real na-Nazis. In Sicily it meant hundreds of "former" fascists and black-shirts serving as mayors kept in power by the Allied Military Government.

By Bill Morgan

The heroic workers of Turin

So, without waiting for the of the Italian workers, was hung unnumbered thousands who had Victor Maisel, who wrote the guarantee that the blackshirts expose of veterans hospitals call- would never again be dictators

How the capitalist "democrats' medicine and author of "The in this war bleat like lambs about War I to 3.3 per cent in this was kindly permitted to "escape"

But the tears shed by the capitalist masters and their bootlickers over the fate of Mussolini were as nothing compared to the great rejoicing that took shamed to discover," Maisel goes place all over Italy, in the coned while the bosses looked on in

CLASS FRIENDS



Herman Goering. Together they the German workers. speak of their Swedish ancestry. A hot bath, a chicken dinner, an train at Saalfelden in Austria hé greets them with smiles and says, propaganda over the radio. We are similar races — the to beat one another to death."

These men-the Goerings and Kesselrings, the von Runstedts and Himmlers—are the men who set up the death camps of Dachau and Buchenwald and the extermination factory at Oswieim, Poland.

These men who engineered the festruction of the German trade unions, who murdered and tortured thousands of German revolutionists, who put to death millions of Jews — these men are saved from the "uncivilized" treatment given to Mussolini by the Italian workers.

FASCISM'S REAL FOES

Of course the "democrats" will have to make a pretense of Meanwhile, on the European punishing the so-called fascist "war criminals." Some heads will their class method-of dealing workers who have fought and

with the fascist and Junker slaved for five bloody years will have to be appeased. But the The American General Dahlquist | German capitalist class will be shakes the blood-stained hand of preserved as a bulwark against

Even now, three weeks after the "surrender," a German goveasy chair and a cigar. And when ernment led by Admiral Doenitz American reporters interviewed and staffed with a gang of Nazi Marshal Kesselring in his private and Junker officials is permitted to issue orders and spread Nazi

To the Generals of the Amer-Nordic type — and it is senseless | ican and British armies and to the German Junkers and Nazis the war is over and, as Colonel-General Heinz Guderian, German tank expert said, the officers can "shake hands just like after a football match."

But Mussolini isn't shaking hands with anyone. The thousands of dead fascists in Northern Italy are not eating chicken dinners or strutting around with ships or guns. The armed workers saw to that. The workers were the first and principal victims of fascism—and they alone are its deadly foes.

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towards decisive changes in the the youth unable to find access ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie to industry began their lives as without whose support the big unemployed and therefore rebourgeoisie cannot maintain it- mained outside of political life. self; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and place or they will find it on the readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the prole-

the proletarian revolution. The main reason for the defeats of many revolutions is rooted in the fact that these four conditions rarely attain the necessary degree of maturity at one and the same time. In history, war Pioneer Publishers, 116 Univerhas not infrequently been the

a firm leadership of the prole-

tarian vanguard—these are the

Proneer Paragraphs

the resulting confusion of the

ified theoretically.

mother of revolution precisely because it rocks super-annuated regimes to their foundation, weakens the ruling class and hastens the growth of revolutionary indignation among the oppressed classes. Already the disorientation of the bourgeoisie, the alarm and

dissatisfaction of the popular masses are intense, not only in the warring but also in the neutral countries; these phenomena will become intensified with every passing month of the war. In the last twenty years, it is true, the proletariat has suffered one defeat after another, each graver than the preceding one, become disillusioned with its

The basic conditions for the old parties and met the war unvictory of the proletarian re- doubtedly in depressed spirits. volution have been established One should not, however, overby historical experience and clar- estimate the stability or durability of such moods. Events creat-(1) The bourgeois impasse and ed them, events will dispel them.

War as well as revolution is ruling class; (2) the sharp dis- made first and foremost by the satisfaction and the striving younger generation. Millions of Today they are finding their morrow: the state organizes them into regiments and for this very tariat; (4) a clear program and reason opens the possibility for their revolutionary unification. Without a doubt the war will four conditions for the victory of also shake off the apathy of the older generation.

(From "Manifesto of the 4th International on The Imperialist War and The Proletarian Revolution," p. 40. Published by Socialist Workers Party, 1940; 48 pp., 5 cents. Order from sity Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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'TRAILBLAZERS' MAKE THEIR FINAL REPORT

The Militant Trailblazers have concluded the first phase of their activities by securing a total of 899 new readers. In the past two months they have introduced The Militant to workers in Allentown and Bethlehem, Pa., Rochester and Buffalo, N. Y. and in the Pittsburgh area.

In their final report Eloise® Black and Rudy Rhodes write: will join our struggle for a def-We have reluctantly concluded our campaign with a total of 259 new Militant subscribers here in Pittsburgh. Among them are 89 soft coal miners in Coverdale, over 100 steel workers in Braddock, Homestead and Pittsburgh proper, and 16 employees from the Westinghouse Electric plant in East Pittsburgh.

"Spreading The Militant among workers wherever our travels lead us has been completely satisfying, for over and over again we have found how adequately the program of the paper meets the burning problems of workers everywhere. But in introducing The Militant to workingmen and women in Pittsburgh, we feel the special gratification of knowing that our revolutionary message is now reaching workers who toil in the very heart of the Steel Trust's kingdom.

"Here the pattern of life of tens of thousands of workers has been conditioned according to the ruthless demands of Amer- money when we called promised ica's most rapacious monopoly— to send the coupon in by mail the U. S. Steel Corporation. The The reception was very good. driving greed of the Steel Trust for profits and power plus the natural advantages of river houses. By the time our second transportation and neighboring iron and coal fields has shaped sample copy left by the first one Pittsburgh into a mighty work

"Steel is absolute monarch in Pittsburgh. Workers' homes are congested patches of dwellings that follow the outline of the mills on the river banks. Schools, parks, libraries — all recreational institutions | the day sne gets paid. belong to the Trust. According

" A measure of the careful coneremark dropped by one of our on knowing how he could renew class-conscious woman, she ex- already prepared to renew it! plained that a common practice of the steel bosses in fighting proach a person who has no mounionism has been that of bribing | ney, we usually subscribe for him rising militants. Her husband, a and make arrangements to colformer militant, she told us, had lect later. And, after they get an been given a political job and issue of the paper, they are very quit the mill. When we asked happy to supply the quarter. In what kind of a political job he had, she answered, "He's a fire-posed to subscribing at first is

many steel workers, however, siastic about it She asked us to who have resisted the efforts of come back again any tir the bosses to corrupt them and who have not succumbed to de- good, and handing it to a new moralization. These workers will person was very easy. It's atdraw fresh courage from the tractively laid out and the specifighting spirit of The Militant. de picture in front of Mussolini's Its program will help them re- death was apropos. In fact it assemble their forces for the com- looks better and more like a ing battles against the Steel Cor- newspaper to have something poration. Some of them will make workers have seen and know a further acquaintance with the about on the front page. Carprogram of the Socialist Work- toons would be most effective in ers Party to the end that they the rest of the paper."

initive victory over all the monopolists and against their system of exploitation."

Trailblazer Team From Youngstown **Visits Newcastle**

Encouraged by their success 2 weeks ago when the Youngsown Branch sent a team of workers, the branch reports as possible." that last week another group of Trail-Blazers went into New Castle, Pa. and met with equal success.

"We packed our bag of Militants and canvassed New Castle, coming home with 66 subscriptions. Those who didn't have the

"Since there weren't many streets, some comrades duplicated salesman got to the house, the had already begun to arouse considerable interest in the new reader. Thus our second comrade would become engaged in a discussion. One woman to whom he explained the program of The Militant promised faithfully to send in the subscription blank on the day she gets paid.

"Another person was also reto what we heard not a few poli- visited by mistake but he was very ticians and trade union leaders cordial and insisted on having also are the property of the steel cur comrade come in and sit down. Only eight minutes previously he had bought the sub from trol exerted by the steel moguls the first comrade and had been can be sensed in an incidental reading it intently. He insisted new women subscribers. Being a his subscription because he was

FILLED -

"Here at home when we apnow reading The Militant from "Among our new readers are page to page, and is very enthu-

"This week's issue was very

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 25, 1935

WASHINGTON-Work-relief rates in many states were slashed to \$4.75 a week under Roosevelt's federal "security" program. And even this pittance, The Militant pointed out, did not represent the real minimum on which jobless workers would among the most important of our new readers." be forced to support whole families.

"Not only has Harry Hopkins (federal relief administrator) the right to vary wages within 10 per cent, which immediately date.' sets the minimum at \$17.10 per month instead of \$19," The Militant explained.

"The wages are NOT PAID for 'time lost because of voluntary absence, illness, completion or postponement of a project, or permanent dismissal'."

And only one person in a family would be permitted to work on relief!

NEW YORK-Analyzing the important Toledo Chevrolet strike, the first against General Motors Corporation, The Militant outlined a program for the auto workers. Its main editorial cited a growing need for a caucus of progressive militant workers within the Federal Auto Union (AFL).

In Toledo the treachery of leading AFL bureaucrats had forced the workers to forego their demand for union recognition and accept the compromise of a wage increase and minor con-

"Progressive unionists," said the editorial, "will seek to influence the unions by working out a sound policy for the unions. . . You must organize if trade union democracy is to be maintained! You must organize to make the unions into mighty weapons of defense and offense for the workers!"

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

17,855 New 'Militant' Subscribers Gained As Campaign Enters Into Wind-Up Period

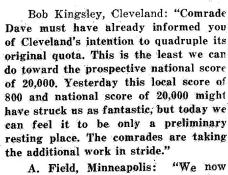
By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

In twelve weeks of The Militant Subscription Campaign members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party have gone over the 10,000 quota by 179 percent. This week 1,572 new subscriptions were obtained, the fifth highest week in the campaign. With one week more to go, only 2,145 more subscriptions are needed to fulfill the hope of all sub-getters that the original quota will be doubled by the end of the campaign.

FROM THE BRANCHES

Doris Hilson, Akron: "The 34 subs sent in brings our total to 489. All but two of these subs were secured at our bi-weekly mobilization last Sunday. The drop in the number of subs sent in is due to the beastly weather we have been having. It has rained every day this week. We will make up for this lapse during the final

Herb Newell, Allentown: "Comrade Ryder sold a sub to an exminer who knew the paper from the mining area. I sold an ex-miner who is a steel worker now. He knew about the Minneapolis case and recognized Goldman as the attorney for the group which put up Trail-Blazers into Pittsburgh to such a good fight. We are doing the best we can to help make the ntroduce The Militant to new total 20,000 by getting as many Militant readers in this vicinity



A. Field, Minneapolis: "We now have a total of 949 new subscribers. Our team scores are as follows-Go Getters 475, Sub-Builders 474." .

K. Zellon, Milwaukee: "Four comrades mobilized in a colored and Jewish neighborhood with the result of coming away with 21 more subscribers to our growing paper. One of the comrades me five Jamaicans who are working in a defense plant here for the duration of the war. They were immediately interested and especially when the quotation by Ken Hill of Jamaica was pointed out to them in the 'Worker's Forum.' Two of them expressed the wish to come to classes in socialism to discuss the differences between our party and the People's National Party of Jamaica."

ing two weeks I believe we can average 200 subs a week if the weather is with us, as it has been the entire campaign. If all turns out well we will wind up with more than 2.500 new readers."

24 more subs. That gives St. Paul 207 is for militant working class action, I am all for it'." subs. so our quota is doubled and we fully intend to get 250 by May 27. The Twin Cities are going to celebrate the in Minneapolis at 5 P.M. on the final Sunday. We are very confident that when the final scoreboard is compiled, the party will have many discording the final scoreboard is compiled, the party will have more than doubled its tended the meeting told us that original quota of 10,000."

A. Alma, Rochester: "Enclosed are 14 subs which are all to railroad men. This I think gives us 200 percent. More will come. Weather conditions here are against us. Nothing but rain. Guess it must be supporting the capitalists."

Libby Jones, Buffalo: "We have 100 more subs to go to make our 200 percent, and all the comrades here are determined to do it."

Rose Russo, Reading: "Ship us 200 Militants for our Red Sunday. Elmer Oakie now has 60 subs."

Dorothy Lessing, Newark: "With many of the young workers away in the armed forces, if a young sister or brother (age 15-18) opens the door we tell him about The Militant. Many of them are working either part time or full time in war industries and are receptive to our ideas. One young girl, who went to high school in the morning and worked afternoons and Saturday urged her mother to take the sub as she wanted to read the paper. The girl evidently is the sole support of the family and was seriously interested in understanding her present and future position as a wage earner. These young people, thrown into the plants by the war boom, are

Rose Stevens, Seattle: "Will Jones, one of our Negro comrades who joined the party on the eve of the campaign, has sold 41 subs to

Beatrice Burton, Chicago: "A comrade reports the following ncident on last Sunday's mobilization. A worker appeared in response to her ring and was introduced to the paper. He asked, 'Is this communist?' The comrade replied that The Militant is not an organ of the Communist Party but that it is for communism. The worker answered, 'I know there's a difference. Communism is for the workers. The Communist Party isn't for the workers'."

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

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Mike Warren	West Side, New York	812
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	377
Paul Kujac	Chicago	270
Howard Mason	Detroit	230
Doris Hilson	Akron	227
E. Logan	Detroit	217
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, New York	203
Ernest Drake	Detroit	196
Joe Simpson	Minneapolis	183
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	175
Maggie McGowan	Toledo	152
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn, New York	145
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	141
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	137
Izzy London	Cleveland	134
K. Kane	Minneapolis	133
Robert Kendall	Toledo	131
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	130
Kay O'Brien	Detroit	129
Ruth Grayson	N. Y. Trotskyist Youth Grou	n 125

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Socialist Workers Part	ty		
Akron	85	489	575
Allentown	50	227	454
Cleveland	200	719	360
Flint	50	178	356
Minneapolis	300	888	296
Milwaukee	100	250	250
Toledo	250	624	250
San Diego	50	116	232
Detroit	1000	2296	230
Youngstown	300	627	209
St. Paul	100	207	207
Rochester	50	100	200
Buffalo	350	600	171
Philadelphia	150	249	166
New York	2500	4083	163
Reading	75	117	156
Newark	850	466	133
San Francisco	350	462	132
Chicago	1000	1299	130
Bayonne	150	182	121
Boston	200	230	115
Seattle	400	408	102
Los Angeles	2000	1836	92
Groups, Members-at-La	ırge		Z
and Friends	140	303	216
Eloise Black and Rudy			
Rhodes (Trail-Blazer	rs)	899	
TOTAL	10,000	17,855	179

Agents of The Militant are | sorbing explanation with great utilizing every opportunity to interest. sell subscriptions. According to San Francisco they are finding them in their understanding of union meetings a source for the problems of their worker "On several occasions fathers and mothers." comrades recently have sold subs to longshoremen in the Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "In the remain- Bridges' (Stalinist controlled) nion. In each case the men have been eager to subscribe to a paper which exposes the role of the betrayers of labor. One of these men said, 'If this paper is against Bridges' policies and

> An effective distribution of the paper was being read by many in the audience and es- reread these two basic documents vecially so during the speeches given in foreign languages. This had a large attendance of long-

Jack Miller, our agent in Philawhile the other sold literature. nifesto: We obtained nine subscriptions gle for Negro Equality'."

jor industries in the area."

be a valuable friend to the party. cisco conference in general, the Our agent reports that only a following paragraph from the glance at The Militant and his same document: ennouncement of the price sold "The promise these subs. He confidently ex-

Inez Cope of Youngstown exasset in selling our paper. One inevitable as the struggle beof the boys I met the other day tween the trusts themselves. is now receiving his sub regularly through the mail and I asked him if he had his wife read would enjoy reading Grace's articles on her 'down to earth subjects,' he had her read them. He has since informed me his wife thinks Grace's articles very good and most important of all -

Connie Locke of New York comments about Theodore Kovalesky's column which appears when I was wondering what the rational on the Imperialist War origin of May Day was, my eyes and the Proletarian Revolution fell on the opening lines of 5 cents. 'Diary of a Steel Worker' -'What's May Day, anyhow? ens, 116 U Joey asked me.' I read the ab-York 3, N. Y.

"This seems a perfect column a report from Ruth Haddon of to read to young people to aid

Pioneer Votes

A reader in New York writes: "The last two issues of The The Militant to trade unionists Militant printed quotations from Salso reported by Ruth Hadsome of Leon Trotsky's writings. and the Proletarian Revolution. of the Trotskyist movement.

Even though the former was meeting, sponsored by the CIO, the latter in 1940, the correctshoremen, auto workers and ness and the present timeliness trade unionists from all the ma- of Trotsky's analysis of the character of the war and the nature of the "peace" to follow struck me with renewed force. "Today, for example, the cadelphia, reports subscriptions as pitalist press reports that at well as other literature sales at San Francisco the United States an NAACP rally: "Sunday, May is opposing any specific promise Comrades Raymond and of 'independence' to colonial Miller distributed The Militant peoples. What could be more apt at a local NAACP rally. One in this connection than the folcomrade circulated for subs lowing sentences from the Ma-

"'The entire present war is a and sold 16 copies of the Strug- war over colonies. They are hunted by some; held by others who refuse to give them up. Neither side has the least inten-One of our agents traveling tion of liberating them voluntarby train to New York this week ily . . . Only the direct and open sold six trial subs to The Mili- revolutionary struggle of the tant while enroute, five of these enslaved peoples can clear the to union workers and the sixth to a recently-discharged war war we might also point out. We might also point out, in veteran whom he believes will connection with the San Fran-

"The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European pects one of these workers to federation this time is the sell other subs in the coming crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly ca pitalism. So long as trusts and presses her appreciation of Grace banks are not expropriated for Carlson's articles: "Grace Carl- the benefit of the people the son's contributions are a real struggle between states is just as Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is the paper. He said he didn't as ridiculous a Utopia as volunbut after I assured him she tary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic 'federation' would be nothing but a worse repetition of the League of Nations, containing all its vices minus only its illusions.'

War and the 4th International 10c. weekly in The Militant: "Just | Manifesto of the Fourth Inter-

> Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New

Midwest Vacation School Open July 1

A vacation at reasonable rates and an opportunity to study problems of the labor movement under Marxist teachers is offered to readers of The Militant at the Mid-West Vacation School for Workers to be held at Grasslake, Michigan from July 1 to August 31.

In describing the attractive lo-cation of the Vacation School Camp and its many recreational Camp has a limited capacity, facilities, Charles Carsten, National Education Director of the asked to make early reserva-Socialist Workers Party says: 'The Mid-West Vacation

School is situated on a wooded slope beside a small lake in central Michigan. The camp is ideal for sports — softball, archery, fishing and hiking. A magnificent grove of oak trees provides pleasant surrounding for picnics and wiener roasts.'

For vacationers interested in "indoor sports," the school bulletin announces that there will FEES PER WEEK te opportunity for games like chess, checkers, cards and ping

entertainment and relaxation. William F. Warde, associate editor of The Militant and a wellest-known contributors to The camp. Militant and the Fourth Internaional as well as experienced eaders of the trade union movenent.

Classes on the following subects will be given during the wo-months period:

The Role and Function of Trade Unions What is Marxism?

An Introduction to Marxist Economics Lectures on Marxist Philosophy History of the Socialist Workers

Party. tion School Camp include a main and white, men and women, joindormitory and dining hall as well ing in the discussions of Marxist as individual cabins overlooking economics, history and politics, of the lake. Equipped with all mod- trade union policies and organern improvements, including izational questions, straining to showers with hot and cold water, learn the maximum in the short the camp is clean, light and airy. time allotted."

Because the Vacation School those interested in attending are tions. Applicants who include part or full payment of the fee will be given first consideration. Advance reservations may be made by mail through:

Mid-West Vacation School Oscar Coover, Manager 3513 Woodward Ave., Rm. 21 Detroit 1, Michigan.

Fees for the Vacation School are \$25 a week for adults; \$15 a Amateur shows are also week, for children. This includes expected to provide additional board, lodging, enrollment in the classes, use of boats, etc.

Readers of that popular Militant known educator and lecturer, will column. Diary of a Steelworker be in charge of the educational will be interested in Comrade program at the nine-week long Kovalesky's comments on last Vacation School. The teaching year's Workers Vacation School staff will include many of the which was held at the same

"You noticed many things when you reached the camp. You saw the beautiful little lake framed by soft trees and low hills; you saw the sleeping quarters and the dining and recreation room. You were struck particularly by the clear-eyed workers who sat eagerly listening to the one-hour lecturesfar from the time-studied turmoil of the shops and the scathing blasts of the furnaces.

"It was inspiring to see these Accommodations at the Vaca- workers, young and old, Negro 通(二) 上上的

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

- 1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
 - A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
 - A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living! Operate all government-built plants under workers'

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government! Rescind the no-strike pledge!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor 3. Organization of the war veterans by the

trade unions! 4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action! Build the independent labor party! Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist mili-

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions! Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

8. Hands off the European and colonial peo-

Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe! Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

1	would	like	
Γ	To	join	tŀ

he Socialist Workers Party.

To obtain further information about your organization.

To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

(Please Print)		
Address		
City Postal Zone State		

THE MILITANT

Working People

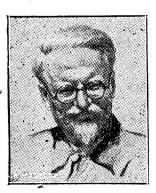
Saturday, May 26, 1945 Vol. IX-No. 21

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547 FARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILI-TANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.00 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

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



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

Colonial Freedom

Two official pronouncements of U.S. policy relating to the right of the colonial peoples to their independence have served to reveal once again the real war aims of American imperialism.

In the first instance, Navy Secretary James V. Forrestal stated at a press conference last week that the United States "will continue to bear responsibility for the security of the Philippines, and will have to have bases and strategic areas supporting those bases to carry out that responsibility." Negotiations to this end are now in progress with the American puppet government in the Philippines which is headed by President Sergio Osmena.

Forrestal's statement was followed up at the San Francisco conference, where the U.S. delegation joined with the representatives of British and French imperialism to defeat a proposal by China and the Soviet Union that the charter of the proposed "world organization" should include a pledge to promote the independence of the colonial peoples.

The Anglo-French bandits objected violently to giving any such pledge. They hold hundreds of millions of people in colonial slavery in Africa, India and the Far East and they intend, if they can, to maintain their robber rule. By lining up with them at this stage, the American imperialists give notice of their own colonial program, which is an integral part of their plans for world domin-

Under the Tydings-McDuffie Act passed by Congress in 1934, the Philippines are supposed to achieve their independence next year. This independence will be nothing more than a sham. Washington will insist on military bases in the islands and Osmena will obligingly concede them. Thus the islands will remain under U.S. military domination and open, as they were before, to exploitation by Wall Street. If the Filipinos should really attempt to assert the independence they will supposedly enjoy, the armed forces of American imperialism will be on hand to suppress them.

The colonial peoples will never gain their freedom as a gift of the imperialists. Colonial servitude is part and parcel of the system of capitalist exploitation. Without it, capitalism cannot survive. That is why Churchill declared he did not take office to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. That is why the American imperialists intend to keep control of the Philippines and to carve out for themselves a great colonial empire in Asia.

Only by determined struggle against the imperialist violators will the colonial peoples be able to win true freedom and independence.

Double Standard

Two recent incidents illustrate how the Congressional representatives of Wall Street feather their own nest while denying the smallest increase in pay to the most exploited sections of the working class.

The first incident concerns the 130 women who clean the Empire State building, tallest office structure in the world. Income taxes and mounting living costs slashed their meager incomes so deeply that they found 55 cents an hour no longer sufficient to keep them and their families from hunger. They asked for a nickel an hour increase.

Not even the flint-hearted real estate interests had the nerve to deny this modest demand, especially when they saw the women determined enough to go on strike. The watch dogs of the War Labor Board, however, leaped nobly into the breach against the onslaught of these hard-working women and denied the nickel an hour increase. That nickel would break the Little Steel formula!

The second incident concerns the House of Representatives. Most of these political stooges of Big Business are either rich themselves or have profitable ties with the wealthy. They get free office space, desks and typewriters. They are handed an allowance of thousands of dollars for office help which often consists of members of their immediate family. Their mail is sent out free; a federal fund takes care of their telegrams, and they are paid 20 cents a mile for traveling expenses.

But they decided \$10,000 a year wasn't enough. And so they coolly upped their own wages \$2,500. As if \$2,500 were not enough, these minions of Wall Street made the raise in the form of an expense account so that no income taxes are deductible. Hence, as some of the Congressmen admitted, the \$2,500 is equivalent to a raise from \$10,000 to \$15,000.

These two incidents prove once again how wisely Big Business fills the seats of Congress. No matter how brazenly these Wall Street mouthpieces line their own pockets from the public treasury, they never forget they were put in office to keep down the wages of the poor.

Trieste-A Warning

Having annihilated their German opponent, Stalin and the Allied imperialists are engaged in rending the quivering body of prostrate Europe. Like ravening wolves, they are snarling viciously at each other over the spoils of war. The furore in the imperialist camp over the seizure of Trieste by Stalin's puppet, Tito, is a case in point. Trieste is a juicy morsel. All the wolves want it.

The defeat of Germany, instead of bringing peace to Europe, has become the starting point for a series of conflicts between the victors which is sowing the seeds of future war. Trieste is a foretaste of what is in store.

In the fight over the spoils of war, Europe is being truncated and torn apart. Boundaries are being redrawn by armed force. Nations are being vivisected and barriers thrown up between them. The European economy, lifeblood of the people, is plunging into ever deeper ruin. Allied and Stalinist bayonets are being used to prop up decrepit capitalist regimes which the masses want to de-

Europe needs political and economic unification to insure peace, to overcome the fearful ravages of war. Without it there can be no economic upturn, nothing but privation for the vast majority of its inhabitants. All that the new conquerors offer is renewed national rivalries and hatreds and eco-

The whole history of Europe since the Versailles Treaty of 1919 proves that peace and the unification of the Continent are unattainable under capitalism. The national state, with its customs boundaries and its armed forces, is a bar to unification and economic growth. It serves only to breed rivalry and hatred whose end result is periodic wars and destruction.

Nevertheless, Stalin and the imperialists are planning to multiply the national states by carving up Germany and redrawing the map of Europe. They are enemies, not liberators, of the European masses.

Unification of Europe, the banishment of national rivalry and restoration of its economy are possible only along the road of the socialist revolution. This is the main task of the European working class today. That task is summed up in the Trotskyist slogan: FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

Biddle Conspiracy

A conspiracy has failed — the vindictive conspiracy of Attorney General Biddle to punish the miners for going on strike.

The conspiracy was launched when the government took "possession" of the Pennsylvania anthracite mines on May 3. By this act the "criminal provisions" of the vicious Smith-Connally Act were put into operation. Truman's Executive Order authorized Secretary Ickes to call upon the War Manpower Commission, the Selective Service, the Justice Department and "other agencies." On top of all this pressure to smash the strike, Ickes appealed to "patriotism," insinuating that the miners were endangering soldiers at the front by holding out for an increase of pay to catch up with the rise in the cost of living.

Biddle led the government hounds in full cry against the miners. He hoped to throw strikers behind bars as he did on July 26, 1943, when he indicted 30 striking miners. On May 8, shortly after Ickes was placed in charge of implementing the "criminal provisions" of the Act, Biddle announced that agents of the FBI were in the anthracite region and that he had "almost daily reports from I. Edgar Hoover."

On May 15, Truman vented Washington's spiteful rage against the miners by threatening in a news conference to "take whatever steps necessary to get the coal out."

That these steps envisaged arrests can be deduced from the admission of Biddle on May 16, following a private conference with Truman: "The miners apparently have been observing the law very carefully and have not held any meetings that could be construed as encouraging a strike. They seem to be walking a line very close to the brink but at the same time within the law." . Here Biddle, the Attorney-General who is supposed to uphold the law, publicly regrets that the striking miners haven't violated the oppressive Smith-Connally Act so that he can railroad them

But the miners have learned from experience that they can place no confidence in the administration officials who act as servants of the coal operators. They remained firm and united under powerful pressure. That is why they scored their Dumping Them On the Scrapheap



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.

Hotel Workers

EDITOR:

worse. Hotel chambermaids, for sick children. example, take home \$19.97 for them are over sixty, yet they scrapped without a struggle. stagger on and on under loads of bedclothes often larger than

Naturally the women do not "Virtual Slaves" love their jobs. They do not do this work by choice but because under capitalism they are the

most victimized of all workers - and they know it!

> D. B. New York

Benefits to Women Of Nursery Schools

I have enjoyed Grace Carlson's recent articles on women's problems. I was glad to see some articles

directed toward women. I have been kidded a bit for being too keenly interested in the woman question. But I have just been going over the "Theses and Congress of the Communist International" and I think that by the poll tax? scoffers should read the very interesting section regarding work among women, and particularly consider this warning:

"Wherever the question of conquest of power arises, the Communist parties must consider the great danger to the revolution those regulations? represented by the inert, uninformed masses of women workers. housewives, employes, peasant women, not liberated from the influence of the bourgeois church and bourgeois superstitions, and not connected in some way or other with the great liberating movement of Communism. Unless the masses of women of the East and West are dranw into this movement, they inevitably become the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the object of counter-revolutionary propaganda."

I think it would be of value to have some articles which give the socialist program for womencurseries, communal housekeepcommunal housekeeping.

the nursery became the communal ing a union will be fired.

well that these conditions are sive group also provides 24-hour

But this whole program will a six-day week, and elevator men soon be discontinued. The nursery \$20.07. Many of the women have has funds for only a few more sons in the service, but these months. This makes it a "hot" see the program dren Will

Surely your answer to the

question "Were white workers ever held in slavery in America?" is inadequate. Today there are over 8,000 conscientious objectors to war- who are today virtual slaves of the govern-

The situation is simple. This

QUESTION BOX

Q: The May 19 issue of The Militant, said that one-fourth of an all-out war-and said they the farmers in America are would get around to correcting prevented from voting by the the starvation conditions later! Resolution of the Third World poll tax. How many people altogether are kept from voting

A: About 10,000,000 white and Contributes Poem Negro workers and farmers.

Q: If the Selective Service laws regarding jobs for veterans to you, hoping you will print it are observed, how many veterans in The Militant. will get their jobs back through

A: Not more than one out of of the CIO. The report points Old famed faults prone to repeat. out that the vast majority of the men now in the army were jobless when they were drafted; All aspiration turned to defeat. other millions replaced workers who were drafted early in the All the finer senses dulled. war, and therefore only the first By false promises we are lulled. ones drafted would have legal Useless effort, wasted prayer, job seniority under the Selective Lifeless - with an empty stare. Service Act.

Q: What is a "yellow dog Insatiably imbued with greed, contract?"

A: A yellow dog contract is heed. an agreement providing that a Scarring wounds so deep worker cannot join any labor or- That time alone won't heal. ing, etc. These questions are of ganization (or any union other Mortal hurts! general interest now because of than a company union) under The joys of life they steal. the great expansion of nursery penalty of losing his job. Generschools, and group housekeeping ally such contracts when used arrangements which have sprung | are presented to the worker to up, especially in housing pro-sign before he is hired-and are jects, which of course are ideally a condition of employment. Somesuited to the development of times the term is also used to And our world with spirit whole, describe any formal notices by Finally victory uncontrolled. In one case in San Francisco the company that workers join-

center-supplied hot meals for | group, merely demanding one women to pick up on their way of its prerogatives as citizens home, did shopping for the (religious freedom), has been Thanks for your fine article on women, took out laundry, shoes segregated into concentration the building service employes in for repair, etc., took children to camps where the men are forced the Empire State Building. As the dentist, even set up a beauty to do 51 hours a week manual the interests of small stockholders. a hotel worker I know only too shop for the women. This progres- labor with absolutely no compensation—not even board! This just as you describe them, and care and an isolation ward for is enforced on pain of prison and is for an indefinite periodthe duration plus six monthswhich has now been over four years for many.

Surely if this is not unveiled ed labor without compensation-I should like to be so informed. John B. Nomland

Britisher On India

5 edition of your paper. Liked the article, "The Difference Between Blue Blood and Red" by Bill Morgan. It is certainly true. The review of the NAACP pamphlet is certainly revelatory. I hadn't heard of that particular persecution before. I heard an interesting inter-

view this morning over Mutual. Some one was asking a Britisher pretty pertinent questions about the starving kids and adults he encountered in India. The suave Briton simply "passed the buck" about Britain being engaged in

New Reader Warren, Ohio

I am sending this poem

I wonder what this life's about, Hear! Politicians bleat and shout.

The shortened years, the unshed

Detrimental to all human weal, Deaf to all just and fair appeal, No human cry of misery they

Day of judgment now at hand. Empire making final stand. Truth and justice will unfold To the masses, still untold.

June Dovle.

How Monopolies Profit From the Sick and Dying

Drug cartels and monopolies, fattening on the desperate needs of the sick and dying, have "jeopardized the health and welfare of millions in this country and elsewhere," Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge told a House Labor Sub-committee on May 15.

"Monopoly control of industries affecting the physical welfare of the people is one of the most serious aspects of the monopoly problem in our economy," he admitted.

These monopolies on medical products and drugs, including vitamins, insulin, eye glasses, dental plastics, quinine derivatives, sulfa drugs and narcotics, have maintained "artificial and exorbitant price structures," Berge stated. "The low income groups in particular have been unable to obtain the benefits of advances in science or better physical aids."

He cited the example of the conspiracy of the DuPont chemical trust and its subsidiary Rohm & Haas, which fixed the price of a plastic for dental users at \$45 a pound while selling it to industrial firms for 85 cents a pound.

Among the practices of the monopolies are the suppression of research data, the prevention of the introduction of improved processes and the elimination of "outsiders" from research. "Monopoly groups have in several instances contemplated the adulteration of products in order to perpetuate their privileged position or impose their monopoly restrictions upon consumers," Berge revealed.

Thus, "one monopoly" proposed to adulterate one of its products with arsenate of lead to prevent its use for dental purposes. Another considered the use of substances in dyestuffs which would cause skin disease, so that it could be used only in paint and not textiles. This was proposed so as not to "disturb" the high prices in the textile and dental plastics industries.

The American monopolies maintained cartel agreements with the Nazi trusts, Berge said. "One typical agreement between an American corporation and a German concern divided the world market for more than 400 pharmaceutical and chemical products into non-competitive areas."

But, he confessed, "the evil effects of cartels exist when they are not dominated by Germany as well as when they are." In short, monopolies and cartels are not a "German" product, but a product of capitalism

No Freezing of Salaries For Corporation Big-Shots

Corporation executives have suffered no "wage freeze" during this war, according to Your Investments, a monthly publication devoted to protecting

This magazine recites a list of corporation bigshots who have upped their salaries as much as 300 per cent from 1940 to 1944. The highest on the list is Victor Emanuel, of Aviation Corporation, who boosted his salary from \$25,000 to \$100,000 annually.

Other who have done well are M. R. Kaskel, United Merchants and Manufacturers, Inc., raised from are far from being the oldest issue. I don't believe the women slavery and a flagrant violation \$54,810 to \$146,230; M. J. Sullivan, American women. The really old women are who have experienced the benefits of the most primitive of any Can Co., up from \$51,400 to \$154,000; W. H. Dow. very bent and their veins stand which nurseries and other devel- "bill of rights"—involving free- Dow Chemical Co., from \$50,000 to \$100,000; J. H. out prominently on hands and opments give them and their childen of religion and from enforc- Rand, Jr., Remington-Rand, Inc., from \$92,780 to \$226,084. None of these included pensions.

> Montgomery Ward, which bitterly fought raising the 40 cents an hour pay of its employes, treated its executives handsomely. Clement D. Ryan, President, got a \$12,600 increase in 1944 to \$99,650. Two vicepresidents got increases respectively of \$5,511 and \$14,355. Sewell L. Avery, Chairman, got only \$250 Just read the Saturday May more, explained as "increased director's fees due to additional meetings." But Avery received \$100,850 "remuneration" in 1944—not counting his dividends on 67,373 shares of stock.

Defective Planes Cause Death to Thousands

Over a year ago, on April 15, 1944, The Militant attributed the death of many American flyers to the sale of defective aircraft to the government. This charge came in connection with the conspiracy of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation to palm off faulty and improperly-inspected plane engines on the Army Air Corps. Similar material, previously published in The Militant, was incorporated into George Breitman's pamphlet, "Wartime Crimes of Big Business," issued by Pioneer Publishers. (Order from 116 University Place, N. Y. C. 5 cents).

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Last week in the Senate came confirmation of The Militant's charges. Senator Langer, of North Dakota, on May 17 demanded a sweeping investigation of the whole aircraft industry. In a speech on the Senate floor, Langer revealed:

"More than 17,500 of our planes have crashed in the U.S. -more than in combat on all the world battlefronts put together. Yet we sit here, some five, according to the report of The marching feet and war's mad indifferent, others carefree, while our boys die in what appears to be defective planes made in American factories."

Langer cited a statement by Laurence J. Girault, former sergeant who served 29 months in the South Pacific at the 5th Air Service Command depot. Girault declared that "faults in planes delivered to overseas stations are so common as to make the citing of examples difficult."

After his discharge, Girault got a job as inspector at the Douglas aircraft plant, Park Ridge, Ill., near Chicago. Langer reported that he "left the factory in protest because he could not conscientiously approve defective products."

A year ago The Militant wrote: "How many flyers have died as the result of the failure of defective motors may never be established." Now we know, from the testimony of Senator Langer, that such deaths must have numbered in the thousands.

Their blood lies on the hands of the aircraft profiteers aided by government agents, who were so greedy to squeeze out profits that they deliberately passed off flying death traps.

By such methods-murder for profit—the aircraft and aircraft parts corporations raked in profits in Philadelphia 1944 which were 1,686 per cent higher than in 1939.