

# BIG WILLOW RUN PLANT TO SHUT DOWN

## German, French Workers Battle Class Enemies

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

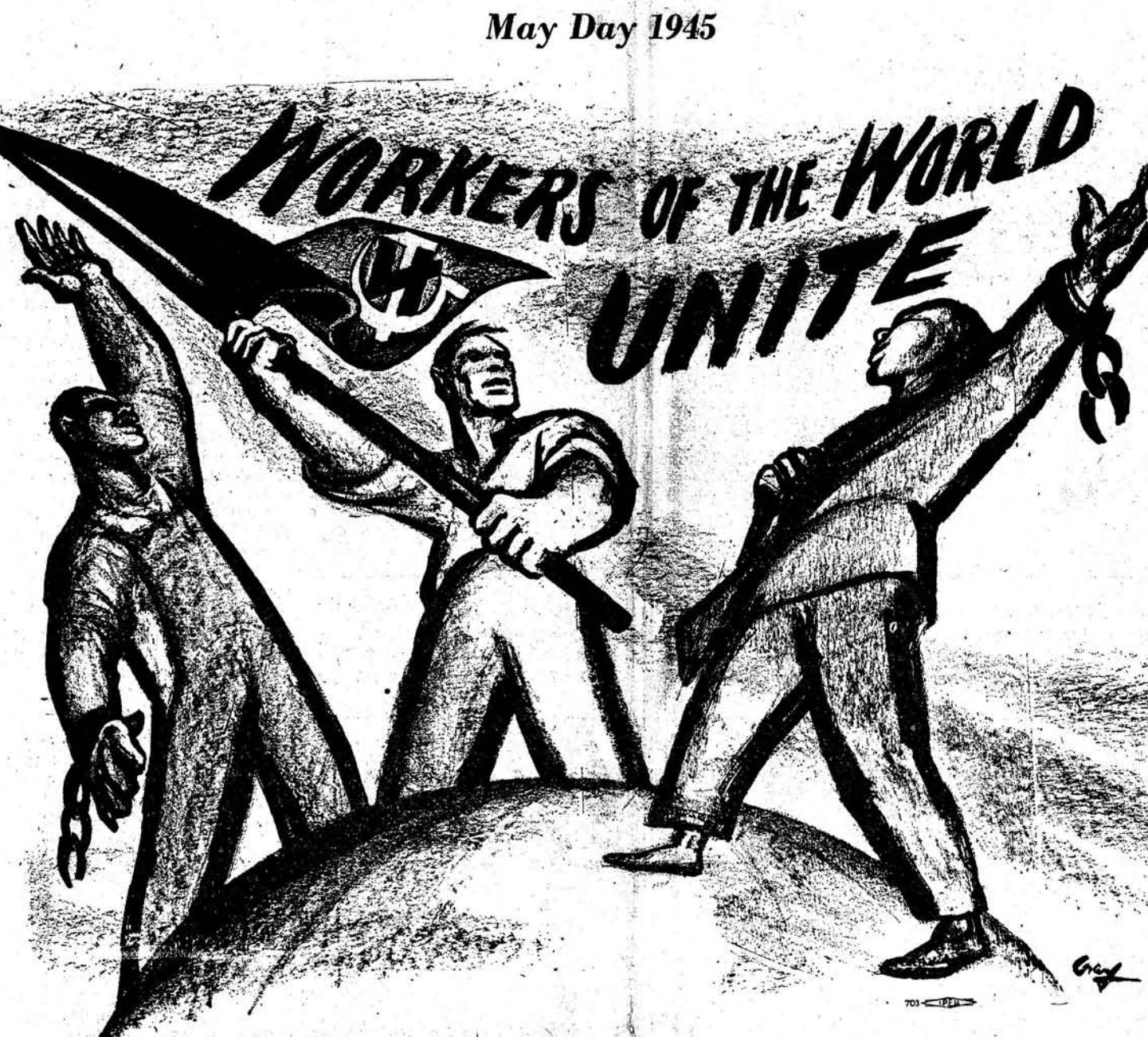
In Germany and France, the two leading capitalist countries, the workers are beginning to rise against capitalism and assert once more their determination to end the system which plunged them into the insidious holocaust of misery and death.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

### The Fate of the "Liberated" Countries

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

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

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

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

Spain the Allies have throughout the war and to this very

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

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

### HANDS OFF THE EUROPEAN MASSES! LET THEM DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE BY FOREIGN ARMIES!

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

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

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

### DEMAND THAT THE SHIPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD TO STARVING EUROPE BE SUPERVISED AND CONTROLLED BY WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT!

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

May Day 1945

## Ford Bomber Unit Cutback To Result In Mass Layoff

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

By C. Thomas

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

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

### Meat Profiteers Handed Gift of Larger Subsidies

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 3)

## 16,000 Goodrich Rubber Workers Strike in Akron

(Special to THE MILITANT)

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

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

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

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

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

### J. PIERPONT MONEYBAGS Says: "CUTBACKS DON'T HARM ME—THE GOVT GUARANTEES MY PROFITS"



### ON THE INSIDE

N. Y. Phone Operators Tell  
Their Side .....  
Ford 600 Elections .....  
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MAY DAY

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# Lockheed Workers Ask Strike Poll

By Buddy Lens

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

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

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

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

#### DEMANDS REJECTED

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

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

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

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

#### RANKS AROUSED

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

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

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

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

ter.

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#### They Showed the Way



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

## Telephone Union Leader Gives Operators' Story

By Evelyn Atwood

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

Willing and eager to present

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

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

#### TAKE STRIKE VOTE

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

"We finally took a strike vote

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

"There is the 20% federal tax,

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

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

"For example, a girl may work

from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. Then

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

#### RIGID SUPERVISION

I asked Mrs. Naughton what

the girls do in the five hours or so

between "tours." She replied:

"That's just it. They don't get

paid for it. If they go home it

means two more hours of travel-

ing time."

She then explained the extreme

tension the girls work under. Ev-

ery moment of their working day

is policed. "They are subject to

all types of service observation at all times. This is one thing

it is very hard to make clear to

other people: just how much su-

ervision is necessary and where

it should stop.

"The supervisors, like the op-

erators, are members of this un-

ion. They explain the work to

the girls and correct mistakes.

But then in addition, the girls

are subject to all kinds of special

types of service observation.

"These are called service ob-

servers. They get the same wage

scale as the supervisors, that is,

\$6.00 a week more than the op-

erators. And behind the service

observers are the Chief Operators

"These are always Company

people, and they have disciplinary

powers. They can call the girls

up to the desk any time they

want to, they can tell them to

go—make their lives miserable—

even recommend firing them."

#### GROWING UNITY

At this point Mrs. Naughton

said with evident satisfaction:

"We have learned in the past

year how to stand on our own

feet. Our union has become

much stronger. We have no hesi-

tancy any more about putting

these people on the pan and fil-

ing charges against them for un-

due pressure, etc. We have found

that the only way we can get any

real satisfaction or action is to

take it ourselves."

## NMU Heads Offer 'Unity' Scheme to Offset Bonus Cut

By Art Sharon

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

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

More than that, the NMU leadership proposes that their union "favor the continuance of subsidies in the shipping industry."

Subsidies is a subject very close to a shipowner's heart and the NMU's support of subsidies from the public treasury to the parasitic shipping fraternity is warmly welcomed by the latter.

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

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

By Larissa Reed

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

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

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

#### BRASS HAT PERSECUTION

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

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



THOMAS DE LORENZO

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

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

#### "WE SET THE PATTERN"

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

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

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

#### THE BREWSTER SIT-IN

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

#### TAPPES DEFEATED

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

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

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

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

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

The overall results of the elec-

## Celebrate This May Day With The Trotskyists In Your City

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

### New York

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON  
ALBERT GOLDMAN

WEBSTER HALL

11 St. Between B'way and 3rd Avenue

### Toledo

Sunday, April 29, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Joseph Andrews  
Organizer, Akron Branch SWP

Roi Davis Building

905 JEFFERSON AVENUE

Rooms 228-230

Admission Free

### Boston

Sunday, May 6, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Grace Carlson

Workers Educational Center

30 STUART STREET

### Newark

Sat., April 28, 7:30 p. m.

"Czar to Lenin"

Historical Film of the October Revolution

Speaker:

Sylvia Stein

423 Springfield Avenue

Buffet Supper Admission 75c

### Twin Cities

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Max Goldman

10 SOUTH 4th STREET  
MINNEAPOLIS

### Cleveland

Tuesday, May 1, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

T. Black David Lands

Auspices: Cleveland Branch, SWP

Carnegie Hall

1220 HURON ROAD

### Chicago

Thursday, May 3, 8 p. m.

Speaker:

Vincent Dunne

Buckingham Hall

59 EAST VAN BUREN ST.

Admission 25 cents

# Socialist Workers Party May Day Call To Labor

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Grace Carlson

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

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

"Having miscalculated the date on which her allowance from the estate was to arrive, Nancy found that her immediate fortune consisted of \$1.40 in American currency and one Canadian dime. . .

"For the next few days the young lady who will one day come into millions nibbled on sandwiches and quaffed soup at the Automat, carefully avoiding all of her friends.

### POOR RICH GIRL

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

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

If a reporter on a capitalist pa-



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

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

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

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

### HUNGER AND DEATH

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

the circulatory system . . . or among the 2,569 listed as due to 'alcoholism' . . . (Bulletin of National Research Council, Nov. 1943).

For every actual death from malnutrition, there are thousands who are seriously ill from diet deficiency diseases and millions who have mild or moderate vitamin deficiencies. A survey made in 1942 of the diets of the relatively well-paid workers in the Lockheed Aircraft Plant in Burbank, California showed that 87 per cent had diets which were unsatisfactory. Surveys of the diets of Southern sharecroppers and of North Carolina textile workers and their families showed a 100 per cent unsatisfactory record.

Here is the daily allowance of food which the National Research Council recommends:

1 pint of milk at least, preferably 1 quart  
2 servings of potatoes  
2 servings of fruit, one of which should be oranges or grapefruit  
2 vegetables, one of which should be leafy green or yellow  
1 serving of meat, fish or poultry  
1 whole-grain cereal dish  
Butter or vitamin-fortified margarine  
Whole-grain or enriched white bread at every meal

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# What Was Roosevelt's Real Role?

A MARXIST EVALUATION

By Felix Morrow

## 1. What Was the Cause of the Depression?

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Roosevelt and the Economic Crisis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Could Roosevelt Prevent the Depression?

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

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

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

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

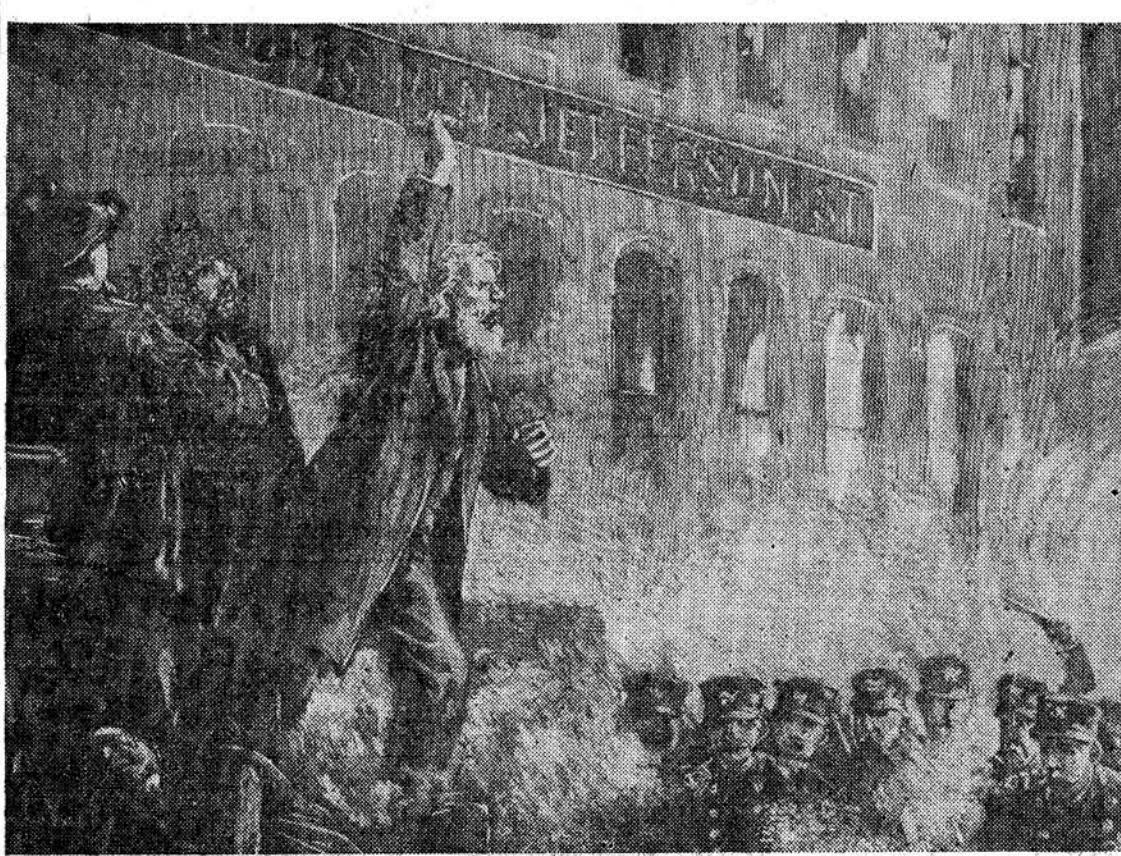
Would Roosevelt's banking laws and SEC regulation of stocks have prevented the stock market rise and speculation which preceded the crash of 1929? Nothing in these laws gives the slightest warrant for thinking so. When wartime prosperity began in 1941, these laws did not stand in the way of any of the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

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

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

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

## Famous 1886 Haymarket Demonstration



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

## May Day Had Its Origin In 8-Hour Day Struggle

By Larissa Reed

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

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

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

### EVENTS IN CHICAGO

Two days later, on May 3, when the locked-out workers of the McCormick Harvest Works established mass picket lines protesting against the use of strike-breakers, the bosses sent their police and gunmen. They opened fire upon the unarmed workers, killing four and wounding many others. A flood of indignation swept over the workers of Chicago.

The following day a gigantic mass meeting was called at Haymarket Square to protest the bloody attack. Suddenly a bomb exploded in the midst of the crowd gathered there. No one has ever established who threw the bomb, but it is generally believed to have been the act of a provocateur paid by the bosses. For the police it was the signal to begin firing at the workers. In the confusion they also fired upon one another. When the smoke cleared away, some police were killed, but three times as many workers lay dead and wounded.

### HAYMARKET MARTYRS

The bosses seized the opportunity to whip up an even more ferocious campaign against the workers, their unions and their 8-hour day movement. Hundreds of labor leaders and workers were arrested. The boss press shouted for workers' blood.

Eight anarchist working-class leaders were found "guilty" of first degree murder. They were August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe. Seven were sentenced to death, but later two were commuted to life imprisonment. One was given 15 years. Lingg, defying his capitalist persecutors, took his own life in prison.

On Nov. 11, 1887 four of them were hanged. But even facing death, these heroic men stood firm in their allegiance to the workers' fight for freedom against the capitalist system of ruthless exploitation. With the noose around his neck, Spies declared: "The time will come when our silence in the grave will be more eloquent than our speeches."

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

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

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

### The Basic Cause Is Capitalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"French Imperialism and World War II" by N. Marc is translated from the April-May issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, theoretical organ of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

The stagnation of France's "usury imperialist" economy in the period between two imperialist world wars is clearly described. The maneuvers by which, despite this stagnation, French capitalism has managed to hold the reins of power, are explained. The financial collaboration between Vichy France and the so-called "Free" French government in Algiers is exposed. The tasks of the French proletariat are set forth in the program of the Trotskyists.

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

In "The Arsenal of Marxism" the editors reprint Leon Trotsky's brilliant article on the Spanish revolution, "The Lessons of Spain—the Last Warning." "Review of the Month" by the editors of *Fourth International* discusses the Stalinist betrayals in Greece and the despicable role of the British labor bureaucrats who whitewashed Churchill's bloody attacks upon the Greek people. The editors also lay bare the motives behind the monstrous hate propaganda against the entire German people used by the Allies to "justify" their plans for brutal military occupation of Germany.

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

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

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

Despite their joint efforts, the movement in support of the 18 is kept growing until the hour of their release from prison.

But the release of the 18 does not end the struggle. The fight to restore their civil rights and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act continues. In this fight the Tobin-Trotman gang stand opposed to the millions of workers who have shown their determination to defend labor's right to free speech which the Smith Act denies.

In the April issue of the *International Teamster*, Lester M. Hunt, Assistant Editor, replies to an inquiry regarding the Minneapolis case with the usual shower of filth and lies. In an attempt to discourage support to the campaign to repeal the Smith Act, Hunt, who recently put the *International Teamster* on record in support of the Little Steel formula, declares: "The case is closed."

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

Undoubtedly Roosevelt yielded much to Stalin with reference to Poland, the Baltic and Balkan countries but it is exceedingly unlikely that he promised very much as far as Manchuria is concerned.

The most acute rivalries between the Stalinist bureaucracy and American imperialism do not lie primarily in Eastern Europe but in the Far East.

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

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

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

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

## STALIN'S DENUNCIATION OF SOVIET-JAPAN PACT

By M. Morrison

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

Up to now Stalin refused to enter into discussions with the Stalinist bureaucracy or any of its foreign or domestic policies. It meant only that we defended that nationalized property against destruction by German imperialism.

Now that the Soviet Union is safe as far as German imperialism is concerned and since the danger to Soviet nationalized property comes mainly from Stalin's domestic policies and his suppression of the European Revolution, the military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is no longer the main task. The main task now is the defense of the European Revolution against Hitler on the Soviet Union and the Alliance of Japan with Hitler as justification for the denunciation of the treaty but Japan's help to Hitler could easily have been made a cause for the breaking of the treaty and a declaration of war at any time since Hitler's attack. Only gullible people believe that treaties really determine the relations between nations.

### ANOTHER CRIME

Will the situation change if Stalin attacks Japan? I can not of course speak for the party which will consider the problem if and when it arises. I can only say for myself that the Soviet Union is in no danger from Japanese imperialism. Stalin's entry into the war against Japan can under no circumstances be justified on the basis of any danger to the Soviet Union coming from Japan. Whatever our decision may then be with reference to the slogan of "Defense of the Soviet Union," it is certain that Stalin will be committing another terrible crime against the Soviet masses, if he has suffered so much in the last three years, into another war, when it is no longer a question of the

# May Days During The First World War

By Ruth Johnson

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

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

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

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

## FRANCE AND GERMANY

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

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



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

## OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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

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

## CLEVELAND IN 1919

The next year, however, found the American workers engaged in one of the mightiest May Day demonstrations ever held in the United States, with thousands marching beneath red banners, proclaiming solidarity with the October Revolution. In Cleveland alone 50,000 paraded by a revolutionary Socialist anti-war fighter Charles E. Ruthenberger. The parade was attacked by armed members of the American Legion and mounted police. In the terrible battle that followed hundreds of workers were injured and two were killed. This was the capitalist "democracy" for which American workers in uniform had so recently bled and died!

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

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

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

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

By Grace Carlson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Greece

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

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

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

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

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

### Great Britain

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

Sigars are already multiplying that the chickens of the wartime betrayal of the British Labour leaders will come home to roost in the coming election contest. Churchill's Tory campaigners from the so-called "anti-fascist" General de Gaulle is sabotaging the purge of those who collaborated with the Nazis. Death sentences meted out to former Vichy police chiefs and other reactionaries have been commuted by de Gaulle through the power vested in him as the final arbiter of all court decisions. The strike of the Marseilles jurymen, against this policy followed by a similar protest in Toulon, caused a commotion in the Consultative Assembly. In answer to queries about the extent of his reprieves, de Gaulle declared that he was not compelled to indicate the number of instances in which his prerogative as "between myself and my conscience" has operated. The irony of the situation is that de Gaulle's government plans to end the "purge" entirely this month.

### France

A strike of Marseilles jurymen has dramatically disclosed how the so-called "anti-fascist" General de Gaulle is sabotaging the purge of those who collaborated with the Nazis. Death sentences meted out to former Vichy police chiefs and other reactionaries have been commuted by de Gaulle through the power vested in him as the final arbiter of all court decisions.

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### ARBEITER UND SOLDAT

DEUTSCHE REVOLUTION IN WESTERUSSIA (Karl Liebknecht)

AB 1. MAI 1944 KURS AUF DIE REVOLUTION!

Ein Schicksalszug des deutschen Arbeiters

Die Deutschen Revolutionäre Internationalen (Karl Liebknecht)

## LESSONS FOR LABOR IN DETROIT ELECTION

By John Saunders

DETROIT—The clean sweep by Republican Party candidates in the Wayne County (Detroit) and Michigan state elections held on April 2nd has caused a great stir in the ranks of labor and a widespread search for the reasons for the annihilating defeat suffered by the candidates endorsed by the CIO-PAC. In the city of Detroit only 75,000 out of a total of 780,000 registered voters took the trouble to cast ballots. Out of that number only 29,823 followed the advice of the CIO leaders to vote for Victor G. Reuther, assistant director of the UAW-CIO War Policy Division, for one of two posts on the Detroit Board of Education. Reuther ran last in a four man contest and received fewer votes than there are members in one of the larger locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers in this area.

Most surprised of all were the Republicans, who won in Wayne County for the first time since 1932. One of the Wayne County Republican leaders was so overwhelmed when notified of the victory that he exclaimed: "What! You mean we won?" Archibald Leadbetter elected as county auditor on the Republican ticket had no better explanation than "Elections run in cycles and it was time for the Democratic cycle to end. It's now time for the Republicans to have a voice in the government."

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

### FALSE EXPLANATIONS

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

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

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

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

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

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

### FROM THE BRANCHES

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

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "Enclosed are 73 subs. We still can't see the horizon as far as our perspectives are concerned. What was yesterday a fantastic prediction of 500 is today outdated. As far as individual scores go, Bob Kingsley is leading the branch with 58; Izzy London and Dave Lands are running a close second with 51."

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

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

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

Bernard Forrest, Chicago: "The subs enclosed should put us over the top. We have set ourselves a new quota of 1,500.

Our leading Pace-Setter, Paul Kujac, discovered that a rainy Sunday can be a very good day. He was covering a rooming-house neighborhood when a thunder-storm broke out and since everyone was confined to their homes, it was easy for him to get in and speak to people. Consequently he sold 35 subs on that day."

R. Haddon, San Francisco: "This week many of our subs are from friends. One person subscribed last week, attended a meeting and brought in 20 subs this week. She will undoubtedly win the prize for subscribers who get the most subs locally, a copy of J. P. Cannon's 'History of American Trotskyism.' This will be awarded at a social at the close of the campaign (when the winning teams gets treated to a dinner). We are aiming at 500 subs by the end of the campaign."

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

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

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

### FROM OUR SUBSCRIBERS

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

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

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

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

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

### MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Mike Warren	West Side, N. Y.	546
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	291
Paul Kujac	Chicago	189
Howard Mason	Detroit	151
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	143
Ernest Drake	Detroit	139
Doris Hilsen	Akron	135
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, N. Y.	133
E. Logan	Detroit	120
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	100
Kay O'Brien	Detroit	95
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	90
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn, N. Y.	88
Maggie McGowan	Toledo	88
Robert Kendall	East Side, N. Y.	85
Justine Lang	Detroit	84
M. Kennedy	Chicago	83
Sam Richter	Detroit	82
Art Woods	Chicago	82
B. Haynes	Chicago	82

### SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Akron	85	269	316
Allentown	50	154	308
Flint	50	117	234
Cleveland	200	417	209
San Diego	50	92	184
Milwaukee	100	179	179
Youngstown	300	481	160
Toledo	250	387	155
Reading	75	108	144
Detroit	1000	1378	138
Buffalo	350	455	130
Minneapolis	300	383	128
Rochester	50	58	116
St. Paul	100	114	114
New York	2500	2744	110
Chicago	1000	1005	101
Bayonne	150	150	100
San Francisco	350	344	98
Boston	200	193	97
Philadelphia	150	144	96
Newark	350	298	85
Seattle	400	294	74
Los Angeles	2000	1266	63
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	227	162
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes (Trail-Blazers)	608	—	—
Total	10,200	11,860	116

### 'TRAILBLAZERS' REPORT SUCCESS IN ROCHESTER

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

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

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

### NEW FRIENDS

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

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

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A reader in Italy sends the following welcome message: "Everyone here sends their warmest wishes to the 18. We are watching your efforts with envy and admiration. The Militants are grand and seem to improve with each issue. You are certainly setting us an inspiring example and we shall do what we can to emulate it."

### Pioneer Notes

It is appropriate that in this issue celebrating the international working class holiday of May Day, we should speak of one of the greatest classics of the struggle for international socialism. A reader in Cambridge, Mass., writes enthusiastically:

This experience was related by A. Field of Minneapolis: "One of our comrades reported tonight on a call-back she made. The subscriber said that she had been waiting for someone to call. She said that her husband had always enjoyed talking about politics and would discuss it with neighbors way into the night. She said that now since he has been getting the paper he has been able to discuss politics much more intelligently."

The following letter accompanied a subscription from D. E. W. of Cleveland. "Recently I have received sample copies of your paper, *The Militant*, and have found it a very enlightening paper. I like the frankness in which you bring out the news. Therefore, I am pleased to know about your paper and become a subscriber."

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

"Our group here is progressing favorably when one considers the relative economic and political backwardness of this country. Added to that you have the degeneration of Stalinism which in-

creases rapidly mounting sales which have virtually exhausted our stock of this volume. Since in a short time it will be completely out of print, we are compelled to price our remaining copies at \$3.50. Readers of *The Militant* who wish the book should place their orders immediately."

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The Third International After Lenin by Leon Trotsky. \$3.50. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

### WHERE YOU CAN BUY THE 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

AKRON	News Exchange, 51 S. Main. Militant Bookshop, Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market Street, Rm. 405.
CHICAGO	51st St. L Station; Cesninsky's Bookstore, 2750 W. Division St.; University of Chicago Bookstore, 5802 S. Ellis Ave.; Randolph News Shop, 68 W. Randolph. Newstand, N.W. corner 51st and Cottage Grove.
DETROIT	Family Theater Newsstand, opposite theater, Carls Book Store, 9109 Woodward Ave. Cass Newsstand, Cass at Michigan Ave. Militant Bookshop, Woodward, Rm. 21.
LOS ANGELES	NE Corner, 5th and Main; 326 W. 5th Street; Consolidated Bldg. 6th and Hill; 2210 E. Bklyn. Ave.; 1660 N. Cahuenga and Hollywood Blvd.; 1665 N. Los Palmos and Hollywood Blvd.; S. Hill St.
MINNEAPOLIS	Labor Book Store, 10 South 4 Street.
ST. LOUIS	Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
TOLEDO	Athletic Sport Center, 908 Washington St.; M. & M. Drugstore, Michigan St. and Madison Ave.
NEWARK	'Militant' Book Shop, 905 Jefferson Avenue, Rooms 228-230.



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PIONEER PUBLISHERS

# THE MILITANT

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

— Leon Trotsky

## Voice Of The Future

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## No Idle Factories!

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

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

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

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

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

## The New 'Militant'

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

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

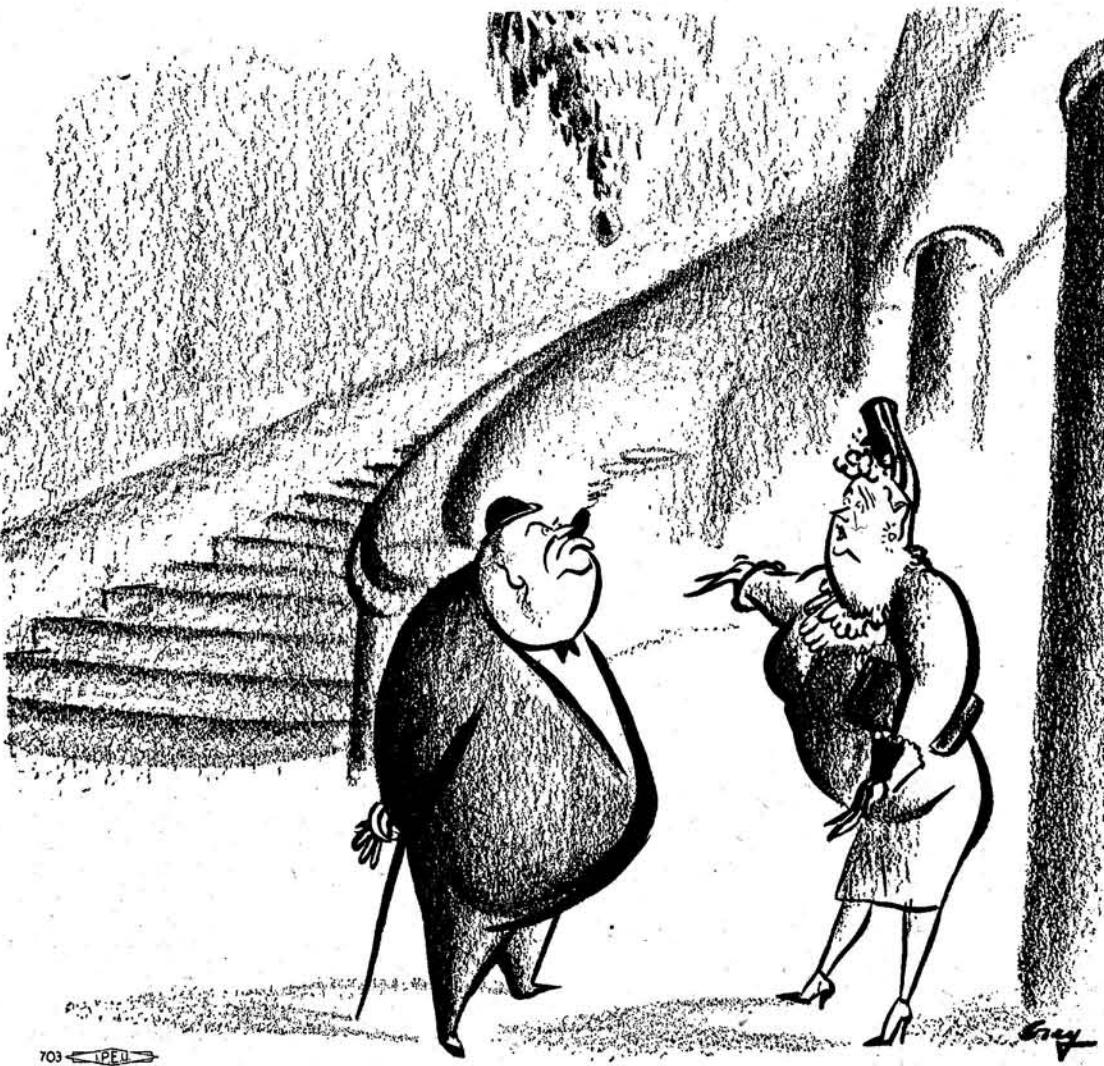
The frameup conviction and imprisonment of the 18 Trotskyist leaders did not stifle the voice of revolutionary socialism, as the enemies of labor hoped it would. Instead the SWP members rallied around their banner with increased fervor and devotion. A host of new friends were made for the Trotskyist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

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

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

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

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



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

## WORKERS' FORUM

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

### "The Clink of Golden Dollars"

Editor:

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

They even wax eloquent in their dreams of a post-war heaven—a heaven of dollars and more dollars. L. R. Hussa, Vice-President of Albina Engine and Machine works of Portland, Ore., says:

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

Eddie Shea, New York

### Anti-Labor Interests Spread Anti-Semitism

Editor:

The rapidly mounting anti-Semitic prejudice that from all accounts is sweeping the country is certainly evident here in Buffalo. In the Hertel district, where a section of the relatively small Jewish population in the city lives, a number of violent incidents, directed primarily against Jewish youths, have occurred. The latest one took place just a short time ago when a gang of young hoodlums provoked a bloody fight with Jewish youngsters coming out of a neighborhood theater.

Most serious, however, is the growth of anti-Semitic ideas among workers in the plants. Frequently now we hear workers blame all their misfortunes on the Jews—"The Jews are profiting by the war—The Jews own everything—Maybe Hitler was right about the Jews," etc.

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

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

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

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

The Militant is doing a magnificent job in fighting Negro dis-

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

B. G.  
Buffalo

### The Workers Want To Read the Truth

Editor:

I never heard of *The Militant* until I picked up a few sheets of it that someone else had. And after reading it I was surprised to know that *The Militant* is able to print the truth about what goes on in this country today. The capitalistic newspapers try to keep as much truth away from the people as possible.

After reading your newspaper

I found out that freedom of the press does not prevail in capitalistic news. *The Militant* news is the news that the working man must read because the working man today wants to read the truth. He also wants to read news that expresses HIS feelings, opinions and views. He doesn't want to hear about the troubles of the poor, poor capitalist.

The capitalist "never done nothing" for the working man unless he knew it would profit him. Anything that the worker got from the capitalist you'll find that the workers had to put up a stiff battle to get. So keep printing the truth, because the people today no longer want to be kept ignorant.

To keep a man ignorant, he must not know the truth. The more ignorant the people, the more profit to the capitalist.

R. A. Alloggia  
Allentown, Pa.

### QUESTION BOX

Q: Please give the source of information printed in the April 14 Militant that meat packers are receiving government subsidies.

A: The Saturday Evening Post, April 7, 1945 states: "A part of their (the consumers') meat bill is being subsidized by the government. This subsidy started when prices of meat, butter and flour were rolled back in 1942. In the first 17 months of its operation the government paid out \$592,100,000 to packers and slaughterers."

Q: I would like proof of *The Militant's* statement to the effect that legislation has been passed which will guarantee maintenance of profits to corporations during the reconversion period.

A: Revenue laws since 1939 have established a system of "carrybacks" and "carryovers," which result in a guarantee of net profits in excess of their annual average net profits between 1936 and 1939. The revenue act of 1942 provides for postwar refunds of 10 percent of the excess profit liabilities for the year 1942 and subsequent years. Randolph N. Paul, General Counsel of the U. S. Treasury, stated on March 1, 1944 that "Government... has become a partner in industry's reconversion and losses."

Q: What is the minimum wage under the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act?

A: With many exceptions, the minimum is now 30 cents an hour. Exemptions include the provision that even lower rates may be fixed by the administration "for learners, apprentices, messengers and handicapped workers."

F. B.  
Detroit

## Briggs Union Answers

### Boss Lies to Soldiers

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Wartime Advertising Pays In Lower Corporate Taxes

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

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

Advertiser	1944	1943
Procter & Gamble	\$18,956,615	\$15,501,236
General Foods	13,880,784	11,730,650
General Motors	12,013,778	10,130,409
Lever Bros.	11,067,749	8,449,107
Sterling Drug	9,423,941	8,669,431
General Mills	7,942,290	7,454,223
Colgate-Palmolive-Peet	6,426,669	5,290,563
American Home Products	6,369	