

Mass Lay-Offs Speeded As War Ends In Europe

Just prior to the formal close of the war in Europe last week came a series of announcements from government officials and top union leaders indicating that war production cutbacks will throw millions of workers on the streets within the next six months to a year.

The AFL Executive Council on May 1 issued a statement in Washington that "mass unemployment will grip America in 1945 and purchasing power will be reduced to such a low point that expansion of postwar production will be blocked." The council declared that the end of the war in Europe will mean a 50 per cent cut in war production "within a few months."

Strong confirmation of this prediction followed on May 2 when President Truman recommended a \$4,265,000,000 slash in the Maritime Commission's shipbuilding appropriations. This recommendation, cutting government shipbuilding by two-thirds, was adopted by the House within two days.

On the west coast, the Maritime Commission has announced that shipyard employment will be down from 300,000 to 125,000 by July 1. The San Francisco Bay area shipyard employment will be cut from 133,000 to 40,000 in two months. Shipyards in Oregon and Washington will be reduced from 120,000 peak employment to 25,000. East coast shipyards have announced layoffs as high as 40 per cent, with officials of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, CIO, stating they are expecting "considerable dislocation" and "widespread layoffs."

AUTO AND AIRCRAFT

The automotive and aircraft industry, employing over 2,000,000 workers, faces drastic unemployment and wage slashes through reduced hours. On May 1 the Army Air Forces announced a pending "one front" plane production schedule which will cut

ON THE INSIDE

CIO and "Peace Charter" 2
Rubber Workers' Strikes 3
Roosevelt and Farm Prices 4
Trotskyists Fight Hitler 4
Fascism and Big Business 5
Trotsky on Hitler 5
Truth about Atrocities 6
May Day Celebrations 6

COLUMNS AND FEATURES
Trade Union Notes 2
Diary of a Steelworker 3
Grace Carlson 3
The Negro Struggle 4
International Notes 5
Shoptalks on Socialism 6
Militant Army 7
Pioneer Notes 7
Workers Forum 8

Hard Coal Miners Remain On Strike Despite 'Seizure'

MAY 8.—In the first mass defiance of a government strikebreaking "seizure" and the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, 72,000 militant hard coal miners in Pennsylvania yesterday ignored Secretary Ickes' back-to-work deadline fixed in his ultimatum of last Thursday.

Ickes, acting on President Truman's orders, "seized" the struck mines and commanded the strikers to return to the pits not later than yesterday. The "seizure" consisted of hoisting American flags over the mine properties and cloaking the mine operators and their supervisory agents in governmental authority.

A battleship produces nothing, and is "useful" only as an instrument of death and destruction. The Willow Run plant can be converted to consumers' goods production and provide jobs for thousands of workers. But in the opinion of a Ford, workers too are "expendable" — only profits are not.

plane production by more than 30 per cent.

At Los Angeles, Douglas Aircraft has eliminated its third shift already, and warned the CIO United Automobile Workers that employment will be cut in half. Ford Willow Run bomber plant will be closed by August, perhaps by June. Cuts of from a third to a half of all employment are projected throughout the automotive industry. The War Manpower Commission announced that 107,000 Detroit war workers had already been laid off in the 12 months before April 1.

UAW-CIO leaders in the northeast states said on May 4 that they anticipate a drop in employment within a few months from the present 100,000 to 60,000.

The volume of unemployment will be tremendously swelled by returning and discharged war veterans. The Army announced on May 5 that it expects to discharge some 2,000,000 soldiers as quickly as possible within the year following the fall of Germany.

Official reassurances that the millions of "disemployed" will find jobs in civilian industries are belied by the WPB's actual program of "reconversion." The WPB has thus far authorized only \$700,000,000 worth of so-called civilian goods spot production—while war production is to be cut by no less than \$30,000,000,000 (billions) within a year.

(Continued on page 2)

Meat Profiteers Claim Prices Not High Enough

The special House Food Investigating Committee in a report on May 2 acknowledged what every housewife knows—that there is a widespread black market in meat. Moreover the Committee said that as shortages increase similar black markets will develop in eggs, sugar, fats and oils.

What does this Congressional Committee recommend to break up the monstrous black market in meat and to ward off the growing threat of black market operations in other foods? It proposes higher prices for the consumers and greater profits for the big ranchers and meat monopolists!

YIELD TO PROFITEERS

Here are the actual recommendations of the Food Investigating Committee. 1. That pricing be revised to assure profit margins to growers, producers and distributors with special incentives to cattle feeders. 2. That the support price of hogs be boosted. 3. That special inducements be offered to forestall the development of black markets in sugar and meat.

This program of increased subsidies to producers and increased prices for consumers directly reflects the pressure of the big packers and food trusts. It is the answer of Congress to the people.

PLenty of MEAT

A foreword to an article in the May 12 Collier's magazine, "Why You Don't Get Meat" by W. B. Courtney points out that "there is more meat—on the hoof and in refrigerators—in the United States right now than ever before." Courtney goes on to say "the live beef-cattle population of the United States is more than

80 million, or nearly two-thirds of the human population."

Unless Congress permits the OPA to raise the price ceiling on beef, most of this meat will find its way into the black market. Evidence given at the House Food Investigating Committee hearings during the past six weeks showed that from 75 to 90 per cent of all meat was sold at black market prices. Working-class families, unable to pay black market prices are getting only some 80 pounds of meat per person per year, according to OPA surveys, although the OPA program was designed to supply each person with 115 pounds of meat. Even 115 pounds of meat is a sharp drop from the average per capita consumption of 147 pounds per person in 1944 (much lower than this of course, for the low-paid workers.)

Aroused by the present meat shortages and the threat of still greater scarcities, Mrs. Mildred Gutwillig, chairman of the New York City Consumer Council, said recently: "The answer to black markets is bigger enforcement staffs and better enforcement of present ceilings." But the report of the House Food Investigating Committee ridiculed the work of the OPA enforcement staffs, which it said used "half-way measures" against black marketeers. Their "solution" is to make black market prices legal.

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards, great signs in German, English, Russian, Polish, Czech and Serbian read: 'This is the Day of the Fight against Fascism' . . .

"Between these signs and beneath the flags of many nations, the survivors marched—a Polish group, a Russian group, a Yugoslav group, a Czechoslovakian group, an Italian group, a Spanish group, and many others. And then came a large German unit and they began singing the Internationale. Other groups picked up the song, each in its own language. 'Yet the melody was not lost in this babylon of languages. It rose in a mighty torrent into thin air which but one month ago still stank of Nazi massacres.'

(Continued on page 4)

HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murdered, their wives and children lost somewhere on this continent. Their faces are gray, their shoulders droop as under great weight.

"They are the proletariat of many nations and they are magnificent. This is their day and it is fitting that they should have celebrated it here. On the walls of their own barracks and the barracks of the SS who were once their guards,

Auto Union Paper Tells How Corporations Scorn 'Peace Charter' Signed By The CIO

By Art Preis

The capital-labor "peace charter" which Philip Murray and William Green signed with Eric Johnston, Chamber of Commerce president, "finds no warm response among the owners and management heads of the automobile industry." That is the admission which recent events in the country's largest industry have wrung from the top leaders of the CIO United Automobile Workers. It is contained in the May 1 issue of the union's official organ, *United Automobile Worker*.

"On the contrary," states the paper of the largest union in the country, "the auto industry, spearheaded by the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, General Motors and Chrysler Corporations, are fighting the peace pact and rallying other employers for an all-out war with labor."

In the article, the article concedes a portion of the truth about the real nature and intent of the Murray-Green-Johnston "peace pact." The auto barons oppose the pact "despite the general view that the agreement is exceedingly generous toward management."

In exchange for "recognition" of collective bargaining rights "which is the law of the land," the article points out, "the labor signers... recognized the justice of the 'free enterprise system,' granted management's traditional prerogatives in the plants and expressed opposition to needless government 'interference' in industry."

AIMS OF AUTO BARONS

The basic intent of the agreement is the "minimizing of strikes and lockouts." That is, keeping labor tied hand and foot while the owners can enjoy their "privileges" of exploiting the workers and controlling the productive resources of the nation for their own profit and priviledges.

What is the real program of the automobile moguls? It is contained says the article in the "five-point declaration of war on labor," drafted jointly by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. This is the legislative program revealed recently by B. E. Hutchinson, Chrysler corporation vice president and a NAM director. It would outlaw strikes, permanently, safeguard strike-breakers, illegalize the closed shop and impose government compulsory arbitration even in peace-time.

This program, states the UAW

Hard Coal Miners Remain on Strike Despite 'Seizure'

(Continued from page 1)

wage-hour act to pay portal-to-portal wages. This cuts legal ground completely from under the operators—and WLB which two years ago upheld the mine owners' position—who have repeatedly provoked the miners to strike over this issue.

SMITH-CONNALLY

In the face of the solidarity of the miners and the indisputable justice of their cause, the government has as yet hesitated to undertake direct measures to enforce its ultimatum.

There can be no question, however, that the administration, representing the interests of Big Business, is more than willing to employ the harshest measures. But you can't put 72,000 miners in jail or dig coal with bayonets.

If the hard coal miners win out, the most vicious anti-labor law on the statute books, the Smith-Connally act, will have been dealt its severest blow.

THE MILITANT

may now be purchased at

242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

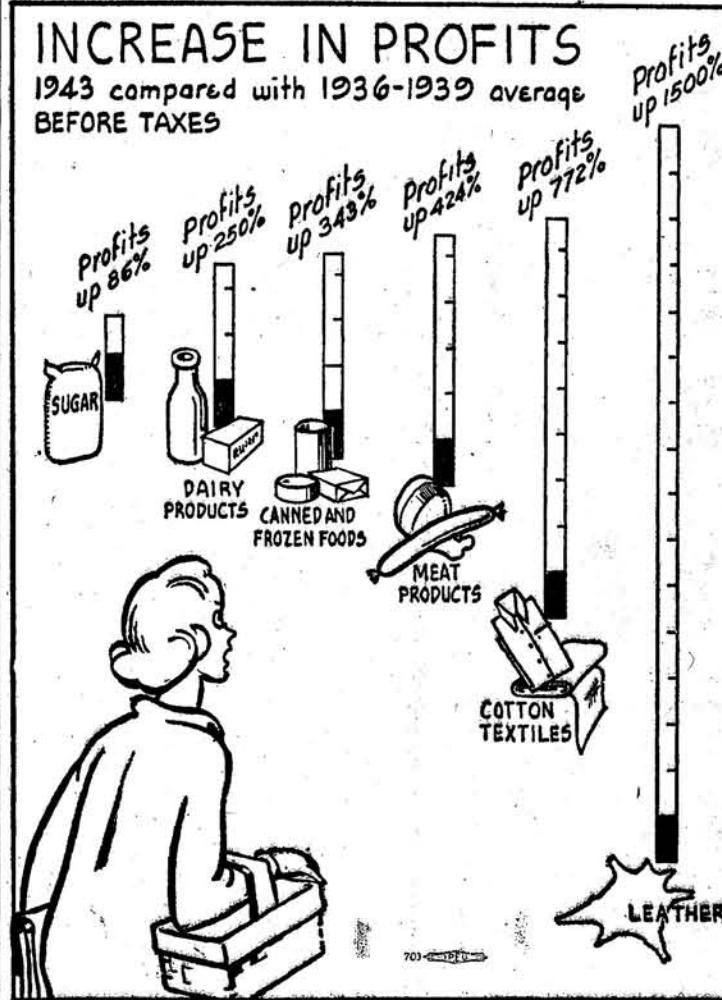
This Coupon and 25 Cents Entitles You to a 6-Month Subscription to
THE MILITANT
A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Published in the interests of the Working People
The only newspaper in this country that tells the truth
about labor's struggles for a better world

You may start my subscription to THE MILITANT with your
INTRODUCTORY OFFER of 26 issues for 25¢.
I enclose 25¢ (coin or stamps).

Name
(Please Print)
Street Apt.
City Zone
State



Maritime War Board Orders Slash In Seamen's Bonuses

By Art Sharon

The Maritime War Emergency Board has announced a sharp cut in the bonuses paid to seamen. The "take home" pay of the merchant seamen has begun its down slide.

There is no corresponding proposal that the parasitic ship operators take any cut in their "take home" profits. A powerful government agency, the U. S. Maritime Commission, operates to protect their interests.

At no time has there been a more urgent need for militant union protection of seamen's rights and decent living standards than at present. But in one section of the seamen's union movement, the CIO National Maritime Union, Stalinist control has paralyzed a potentially powerful force.

In the other section, the AFL Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the lack of an adequate program, plus the outright scabbery on the part of the Stalinist-controlled NMU, acts as a curb to militant action. The Marine Firemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards and the other small craft unions are dependent on the action of the "big two."

UAW LEADERS

The UAW leaders, instead of mobilizing for the defense of the local unions, have rained all their blows on the striking workers and their local leaders. While the corporations are openly engaged in cutting the local unions to pieces, the UAW leaders write their hands in print, deplore the fact that the corporations don't want "peace" — and frantically attempt to enforce the no-strike pledge.

The UAW international representatives have rushed into every strike situation to act as cops for the corporations and government. They have tried to herd the workers back on the job without any gains. They have passed international executive board resolutions condemning and threatening union locals and their officers which have had the guts to stand up and fight for their rights.

Thus, while they cast suspicion on the "peace charter" IN WORDS, they enforce it upon the workers IN DEEDS.

Cramp Shipyard Workers Resist Wage-Cut Ruling

PHILADELPHIA, April 28.

A series of walkouts at the Cramp Shipyards here during the past two weeks has been precipitated by a War Labor Board directive nullifying piece work rates set up as part of the union contract since 1941.

As threats of mass layoffs haunt the shipyard workers here and the companies step up their union-busting provocations, the WLB has instituted a system for the establishment of piece rates by the company without negotiating with the union, Local 42 of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers.

The company fixed new rates which amounted to wage cuts of as much as 35 per cent for chippers, welders, burners, drillers, etc. Despite the efforts of the union leadership to avert a strike and their urging that the workers do nothing "rash," a group of chippers and drillers struck on April 17. The leaders of the local stood at the gates urging the strikers back on the job.

SEVERAL WALKOUTS

While the drillers were still outside the gates, the company offered carbon arc burners a 25 per cent bonus to perform drillers work. When the union officers finally succeeded in getting the chippers and drillers back to work this bonus offer was withdrawn.

No sooner did the first group of strikers vote last Tuesday to return to work, when it was announced that there was a walkout of welders, burners and tackers. The company, according to the union officials, then sent lay-off notices to 4000 workers. At the present writing, the strikers have been persuaded to return, but the workers' problems remain unsettled.

Meanwhile, the most frequent subject of conversation in the Philadelphia yards is the impending mass cutbacks and layoffs.

EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS ARE SLIM IN BUFFALO

By Bill Gray

BUFFALO, May 9.—In last week's *Militant* we reported the drastic layoffs which are hitting the workers in the aircraft and related industries in this area. The questions now uppermost in these workers' minds are: What are our prospects for jobs? Will large contracts for civilian production result in re-employment for many thousands? Isn't it possible that reconversion will mean that the huge plants will keep running?

Last September, before the ballyhoo about 60 million post-war jobs began, an official survey of employment prospects in this area was made public. Prepared for the Production Board by experts from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the survey answered very clearly the above questions.

Predicting that by the end of 1944, 25,000 aircraft workers would be released, the report states that Buffalo would soon have at least 50,000 unemployed. In another section dealing with women in industry the report states that 40 to 60 thousand women workers would lose their jobs. The report indicates that since these women when laid off, will return to their homes, they cannot be classified as unemployed.

"A year ago," says a summary of the B. L. S. report, "Buffalo was the nation's first life-sized laboratory in manpower control. Today Buffalo is on the way to becoming a laboratory all over again." The Buffalo workers were the guinea pigs upon whom the job freeze was first tried. Shortly after this pattern was applied to labor throughout the country.

We can be equally certain that this "new experiment" they are cooking up for us here will be extended to the rest of the workers in short order. As one worker put it: "First we got the wage-freeze, then the job-freeze, and now it's the freeze-out."

REAL PROSPECTS

If we add 50 percent of these women, which is a conservative estimate to the 50,000 men, we get a total of 75,000 unemployed. This figure amounts to approximately one-eighth of the total population of the city. This is the answer given in this official report about unemployment prospects for 1945-1946.

These figures were based in part on reports from manufacturers in this area who estimated that reconversion production would add up to only 31 percent of the 1939 level. To quote the Bureau of Labor Statistics survey: "Buffalo firms plan to do business at the same old stand." Their reports have little suggestion of the 'streamlined wonder-world of the future pictured by some for the post-war period."

"Other plants included in the survey," says the report, "will likewise be able to carry on only limited operations, if any, for a while. Three which now employ 3,000 have no immediate peace-time use and doubtful prospects. Five others will need an average of 6 to 9 months to reconvert... and may have trouble getting the new tools they need. Meanwhile they will all lay off workers."

The union admits other racial minorities such as the Mexicans and the Filipinos. But even those Negroes who hold withdrawal cards from other AFL unions have been refused membership in the I.A.M. Lodge.

The Negro Boeing workers are incensed over their virtual exclusion from all union rights and benefits. They want to be taken into full membership in the union, because they want to obtain full seniority protection and other union benefits. However, they say that if the IAM won't take them in, then the union should be compelled to reconstitute all dues that Negroes have ever paid to the Lodge. "The American revolution was fought over the slogan of 'no taxation without representation,'" the militant Boeing Negroes are saying. "That is the slogan over which we are ready to fight now."

Last Sunday's meeting was called in direct response to a decision taken in the last two weeks by the officials of Lodge 751 not to collect any more dues from the Negro workers in Boeing. The Negro workers correctly interpreted this action of the Machinists as being the first step on the part of the union officials to drive all Negroes completely out of the industry when production cut-backs and wholesale layoffs take place in the near future. Negro workers, deprived of seniority rights, will be the first to be thrown into the streets.

The meeting elected permanent officers and established an executive committee. The immediate program of the new organization comprises three points. 1) To fight for the right of all Negro workers in Boeing to become full fledged members of the Machinists Union and of Lodge 751. 2) To secure the appointment of a Negro to the Boeing Company's personnel staff. 3) To secure a grievance committee of three to negotiate the above two demands.

The chief business of the first meeting of the Committee was the preparation of a resolution, calling upon President Harry S. Truman as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States to issue a proclamation "abolishing every vestige of segregation in the armed forces."

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Union-Busting Pretext

George Romney, managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production, on May 2 revealed the scheme of the automobile monopolists to break up the CIO United Automobile Workers on the pretext that the union is creating a crisis in the industry which will result in widespread post-war unemployment.

This spokesman for the big auto corporations stated that they are "convinced it is time to scrutinize the operation of collective bargaining to determine why it is not working in the manner that promotes the national interest."

To Romney, the interests of the auto profiteers are identical with the "national interest."

** *

A Family Affair

On May 1 the War Labor Board in Washington held a hearing on the Detroit Kelsey-Hayes case, involving the reinstatement of 13 fired workers by order of the regional WLB after 5500 workers twice went on strike.

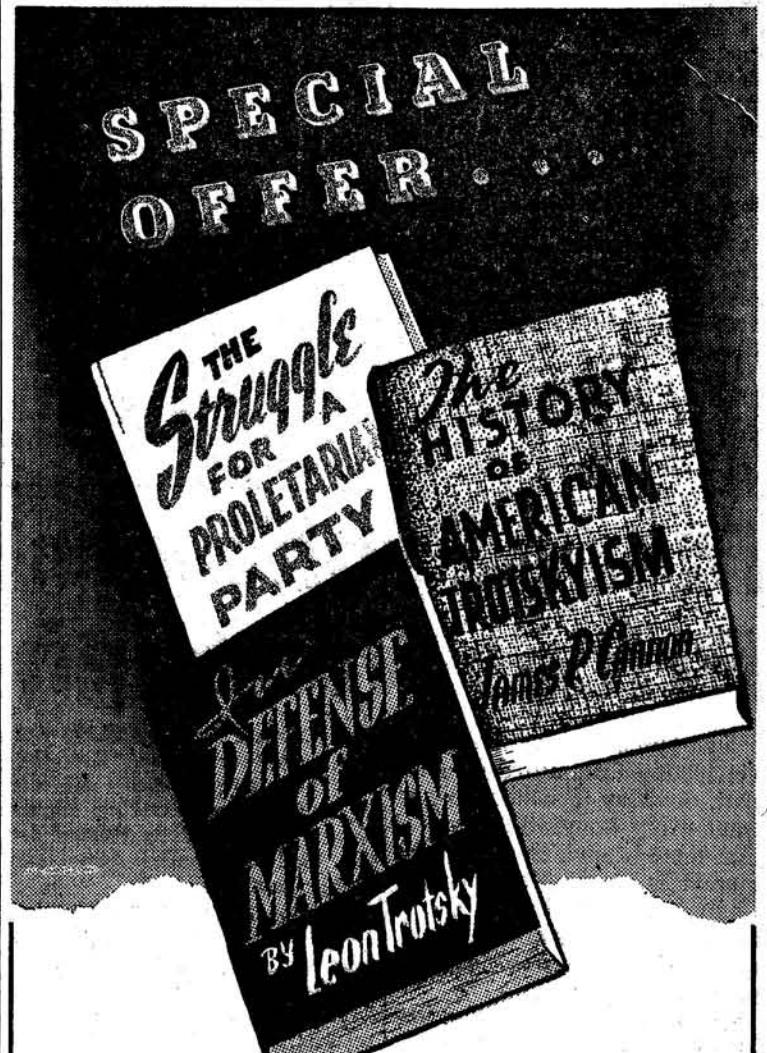
While upholding the regional WLB order, WLB Chairman took occasion to assail "both" the union and the company because "it is not good business that if one man gets fired 10,000 others must lose a week's work." After the hearing, he stated he did not think the board should be called on to inject itself into a "clearly family affair."

To Taylor the wholesale firing of union officers and committeemen which has provoked numerous auto strikes in the past three months is just a "family affair." He conceals the fact that it is not a question of any "one worker" getting fired, but of the leading union militants being picked out and fired in a deliberate campaign to undermine the unions.

Even when it is compelled to make a concession to the workers, the WLB finds a way to smear the unions and cover up the dirty game of the employers.

A Correction

The May 5 issue of *The Militant* carried on Page 3 a story about five strikes in Allentown, Pa., including walkouts at the Mack Truck plants by UAW-CIO Local 677 and at the Consolidated Vultee plant. By an inadvertent omission of several explanatory lines stating that the latter part of the story described the Mack strike, the false impression was left that this portion of the story referred to the Consolidated Vultee strike.



In Defense of Marxism by Leon Trotsky
240 pages, cloth \$2.00

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party by James P. Cannon
320 pages, cloth \$2.00

The History of American Trotskyism by James P. Cannon
280 pages, cloth \$2.75

3 Vital Books Describing the Growth and Development of American Trotskyism
All three at the Special Price of \$5.00

Regular Price \$6.75
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Rubber Locals Repel Boss Attacks

AKRON, May 6.—The rubber barons of Akron have failed dismally in a plot to wreck the CIO United Rubber Workers of America. For the past several weeks the Big Three of Akron, Goodyear, Goodrich and Firestone Tire and Rubber companies, had their fling at challenging the union movement. Each in their turn reaped a harvest of strikes which sent the corporation big shots back to Mahogany Row to plot new ways of anti-union war.

The Goodrich administrators flung down the gauntlet to URW Local 5 by indiscriminately handing out 3,000 reprimands to workers for such "offenses" as six days' absence in 1944. The immediate result of these 3,000 seeds of discontent was a four-day plant-wide strike. The local union executive board refused to call the workers back to work until the company tore up the reprimands. Telegrams from URW president Sherman Dalrymple were ignored. Pleas from the WLB were likewise "overlooked" by the union.

The company was forced to negotiate during the strike and to tear up almost all the irresponsibly distributed reprimands. After four days the union emerged victorious.

The victory of the union was especially significant since the heretofore strictly applied principle of no work, no negotiations was abandoned because of the stubborn militancy of the strike. **WORKERS' SOLIDARITY**

At Firestone, the company violated its contract by refusing to abide by seniority in the upgrading of Negro workers in a mill room. White workers were hired in from other departments to fill jobs which Negro mill workers were entitled to by seniority and ability. The mill workers struck. The Local union officers, notably Ike Watson, Local 7 president, stood by the Negro workers and forced the company to retreat.

This strike was an inspiring example of the solidarity of black and white against the common enemy. Corporation attempts to incite race conflicts were thwarted by a courageous and progressive union leadership.

This was two strikes on the rubber barons.

At Goodyear, the company also stepped up its anti-union provocations. For some weeks the corporation had been slashing wage standards and unfavorably revising piece work rates in violation of its agreement to negotiate with the union on such matters. Finally, a week ago, the pit men, whose rates were cut, went on strike. Plant 2 with 6,000 workers, shut down tight. As a result of the strike, the company was forced to settle the problem by returning to the rates prevailing before the cut.

OFFENSIVE HALTED

But the Goodyear Local 2 membership was not satisfied. They

filed a 30-day strike notice under the Smith-Connally Act, and are now voting on a strike to settle the mountain of grievances accumulated during the past months. At a huge mass meeting to consider the question of a strike vote, the majority in favor of a strike poll was overwhelming.

That was three strikes and out for the rubber corporations!

Their offensive was temporarily smashed; a wave of militancy has spread through Akron plants. Unionists are on guard against the next blow to come from the companies which are bent on wrecking the union movement.

The events, all during April, are just a preview of the plans of the arrogant profiteers who own the rubber industry to continue their huge profits after "VE Day" by cutting wages.

New battles are brewing.

Youngstown CIO Adopts Program To Aid Veterans

YOUNGSTOWN, O., May 4.—The CIO Council of Mahoning County, recognizing the need of aiding the returning veterans of the second world war, decided to set up a committee, called the Veterans Committee, to aid the returning soldiers with their problems. This action, as one of the delegates pointed out, was necessary because the War Manpower Commission and United States Employment Service could not be depended upon to do the proper job for the discharged men.

This action also recognizes that the workers haven't confidence in the American Legion or the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It proceeds from the premise that to win the returning soldiers to the side of the workers organized labor must form an alliance with the workers in uniform.

Such a committee of the unions working with the returned service men and women will face many problems. It will have to see that the workers get back the jobs they had before entering the armed forces, that women will not be discriminated against when fights for jobs are carried on, that Negroes and members of other minorities will be given equal consideration, that soldiers' protective laws do not serve to divide the workers. What is necessary is to fight for security for all workers.

The action of the Mahoning County CIO is one of the first actions on the part of a section of the labor movement to move in the direction of counteracting the reactionary influence of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars by forming an alliance with the workers in uniform.

TRY AND GET IT!

Here is her letter.

"I happened to run across this item on the financial page and thought there might be something in it you could use. I suppose that's because I myself feel pretty strongly on the question of what hap-

pens when I go shopping — especially for children's things. "You must have heard me complain that Jim had to wear his last year's shirts, which were two sizes too small for him all winter because I couldn't find any to fit him. When I tried to exchange the red bedroom slippers you bought him for St. Valentine's Day, I discovered that there are no bedroom slippers in larger sizes in the stores. 'We've been out for months,' they inform you.

"When I bought shoes for Jim last month (and that makes \$24 we've spent on children's shoes in 7 months) I tried to get rubbers too — and people just laughed. One store keeper said he could sell me overshoes. He told me that he had been trying to get them all winter and had received a whole 'basement full' just as spring came.

"My sister Dorothy sent me this clipping along with an angry three-page letter. Because she is writing about problems which all working-class mothers face these days of wartime shortages, skyrocketing prices and frozen wages, I think that the readers of *The Militant* will find her letter interesting. 'Ann' is her seven year old girl; 'Jim' her three year old boy — and, as parents of children of these ages know, they seem to outgrow their clothes overnight!

SHOP AROUND

"I certainly sound like a com-

plaining housewife! I really know that there are burdens under capitalism which are a million times worse, but the hypocrisy of a 'Patch, Save and Wear Out' campaign when most workers' belongings are already close to the worn-out stage and at the same time luxury goods fill the stores is pretty annoying.

"Ann and Jim have been pestering and pestering so I'll have to break off. Let me add just one note of further annoyance. After you do go shopping for children's shirts, towel racks for the bathroom, some kind of sauce pans other than the expensive glass ones that the children break — some salesgirls always say, 'We did have some in. You'll just have to come in often so you can catch them while they're here.'

"For somebody with children who is paying money to a girl to stay with the children — or like Elaine's sister-in-law has dragged three children across town to leave with her mother — and is hoping to get a batch of necessary items in the short time available, that is the last straw! Just spend several hours, two or three times a week to shop around stores to see if anything has come in!

"I have to go now to show Jimmy how to make 'feet' on the picture of the little boy he is drawing.

As ever,
Dorothy"

SUPER-PROFITS

A fitting climax to this report of the working-class housewife's shopping problems is the recently-issued report of the OPA on department store profits for 1943. In dollar figures, department store profits reached \$593,800,000 in 1943 in contrast to average profits from 1936-39 of \$51,800,000. This represents an increase in 1943 profits of 1038 per cent! And preliminary figures on 1944 show that they are doing still better still!

But the National Retail Dry-goods Association isn't satisfied yet. They asked the OPA recently to permit them to raise prices still more on the lower-priced articles — otherwise they will continue to refuse to carry such merchandise!

Who still thinks that we should PATCH and SAVE this WORN-OUT CAPITALIST SYSTEM?

Lay-Offs Spread In Ohio Cities

YOUNGSTOWN, May 10.—At Warren, Ohio, a city of about 50 thousand, 2500 workers out of a total of around 2800 were laid off because of the cutbacks that are already taking place, but are being censored. Practically no news of these lay-offs was given in the local press.

These lay-offs occurred at the Warren City Manufacturing company, a subsidiary of the Graham-Paige automobile company. We are unable to find out why the lay-offs took place.

At New Castle, Pennsylvania, the famous ghost city of depression days and a city of about 50 thousand, about 400 workers were laid off at the foundry division of the United Engineering and Foundry Company of Pittsburgh.

These two inland cities are beginning to become again cities with idle factories and of thousands of workers seeking work.

Allies Prepare Harsh 'Peace' For Europe

(Continued from page 1) has wiped out the means of production, destroyed the rural economy. Financial systems are in utterable chaos. Economic ties between the nations have been disrupted.

Ruined Europe cannot even feed the multitudes of its hungry inhabitants, let alone house and clothe them. To the toll of millions of lives which the imperialist war has already exacted, must be added those now doomed to death by disease and starvation. They include the children, unnumbered millions of them, who are suffering from acute hunger and afflicted with rickets and other maladies of malnutrition.

ALLIED PLANS

What next? The Allied victors long ago announced the type of "peace" they plan to impose on defeated Germany. It is their purpose to prevent their German imperialist rivals from challenging them again, and to prevent the German people from taking their destiny into their own hands along the road of the socialist revolution.

To these ends, they have prepared a Draconian "peace," a super-Versailles under which they plan to destroy what remains of the core of Germany's industrial economy. In addition, they intend to dismember Germany by carving it up into a series of separate states. For the execution of these reactionary plans, which mean perpetual want and destitution for the masses of all Europe, they plan a lengthy military occupation of the country.

In the early stages of the war, the announced aim of the Allies was confined to "rescuing Europe from fascist barbarism." But the real aims of the "democratic" imperialists went considerably further. They were intent on substituting their own domination for that of Hitler and Mussolini. The fascist regimes have been shattered to smithereens. A new barbarism now will take the place of the old—the barbarism of a predatory imperialist "peace."

There are manifold signs that the masses of Germany and other European countries will not submit to the new oppressors any more than they did the old. Rumblings of revolt can be heard from one end of the continent to the other. Just as the end of World War I was the signal to the European workers to rise and put an end to the bloody capitalist system, so the end of this war will mark the forward surge of the revolutionary movement.

FEAR MASSES

This is what the Allies' victors fear. It is for this, mainly, that they intend to keep large forces in Europe. For all the fine talk about "democracy" and the right of every nation to choose its own government, the Allies have no intention of allowing the European peoples to determine their own future. As they have already done in Greece, Italy and Belgium, they intend to saddle the rest of Europe with reactionary dictatorships, propped up by Allied arms, so that the masses may be held in permanent subjection to the decayed capitalist system.

On the very day of Germany's surrender, an Associated Press dispatch revealed that the U.S. Army is preparing to retain "a strong air arm" in Europe, with between 75,000 and 100,000 men in the ground crews alone, "long after the end of the war." There is no attempt to conceal the real meaning of this plan. Says the dispatch: "The main purpose of the post-war air police will be to help maintain order in Germany."

The military defeat of Germany, and later the defeat of Japan, will not spell peace unless the unleashed revolutionary power of the working class sweeps away the putrid capitalist system, with its never-ending rivalries, and reconstructs society along socialist lines. Peace under capitalism is at best an uneasy interval between wars. World War III is already in preparation between the two superpowers. But what does this contract really give the workers?

They find that they have another no-strike pledge tied to their necks for the duration of the contract and that they are supposed to let the corporations continue their anti-union drive.

The workers now are to bow to compulsory arbitration and place "reliance" on "impartial" boards or individuals to settle their grievances, as if the experiences with the WLB had not taught the workers that they can rely only upon their own strength.

After 15 months of government and corporation stalling the total over-all wage increase will average between four and five cents per hour. This includes the improved vacation clause and the added holidays. And the companies are not even paying this out of their own enormous profits. In Big Steel, because of the estimated added cost of 30 million dollars resulting from the agreement, the company is going to get some 25 million dollars reduction on its income tax.

Contrast these gains of the steel workers with those of the soft coal miners. After ap-

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

It's a queer thing about Nick, at least you think it's queer when you first consider it. But then, after you think about it for a little while, it all becomes clear.

Nick is a blower. He's the most unpopular blower on the whole furnace line. Always worrying about his job, always running around looking at your work, always complaining, always criticizing what you do, Nick gets on the nerves of every furnace man that ever works under him. I guess more grievances have been turned in against Nick than against any other boss, little or big, in the whole department.

What seems queer is that Nick isn't one of the bright boys that the company has brought in from somewhere to make a career in the company. Nick is just an old furnace man, one of the few old furnace men who have ever been made bosses.



Nick came out of the "old country" thirty or forty years ago, and I guess he's been with the company ever since that time. He came to work on the furnaces when the work was ten times as tough as it is now, and you wonder sometimes, when he tells about what they used to have to put up with, how it was possible for a man to do such work and live.

Once Nick was telling us about it. "Thirteen hours on night shift; eleven hours day shift," he said.

Well, that was bad enough, but there are plenty of fellows who remember that.

But Nick went on: "Those days you don't have drill like now. You got to hammer tapping hole all the way. Now you drill hole, seven, eight foot maybe. Then you burn him out with oxygen. Easy! Those days you hammer all the way. Sometimes hard hole, you hammer all night. Many time I remember I go home in morning, can't even get undressed. Hands like this..." and he held out both hands bent stiffly as though he were clutching at something.

"Every cast change five, six tuyeres," Nick told us gloatingly. "Now, every now and then you change one, most time none. You have to be a man to work furnace those days."

There's no doubt of it. Nick certainly did catch hell in the old days, Nick and all the others who had to make their living on the old blast furnaces. The work is killing now, and there have been improvements made, improvements designed not to save energy for the furnace gangs but rather to save time and money for the steel companies; but they have made things a little easier. And Nick has worked in the heat when they didn't have the improvements when they were getting them, and after they got them . . . and he's done plenty of sweating even since they came.

Why Nick Runs Around Bothering People

Wouldn't you think, then, at first glance, that Nick would be a little decent to the men that work under him? Wouldn't you think that he would remember the time when he was just a regular furnace man himself and act the way he'd want a boss of his to act? You would think so at first.

But look at it the other way. Nick has been pushed around all his life. He's had to worry about making both ends meet, skimping here, struggling like hell to save a little there, trying to figure out how to pay the doctor when little Stanley came along. He's had "tough" foremen standing over him, browbeating him, threatening him with most terrible punishment of all—dismissal and unemployment. He's seen how hard life is when you're a worker under capitalism . . . AND HE DOESN'T WANT TO GO BACK. Nick probably wakes up in the blackness of the night sweating dreaming that he's been "busted" down from a foreman to a worker.

That's why Nick runs around bothering people. He wants to be sure that the company won't come to him some day and say "Nick, you're not getting enough work out of your men, and the work you do get out of them isn't good enough. We're afraid we'll have to get somebody who can handle your job better than you. You report to work tomorrow on the afternoon shift on Number Two Furnace."

If they say that, Nick knows it's no good to say, "Please, Mr. Ellsworth, I work hard. I do my best." Oh, no, that's no good, and Nick knows it. And he knows what the company wants.

So, you see, Nick and all the rest of the little men of supervision, all the two-bit bosses, are like whips: It's the whip that hits the slave, but it's the overseer that holds the whip. And the whip is more of a slave than the slave himself.

Small Gain In New Contract For CIO Steel Union Ranks

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, May 7.—

The basic contract between the CIO Steelworkers Union and the major steel companies finally has been signed. Philip Murray boasts of the great "victories" that this contract has won for the steel workers. But what does this contract really give the workers?

What are the reactions of the rank and file steel workers to Murray's great "victory"? Militant workers think that they have been sold short, particularly when they see the miners getting results so quickly. They also are beginning to understand that the policy pursued by the Murray leadership is the wrong one.

The all-day workers who receive only minor benefits from the new contract are the most bitter because they received the least. Many of them feel that they have been made into second-class citizens in the union. There is some loose talk about quitting the union.

The way to solve the problem of getting what the workers are entitled to is not to quit the union but to change its policy. Murray's policy of retreat must be replaced by the policy of militant action. The no-strike policy has served as a noose around the neck of the union. The WLB has further tied the union in its fight for better conditions and the Murray machine has bowed to this board. Politically the Murray machine has lined up with the Democratic administration dominated by the capitalists. The policy of independent action by the workers in the economic and political fields is the one that will get results.



The President, says Krock, upheld the argument of the brass hats that bases in these former mandates and enemy areas are an essential foundation of that security which is the aspiration of San Francisco because: the United States cannot possibly be viewed as a future aggressor by any member of the United Nations; the total of the native population is inconsiderable; the ability of these peoples to govern themselves at any time in the near future is improbable. Just what the British imperialists say with regard to India—and to apply the full formula of trusteeship to these areas and peoples is impractical as well as dangerous."

KROCK'S REPORT

A corner of the curtain hiding the real purposes of the political representatives of the Wall Street monopolist plutocracy who aim at nothing less than world domination was lifted by Arthur Krock, Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, on May 1. According to this writer one of President Truman's first acts of foreign policy has been to jettison all of Roosevelt's fine talk about international "trusteeships" for territories seized from Japan which the Army and Navy hold to be "strategic"—in other words, necessary to the imperialist purposes of the United States.

New York

SOCIALIST YOUTH FORUM

Nazis Hounded The Trotskyists As Mortal Foe

On August 25, 1939, the French Ambassador, Coulondre, called on Hitler for a last interview before the outbreak of war. In case of war, Coulondre said to Hitler, "The real victor will be Trotsky. Have you thought this over?"

"I know . . ." responded Hitler.

This remarkable conversation, printed in the well-known newspaper *Paris-Soir* of Aug. 31, 1939 is direct evidence that both the French statesman and Hitler considered Trotskyism, the program of socialism, the major enemy of their capitalist system.

In the underground movement against Hitler, among the most courageous and consistent fighters were Trotskyists. When the Gestapo succeeded in capturing members of the Fourth International, the news received sensational display in the official Nazi press.

DANZIG TRIALS

In the case of the Danzig Trotskyists, for instance, the following headlines appeared in successive issues of *Der Danziger Vorposten*, organ of the Danzig Nazis:

THE END OF THE DANZIG "SPARTAKUSBUND." Sixty communists arrested. Collaboration with Trotsky established. Comprehensive propaganda material confiscated. (December 9, 1936)

THE "SPARTAKUSBUND" OF THE TROTSKYITES. The Jew Dr. Franz Jakubowski as organizer of the secret organization, the slanderous handbill campaign and incitement to strikes. (January 8, 1937)

THE JUDGMENT AGAINST THE TROTSKYITES. Long prison terms for the functionaries. The result of yesterday's session. (January 12, 1937)

LONG PRISON TERMS FOR THE SPARTACISTS. The Jew Dr. Jakubowski sentenced to three and a quarter years in jail. Combined sentences thirteen years. (January 12, 1937)

These trials of the German Trotskyists by the Nazis took place at the very time that Stalin was falsely accusing the Trotskyists in the Moscow frameup of being "agents of Hitler."

STRUGGLE AGAINST NAZIS

Trotskyist refugees from Germany were hounded by the Gestapo. We publish elsewhere in this issue the story of Walter Held, a leader of the German section of the Fourth International, who was hounded from Czechoslovakia to France, then to Holland and Norway. When the German armies conquered Europe, among the first victims executed by Nazi firing squads were refugee Trotskyists and leaders of the Trotskyist movement in the occupied countries.

Despite this murderous persecution, new young Trotskyists stepped forward to take the place of the fallen heroes of socialism. In the workingclass movements

against the Nazis throughout Europe, the Trotskyists are known to have taken a leading part although full facts are not yet available. In Greece they were in the forefront of the struggle. The same is true of Italy, France and Belgium.

In Germany itself, the Trotskyists managed to maintain their political integrity despite titanic difficulties. In the October 1941 issue of *Fourth International*, theoretical magazine of the American Trotskyists, appears a report smuggled out of Germany, telling of the work done by our German comrades in the prisons and concentration camps of Hitler. Here are a few interesting paragraphs from this remarkable document:

INSIDE THE PRISONS

"Although numerically the CP (Communist Party) is most strongly represented among the politicals, our comrades are everywhere among the most politically active and clear-thinking; and where they work astutely have a relatively great influence, despite substantial opposition—under pressure of the jail system, every Stalinist name known to the masses has a double influence. Our comrades engage in a form of pedagogic exercise to be carried on inside over an extended period.

"One on the outside has no conception of the problems discussed inside by the really interested comrades. Not only the latest Stalinist change of line and its consequences, but also theoretical and actual problems of our movement. Frequently those inside sense with sharpened intuition the difficulties and matters of argument confronting their comrades outside, discuss those matters, make prognoses, and formulate political attitudes.

"Although the isolation of those inside produces the danger of their arriving at conclusions disconnected from events in an alien world, still the intense discussion inside and the correspondence from the outside act as correctives. Perhaps some time we shall enjoy the fruit of this correspondence, penetrating the double censorship of jail and state, to sustain and inspire those working inside who in turn reinforce and enrich their meaning. It is a small contribution to the preparation of the German and international revolutions."

This Trotskyist, reporting from Germany at the beginning of the war, concludes that "the concentration camp is in reality the graduate school of the revolution for our best forces."



Above is a scene from the demonstration of 50,000 workers summoned by the Socialist Workers Party alone against the Fascist rally on Feb. 20, 1939 at New York's Madison Square Garden. More than 50,000 workers participated.

Walter Held, Leader In Anti-Nazi Fight, Disappears In USSR After GPU Arrest

(Continued from page 1)

Union. The Norwegian Legation at Stockholm aided him in applying for a transit visa from the Soviet Union which was granted in March 1941.

On May 17, Epe with his wife and child left for Moscow by plane. From Moscow he was scheduled to reach Odessa within two days by train. He was routed to reach the United States via Turkey, Syria, Palestine and India. All his papers were in order.

He carried in addition a press card as correspondent of the Stockholm "Social Democrat."

He did not travel alone, being part of a group of several dozen which had been organized by Cook's Travelling Agency and the Norwegian Legation. However when the group reached Turkey, the Epe family was no longer with them. They had disappeared either in Moscow or on the way to Odessa.

Cook's immediately began an investigation, as did Martin Tramnel, Norwegian Social-Democratic leader residing in Sweden. The Norwegian authorities likewise took up the case through Mme. Kollontai, representative of the USSR in Stockholm. The Stalinist officialdom informed both Martin Tramnel and the Norwegian government to prevent him from answering the foul accusations of the GPU frame-up artists.

This Trotskyist, reporting from Germany at the beginning of the war, concludes that "the concentration camp is in reality the graduate school of the revolution for our best forces."

ed Sweden, Mrs. Epe and her child were finally permitted to proceed to the United States via Japan and were last seen somewhere en route to Siberia. This was before Pearl Harbor, however. Since that date it has been impossible to verify whether they actually reached Japan.

Towards the end of September 1941, the Norwegian diplomatic delegation to the USSR informed the Norwegian government in London and the Stalinist authorities that they had positive information Heinz Epe had been imprisoned at Saratov. They demanded his release. The Stalinists, however, refused to permit the Norwegian Ambassador, Mr. Antwoort, to visit Saratov to check this information.

In February 1942, the Norwegian Foreign Department at London made one more effort to ascertain Epe's whereabouts, sending an official inquiry to the Soviet Foreign Department. On July 17, 1942, this department responded they could find no trace of Heinz Epe.

Epe won the venomous hatred of Stalin during the ill-famed Moscow Trials. In the August 1936 trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc. Trotsky was interned by the Norwegian government to prevent him from answering the foul accusations of the GPU frame-up artists.

The GPU had used Copenhagen as the scene of the alleged plotting with Trotsky to which the defendants "confessed." On September 30, 1936, Heinz Epe made the following remarkable predic-

tion: "Undoubtedly efforts will be made to shift Trotsky's 'terroristic base of operations' from Copenhagen to Oslo. . . . The task of the new chief of the GPU therefore consists in producing an Oslo-amalgam. . . . The art of the GPU will consist in digging up new Olibergs, Davids, Holtzmanns and Bermans, whose instructions will have come directly from Oslo or Honefoss" (Trotsky's residence). This prediction was borne out within a few months.

During the trial of Pyatakoff and others in January 1937, one of the main fabrications was the

"confession" of Pyatakoff that he had flown from Berlin, Germany to Oslo, Norway where he claimed to have plotted with Trotsky against the Soviet Union. Epe secured declarations from the officials of the Kjeller airport, named Pyatakoff as his landing place, that not one foreign plane had landed there during the month specified. This piece of evidence, reported by the world press proved Pyatakoff a liar.

One more heroic fighter for the socialist future of mankind has thus fallen victim to the insatiable monster in the Kremlin.

Held's Defense of Soviet Union

Before leaving Sweden, Heinz Epe (Walter Held) left a declaration with his friends to be published in the event he was seized by the GPU. This declaration, which was published after his disappearance by the Swedish trade union press, explains his attitude toward the Soviet Union as follows:

"My sole reason for travelling through the Soviet Union is for the purpose of reaching America with my family. I do not speak Russian and will have no contact with any Russian citizen except those officials in charge of our travelling party. Should I be arrested during my journey, the only reason for arresting me would be one of political vengeance. Although I have publicly attacked the present regime in the Soviet Union, I regard myself as a friend of that State insofar as it represents an attempt to build a new world on a rational basis.

"I therefore have no greater wish than that the Soviet Union shall survive the present catastrophic world crisis and it is my opinion that in spite of all that has occurred it remains the duty of all workers and all true socialists to defend the Soviet Union against all imperialist attacks. The task of judging Stalin's regime belongs to history and the Russian workers."

When an Iowa judge refused to promise a crowd of farmers that he would sign no more foreclosures, he was dragged from his courtroom and hanged until unconscious. States under such pressure passed mortgage moratorium laws.

Measures to Bail Out the Banks

It was under these conditions, in an attempt to soften the hostility of the small farmers against the pending farm bill, that Roosevelt sent Congress a special message on May 4, 1933, which resulted in adding an amendment providing that farm mortgages would be refinanced at low interest rates by the government.

In this case, too, however, the ultimate beneficiary proved to be not the small farmer but the parasites who lived off him. Federal refinancing served mainly to bail out banks and insurance companies from unprofitable mortgages. This is the fact behind the report, in the Dec. 18, 1935 New York Times, that among Roosevelt's followers in the South "are the investment bankers, the mortgage lenders and crop financiers. . . . In this class of bankers are to be found the most ardent supporters of President Roosevelt. Their enthusiasm surpasses that of the farmers."

Nevertheless, the small farmer did manage to get some measure of mortgage relief. This was one of the three classical demands of the farmers ever since the 1880's. But he got no relief at all on his other two demands: against high freight rates and high prices (relative to farm prices) for tariff-protected manufactured goods.

But even had the Roosevelt administration provided some relief on these demands, it would have not gone far to ease the plight of the farmer. The classical demands of the farmer had a real meaning when he was selling his product in the export and domestic market, and was objecting to being milked of his proceeds by the manufacturing and railroad monopolies. But what was now taking place was a permanent collapse of the farmer's former markets. That is why the

parasites who have milked the farmer now turned more and more to milking the U. S. Treasury.

Decline of American Farming

The central fact to understand about farming is that its decline dates not from 1932 but from 1920. The present war and immediate postwar market are merely an interlude in the long process of the permanent collapse of American agriculture. A few figures will demonstrate this graphically, and incidentally explode the New Deal claim of having solved the farm crisis. Here is what has happened to gross farm income since 1920:

1920	15.9 billions
1925	13.5 "
1929	13.8 "
1932	6.4 "
1939	10.5 "

(includes 800 millions of federal subsidies)

America was once the greatest granary in the world. But look what happened to cash income from bread grains (in millions):

1920	1,537
1925	915
1929	790
1932	220
1940	478

What has been the effect on the value of farm property? Here is the average value per acre (in dollars):

1920	81.52
1925	61.69
1930	57.74
1940	38.89

Reducing Farmers to Peasants

These figures irrefutably demonstrate the permanent character of the decline of American agriculture. They mean that a growing percentage of American farmers are no longer really farmers in the traditional American sense, which has meant commercial farming—cash crops, the

ability to buy most of what they eat and wear, etc. In 1938 Wallace admitted that "The commercial farmers comprise only about fifty percent of the farm population but they supply about ninety percent of the farm products which move to markets." The other fifty percent have been reduced to peasants, who "consume ninety percent of what they produce and buy only ten percent of what they consume."

The grim meaning of this is indicated by the figures of the 1940 census. One out of every five farms had a gross annual income of less than \$250 in 1939; two-thirds of the farms had gross annual incomes of less than \$1,000. After six years of the New Deal farm program, there were three times as many farms with an annual income under \$250 as in 1929; almost twice as many with incomes between \$250 and \$399; and the number of farms bringing their operators \$600 or less annually increased from 28 per cent in 1929 to 47 per cent in 1939. In a word, the period of the New Deal was one of transforming more and more farmers into peasants.

How did this happen? The thing to understand is that the heyday of American commercial farming was due to two basic factors which have now disappeared:

1. The European market of 1850-1900. England's abolition of the corn laws in 1845 meant in effect the abandonment of English agriculture and its replacement by American imports. The expanding American frontier became the granary of England and of western Europe. The debt-ridden and old agricultural lands of England, Germany and France could not hope to compete with the fresh homesteads of America. English and other European capital and machinery were imported to industrialize America, and were paid for by agricultural exports. Thus the American farmer in effect financed the rise of monopoly capital.

Just as the new lands of America had pushed aside European agriculture, so, in the 1880's and 1900's, the opening of new grasslands to grains and meatstuffs in Canada, Australia, Argentina,

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

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

—KARL MARX

From the Frying Pan Into the Fire

"And the tears flowed like wine" down many a brown-skinned cheek during the recent emotional outbursts following the death of ex-president Roosevelt, "the great friend of the colored people." And this was immediately followed by a period of hysterical anxiety characterized by the unanimous query: "How will Truman be?"

And our bigshot leaders and most of our Negro newspapers rose as if with one voice to eulogize Roosevelt for "the many favors he had bestowed upon our group." They assured and reassured us that we had "nothing to fear but fear" under President Truman who was sure to "carry on the liberal ideals" of the ex-commander-in-chief.

Now, away with all prejudices, be they against a person or for a person. Let us coolly and calmly examine the facts as they stand. Such an examination (although many misled Negroes will be reluctant to admit it) cannot fail to reveal that Roosevelt, regardless of the lofty phrases that flowed from his silvery tongue, PROVED by his ACTIONS that he was 100% JIM CROW.

In setting up work, youth, farm, housing and other projects during the depression the pattern was almost invariably JIM CROW. Furthermore, the main motive for these reform measures was to allow the mass unrest and thereby maintain the exploitative capitalist system which still makes race prejudice profitable. That was "our friend" Roosevelt.

In mobilizing the armed forces for a purported war of "the democracies against fascism" he refused to allow Negro and white Americans to be integrated into the same regiments. JIM CROW was thus toggled out in OFFICIAL Army uniform. That was Roosevelt.

When Winfred Lynn carried out a test case showing that such anti-Negroism was in violation of Section 4a of the Selective Service Act of 1940 and in violation of his constitutional rights, the Roosevelt-appointed Supreme Court refused even to hear the case. That was Roosevelt.

He often condemned the Nazi racist ideology but could never find time to say one word against the widespread brutalities and murders of dark-skinned American troops in the Southern States of his own country. He spoke out against the lynching of a fascist by the irate Italian workers but during his entire 12 years in office he completely ignored the dozens of lynchings.

Almost every concession he made (such as Negro Waves, Wac's, a handful of Naval officers, elevation of Davis to rank of General, etc.) was a TOKEN concession made—by strange coincidence—just before election time. The basic grievance of JIM CROW in the Army was consistent

Regardless of the half-hearted apologies of those Negro spokesmen who are tied by apron-strings to that very system of capitalist exploitation which makes JIM CROWISM profitable, we may expect to see increasing blows of oppression dealt against the Negro minority in the coming period.

The Loss of Markets

2. The expanding home market of 1900-1920. At this point, however, the American

How Hitler Regime Came To Power

By Joseph Hansen

The German working class was the strongest and best organized in Europe outside the Soviet Union when the 1929 depression paralyzed Germany, and Hitler's organization began to attract members in large numbers. The workers of Germany who had signed in elections and otherwise that they were prepared to end capitalism and institute socialism numbered more than 16 million. They awaited only the signal from their leaders. United against Hitler these workers and their friends could have crushed Hitlerism like an egg shell.

But they were divided into two political parties and the leaders of both parties were opposed to militant struggle. The Social Democratic party called on those capitalists who claimed to believe in democracy to lead the fight against Hitler. Meanwhile they refused to fight for socialism. Rather than launch such a fight they chose to support the most "democratic" and "progressive" capitalists. They invented a theory to explain their action and gave it the name of supporting the "lesser evil."

The other party in Germany, the Communist party, was dominated by Stalin. Despite its following of millions of revolutionary workers this party too avoided militant struggle. Stalin even developed a "theory" to cover up his lack of action against Hitler. Instead of trying to unite with the Social Democrats in fighting Hitler's gangs, Stalin called the Social Democrats the "main enemy." The Social Democrats and the Nazis, he proclaimed, "are not antipodes, but twins." He gave this notorious theory the name "social-fascism."

SOUNDED ALARM

The followers of Trotsky were the only ones to sound the real alarm when Hitler began gathering flocks of adherents from the ruined middle class. The Trotskyists were few in numbers, but they were valiant. Against cruel persecution from all sides they did their best to point out the danger. They urged the Social Democrats and the Communists to constitute a united front against Hitler. They urged the organization of defense guards to combat Hitler's thugs.

Trotsky had been exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin. Hounded by reaction from every side, in ill health, without funds, isolated save for his small band of devoted co-thinkers, the great revolutionary leader nevertheless exhausted every means to warn the world working class of the mounting danger in Germany.

Despite persecution from Stalinists, Social Democrats and Nazis, the German Trotskyists got out their paper, printing and distributing it at great personal sacrifice. They knew it was a life and death struggle. On December 8, 1931, Trotsky addressed the vanguard of the German workers: "Worker-Communists, you are hundreds of thousands, millions; you cannot leave for any place; there are not enough passports for you. Should fascism come to power it will ride over your skulls and spines like a terrific tank. Your salvation lies in a merciless struggle. And only a fighting unity with the social democratic workers can bring victory. Make haste, worker-Communists, you have very little time left!"

But all the pamphlets, leaflets, papers and meetings of the Trotskyists went unheeded. The leaders of the Social Democrat and Communist parties hooted at Trotsky in their press and tried to drown his warnings and ap-

Soviet Union

The Socialist Courier, organ of the Abramovitch group of the Russian Mensheviks, prints the following information concerning the Russian Communists who were "purged" during the period following the Moscow Trials, that is, after 1936.

This news dates back to the summer of 1941 on the eve of the Soviet-German war. The number of Communists held in prisons, concentration camps and exile in this period ran to several hundreds of thousands. A special prison was built somewhere in the desert region of Yakutsk; the most prominent individuals were incarcerated there. No news has been heard from this prison for not one of the prisoners has been freed. Correspondence is forbidden. All that is known is that several hundreds of the "Old Guard," among them all the former members of the Central Committee who were not executed, have been sent there. Among the names mentioned are Bubnov, Rudzutak, Eikhe and many others.

peals in an avalanche of slander. Members who called attention to Trotsky's warnings were promptly visited with disciplinary action.

HOLLOW BOASTS

Remmelle, one of the three top leaders of the Communist Party, boasted in the Reichstag, "We are not afraid of the fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government." Heilmann, a leading spokesman of the Social Democrats, could proclaim as late as January 1933, "The time when fascism was a deadly danger for the proletariat and freedom has passed away."

Trotsky again and again declared that not only the fate of the German workers was involved, but the fate of all Europe. If Hitler gained power then the Soviet Union faced military attack and a Second World War far more destructive than the first war would soon break out. Trotsky called for the workers to take power against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism.

"I will say a word on the international aspect of fascism. Externally your movement has rendered a service to the whole world. "She (Italy) has provided the necessary antidote to the Russian poison. Hereafter, no great nation will be unprovided with the ultimate means of protection against cancerous growth."

(Jan. 21, 1927, after visiting Italy).

"I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our right position among the nations." (Speech, Nov. 11, 1938).

** * *
Izvestia, official organ of the Stalin Government in the Soviet Union:

"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system

Communism, now adapt themselves with such ease to the self-same Stalinist totalitarianism in order to preserve the capitalist system.

The new regime is being held in an iron grip by its Stalinist masters. The Austrian people have been warned that they bear a "heavy responsibility" for having participated in the war against the Allies. Moscow reserves the right for itself to judge when Austria will be "fit" for independence.

The refusal of the State Department in Washington and the Foreign Office in London to recognize the new regime has no bearing whatever on the undemocratic character of the new regime. A few years ago the State Department was grooming Otto of Hapsburg for the role of heading the Austrian government. The main question now for the statesmen of the "Big Three" in their game of power politics is: whose puppet will rule?

France

Results of the municipal elections in France mirror the deep-going process of radicalization at work among the masses. Out of a total electorate of 24,000,000, ballots were cast by at least 80 percent of the voters. Returns from 700 of the biggest municipalities showed that the Stalinist (Communist) Party had polled at least 25 percent of all votes cast. In 1935, at the time of the last

Birds of a Feather at Munich



British and French imperialism gave the green light to Hitler at the Munich Conference in 1938, when this photograph was taken. Left to right: Neville Chamberlain, then British Prime Minister; Edouard Daladier, then Premier of France; Adolf Hitler and Mussolini. (AP Photo).

Friends And Admirers Of Fascist Dictators

The friends of fascism were never the workers of the world, but always the capitalist class and their statesmen who saw in fascism the final weapon to wield against the workers. During the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinist bureaucrats also joined the chorus of friends of fascism. We quote below some of the opinions expressed by these enemies of the working class before imperialist rivalries precipitated the Second World War.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of Great Britain:

"I could not help being charmed as so many others have been by Signor Mussolini's gentle and simple bearing and by his calm, detached poise, despite so many burdens and dangers... If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been wholeheartedly with you (the fascists) from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism."

(Oct. 9, 1939).

JOSEPH STALIN, in a message to Von Ribbentrop:

"The friendship of the peoples

of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented in blood, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable."

(Dec. 26, 1939).

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, then U. S. Secretary of State:

"I take pleasure in felicitating you (Mussolini) upon the confidence reposed in you by His Majesty the King. I shall be glad to cooperate with you in preserving the cordial relations existing between Italy and the United States."

(Nov. 4, 1932).

American Big Business Aided Ruling Class In Nazi Germany

The direct material aid of American monopoly capitalism made Hitler's rise to power possible and helped sustain the Nazi regime through twelve years of horror.

In 1933, the year of Hitler's seizure of power, American capital investment in Germany was five billion dollars. Without this prop, German capitalism, whose backbone was the Nazi regime, could not have survived the financial and political crises of the '30's. In the next six years, while Hitler was consolidating the rule of German finance capital through the Nazi regime, American investments in Germany increased by three billions more!

Among the leading American corporations which own or hold large interests in Germany are Standard Oil, General Motors, Ford Motor Company, Anaconda Copper, General Electric, International Telephone and Telegraph, U. S. Rubber, International Business Machines, International Harvester, and E. I. du Pont de Nemours.

Standard Oil designed and supervised the construction of Germany's synthetic gasoline and high-octane aviation gas plants, essential for war. When Nazi and Italian fascist airlines, prior to American entry into the war, could not secure fuel in South America, Standard Oil's Brazilian subsidiary supplied gasoline.

Stalinist victories were gained at the expense of the Socialists who in turn gained at the expense of the capitalist "Radical Socialist" Party. The Right Wing were the heavy losers. The N. Y. Times reports: "The Paris Bourse slumped heavily today in response to the elections and many operators unloaded. Banks and industrial menaced by action against 'trusts' lost many points."

Women turned out in the election in record numbers, 2,000,000 more women voting than men. The votes of the women went largely to the Stalinists as a protest against the failure of the de Gaulle government to alleviate the famine conditions prevalent in France. While continuing their support of de Gaulle the Stalinists made considerable use of radical slogans in the election campaign. They declared that the results showed that the people were in favor of a "struggle against the trusts, a purge of collaborationists, death for Petain, the nationalization of industry and credit."

One of the most startling examples of how American corporations gave military information to the Nazis was revealed by the New York newspaper PM, April 1942:

"In one American company... investigators have found a patent license for making steam turbine engines (used by the Navy) with

Armed Partisans Finish Fascists In North Italy

The powerful armed forces of working-class partisans evidently continue to maintain control over the political life of Northern Italy. The impact of the great uprising that brought the German army to heel and wiped out Mussolini and his fascist henchmen in rapid order is still reverberating throughout Italy. The Bonomi cabinet is trembling in another grave crisis.

PURGE OF FASCISTS

The purge of fascists is being carried forward in a thoroughgoing manner. With the experience of the prostrating tribunals run by the government and Stalinists in Southern Italy before them, the Partisans in Northern Italy proceeded to settle accounts with Mussolini's gangsters in their own effective and direct manner. Reports given by officials of the Italian Socialist Party state that some 1,500 fascists have been executed in Milan and immediate vicinity. In Turin, according to a N. Y. Times reporter, between 1,000 and 3,000 fascists have been shot in houses or on the streets.

The Allied Military authorities and their agents in the National Liberation Committee are apparently handling the question of disarming the Partisans very gingerly. Up to this time no general plan has been made public for the dissolution of the Partisans. It is readily admitted that a mass surrender of weapons such as took place in Bologna is out of the question. A warning broadcast by General Mark Clark to the Partisans to cease interference with the surrender of German troops is an indication that the Allies are seeking provocations for disarming the workers.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, then U. S. Secretary of State:

"I take pleasure in felicitating you (Mussolini) upon the confidence reposed in you by His Majesty the King. I shall be glad to cooperate with you in preserving the cordial relations existing between Italy and the United States."

(Oct. 9, 1939).

JOSEPH STALIN, in a message to Von Ribbentrop:

"The friendship of the peoples

of Germany and the Soviet Union, cemented in blood, has all grounds to be prolonged and stable."

(Dec. 26, 1939).

SHOOT AT PRINCE

Prince Humbert, regent of the House of Savoy, was made aware in no uncertain terms of how he had misjudged the temper of the Milanese workers. Planning a triumphal entry into the city he ducked out a day after his arrival when the villa where he was staying was riddled with 200 rounds of light machine-gun fire. The next day anti-monarchist placards appeared on the walls all over the city. On May Day the workers of Milan shouted slogans calling for the overthrow of the monarch and of the Bonomi regime.

The purge is also reaching into the ranks of the Italian capitalist class, the foundation of the defunct fascist regime. The North Italian Committee of Liberation refused to take Hitler seriously: considering his program as a reactionary and Utopian one they proved incapable of estimating its force of action. Today, as a result of their ghastly mistake, their organizations have been shattered to bits. The same error might be repeated in the field of world politics." (What Hitler Wants, 1933.)

In face of the hope that Mussolini might become involved in conflict with Hitler, Trotsky pointed to the reality. Hitler, Trotsky said, was seeking allies.

"Hitler is counting upon the support of Italy and, within certain limits, this is assured him, not so much because their internal governments are similar—the purely German Third Reich is, as is known, a frankly Latin plagiarism—as because of the parallelism in many of their foreign aspirations. But with the Italian crutch alone, German imperialism will not rise to its feet. Only under the condition of support from England can Fascist Germany gain the necessary freedom of movement."

Chamberlain, as the world knows, later appeared in Munich, thus fulfilling Trotsky's prediction. But looking still further ahead, Trotsky foresaw a temporary pact between Stalin and Hitler.

"Hitler is preparing for war. His policy in the domain of economics is dictated primarily by concern over the maximum economic independence of Germany in case of war. To the aims of military preparation must also be subordinated the service of obligatory labor. But the very character of these measures indicates that it is not a question of tomorrow. An attack upon the West in the more or less immediate future could be carried out only on condition of a military alliance between Fascist Germany and the Soviets." (What Hitler Wants, 1933.)

While Hitler deluded the Allied statesmen with gestures over disarmament, Trotsky again and again warned that the main line of Hitler's policy was directed toward war and attack of the Soviet Union:

"The Militant" Fought Nazism from the Start

THE MILITANT
Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)
VOLUME VI, NO. 8 (WHOLE NO. 185) NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

Hilter Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany! Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

THE MILITANT
Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)
VOLUME VI, NO. 21 (WHOLE NO. 188) NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1933 PRICE 1 CENT

For the United Defense against Hitlerism!

A Talk with the Socialist Workers by Leon Trotsky

Above we reproduce headlines of The Militant for Feb. 13, 1933 and April 1, 1933, which during that critical period was published three times a week. The Militant called upon the workers for united defense against the Nazis and warned the workers of the danger to their organizations and to the Soviet Union if Hitlerism were allowed to triumph in Germany.

TROTSKY WAS FIRST TO WARN OF NAZISM

The course of events in Europe have given terrible confirmation to Trotsky's repeated warnings of the dangers of fascism. Before Hitler came to power, the statesmen of the capitalist "democracies" viewed the rise of fascism with sympathy, while the heads of the Social-Democratic and Stalinist organizations retreated without fighting before the onslaught of the Nazi gangs. Trotsky on the other hand sounded the alarm from the very beginning. Here is one of his first warnings in 1931:

"The decisive hour is very close... The coming into power of the German 'National Socialists' would mean above all the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the disruption of its organizations, the extirpation of its belief in itself and in its future. Considering the far greater maturity and acuteness of the social contradictions in Germany, the hellish work of Italian Fascism would probably appear as a pale and almost humane experiment in comparison with the work of the German National Socialists... The struggle of the proletariat, taken unawares, disoriented, disappointed and betrayed by its own leadership, against the Fascist regime would be transformed into a series of frightful bloody and futile convulsions..."

"It goes without saying, that some day triumphant Fascism will fall as a victim to the objective contradictions and to its own inadequacy. But for the immediate, perceptible future, for the next ten to twenty years, a victory of Fascism in Germany would mean a suspension in the development of revolutionary progress, collapse of the Comintern and the triumph of world imperialism in its most heinous and bloodthirsty forms." (Germany—The Key to the International Situation, 1931.)

Even before Hitler came to power Trotsky warned he would attack the Soviet Union:

"A victory of fascism in Germany would signify the inevitable war against the USSR... Once Hitler comes into power and proceeds to crush the vanguard of the German workers, pulverizing and demoralizing the whole proletariat for many years to come, the Fascist government alone will be the only government capable of waging war against the USSR. Naturally, it will act under such circumstances in a common front with Poland and Rumania, with the other border states as well as with Japan in the Far East." (Germany—The Key to the International Situation, 1931.)

As Hitler moved toward power, Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, made a dramatic appeal to the Soviet Government to initiate a militant defense:

"In my opinion this is how the Soviet government OUGHT to act in case of a Fascist coup in Germany. Upon receiving the telegraphic communication of this event I would, in their place, sign an order for the mobilization of the army reserves. When you have a mortal enemy before you, and when war flows with necessity from the logic of the objective situation, it would be unpardonable lightmindedness to give that enemy time to establish and fortify himself, conclude the necessary alliances, receive the necessary help, work out a plan of concentric military actions—not only from the west but from the east—and thus grow up to the dimensions of a colossal danger." (Article in Liberty, July 16, 1932.)

Warn of War and Attack on USSR

After Hitler took power, many people thought he would not last long. Trotsky saw instead that Hitler was the harbinger of another world war:

"Simply to say that Hitler is a demagogue, an hysterical person and an actor is to shut one's eyes so as not to face the danger! It takes more than hysteria to seize power, and method there must be in time! The leaders of German working class organizations refused to take Hitler seriously: considering his program as a reactionary and Utopian one they proved incapable of estimating its force of action. Today, as a result of their ghastly mistake, their organizations have been shattered to bits. The same error might be repeated in the field of world politics." (What Hitler Wants, 1933.)

In face of the hope that Mussolini might become involved in conflict with Hitler, Trotsky pointed to the reality. Hitler, Trotsky said, was seeking allies.

"Hitler is counting upon the support of Italy and, within certain limits, this is assured him, not so much because their internal governments are similar—the purely German Third Reich is, as is known, a frankly Latin plagiarism—as because of the parallelism in many of their foreign aspirations. But with the Italian crutch alone, German imperialism will not rise to its feet. Only under the condition of support from England can Fascist Germany gain the necessary freedom of movement."

Chamberlain, as the world knows, later appeared in Munich, thus fulfilling Trotsky's prediction. But looking still further ahead, Trotsky foresaw a temporary pact between Stalin and Hitler.

Capitalist System Is Responsible For Atrocities, Declares Albert Goldman In Address On May Day

The following is part of the speech delivered by Comrade Albert Goldman at the May Day Rally of the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party held at Webster Hall on Tuesday evening, May 1, 1945.

By Albert Goldman

Not only are the German masses compelled to witness the almost complete destruction of the industries of their country; not only must they view the foreign conqueror take possession of what is left of their native land; not only must they think of the possibility of slavery to Stalin and the imperialists; they must also be compelled to listen to one of the greatest slanders of the modern age against a whole people. They are compelled to listen to the dastardly charge that the German masses are equally responsible with the Nazis for the terrible atrocities committed by the beasts who followed the orders of Hitler.

The workers of Germany who once voted so solidly against Hitler, who were willing to fight him to the death if only their parties had led them to the barricades, must gnash their teeth in silent rage when they are held responsible for the terrible Nazi cruelties.

Who is responsible for this dastardly accusation against the German people? Stalin and the leaders of American and British imperialism, who knew all about the atrocities committed in the concentration camps before the war but who remained silent "for reasons of state." Before the war there were only Jews and political prisoners in the concentration camps and they thought Jews and political prisoners were not worth bothering about. So the rulers of these powerful countries kept silence and by their silence aided and abetted the crimes of the Nazis.

Stalin and the leaders of American and British imperialism refused to give asylum to the Jews and political prisoners subjected to inhuman torture. And now the hypocrites weep crocodile tears at the sight of human wrecks who could have been saved had there been a will to do so.

And why is the fact that a great number of the prisoners of Buchenwald, of Flossenbürg, of Belsen and other concentration camps are GERMAN political prisoners practically concealed from the readers of the Press? The average reader gets the impression that only Allied war prisoners have been tortured and poisoned and burned by the Nazi beasts.

There Are Two Different Germanies

Before there were prisoners of war there were German political prisoners, tens of thousands of them. Stalin and the imperialists gloss over this fact. Why? Because they are not interested in showing that there are two Germanies—the Germany of the Nazis and their capitalist supporters and the Germany of those who fought against the Nazis, the men and women who suffered agonies in that fight.

Stalin and the imperialists are not interested in giving the truth because they want to win the support of the masses of their countries for their infamous schemes of enslaving the German masses and suppressing any possible workers' revolution. That is why they spread the lie that the German masses are responsible for the atrocities committed by the Nazis.

Who is responsible for the crimes of the Nazis—the German workers who fought against them or the French and British and American capitalists who supported Hitler?

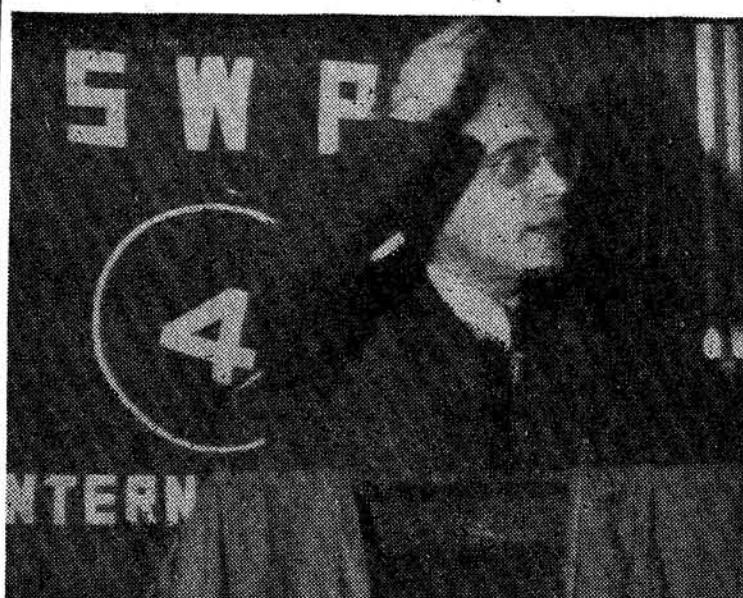
Can any one show where the German people were asked to vote whether the atrocities should be committed? Can any one show that the German people had an opportunity freely to decide that the Jews, German political prisoners, and prisoners of war should be tortured? Can any one show that the German workers had the right to organize protests against the atrocities and failed to do so?

In what way then are the German workers responsible? By their failure to revolt against Hitler? Will the slanders of the German people show us how it is possible for workers whose parties betrayed them, whose leaders were executed or exiled, who were subjected to the inhuman terror of the Gestapo,—how it is possible for workers under such conditions to revolt?

Who Is Responsible for the Atrocities?

We Trotskyists hold responsible for the atrocities the Nazis who planned them and who trained human beings so that they would be transformed into beasts capable of perpetrating such crimes. We hold the capitalist rulers of Germany who placed the Nazis in power responsible for the atrocities. And above all we hold a decaying capitalist system that can bring only hatred and starvation and death to mankind responsible for the atrocities. The hatreds engendered in the fierce struggle to eke out a livelihood, in the terrible fight of each against all, assume inhuman proportions in

Albert Goldman at May Day Rally



Albert Goldman, defendant and attorney in the Minneapolis Labor Case, photographed as he spoke at the May Day meeting held by the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party, Webster Hall, May 1.

this period of the death agony of the capitalist order. A maddened group of de-classed individuals is utilized by finance capitalism to retain power. A Hitler stands forth as the symbol of decay and hatred and death. Civilized man witnesses the beginning of the transformation of civilized society into totalitarian barbarism.

Let no one believe that only Nazified Germans are capable of fiendish cruelty. Right here in this country, even before the class struggle has reached a point where the big capitalists must have recourse to fascism, there have been a sufficient number of incidents that show that there are enough sadists and degenerates who can easily be trained to duplicate the deeds of the Nazis.

I have seen fifty and more militant workers placed in a cell built to hold five and kept there for more than seventy-two hours. I have seen workers who were beaten to a pulp while under arrest. If the masses permit fascism to conquer here it will find all the recruits it wants to cause excruciating suffering to men and women who struggle for a new world.

Can any one seriously believe that there will be difficulty in finding candidates to torture and kill from among those who take delight in lynching Negroes? Did Mussolini find it difficult to get men who were willing to hurl poison gas at peaceful Ethiopians? Did France find it difficult to get Spaniards to bury Spanish workers alive? Fiendish cruelty is no monopoly of any people or of any race. It has always been and will always be a characteristic of the human being so long as he lives in a class society and is raised amidst exploitation, hatred, cruelty and war.

The German Masses Will Uphold Internationalism

And who, pray, will be the ones who will suffer punishment under the doctrine of the responsibility of the German people for the crimes of the Nazis? Will the German capitalists who placed Hitler in power, will Thyssen and his ilk be compelled to slave under Stalin and the imperialists? No, the German workers who fought Hitler, will be dragged off to Siberia and compelled to work under the whip of the G.P.U. It will be the German workers who will be starved and humiliated in Germany.

For our part we shall never forget the atrocities of the Nazis. We shall point to them frequently and say to the American workers: look what can happen to you if you permit native fascism to conquer. We shall say to the Jews: look what will happen to you if you depend upon capitalist democracy in the United States as the German Jews placed their faith in the Weimar republic.

Remember that the German masses who once marched proudly on May Day did so under the banner of internationalism. They wanted freedom for themselves and for all mankind. We feel certain that soon they will once more march under the same banner. They will show the whole world that in the organized working class of Germany there is nothing of the feeling of racial superiority. They will show that they, together with all other workers, are struggling for world free from capitalist brutality, for a world of socialist brotherhood and freedom for all peoples and all races.

NEW YORK SWP HOLDS LARGE MAY DAY RALLY

By Larissa Reed

NEW YORK, May 1.—The largest May Day Rally of the Socialist Workers Party in this city since the beginning of the war was held on Tuesday night, May 1st at Webster Hall. Despite the chilly, rainy night, almost 500 people crowded into the meeting hall to demonstrate their confidence in the coming triumph of the ideas of revolutionary socialism.

The high point of the meeting were the speeches by James P. Cannon and Albert Goldman who made their first public appearance upon the platform of the Socialist Workers Party since they were railroaded to prison in December 1943. These Trotskyist leaders were greeted by the audience with prolonged ovations.

May Day, symbolically, was also the first day of unconditional freedom for Comrades Cannon and Goldman who were railroaded to prison in December 1943. These Trotskyist leaders were greeted by the audience with prolonged ovations.

May Day, symbolically, was also the first day of unconditional freedom for Comrades Cannon and Goldman who were railroaded to prison in December 1943. These Trotskyist leaders were greeted by the audience with prolonged ovations.

Chairman of the May Day meeting was O. Shoenfeld, another of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, who was released from Danbury prison last October. In the midst of rumors of the approaching capitalist "peace," in Europe, these stood as a stirring reminder that the Trotskyists alone had refused to support the imperialist war, in defiance of slanders, persecutions and imprisonments.

GOLDMAN'S SPEECH

In his address Comrade Goldman traced the history of the struggles of the world working class since May Day was first established in 1890. He explained how the cowardly leadership of the Second International in 1914 had betrayed the confidence of the workers and led them to defeat.

"But not all of their leaders failed them... Lenin and Trotsky remained firm—firm enough so that the masses in Russia had a party to lead them to victory in the October Revolution of 1917."

It was then "that the workers followed the lessons of May Day, and following those lessons through to the end achieved power and revitalized May Day—gave it new meaning. And the world over saw that our message was not in vain. The faith of the masses in socialism was vindicated."

Tracing the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Third International under Stalin, Comrade Goldman explained: "But the great revolution fell into the hands of a bureaucratic clique who used it to increase their own power and expropriate the masses politically. Thus, as we meet today, we must realize that the masses have been hurled back and must begin their climb all over again."

May Day under Stalin, said Comrade Goldman, is not the same as the traditional working-class May Day, for Stalin has corrupted its meaning. "But there are tens of thousands who

OUR TRUTH

Comrade Cannon showed how the Minneapolis trial was bound up with preparations for the imperialist war. He reminded the audience that the 18 Trotskyist leaders were sentenced on Dec. 8, 1941, the very day that war was declared. "The imperialists recognized in our party the authentic voice of opposition to their imperialist war. But they did not succeed in silencing our party."

And from now on our voice will be heard louder than ever, for more people are joining with us to add their voices to ours.

"Our truth is stronger than ever today. Therefore join our party, build our party and write on the banner of the party once again what Marx and Engels wrote 97 years ago in the Communist Manifesto: 'You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, UNITE!'

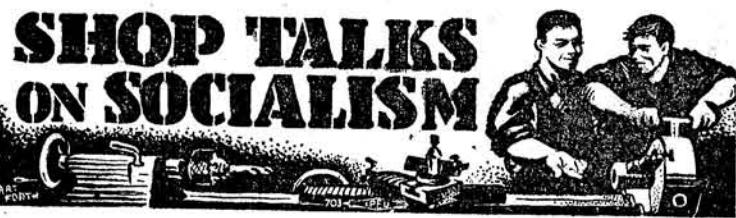
After the opening remarks by the Chairman, the meeting paid tribute to the Martyrs of the Fourth International, headed by Leon Trotsky, who have fallen on the field of battle for the working class. As the Socialist Workers Party Chorus chanted the Workers Funeral March, the Chairman read the names of those who had been slain by the fascists and other agents of reaction during the second World War.

In the international spirit of the meeting, the audience approved the sending of greetings of solidarity to the European Trotskyists who are today in the forefront of the fight for socialism. A May Day message was also sent to Natalia Trotsky. A collection of over \$200 was taken to help the work of the Socialist Workers Party. The meeting concluded with the singing of "The Internationale."

READING, Pa., May 6

In this traditional stronghold of the Socialist Party, a city which has a Socialist mayor, only one May Day celebration was held. That was the meeting sponsored by the Trotskyists.

Despite cold, rainy weather, leading representatives of key unions in Reading joined the Socialist Worker Party branch in observing May Day. Comrade Art Sharon delivered the main address. The audience joined in singing "Bandiera Rossa" in honor of the workers of Italy, and concluded with the singing of "The Internationale."



By V. Grey

"I'll be glad," said Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man), "when all these here women are out of the shop. They belong in the kitchen, anyhow."

"Well, I don't know," said Pop after a well-aimed spit of coffee juice at the trash box. "Now I don't know. 'Course babies is better off with women takin' care of 'em. But whether women is better off that way is a moot question. I've heard tell there's an awful lot of women folk go crazy every year just from listenin' to babies cry all day long."

"As a matter of fact" said old George, the machinist, "I bet babies would be just as well off with men to take care of them as women. That is," he added hastily, as the fellows started to laugh, "if you're gonna feed them with a bottle. Only reason a man's not handy at that stuff is that he works such long hours away from home that—"

"Hey!" hollered Breezy. "Wait a second! I don't care if I'm laid off for the whole year. You won't see Breezy changing diapers and pouring powder down the kid's back. That'll be the day!"

"I ain't trying to say who's the best dyed pinner—man or woman. Guess I'd bet on the woman, myself." Pop paused a moment, sort of to apologize for admitting a point of superiority in women. "But it don't seem reasonable for women to have to do a job that some of them go crazy at. And most of them go down hill somethin' awful after raising three or four babies." Pop waited for somebody to contradict him. But how could anybody?

"It ain't only the squallin', either. It's the awful mischief they get into. That's what runs a body down trailing after them when they're anywhere from one to three or four years old. A woman looks pretty old in a few years."

WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT IT?

"Yeah, that's the way it is. But what are you going to do?" said Tony glumly.

The way he said it he didn't expect any answer. But Pop was wound up pretty well that day.

"Tell you what I'd do if it was me," Pop said. "I'd use a little sense and let women handle little tykes that were good at it. Women that liked it. Maybe have ten or fifteen youngsters in a real nice day nursery like the rich people have. Only do it all over the country. Then a woman would have a little time to bring up her youngsters the way she wanted to. Read them bed-time stories and things like that—instead of boxing their ears all the time."

"Aah—put away the pipe," Breezy razzed the old man. "Nobody can afford that ritzy line of stuff—not if they work for Bethlehem Steel!"

"Not today they can't. But if it's not too good for the rich," said Pop stubbornly, "it's not too good for the poor."

May Day Inspires European Workers

For the first time in over six years the spirit of May Day kept alive in the hearts of the European workers despite the ghastly slaughter and terror of the war and fascism—burst into tremendous open mass demonstrations and struggles this May First.

The workers of Prague led the masses of Europe by proclaiming a general strike and unleashing an armed insurrection against the Nazis which took place the week before had originally been scheduled to begin on May first. Thus the day planned for insurrection became a day of triumph over the fascists.

In Moscow the Stalin government transformed its May Day celebration into an exhibit of its military might. The speech of dictator Stalin was an orgy of Russian nationalism without the remotest connection with the revolutionary and internationalist traditions of May Day.

STALINIST DOMINATION

The perversion of many of these demonstrations in Europe and elsewhere in the world into nationalist channels, in some places even passing in review before the heads of the capitalist governments, is primarily the work of the Stalinist misleaders who today dominate the labor movement in many countries.

In Moscow the Stalin government transformed its May Day celebration into an exhibit of its military might. The speech of dictator Stalin was an orgy of Russian nationalism without the remotest connection with the revolutionary and internationalist traditions of May Day.

The workers of Aachen showed that the internationalist traditions of May Day still live in Germany. A delegation of the newly-organized trade unions in Aachen demanded of the Allied authorities that they be permitted to celebrate May Day in the traditional manner.

In Mexico City public transportation was stopped between 8 A.M. and 3 P.M. and all stores were ordered closed. Three great columns of organized workers converged on Constitution Square where President Avila Camacho reviewed them. According to an AP dispatch, union differences prevented organization of one parade. The Mexican workers paid tribute to those executed in the 1886 Haymarket frameup in Chicago.

Workers in Havana Cuba laid down their tools to celebrate May Day. Thousands marched to the Presidential Palace to cheer President Ramon Grau San Martin and labor leaders, who reviewed the parade from the palace balcony. The workers presented 114 demands to the President, according to the May 2 N. Y. Times.

FRANCE AND ITALY

The Stalinists organized the parade and their program overshadowed the demonstration. To divert the wrath of the masses against all the capitalists and their agents, the most prominent placards read: "Shoot Petain!" and showed a miniature gallows with Petain hanging from it in effigy. Despite this effort to establish one scapegoat among the French bourgeoisie, there were few cheers for General Charles De Gaulle," reported the May 2 N. Y. Times.

Over 100,000 people in Rome engaged in a May Day demonstration in the Piazza del Popolo. Here too, the Stalinists dominated the celebration, but under popular pressure were forced to demand nationalization of industry and breaking up of the landed estates, as well as reorganization of the Italian government.

The workers of Milan demonstrated on May Day, shouting slogans which demanded the overthrow of the monarchy and of the Allied puppet government. "The News Behind the Headlines"

NEW YORK

THE MILITANT invites you to join the

MILITANT READERS' DISCUSSION CLUB

EVERY WEDNESDAY

8 p. m.

French Colonial Society Hall

225 West 116th Street

Harlem

Admission Free

For further information call GR. 7-9317



Twin Cities Forum

EVERY SUNDAY

3:30 P. M.

Minneapolis Headquarters

Socialist Workers Party

10 South 4th Street

Come and Hear

TRAILBLAZERS REPORT ON PITTSBURGH WORK

The *Militant* Trail-Blazers, Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, now have a total of 775 subscriptions. Here are two of their reports on their work last week in the Pittsburgh area.

"Since we had to return twice to complete our coverage of Coverdale, we had an opportunity to talk to a few of the workers who had subscribed the first day. Naturally we were interested to learn what they thought of the paper. Almost without exception we received expressions of approval. One young woman told us that her husband had seen *The Militant* at his mother's house down the street and that he thought it was a 'great paper.' An older miner remarked that working men should like this paper."

"Since Coverdale is one of the several coal mining centers where *The Militant* was widely distributed during the struggles of 1943, we were not surprised to find several households where it was quickly recognized. A number of men recalled *The Militant* as the paper that defended their strike of that period and told the miners' side of the story. Quite frequently wives to whom we have introduced *The Militant* have taken copies into the house to show their husbands, and have returned with the remark, 'My husband knows this paper. We'll take a subscription.'

"Among these miners' families there is an understandable resentment toward the slanders that have been heaped upon them by the capitalist press and the press of the corrupt labor bureaucrats. They are justly proud of their militant tradition and indignant at the deliberate campaign of their enemies to picture the miners as a bunch of uncouth ruffians and bums. Over and over again we heard remarks to this effect. 'They try to make people think we're nothing but animals,'—'Your paper should circulate among the rank-and-file of Murray's and Green's unions.'—'The miners always put their necks out and when they've won, these labor skates try to sneak around and cash in on our victory.'

MINERS' WIVES
"From our observation the miners' wives are a worthy source of pride to the entire working class. Against grave odds they manage to keep their houses spotlessly clean and home-like. Most of the houses are poorly constructed against flying coal dust and soot. Their men return from work naturally carrying more dust on their clothing, and their children play in yards where dust and dirt necessarily settle on the kids and their clothing."

"These women have to work continually against these conditions and yet in one home after another we were struck by the sparkling linoleums and walls in the homelike interiors. The week's washing which we saw on several occasions is many times larger than that of the city worker. Yet the cordiality and friendliness emanating from the people we talked to disproves over and over again all of the deliberate falsehoods that have been published and spoken against them. They are dignified, intelligent and respectable people—outstandingly so in our experiences."

"Several men discussed a question which has been raised every time the miners have made a move; the welfare of the boys overseas. Many of them pointed out that sons of theirs now overseas would not be fooled by the slanders of the capitalists and their politicians against the miners. One man told us that his son wrote from Africa in 1943. 'Go out and stay out 'till you win, dad.' And the same boy had just written again from Europe. 'I'm all for you this time—keep trial sections."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 11, 1935

FRANCE—As world-wide armament budgets reached their highest point since 1914 in preparation for the Second World War, the Kremlin announced on May 2 a "mutual assistance" pact with the Laval government in France. Swinging onto the bandwagon of patriotism, the French Stalinists pledged their support to imperialist France.

"This Franco-Soviet pact," The *Militant* pointed out, was counterposed to revolutionary struggle against capitalism, and "could serve no other interests than those of the capitalist governments."

Indicating the correctness of The *Militant*'s analysis, was the boast of the N. Y. Sun: "mobilization of public opinion, so that war, if it comes, will be accepted with patriotic resignation, if not with enthusiasm, is now practically complete... The last organized propaganda agency against war—the Communist (Stalinist) Party—has been silenced on orders from Moscow."

The *Militant* explained the Marxist position—that military pacts of a worker's government must be subordinated to, not substituted for, the continuation of the class struggle in every capitalist country. Only working class, and not capitalist governments, could be depended upon to defend and save the Soviet Union from imperialist attack.

TOLEDO—The first great strike against the powerful General Motors Corporation continued in full force as workers of the Toledo Chevrolet plant voted to reject a "compromise" proposal. With almost the entire Chevrolet division of GM tied up and sympathetic strikes shutting plants in the Ohio cities of Toledo, Cleveland, Norwood and Atlanta, the workers closed ranks for an all-out fight for union recognition.

15,169 New Readers Of "The Militant" As Campaign Soars To 149 Per Cent Mark

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

The 13-week Militant Subscription Campaign for 10,000 new readers is now speeding down the home stretch. By the end of the tenth week the total new subscriptions obtained by members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party was 15,169. This week's total was 1,579, the fourth highest weekly total to date.

Many sub-getters have written us asking for our estimate on the final total. Some of the more optimistic express their own hope it will reach 20,000—double the quota originally set. To reach this total, however, would require extraordinary efforts. It would mean raising the weekly average from 1,516 to 1,611 for the next three weeks—an average increase of 95 a week.

In view of the remarkable achievements of the branches in the first ten weeks and knowing how much a little extra effort on the part of each sub-getter can raise the grand total, we believe a goal of 20,000 is not nearly as remote as it might have sounded at the beginning of the campaign. However, this is a question for each sub-getter to decide for himself. How about it?

FROM THE BRANCHES

Mike Warren, national leading Pace-Setter, New York: "I find the last lap in this campaign to be extremely tiresome. But, like most comrades, the driving force behind me is to see whether we can hit the bell at 20,000. It is heartening, I think, to all of us to watch comrades after eight hours and sometimes 10 hours of work at the factory still find time to plug away on Militant subs. That to me is an achievement that is going to mark the success of this campaign. I hope to contribute my part by getting 1,000 subs."

Doris Hilsen, Akron: "We had a mobilization yesterday, but because of an unscheduled rain we were out only 20 minutes. In that time five of us sold 12 subs—60 percent of those encountered bought subs. We are covering a very large housing project now. To date we have sold 25 subs there and we have contacted only a small number of the workers who live there. Most of these people work at aircraft or in rubber."

Her Newell, Allentown: "Three of us comrades sold 16 subs—two railroad workers and the rest steel workers. One additional sub was sold to a shopmate in auto."

A. Field, Minneapolis: "I am enclosing 223 trial subscriptions. We had wonderful success with the May Day issue for which I think the number of subs I am enclosing will match."

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "Seventy subscriptions on the way. Our total is now 520. We're posting at the rate of 100 subscriptions a week."

Maggie McGowan, Toledo: "Enclosed are 28 new trial subs, bringing our total up to 516. We're over the double mark and headed for 300 percent!"

Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "The schedule for the remaining weeks of the campaign have been worked out. We are now shooting for 2,500 subs. Our Pace-Setters are going to town. All the comrades have pitched in and before the campaign is concluded over 15 comrades will have obtained 50 subs or more."

Inez Cope, Youngstown: "Enclosed are 46 new subs. We've really gotta step now that Cleveland's gathering speed. However, we're glad to see their progress and wish them all the luck in surpassing us."

Libby Jones, Buffalo: "We have been selling subs lately in a German-American neighborhood. The fact that we are operating to the current vicious propaganda against the German working people makes many of them listen to us seriously. One old woman, as soon as she heard the word 'Socialist,' grabbed the paper with both hands and her eyes filled with tears. She said, 'So many of us were Socialists in Germany. It is so good to see this paper in America!'

K. Karl of Philadelphia: "Comrade Alma, our Pace-Setter, has 62 subs. Last Sunday we got eight subs outside of a union meeting of Cramp Shipyard workers. We see Bayonne is waking up, but Philadelphia will leave it far behind—you'll see."

P. Davidson, Boston: "We are well above the 100 percent mark and hope to reach 150 percent soon."

Ruth Haddon, San Francisco: "Our consistent Pace-Setter is Joan Wakefield with a score of 49 subs to date. The rest of us are somewhat behind her. I am almost sure she will be our Pace-Setter for the area at the end of the campaign. This is really a fine piece of work since she is a waitress and has been hampered in getting on account of all sorts of irregular hours of work."

Gene Jimenez, Los Angeles: "Thought I would let you know how the Los Angeles Trotskyist Youth Group (S.Y.C.) is helping the sub campaign. In about a total of 40 hours, seven of our members have sold a total of 200 subs. Our Pace-Setter is Leo Lussetti with 96 subs. For the next sub campaign we would like a quota given to us."

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, New York	742
Jerry Kirk	Detroit	326
Paul Kujac	Chicago	245
Doris Hilsen	Akron	188
Howard Mason	Detroit	181
Ernest Drake	Detroit	176
Marion Winters	Brooklyn, New York	157
Fred Kaminsky	Buffalo	153
Joe Simpson	Minneapolis	150
E. Logan	Detroit	149
K. Kane	Minneapolis	133
Bill Horton	Detroit	124
Dotty Hill	Brooklyn	112
M. Kennedy	Detroit	111
Dorothy Lessing	Newark	110
Kay O'Brien	Detroit	108
Robert Kendall	Toledo	106
Justine Lang	East Side, New York	105
Ruth Grayson	N. Y. Trotskyist Youth Group	103
Jack Wilson	Youngstown	100
Izzy London	Cleveland	100

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Percent
Akron	85	401	472
Allentown	50	189	370
Flint	50	169	338
Minneapolis	300	781	260
Cleveland	200	520	260
San Diego	50	116	232
Toledo	250	516	206
Detroit	1000	1937	194
Milwaukee	100	191	191
Youngstown	300	561	187
Rochester	50	86	172
St. Paul	100	163	163
Reading	75	111	148
Buffalo	350	511	146
New York	2500	3548	142
Philadelphia	150	189	126
Bayonne	150	182	121
Chicago	1000	1199	119
Boston	200	218	109
Newark	350	378	108
San Francisco	350	373	107
Seattle	400	547	87
Los Angeles	2000	1435	72
Groups, Members-at-Large and Friends	140	263	188
Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, (Trail-Blazers)		775	
TOTAL	10,200	15,169	149

Vincent R. Dunne Addresses Chicago SWP May Day Rally

CHICAGO, May 3—The May Day celebration of the Chicago branch was one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held by the Socialist Workers Party in this city. In spite of wind and rain, 130 people packed Buckingham Hall to participate in the celebration and to hear Vincent Dunne speak for the first time since his release from prison in January.

In an inspiring speech, Comrade Dunne demonstrated that the decaying capitalist system was capable of bringing only misery and destruction to humanity. He pointed to the coming revolutionary upsurge of the European workers as the only salvation for the starving masses of that blood-soaked continent.

Comrade Dunne also discussed the coming resurgence of the class struggle in America, indicated by the growing restlessness of the workers, who desire to free themselves from the no-strike pledge and to build a political party of their own.

He concluded his speech with an appeal to the audience to support and to join the Socialist Workers Party. Two auto workers responded by applying for membership, at the close of the meeting.

The composition of the audience reflected the growth of the party's influence among workers in mass production industries. Present were more than 40 auto workers from Chicago plants, and many steel workers from the mills in the Calumet area.

A collection of \$70 was contributed to the work of the Trotskyists in Chicago.

BOSTON, May 6—Forty-five people tonight met in the new



Pioneer Notes

Howard Mason of Detroit reports the following gratifying experience which resulted from his persistence in selling a subscription to *The Militant*. "About a month ago I had a real job trying to sell a member of the Shop Committee a sub to the paper. He came up with every excuse in the book, but finally broke down. Today he came up to me with the clipped-out article of J. Lane's reporting on the current drive against the Briggs union, saying he was on his way to show it to the rest of the Committee."

While canvassing from door-to-door for subscriptions to *The Militant*, K. Karl of Philadelphia succeeded in countering some Stalinist propaganda. He writes as follows: "The man said he wouldn't care for *The Militant* because he didn't agree with it. I told him it would be most surprising to find him in agreement and that he not only had a right but a duty to form and express his own opinions as a worker, the main thing being, however, that the opinions were his own and based on facts. The *Militant* would bring him many vital facts essential to intelligent opinion."

"By the way," I said, "just what is your disagreement with *The Militant*?" Those Trotskyites, he said, "they are disrupters, breaking up the unions, preventing unity of the workers." I told him I knew of no such example and asked him for specific facts on which he based it. "Well why was it they were expelled from the party in Russia?" he countered. "I said, 'I guess I hit the nail on the head already. These are not your own opinions at all, but what others told you to think without giving you all the facts. That's all the greater reason for getting our paper for a while at least."

"He then invited me inside, asked my name, introduced me to his wife (an AFL packing house worker). Before I left he had volunteered to subscribe for a year, they promised to attend our next forum and bring a friend, and warmly invited me to visit them anytime."

J. Radlow of Chicago reports the experience of another comrade who was out getting subscriptions: "I walked into a house and showed a worker there *The Militant*. He said he wanted an opportunity to read the paper first. Thirty minutes later another comrade rang his bell. The worker said, 'A man was just here with the paper. I read parts of it in the last few minutes and I think it's really good and I want to subscribe to it. How about letting my son distribute this paper in the neighborhood instead of the booster?' We told him we would be more than glad to have him distribute *The Militant*."

C. L. of New York made the following comment about the May Day issue: "I cannot say enough for the new 8-page *Militant*. There were so many fine articles that it is difficult to pick out any one. But I want to say something about the excellent articles by the women writers. Especially the interview with the Chairman of the New York tele-

FIGHT FOR THIS PROGRAM:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

Rescind the no-strike pledge!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

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

5. Working class political action!

Build the independent labor party!

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. IX—No. 19 Saturday, May 12, 1945

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

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

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

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



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

— Leon Trotsky

The Fall Of Nazism

Hitler boasted in 1933 that the political system of Nazism would endure for a thousand years. Today it has utterly collapsed, engulfed in the awful ruin of Europe wrought by the imperialist war. Hitler himself, the architect and personification of Nazism, is reported dead.

According to some middle-headed "thinkers," who feared the brutal totalitarianism of Hitler, but possessed neither the intelligence nor the courage to struggle effectively against it, Nazism (and Fascism) represented a new form of society. Will they now explain why the most powerful fascism survived only a bare dozen years?

We revolutionary Marxists from the very beginning defined Nazism as the unbridled rule of German finance-capital in the era of the decay of capitalism. Germany was caught in a web of insoluble contradictions. The highly developed economy which made Germany the leading country in Europe was unable to function normally and smoothly, much less expand and grow, upon the basis of the capitalist system and within the too narrow confines of the national state.

These contradictions were the source of chronic social convulsion and ever-sharpening class conflicts. From 1930 to 1933 Germany was in a state of civil war. The great German working-class resisted every attempt of the German capitalists to solve the crisis at their expense. The German capitalists, for their part, called Hitler and his Nazi gangsters to power in order to crush this resistance and pave the way for an attempt to solve the crisis on the international arena by means of war.

Failure of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaders to unite the workers for a battle to the death against Hitler, their false teaching that Nazism was no real menace, and finally their shameful capitulation before the Nazis, enabled the brownshirts Praetorian Guard of finance-capital to defeat the workers and wipe out their organizations. The price of this defeat has been twelve years of terror, concentration camps, torture and death. Yet the murderous measures and military might of the Nazi regime did not, and could not, solve the social crisis on whose crest Hitler rode to power. That crisis lies at the heart of the rotting capitalist system which Hitler defended and preserved.

The Allied Powers and their Moscow accomplices are now ready to impose a barbarous peace on Germany. The horrors of Nazism and war are now to be followed by the hardships and miseries of a predatory peace. The only way out for the German working-class lies along the road of revolutionary struggle to end capitalism and establish, together with their class brothers across the frontiers, a Socialist United States of Europe.

They face enormous difficulties and obstacles. Germany lies in ruins. Allied armies of occupation will try to prevent the German people from taking their destiny into their own hands. But the German workers have a great tradition of valiant revolutionary struggle and the difficulties, though great, are not insuperable.

German imperialism in a Brown Shirt is defeated, but not the German working class. The red banner of the victorious Socialist Workers Republic will yet wave over Berlin where yesterday the swastika emblems prevailed and today the flags of the Allied conquerors are set.

We Told The Truth

When the present war broke out in Europe, *The Militant*, which has held aloft the banner of socialist internationalism through all these bloody years, appraised its true character, and its perspectives, in the following words:

"This is NOT a war for and against the independence of Poland.

"This is NOT a war for and against 'democracy'

—not one of the participating powers, but rules the overwhelming majority of its subjects with sword and whip.

"This war is being fought solely to decide which imperialist powers shall dominate the world.

"The assassination of the Archduke of Austria at Sarajevo in July, 1914 was not the cause of the First World War.

"The seizure of Danzig is not the cause of the Second World War.

"The First World War was fought to decide which powers shall rule the world. The victors dictated the bloody 'peace' of Versailles.

"That 'peace' led directly to the Second World War. Another such 'peace' will lead directly to the Third World War.

"Neither Hitler nor Chamberlain, Mussolini nor Daladier, Stalin nor Roosevelt, can bring peace to the world.

"Peace will come to the world only when the workers of the world take matters into their own hands, and throw off the bandits who rule over them." (*The Militant*, Sept. 5, 1939.)

Those words are as true and as timely today as when they were first printed. The socialist revolution represents mankind's only hope of real and enduring peace. There is no other.

Our Slogan

Every informed worker realizes that with the end of hostilities in Europe a new situation is opening up in the United States. Such burning domestic questions as reconversion, cut-backs, unemployment come to the fore as the post-war depression looms ominously on the horizon.

A revolutionary political party such as ours which seeks to lead and guide the workers in their struggles for a better world must be alert to these changes. Consequently, after a thorough review of the new turn of events the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party has reshaped its slogans to meet the most pressing problems confronting the working class.

This program of action will hereafter be found on page 7 of *The Militant*. The list begins with the demand for full employment and job security of workers and veterans. It is the elementary right of every person to make a decent living. But this right cannot be obtained except by struggle against the capitalist class and its agents. It can be guaranteed only by a workers' and farmers' government which can open the road to unlimited progress. Without such a government, not only will unemployment and hunger ravage the working class, but another world war will strike down more tens of millions of victims.

The struggle of the American workers for a better life is insolubly linked with the fight of the working people throughout the world for the very right to survive. That is why we have given so prominent a place in our program to slogans of solidarity with the European and colonial peoples.

We ask every serious worker to study this program. If you agree with it and want to help realize it, then do your part for socialism by joining the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. Become an organizer for socialism among your friends and shopmates. The coupon published below the program will bring you further information about our work. Fill it out and send it in today!

Truman's Message

A new and ominous indication of the looming menace of mass unemployment which threatens the well-being of the American working-class was the announcement by President Truman on May 22 that he had recommended to Congress a cut of \$7,365,000,000 in current shipbuilding appropriations and contract authorizations.

Like his predecessor in office, President Roosevelt, Truman showed callous indifference to the needs of the hundreds of thousands of workers who will lose their jobs and their livelihood as a result of the recommended cuts. The workers involved were not mentioned.

Bethlehem Steel, Henry Kaiser and the rest of the cost-plus shipbuilding magnates have amassed huge fortunes from government contracts. When the yards (built with public funds!) close down, or have their working forces reduced, these plutocrats won't have to apply for unemployment relief. They will continue to live in lavish luxury.

But the workers, men and women who are being thrown out of work—for these there lie ahead harsh days of poverty and want. For them there is only the dole, which in some states is as low as \$2 per week. With their wages frozen under Roosevelt's Little Steel formula while the cost of living has soared, they have been able to accumulate no savings. Nothing could be put by for the "rainy day" of unemployment. Neither the cost-plus patriots nor the government give a damn for the welfare of these men and women.

In his message President Truman also reaffirmed the Little Steel Formula. Thereby he guarantees to the profit-bloated capitalists a continuance of the lush profits they have reaped from the war. Similarly he guarantees that the wages of the workers shall not rise above the barest subsistence level, for government price control has never been anything but a hollow mockery.

Now the workers are being cast onto the scrap heap of unemployment. Those not yet being laid off are taking wage cuts in one form or another. In numerous war plants the basic work week has been reduced from 48 to 40 hours, with corresponding reductions in pay, which means a pay cut of more than 16 per cent.

Everything for the capitalists; the leavings or the scrap-heap for the workers! This is the real program of Truman as it was the program of Roosevelt.

The Same Old Stew



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.

How to Feed Starving Europe

Editor:

There is a lot of talk lately from our statesmen in Washington about tightening our belts in order to feed starving Europe. I say that if there is any tightening to be done, let's tighten up on the bellies of the rich, who have grown disgustingly fat in this war. It would appear to me that they have plenty of room to spare, while the stomachs of the poor have been tightening up ever since this war started.

Furthermore, if these people are so interested in feeding Europe, why don't they open up the factories closing down all over the country, create the 60 million jobs we've been promised, and give everyone a chance to work and eat.

It appears quite clear now that our officials in Washington are not interested in feeding the people in Europe, nor in giving jobs to the people at home. Otherwise they would not allow these factories to stay closed 24 hours.

I agree with *The Militant* that this system should have been changed long ago.

M. Morando
New York

Railroad Workers Get a Forum

Editor:

In this *Militant* Subscription Campaign I have been watching the subs roll in from the various railroad terminals with growing delight. The spreading of *The Militant* in the railroad terminals means a special advantage to the railroad men and women.

The columns of the rail union Journals have been closed to the railroad workers for years. In most of the railroad unions the President, or the Grand Chief, as he is sometimes called, is the only person in the organization who has unrestricted access to the pages of the monthly magazine.

The leaders of the American railroad unions find it absolutely necessary to censor and suppress all progressive ideas in the union ranks in order to continue to saddle the railroad workers with the most antiquated trade union structure in the world. The railroad workers in this country are being kept divided by its leaders into 21 separate unions. The unnecessary dues which the members must pay annually for this extravagant set-up run into millions of dollars, to say nothing about the loss in wages and working conditions which results directly from this divided condition of the men.

So naturally, in order to keep the workers tied to this kind of organization the leaders cannot very well afford to grant the rank and file the luxury of freedom of membership expression. The present rail union leaders are conscious of the fact if they permitted the progressive sentiment in the union ranks to express its opinion their misrule would soon be over and their soft and well-paid jobs ended.

Now the workers are being cast onto the scrap heap of unemployment. Those not yet being laid off are taking wage cuts in one form or another. In numerous war plants the basic work week has been reduced from 48 to 40 hours, with corresponding reductions in pay, which means a pay cut of more than 16 per cent.

Everything for the capitalists; the leavings or the scrap-heap for the workers! This is the real program of Truman as it was the program of Roosevelt.

splendid workers' paper, the progressive minority can bypass the tightly censored union journals and reach the rank and file in growing numbers through the pages of *The Militant*.

Therefore, we urge every railroad worker to subscribe for *The Militant*, read it closely, show it to your worker associates. Write your ideas in its columns on the many needed changes in the structure, program and leadership in the American railroad unions.

Railroad Worker,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Wall Street Loans To the Fascists

Editor:

I am in receipt of all the information I requested regarding Drew Pearson's column exposing the villainy of Churchill in bribing the royalist faction in Greece to attack the peasants and workers so that he could turn his brutal army loose on the Greek patriots and slaughter them.

The daily paper I take did not publish this article of Drew Pearson's (quoted in *The Militant*, March 31). I searched all the issues and couldn't find it. The owner of this paper, Cowles, is a first cousin of Thomas V. Lamont, Chairman of the Board of J. P. Morgan and Co. This banking scoundrel Lamont loaned \$1,000,000,000 to Mussolini in 1926 and wrote a highly laudatory article on Mussolini, extolling the tremendous merits of this Italian thug.

I have an article on the loans made to Hitler and Mussolini. These loans total over \$7,000,000,000. The English did their bit towards financing Hitler's war machine, though I do not have the

P. Davidson
Boston, Mass.

Young Trotskyist Gets Subscriptions

Editor:

I am only 13 years old and have been raised in a socialist atmosphere. Naturally when the subscription campaign came about, I felt it my duty to participate in the drive. I have been out on almost all Red Sundays and have obtained many subscriptions to *The Militant*.

The manner in which I received these subscriptions might be of some interest to the readers and I hope of some value on future campaigns. While going door to door to workers that *The Militant* was a paper published by workers for the working masses. My approach to Negro workers is to point out to them that this paper fights against Jim Crow Negro persecution. It fights for higher wages and for less working hours for both Negro and white workers. I emphasize to all people to unite and fight for one common goal—the liberation of the working class.

Rose Brandt
New York

Friendly Criticism

Editor:

I am sending you the only decent page in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union 'Justice' hoping you can use some of the items.

Also some bus drivers are striking against the city of Santa Monica. As far as I'm concerned this is more interesting or at least as interesting as all the room you give to Myra Tanner Weiss or Charlotta Bass.

I think the paper is swell but I'm sorry that little things keep it from being tops.

Jean Martin
Los Angeles, Calif.

U. S. Monopolies Protect Their German Interests

Drew Pearson on April 26 wrote from San Francisco about the plans of a powerful sector of American bankers and industrialists to preserve German capitalism as a bulwark against socialism in Europe and to protect their interests and holdings in Germany. Many newspapers suppressed this column.

These plans, Pearson claims, were elaborated at a meeting of the German Reparations Committee in the office of Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton.

Clayton himself at the secret meeting "mentioned the fact that Germany would need to import cotton to manufacture clothes and should be permitted to have enough exports to pay for the imported cotton. Clayton is the biggest cotton exporter in the world and did a heavy business with the Nazis before war."

Pearson describes the suspicions of the Kremlin government about Allied plans for Germany. "The Russians knew in advance for instance that the Douglas Aircraft Company had sold the plans for its DC-4 to Japan for \$1,000,000 before Pearl Harbor. They are especially interested in the War Department's survey of damage to German war plants by U. S. planes. Many of these plants, in which the Americans and British had holdings, have been found strangely undamaged. The survey is to be conducted by a group of bankers and top insurance executives, including: Henry C. Alexander, vice-president of J. P. Morgan; Fred Searles, Jr., president of several J. P. Morgan mine companies; Franklin D'Olier, president of Prudential Life Insurance Company, and Robert P. Russell, president of Standard Oil Development Company."

Standard Oil, Pearson points out, "collaborated with Hitler's cartels even after the war broke out in Europe . . . the J. P. Morgan branch bank in Paris collaborated with the Nazis even after Pearl Harbor." Among the "pressure boys" demanding assistance of the State Department to start up operations of their plants in Germany is Graeme Howard, vice-president of General Motors' European operations, including Germany. "Howard helped organize Franco's truck transport service during the Spanish Civil War, has a personal interest in the Opel Auto Works in Germany, and has been busy as a hound dog around the State Department wanting to get back to Germany."

Also, the Office of Strategic Services "has, strangely, distributed some of the most powerful bankers' representatives in the U. S. A. at key points where they can influence U. S. policy in Occupied Germany." The roster of OSS men "reads like a blue-stockings list of the first sixty families."

Both Capitalist Parties Join Against FEPC Bill

A majority coalition of Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives have ganged up to prevent even discussion of a bill for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

This measure would continue the commission set up during the war under pressure of the Negroes and labor unions, to investigate and halt discrimination in industry against racial and religious minorities. While the commission was largely ineffective and lacked powers of enforcement, the Jim-Crow political agents of Big Business are opposed to it on principle.

Last week, the sponsors of the bill could secure only 102 of a required 218 names on a petition to place the act on the House floor for debate. Previously the House Rules Committee had stalled the measure in committee for over two months.

Democratic floor leaders warned their members to "lay off" for the sake of "unity." A Republican Congressman professed he "just didn't know" why the Republicans were also blocking the measure. They want to kill the bill quietly and forestall another scandalous Southern "white supremacy" filibuster.

After dumping \$134,000,000 of the American people's money into the Canol (Canadian oil) project, the U. S. War Department two weeks ago blandly announced that its "most colossal blunder," as the project has been termed, will be discontinued by June 30.

This project was initiated early in 1942 under the direction of Lieutenant General Brehon Somervell, chief of the Army Service Force. Somervell in December 1943 explained to the Truman Senate Investigating Committee that the project was scheduled for completion by the fall