

# "The History Of American Trotskyism"

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# THE MILITANT

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## Mine Strikers Win \$1.37 Daily Wage Increase

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

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

They were aided in this by the Truman administration which exerted all the governmental pressure it dared in order to whip the miners back into the pits before a contract was signed. The mines were "seized" two days after the strike began on May 1. An ultimatum was issued ordering a return to work by the following Monday. This ultimatum was ignored.

### SMITH-CONNALLY ACT

Attorney General Biddle admitted he had sent FBI agents into the Pennsylvania hard coal fields in an attempt to get "evidence" of violation of the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. He further admitted with "regret" that he could uncover nothing which could be used "legally" to railroad any miners to jail.

The miners had taken the precaution to vote for strike under the provisions of the Smith-Connally act. They had walked out to a man on the expiration of their old contract, without any formal urging of their leaders. The act provides penalties only for "encouraging and inciting" a strike on property under government control.

Secretary of Interior Ickes claims credit for the final compromise terms of the new contract. He, however, was the one who issued most of the blustering threats against the miners, tried to break their strike and discredit them through the daily press and radio. Ickes is trying to save face and claim credit for gains the miners won for themselves through hard struggle and their unbreakable solidarity.

The administration and its War Labor Board, as in the case of the previous victory of the soft coal miners, are trying to cover up the extent of the concessions to the hard coal miners by claiming that these are within the formal limits of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. But as the N. Y. Times, May 20, sadly affirmed, a "violation of the Little Steel formula" is only "technically avoided."

The top leaders of the CIO and

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## Veterans Discover Jobs Hard to Get, Wages Too Low

By Larissa Reed

Even before the war in Europe ended, thousands of veterans were tramping the streets in search of jobs. Veterans Administration figures for the week ending April 28 show that 28,992 veterans who applied for jobs were given instead unemployment relief payments. This was an increase of 1,300 over the previous week. Now, with large-scale demobilization beginning, the House Veterans Committee "is worried" because "at least 2,000,000 veterans will be poured into the labor market." This means millions more will soon be tramping the streets in search of jobs.

Trying to explain away the present unemployment among the veterans of World War II, Frank Newcomer, veterans' representative of the United States Employment Service, stated that "the men were dissatisfied with the jobs offered and refused to take them." He complained: "Veterans coming back today have a fantastic idea of what jobs are paying."

### "FREEDOM FROM WANT"

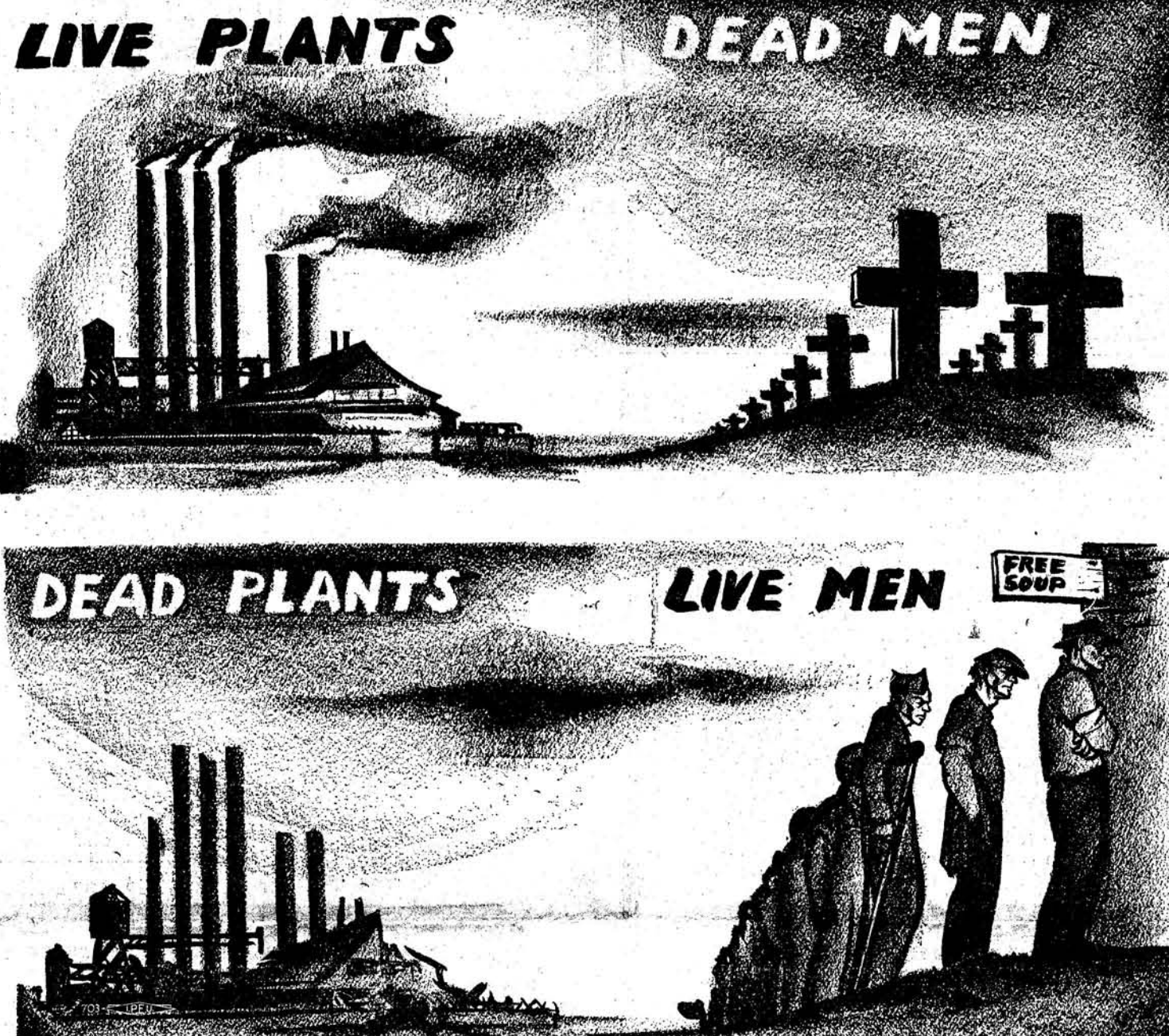
But where did the soldiers get this "fantastic idea?" According to Newcomer himself, they "hear greatly exaggerated stories regarding present pay by industry." This is corroborated by a Memphis USES official who stated last month: "They read in the newspapers, magazines, and radio about the enormous wages war plant workers are pulling down." The fact is, the soldiers abroad were told these lies about high wages in order to discredit the workers at home who were striving for a living wage and decent working conditions. Naturally, they are surprised and "disgruntled" when they come back and "don't get big salaries."

Mr. Newcomer also complains that veterans "want to have better jobs than the ones they held before entering the services." To begin with, the soldiers who were

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## Labor Leaders Denounce Vinson's Fraudulent 'Reconversion' Report

Capitalism in War and Peace



The above cartoon which first appeared in THE MILITANT of Sept. 9, 1944 has been reproduced in the labor press of a number of countries. It is today more timely than ever.

## International Rivalries Grow Following Defeat Of Germany

By Li Fu-jen

Now that German imperialism has been eliminated as a factor in the relationships of the Big Powers, the ground has been cleared for a reassertion of international rivalries and antagonisms which were thrust into the background by the exigencies of the military alliance against Hitler's Third Reich. A new relation of forces has been established on the international arena and is finding its first expression in growing friction between the Allied imperialists and the Soviet Union.

The gushing "friendliness" which marked the period of the Allied-Soviet alliance against Germany has all but disappeared. Where hitherto the "Big Three" were amicably coupled in the capitalist press, we now see a conspicuous separation. Issues engendering friction and animosity are multiplying. One does not have to seek far for the causes, which reside in the changed international position of the Soviet Union.

Germany's defeat has made the Soviet Union the most powerful state, with the most powerful military forces, on the European continent. With the defeat of Japan, the Soviet Union will also emerge as the greatest power in eastern Asia. Naturally, the imperialists are worried. They did not fight Germany in order to have Stalin seize a large part of the spoils of war and make the Soviet Union the master of Europe.

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## IN THE NEWS

### Philippine 'Independence'

Secretary of Navy Forrestal on May 16 said that the United States "will continue to bear responsibility for the security of the Philippines and will have to have bases and strategic areas supporting those bases to carry out that responsibility."

### Real Cause of the War

Urging the celebration of a "National Foreign Trade Week," Eric A. Johnston, head of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, on May 18 stated: "We Americans recognize the principle that economic causes underlie almost every diplomatic and military clash."

### "Peace" Hits England

On May 17 in London, 8,000 workers of the Napier engineering factories went on strike when 2,000 were declared "redundant" — no longer employed. Shouting "We want Work!" the demonstrators marched to Hyde Park from the plant in a west London suburb. They carried banners with the slogans: "We produced for war, we can produce for peace," and "Unemployment appeared in 1918 — has this war been in vain?"

### Not Anxious

Columnist Drew Pearson described in his May 16 (N. Y. Mirror) column why Allied leaders are not rushing trials of Nazi and collaborationist leaders. "Many oppose a trial of Laval. He has a strongbox in a Madrid bank, containing correspondence with various people, including the British, which will be scandalous if made public.... Petain is in the same boat. He has even a signed treaty with Churchill.... If Goering goes to trial, the true story of the mysterious Rudolf Hess flight will be told. Some are not anxious for that."

## Disprove His False Figures On Coming Layoffs, Pay Cuts

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

By Art Preis

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

## Army Discharge Plan Discriminates Against Negroes

The Army's point system for demobilization in Europe was characterized as "the rankest kind of discrimination" against Negro servicemen overseas at a mass meeting in San Francisco on May 13. Edgar G. Brown, Chairman of the National Negro Council, which sponsored the meeting charged that "99 per cent of the Negroes in the overseas armies will be the last to return home."

Because of the rigid Jim Crow setup of the Army the 80 per cent Negro troops who are forced to serve in labor battalions and noncombatant units will be unable to obtain points for combat service. Moreover, the General Staff of the Army has announced that there will be a great need in the Pacific area for the "service troops" who build the airports, harbors and bases. Many of the service troops will, therefore, be shipped directly to the Pacific.

Harry McAlpin, writing in the May 19 issue of the *New York Negro* paper, *The Amsterdam News*, says that even Negro combat troops will be discriminated against under this release plan. "Because of the segregation policy of the Army, the units must remain all-Negro," McAlpin points out, so that even those Negro troops "with sufficient credits for release will have to wait for 'Negro' replacements."

It is charged that Vinson's report conceals more than it reveals. It deliberately distorts the prospects for employment and gives only glib reassurances and unsubstantiated "estimates" about the real extent of war production cutbacks. At the same time, it offers not a single detail of a genuine program to maintain employment and wages.

The reaction of the CIO leaders to Vinson's vague and misleading optimism was expressed by Ted F. Silvey, chairman of the CIO's Reconversion Committee. He charged on May 12 that Vinson's report "gives no cognizance of the possible deep cutbacks and cancellation of war orders right now being determined by the military which are about to descend on the country in a rush—flood of unemployment."

Vinson's extremely conservative figures on cut-backs, Silvey declared, are "inaccurate and thoroughly discredited" as "every informed person in Washington knows."

Following Vinson's report, in which he attempted to minimize the tremendous decline in weekly earnings facing the workers, CIO

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## STRIKE WAVE SWEEPS OVER WESTERN EUROPE

By Harry Martell

A wave of strikes is sweeping through the "liberated" countries of Europe. Strikes in France last week brought the coal mines of the Northern Pas de Calais departments to a standstill. Immediately afterward workers in private mining areas struck, causing a renewed stoppage in the pits.

In Lyon and the whole Rhone department there was a one-day general strike called by the Rhone Federation of Labor. During the strike a large demonstration of strikers carrying banners and singing the "Internationale" stormed the prefecture, broke through an iron fence, invaded the building and demanded to see Ives Farge, the commissioner. They left only after the commissioner assured them of increases in wages and food allowances.

In addition to wage and food demands the strike was called to enforce demands for "social reform." One was a protest at the slowness of the government purge of former Vichyites. Even prison and police guards were involved in the walkout. Reports state that they "remained at their posts but aren't working" and were refusing to open the doors so prisoners could not be admitted and authorities could not take men on trial to and from the courts.

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

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

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## Propose Fatter Profits To "End" Food Shortage

Payment of higher subsidies to meat packers and cattle producers is the central point of the "new" meat control program announced May 18 by Fred M. Vinson, director of the Office of War Mobilization and recently-appointed food czar. This is the fourth time this year that meat subsidy payments have been increased. In the face of the greatest meat shortage in the country's history, the Administration's one idea is to guarantee the huge profits of the meat trusts.

President Truman's appointment of Vinson was made after the Senate Agricultural Committee had recommended in a May 15 report that "a supreme administrator for food be created to have supervision over both the Office of Price Administration and the War Food Administration." Other recommendations of this committee were:

1. Raising the support price of hogs.
2. An increase in the return to feeders through a higher subsidy.
3. Changes in the Price Control act to give to the processors of cattle a "reasonable margin of profit."

The Senate Committee's recommendations, like those of a similar Food Investigating Committee of the House, are meant to deal with the scandalous food scarcity. Meat has virtually disappeared from millions of legal markets in the country. Most of

the available meat is sold at black market prices — and then only to favored customers. Most butcher shops in New York City are open only one or two hours a day.

But, according to W. B. Courtney, writing in the May 12 and 19 issues of *Collier's* magazine, "There is more meat — on the hoof and in refrigerators — in the United States now than ever before."

Serious shortages in sugar and eggs have also developed. "The people of the United States face the most critical sugar famine in their history," said O. H. Lamborn, president of Lamborn & Co., sugar brokers, on May 17. Like the meat packers, the sugar brokers have also been crying about their alleged losses in profits. The truth, as revealed in a financial report in the N. Y. Times of May 7, is quite the opposite. "The greatest improve-

ment was in the sugar refining industry where five companies reported combined earnings of \$12,348,138 for 1944, an increase of 61 per cent over the previous year's total of \$8,155,445," the report states.

Tremendous profits have been piled up during the war by the food trusts — and Vinson's program promises even higher profits for them. But the wages of the workers are still "frozen." For the past four years, trade unionists have been struggling against the "wage freeze" which is supposedly based on a stable price system. But now the Senate Agricultural Committee admits that "the OPA has failed miserably to enforce price and ration control regulation."

This means that the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures on the cost of living, which were issued last March to justify the wage-freeze, were fraudulent. The Senate committee confirms the AFL-CIO charges on the falsity of these figures which were based on the claim that OPA had maintained price ceilings.

Despite this admission of an almost complete breakdown in the OPA price control program, the "wage freeze" is to continue.

## Trotskyist Candidate Sues Radio Station

LOS ANGELES, May 19. — The first suit filed in any federal court in the United States for damages for unlawful censorship of a radio speech by a broadcasting station during a political campaign was instituted this week in the Federal Court of Los Angeles by Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the April primaries.

The suit, seeking damages totalling \$6,000 against radio station KFAC and its manager, Calvin Smith, was filed by the Socialist Workers Party in cooperation with the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

A broadcast prepared by Comrade Weiss for April 1 was censored by the radio station officials in direct violation of provisions of a federal law which prohibits any censorship of speeches by political candidates. On March 31 Comrade Weiss was informed

that her speech could not be broadcast as the script was written.

The station stated that Mrs. Weiss would not be permitted to comment on her recommendation that listeners vote for Charlotta Bass, independent Negro candidate for the Los Angeles City Council, and that her broadcast would be permitted only if she omitted sections dealing with the candidacy of Charlotta Bass. These expurgated portions of the speech, giving critical support to Mrs. Bass as a candidate of the oppressed Negro people, were published in full by *The Militant* on March 31.

On April 7 *The Militant* reported Station KFAC's mutilation of the broadcast and called for protest action against this flagrant political censorship. American Civil Liberties Union attorneys are now cooperating in the case because of the basic issues of free speech involved in the fight against the arbitrary action of Station KFAC.



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

Special to THE MILITANT

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

The inevitable War Labor Board order to return to work was greeted with stubbornness and antagonism. Only after the most skillful persuasion by international representatives and officials of the CIO Steel Workers, the WLB and military brass hats, and after three hours of debate, did the men vote two to one to return to work with the still unsettled grievance in the hands of the WLB.

The strike, which began on Friday, May 11, was provoked by the lock-out of eighteen line loaders. The company last week cut two men from each shift of the lime and raw material workers, even though their total output was doubled because of "mechanical improvements."

There had formerly been three shifts of light workers apiece on this job. They had loaded 24 cars daily. With the introduction of new machinery this output was doubled. However, the company planted a time-study clerk over the men. After a period of observation (spying) he decided that two men could be cut from each shift.

**WORKERS AROUSED**  
In the face of coming cutbacks, layoffs and the near return to a five day week, the workers of Bethlehem Steel were in no mood to let this action go unchallenged. "We'll be next," said the blast furnace workers. "If they get away with this, what's to prevent them from cutting out the 3rd helper's job as they did when Montgomery was here?"

This was the feeling throughout the entire great sprawled-out plant. It ran from shop to shop like a burning fuse. The open hearths shut down Saturday, the blast furnaces banked up Sunday. Blast furnace workers reporting Monday turned around and went home. The coke oven workers, strip mill and specialty shop went home early Tuesday morning.

On Monday night May 14, some 3,000 Bethlehem workers met and voted eight-to-one to continue the strike. The meeting raged and boomed district union officials who suggested acceptance of a back-to-work order telegraphed by the WLB. Inspired by this big demonstration, more and more came off the job. The company claimed it was only 5,000 of the plant's 11,000 total. But by Tuesday it had reached about 8,000.

The plant was shut down more effectively than it was even in

the big strike of February 27-28, 1941. All the thirty-odd open hearth furnaces, for example, were cold. Six out of the seven huge blast furnaces were idle. The strip mill men had their walkout at 5 A.M. Tuesday. Hardly a dozen workers scabbed. Yet four years ago the strike was only fifty per cent effective there.

The steelworkers themselves were surprised at their power. "I never thought so-and-so would come out" was a common remark. The women were as solid as the men. The big meeting Monday night revealed a will to struggle that has long been hidden under the surface.

At the strikers' meeting tonight, the very first rank and file militant who spoke, demanded that Thomas Knowlton of the Regional WLB tell the body whether he had the power to send the original eight men (24 for three shifts) back to their jobs. And when Knowlton answered "yes," the speaker demanded that the full crew of line loaders go back "as they were" and the whole membership would go back "as they were." And the WLB could decide the merits of the case under the old conditions—not under the new company plan of six to a shift.

This became the main battle cry, "We'll go back when 8 men go back, not 6." It was an inspiring demonstration of union solidarity. Every union man felt the importance of this issue.

**BACK-TO-WORK PLEAS**  
Moloney, the district director, was obviously afraid to come out strongly in his back-to-work plea. In fact, at no time did he condemn the men for going out. He said several times what a splendid demonstration had been staged. Neither he, Knowlton, nor Captain David Miller of the Army dared really to attack the protest action of the men.

But as speaker after speaker from the aroused rank and file reflected the same determination to stay out, it became clear that only one of their own could turn the tide. This was done by Tim Smith, president of Local 2003, well known in the past as a leading militant and especially as a fighter for Negro rights. He gave a full dress oration, captured the crowd as no one else was able to. He attacked the International officials from Philip Murray on down—attacked the War Labor Board—attacked the no-strike pledge—but wound up with an appeal for retreat.

Whatever Smith's intention was, the tide was turned, and several speakers from his local took the same general line. Even his attack on the no-strike pledge did not seem very much to the point. In fact, McNichols from the International seized the opportunity to remind the men that the pledge was still in effect. Both he and district director Moloney used Smith's statement "We must retreat" to heighten the confusion caused by the back-to-work appeal dressed up in militant language. Army and Navy speakers near the close of the discussion urged the men to obey their leaders and return to work.

The vote to go back was 602 to 308. The ballot was worded "Will you obey the government's order to return to work?" It was significant that the overwhelming majority did not vote. This was the Bethlehem Steel workers' first real tangle with the War Labor Board and governmental machinery. They went back a little wiser from the first lesson. And they went back with their heads high.

## What the Future Holds



## Exploited Cleaning Women Strike For Five-Cent Raise

By Evelyn Atwood

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

Mrs. Margaret Lawlor, 604 W. 140th St., New York, who has three children, expressed the sentiments of the women picketing the building: "I see the Congressmen put themselves down for a big expense bill and they're getting it. But when it comes to us poor people, we can't even get a living wage. And it seems the Congressmen won't even have to pay taxes on their increase. I pay as much as \$8 to \$10 a week in taxes. That's because I work overtime. But I can't take care of my family without overtime. And all of us work plenty hard for our money—12 hours a night and more!"

Some of the women are grandmothers, 60 years old and more, and many of them are mothers of men in the service. All are members of Local 32-J, AFL Building Service Employees Union. In addition to the five cents an hour increase, they are demanding a food allowance of 50 cents after two hours overtime work.

### WLB ATTITUDE

In spiteful retaliation against the striking women, the WLB, which refused the demand on the ground that it was "contrary to the provisions of the wage stabilization act," stated that "the case would be put on the bottom of the pile" of appeals now before the Board. This meant a delay of at least several days in consideration of the case. Previous to the strike, the WLB which now has its regional office at 220 East 42nd St., had announced its plans to move into the Empire State Building on June 1.

On May 17 the cleaning women returned to work to permit the WLB to review the case, following an agreement between the Empire State management and the Union on a new contract embodying the increase.

"We are confident of success,"

## Veterans Discover Jobs Hard to Get

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

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

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

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## POSTWAR JOB PROSPECT IN RAILROAD INDUSTRY

By John Russo

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

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

From 1920 to 1929 the employment figures remained fairly stable because of the power American capitalism was able to wield after the last war at the expense of impoverished Europe. From 1929 on there was a steady decline in employment which reached the lowest ebb in 1938 when 958,280 employees were listed. The artificial stimulation of prosperity due to the Second World War has given the railroads another lease on life. But even with the war it has not reached the employment figure of 1920. The latest figure available (1943) was 1,374,000 employees.

### LESS LABOR NEEDED

But one must note carefully the difference in employment and understand fully how the situation in 1920 differs from that of more recent years. In 1920 locomotives in service on all railroads numbered about 69,000 and carried 2,427,622,267 tons of freight and more than a million and a quarter passengers. From 1920 to 1925 the freight in tons carried remained fairly even and locomotives in service remained about the same. Yet in 1925 this task was performed with about 300,000 fewer employees.

Constant improvement in the pulling power of the steam locomotives was becoming more and more apparent. Longer lines of freight cars meant nothing more than the scrap heap for thousands of locomotives. With less locomotives in service less labor was needed.

The figures show then that in 1929 with 61,257 locomotives (75,000 less than in 1920), one million MORE tons of freight was hauled with 400,000 FEWER employees.

### DISMAL FUTURE

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

The employment figures of 1941 are listed as 1,159,025. Contrast these figures with the peak year of 1920. More freight was hauled in 1941 with about 45 per cent less labor power and about 30 per cent fewer locomotives.

The dismal future for full employment under capitalism in the railroad industry is evident. Competition after the war will come not only from the trucking industry but also from aviation. If the rate of development in the improvement of the pulling power of locomotives prior to the war meant less jobs, the rate of decline in employment will become more rapid after the war when the railroads begin to cut expenses to the bone.

The only solution to this whole problem is government ownership of the railroads and their operation under workers' control.



### War-Profits and Layoffs

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

In 1943 net profits after all tax deductions amounted to \$3,062,414, a shake down of \$7.77 for each share. The books of the corporation now list current assets at \$87,746,561. Mr. Bell appeared optimistic over continued future profits for the stockholders since the backlog of unfilled orders at the end of the first quarter of 1945 was in excess of \$500,000,000.

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

## Hard Coal Miners Win Pay Increase By 3-Week Strike

(Continued from page 1)

AFL who spat their strikebreaking venom against the miners' strike two years ago this time remained silent. Their own ranks are seething and pressing for militant action against the Little Steel formula. Only the Stalinists openly played the bosses' game and publicly yelled "treason" against the magnificent and courageous battle of the miners.

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

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

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

### Thomas' Bright Idea

After fumbling around with the problem of employment for the thousands to be laid-off with the closing of the huge Ford Willow Run Bomber plant, R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO United Automobile Workers finally burst into print with an "inspiration."

The government claims it has no more war contracts for this government-owned plant. Henry Ford, who operated it most profitably during the war, says it would be a white elephant to him. So Thomas proposed on May 15 in Detroit that Henry J. Kaiser, shipbuilding tycoon and government contract promoter, buy up the plant and produce automobiles.

Evidently, Thomas has swallowed without even chewing the myth about Kaiser, the "industrial genius." That "genius" consisted exclusively of the ability to wrangle new plants and profitable contracts out of the government. On that basis, Kaiser ran a \$100,000 investment up to a profit of \$27,274,487 on just two of his west coast shipyards. Even Thomas himself, whom no one describes as a genius of any kind, could have done as much if the government had handed him the plants and stuffed the dough into his pockets, as it did with Kaiser.

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

Why should Thomas ask that the government turn over the Willow Run plant, built with the people's taxes, to some plutocratic profiteer like Kaiser? He ought to be shouting for the government to operate this and all other government-built plants to produce consumers goods. And the auto workers should control these plants to ensure their efficient and uninterrupted operation.

### "Work Or Quit" Order

Sixty-four soaking pit workers, members of the United Steel Workers, CIO, went on strike last week at the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp., South Side plant in Pittsburgh.

It's a sign of the times that the company didn't howl for the government to drive them back to work. Instead it sent them individual telegrams to return to work within 24 hours or be considered as having "quit your job," and forfeiting "all vacation, pension, seniority and other rights."

Just a short while ago the corporations and their government were insisting that a worker couldn't "quit" his job. There was a job freeze, draft threats, government plant "seizures" and even troops to force strikers back to work.

Evidently the corporations are now beginning to feel in position to revert to the pre-war pattern of pressure on striking workers. That is the threat that a jobless worker is standing outside the gate waiting for your job and if you strike you are merely "quitting" to make room for an eager job applicant.

### How Low Can They Go?

How low can the Stalinists bend in order to lick the boots of the employers and capitalist government, is a question being asked more and more frequently these days.

The answer can be seen in the statement of Stalinist John Anderson, president of the Detroit East Side Tool & Die Local 155, UAW-CIO, before the emergency meeting of nearly 40 local UAW presidents in Detroit, May 15.

Anderson just spilled all over with the auto corporation propaganda about the high pay of the auto workers in attempting to refute R. J. Thomas' absolutely correct statement that a return to the 40 hour week with no overtime pay would reduce average auto wages to around \$32 a week.

Anderson called Thomas' statement, substantiated by the other local presidents present, "eyewash" and "union propaganda." He further expressed the fear that such "union propaganda" would hurt "labor-management relations"—thereby showing he prefers to expound the corporation propaganda.

### What Price "Peace"?

An editorial in the May 18 Toledo Union Journal, organ of 60,000 Northwest Ohio CIO members, states: "Today, to millions of American workers, the threat of sudden peace is almost as terrifying as the sudden coming of war, for many realize that at no time has peace ever provided an adequate number of jobs for the workers. The talk of 60,000,000 jobs up to now is just talk and headlines which mean nothing to the worker awaiting with misgivings the doubtful blessing of a peace which may again bring him unemployment and want."

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# NMU Leaders Squawk At Exposure

By Art Sharon

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

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

This method has become quite familiar to the labor movement. Whether it be the United Mine Workers carrying out their famed slogan, "No contract, no work" or the militant auto workers of Detroit seeking to defend their union against attack from within or without, there you find the Stalinist frame-up and slander method at work. The mine workers, the auto workers and now the seamen who don't go for the Stalinist sell-out policies are labeled as "Trotskyite disrupters," "fascists," "stool pigeons" and so on, ad nauseum.

## STALINIST TECHNIQUES

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

This present attack coincides with the attempt of the Stalinist leadership of the NMU to sell the union to the ship operators and their government boards. It comes at a time when this leadership is trying with might and main to paralyze the NMU with a permanent no-strike pledge. While they scream "Trotskyite" and give long-winded orations on the "Trotskyite sabotage" of Yalta, Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods and Sleepy Hollow, they prepare to kiss the hiring hall goodbye, throw the overtime clauses of the contract overboard as "unnecessary," and in

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

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

Long-winded, fast-talking and glib, they hold him up to ridicule, then blast him as a "Trotskyite." Nine times out of ten the bewildered rank and file never heard of Trotskyism. But he is told in no unmistakable terms that he had better get in line — or else!

## \$200 "PORK CHOPS"

As the sharp problems of the postwar period come closer, the hysterical and frenzied attacks against militant critics of the Stalinist policy of unconditional surrender to the shipowners will increase. Not satisfied with trying to prevent the membership from expressing any opposition to their program and leadership, the Stalinist gang in the NMU attempts to keep them from reading any criticism. Now they slander *The Militant* for daring to criticize them. Very likely, they will even attempt to prevent their membership from reading *The Militant* for fear that it will raise questions the NMU leaders do not and cannot answer.

But terror and intimidation will do them no good. They still must answer the burning problems of the seamen's standard of living after the bonus cut. The membership will not tolerate for very long the taking up of their meetings with "Red Herring displays" no matter how artistically done. They are interested in knowing how to get those \$200 "pork chops" they have been hearing so much about.

## Stalinist Slander Campaign In Chicago CIO Council Rebuffed

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

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

Murray designated Brophy to investigate the charges. Among the charges made against the Chicago council majority were that they had supported the Montgomery Ward strikers, opposed Roosevelt's proposal for a forced labor law, and refused to give financial aid to the faction of the United Automobile Workers which supported the no-strike pledge in the auto union's referendum last winter.

## BROPHY'S REPORT

Brophy's report, dated April 26, not only dismissed completely the Stalinist charges but indicated that it is the Stalinists themselves who have followed a course not only at variance with CIO policies but also reactionary and anti-labor.

Taking up the Stalinist complaint that the accused "took positions which were too forthright in their opposition to National Service Legislation," Brophy declared, "the criticisms are completely without foundation." He scored the "critics" who "apparently feel that the Council should have gone on record unequivocally in support of

the State-of-the-Nation message of President Roosevelt, in spite of his call for National Service legislation." On the contrary, he commended Mann and his supporters for upholding CIO policy in opposition to forced labor.

His report further gave an implied condemnation of the Stalinists' strikebreaking actions in the Montgomery Ward strikes. Against the ink accusations of the Stalinists, Brophy stated: "I find that the Council and its Secretary were not only within their rights in declaring their support for the Montgomery Ward employees, but might well have been regarded remiss in their duty to organized labor had they failed to take a strong stand on that issue."

The refusal of the council to vote funds for the no-strike faction in the UAW was "fully within CIO policy," Brophy stated. Local councils, he said, "are not permitted to intervene in the internal affairs of their affiliates or their International unions." In fact, if the council had followed the dictates of the Stalinists, Brophy pointed out, "it might well have violated the CIO rules governing Councils."

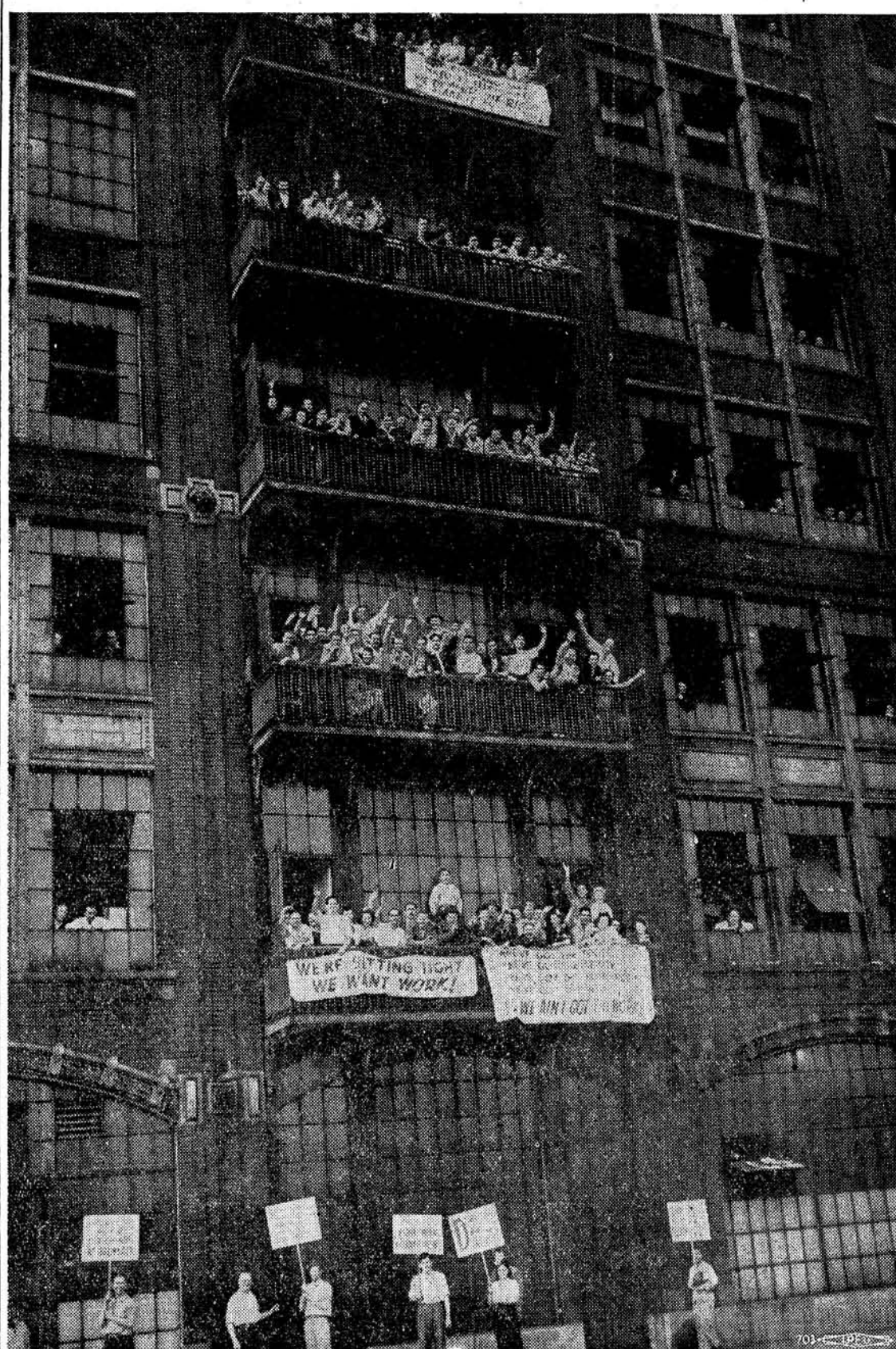
## CHARGES BACKFIRE

On a whole series of other rigged charges, Brophy declared that "the accusations reflect, by virtue of their inaccuracy and their pettiness, upon the persons who laid them before me."

In summarizing the Stalinist attack, Brophy termed as "completely baseless" the "persistent thread" of Stalinist statements at the hearings that those opposed to the Stalinists "were 'anti-CIO,' to use the phrase which came up constantly, or were agents of groups within the CIO supposedly trying to destroy the CIO, or were acting on behalf of sinister forces outside the CIO whose purpose was to deliver it to its enemies." This was a direct thrust at the frameup methods and slander which the Stalinists invariably use against their progressive and militant opponents within the labor movement.

As a result of the disruption created by the Stalinists, Brophy ordered the deferment of the council elections for three months until July.

## Brewster "Sit-In" - June, 1944



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

## A PICTURE -- AND ITS LESSONS

### An Editorial

Take a good look at the picture printed above. It was first published in the June 10, 1944 issue of *The Militant*. It is a scene during the dramatic two-day "sit-in" of some 13,500 Brewster Aeronautical Corporation workers at Long Island, New York.

That picture and similar ones were flashed across the front pages of the nation's entire press just about a year ago. The day before this picture was taken, 13,500 workers faced immediate unemployment through the sudden termination of a Navy contract. Hardly anyone, outside of Brewster, knew about it. The press was silent. Washington was silent. The international union officials were letting out only a pip-squeak.

Then the workers themselves did something. They took some united, militant ACTION. They were members of Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, and they were not going to be thrown into the streets on 72-hour notice without making a fight. What they did was to "sit-in." They occupied the plant and refused to budge out of it without some assurance of jobs.

Around the plant they threw a demonstration picket line. They carried banners proclaiming "Is This Post War Reconversion?" and "Is This What My Husband Is Fighting For?" They draped big banners out of the plant windows like "We're Sitting Tight, We Want Work!" Down to the City Hall, Mayor LaGuardia's office, they sent a parade of several hundred veterans of the last war and this.

## Their Action Broke the Conspiracy of Silence

Within one day this militant action smashed the conspiracy of silence. From coast-to-coast their ACTION was headline news. Their top union officials stopped sitting on their hands and began shuttling back and forth between the Brewster plant and Washington.

Administration spokesmen promised to push legislation immediately through Congress for severance pay, unemployment compensation, etc. The War Production Board promised to take action on new contracts for Brewster. The Navy Department promised to see about another contract to keep the plant going. A prominent Senator was dispatched to the Brewster meeting to make a lot more—promises.

And then along came Richard T. Franken-

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

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

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

## What Labor Must Fight for Today

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

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

## FALSE PROPAGANDA

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

On May 16 Washington officials issued a statement that the auto industry would need eight months to produce at a rate of 2,000,000 cars a year, "enough to make money." In 15 months, they would be producing at the rate of possibly 6,500,000 cars a year.

On May 17, the War Production Board issued further details. Actually its plan called for 200,000 cars by the end of 1945; 450,000 cars within the next 12 months. But the next day, James H. Marks, executive vice president of Packard Motor, termed the WPB's figures "a little misleading." They could turn out 200,000 or 450,000 cars "if the necessary materials can be obtained," which he "doubted." To which R. J. Thomas added: "The outlook for auto workers in Detroit is not promising."

## OUTLOOK FOR BOSSES

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

"OPA now changes the rule as to prices (to permit a profit on every single item produced)," said Montgomery, "while Vinson, Economic Stabilizer Davis and WLB Chairman Taylor unanimously announce that the wage freeze continues indefinitely."

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

## LATEST DEMANDS

This demand is expressed in the auto union's program for a 40-hour week at 48 hours' pay. It is the essence of Murray's plea for a 17 cents an hour increase in steel.

The latter demand was first raised in the fall of 1943. It was stalled until January 1945, when the WLB, under the late President Roosevelt, flatly rejected it. Today Murray has no other way of attempting to secure this demand than the demonstrably bankrupt methods he has employed in the past.

Thus his latest bid for higher wages is accompanied with the

## Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

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

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

"That lousy, cheap Harry," he said.

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

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

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

Jimmy snorted. "Big! Why he's just as scary as he is cheap. What do I care how big he is?"

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

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

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

"Well, Jimmy," I said, "you can't just look at it that way."

Jimmy said, "Baloney," and Gus Miller said, "You can't argue with Jimmy about Harry."

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

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

## What's the Trouble With Harry

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## DISCUSSIONS ON SOVIET UNION IN MAY 'FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

The May issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale, features a continuation of discussions on the Soviet Union which are taking place in many sections of the world Trotskyist movement. This month "The USSR and Stalinism" by a European comrade, Gabriel, analyzes the nature of the Soviet Union; the meaning of the slogan: "unconditional defense of the Soviet Union;" and the developments within the USSR and its relations to the capitalist five-sixths of the globe during the war.

A discussion of the policies of the Stalinist parties during the war is reprinted from *Quatrième Internationale*, theoretical organ of the 4th International European Executive Committee. Comrade Spero exposes the unprincipled capitulation of Stalinist parties in "Allied" capitalist nations to the program of their ruling class. He describes the similarities and the differences between the Stalinist role in World War II and the Social-Democratic role in World War I.

Previous issues of *Fourth International* published two theses

assertion that "wage controls must be maintained, at least until V-J Day, if we are to maintain the no-strike pledge." Also the WLB must be given "greater authority."

In short, Murray's demands and those of the other union leaders are just plain bluff if they are not accompanied by a fighting program which can enforce these demands.



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# Victors Renew Rivalries After Germany's Fall

(Continued from page 1)  
ope. They are not fighting Japan in order to establish Stalin's hegemony in the East.

This explains the concern of Washington and London over the action of Stalin's Yugoslav puppet, Marshal Tito, in occupying the Italian peninsula of Istria, including the highly strategic Adriatic port of Trieste, and the province of Carinthia in southern Austria. It also explains the persistent refusal of Britain and America to recognize the puppet regimes which Stalin has set up in Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. The imperialist wolves have their own plans for Europe and these plans conflict sharply with Stalin's moves.

For reasons which we shall discuss in a further article, the imperialists are compelled to refrain, if at all possible, from plunging into a fresh war in Europe at this time. It is knowledge of this fact which has encouraged Stalin in his unbridled "expansionism" in Europe. The imperialists must now largely confine themselves to exerting diplomatic and economic pressure on the Kremlin, while working to create an anti-Soviet public opinion which will be needed if and when more forceful measures are contemplated.

Thus Washington and London combine to demand withdrawal of Tito's forces from Trieste. The British general, Sir Harold Alexander, accuses Tito of using the methods of Hitler, Mussolini and Japan in seizing former Italian and Austrian territories. Churchill, in the British parliament, aims an oblique attack at the Soviet Union with the statement that "there would be little use in punishing the Hitlerites... if totalitarian or police governments were to take the place of the German invaders." (Churchill was not, of course, referring to puppet dictatorships set up by the Allies in Italy, Greece and Belgium, but to Stalin's puppet regimes in eastern Europe and the Balkans).

At the same time, reports have been appearing in the British press of alleged mistreatment by the Red Army of Allied soldiers liberated from German prison camps. There is also the tremendous furore raised over Stalin's arrest of the 16 Polish underground leaders. All this is part of the propaganda build-up.

By way of more forceful pressure, Washington has announced the imminent suspension, or at least the drastic curtailment, of

Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union. Shipments to the Soviet Union under Lend-Lease have totaled some \$9,000,000,000. Although fighting in Europe has ceased, the Soviet Union is still in dire need of aid from abroad, especially in the matter of consumers' goods. The Kremlin is even now trying to secure an American loan of \$6,000,000,000 with which to finance imports from the United States.

The friction between the Allied powers and the Soviet Union has also been made manifest at the San Francisco conference of the "United Nations." Here the Allied delegations rallied their numerous small satellite states for an overwhelming vote to defeat Molotov's attempt to trade admission of the Argentine delegation against the admission of a delegation of Stalin's puppet Polish government. Molotov thereupon made a demonstrative exit from the conference.

## ANTI-SOVIET BLOC

Upon this and other issues there has been plainly manifested a tendency by the two big imperialist powers—United States and Great Britain—to construct an anti-Soviet bloc. This was observed by at least one observer at the San Francisco conference, I. F. Stone, correspondent for the newspaper PM. In the May 4 issue of that paper he wrote that there was a "tendency, which is very strong, if not dominant, to regard the United Nations Conference on International Organization as a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc."

Stone went on to say that this was not his opinion alone; that it was the opinion privately held "by some of the most astute newspapermen here;" and that he "did not set this down on paper until I found confirmation in trustworthy official American quarters I cannot identify."

To this, the correspondent added the following significant statement: "The main question in the minds of many State, War and Navy Dept. officials, and too many members of the American delegation, is the balance of forces between the USA and the USSR, an implied assumption that war between them is inevitable and that it is our job to maneuver for as strong a position as possible in anticipation of that conflict."

Growing friction between the Soviet Union and the imperialists, especially the American imperialists, is a patent reality. But it is by no means the only reality. There are the counter-revolutionary aims held in common by the imperialists and the Kremlin. There is the continuing war against Japan. There is the rivalry between the British and American imperialists, as well as the common front against the Soviet Union which at present unites them. These potent factors, all part of the antagonistic international scene, will be discussed in a further article next week.



## Just A Dream



# 'No Meat - No Work!' Say Miners In West Virginia

By Grace Carlson

"No Meat — No Work!" This appears to be the slogan of a group of West Virginia miners. According to an Associated Press dispatch, 200 men went on strike at Earling, West Virginia on May 11 because there was no meat in the company store there. By May 17, more than 1,000 men were out.

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

## PROTEINS ESSENTIAL

And the West Virginia miners are right! Men who are doing exhausting physical work need more food—and, most particularly, more protein food—than other sections of the population. Proteins are found in all kinds of cereals, nuts, and vegetables but first-class proteins are found only in foods of animal origin, that is, in meat, eggs and cheese. The West Virginia miners lined themselves up with the best nutritional experts when they decided by their strike action to demand first-class protein food.

For, declared Professor Paul Cannon of the University of Chicago at a nutritional conference

in Washington last year, giving hungry people what have been lightly called "energy foods" is not enough. These so-called energy foods—breads, cereals, other cheap carbohydrates—will satisfy hunger Professor Cannon pointed out but they will not rebuild broken-down tissues nor will they build muscles. Along with vitamins and minerals, proteins are essentials in the diet. Proteins are the muscle-building, the tissue-building food.

## BEST DIET

"Any old protein" will not do, said Professor Cannon. The cheaper vegetable grain and nut protein foods lack one or more of the important chemicals called amino-acids which the body needs for proper health. Only the animal protein foods have all of these essential tissue-building elements. No diet is a good diet unless it includes proper amounts of lean meat, eggs and cheese, Professor Cannon concluded.

Even without the benefit of this sound scientific advice, the miners and other sections of the working class have been trying to include more high protein foods in their diets. In the depression days, before the outbreak of World War II, there were millions of American workers who could not afford to buy enough lean meat for themselves and their families. This was particularly true of the Negro workers of the South who rarely tasted any other kind of meat than salt pork. Although the average per capita consumption of meat from 1936 to 1939 was 125 pounds, per year, which represents a little more than two pounds per week, over half of the workers averaged only 75 pounds per year which is slight-

ly more than a pound per week.

With the increase in wartime wages, due to the decrease in unemployment and the greatly lengthened work week, the workers have been buying more meat. In 1944, the average per capita meat consumption was 147 pounds. It almost goes without saying that the low-paid workers were not averaging this much meat.

But, as more and more meat is going into the black market workers are again finding it impossible to find meat, at prices they can afford to pay. In many centers, as in Earling, West Va., meat has just about disappeared from the legal meat markets.

## THEY WANT BEEF

In an article in the May 19 Collier's, W. B. Courtney writes, "there are today more than 600 pounds of beef cattle grazing on the ranch lands or chopping in the feedlots and stockyards for every man, woman and child in this nation." And that's what the miners would like—their 600 pounds apiece of beef! Because it's beef that the workers want now. Pork is the poor man's meat. If the workers must eat pork, they want to eat "high up on the hog"—roasts and chops, not fatback and "chitlins."

## MINERS "FIGHTING MAD"

But it's beef that the miners are dreaming about and talking about and striking for! They want some good prime ribs of beef or maybe a tender sirloin steak or perhaps a juicy beef pot roast. When they know that there's plenty of beef in the country, but they're not getting it, it makes them "fighting mad." Even as you and I!

## Wave of Strikes Sweeps Through Western Europe

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

## UNION OFFICIALS

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

CGT Secretary-General Leon Jouhaux who recently returned from imprisonment in Germany is using his personal influence to prevent strikes from spreading to vital industries but one of his aides declared that "empty stomachs won't listen to reason." Jouhaux sold out the great sit-in strikes in France in June 1938 and the general strike of 1938.

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

The Social-Democratic premier, Achille Van Acker, who recently buckled under to threats of reactionary when he proposed to take measures against the black market, has now lashed out with greater vigor at the workers. He has declared all strikes illegal for the duration of the "call-up" and ordered the arrest of anyone promoting a strike.

## CRISIS IN GREECE

In tortured Greece rapid price rises, spreading strikes and runs on a number of commodities appeared to be sending the country toward another crisis. Because of cabinet differences the situation was thrown into the hands of a coordination committee including British and American experts. The government cabled Kyriakos Varvareso, governor of the Greek bank and a notorious royalist, to hasten back from London so he may be given full economic powers.

Strikes of workers in Athens for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living are spreading to the provinces. In the past week prices in some cases doubled. Some commodities had disappeared from the markets because of runs and queues familiar during the Nazi occupation began to reappear.

## The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

## Jewish Officer's Stand Against Jim Crow

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

To the Editor of the *Crisis*:

I think you will experience the same thrill that I did in hearing the following story concerning interracial relationships.

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

## SECRET ORDERS

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

The Major, about whom I speak, belongs to a minority group (Jewish) himself. He hesitated to be the first to protest. It appeared as though the meeting would be adjourned without a single protest when he rose to his feet.

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

The CO answered: "I am not permitted to state, but it is an official order from a 'brass hat'."

The major: "Is this a written or verbal order?"

CO: "Verbal order."

Major: "How binding is a verbal order?"

CO: "A verbal order."

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# Outcome Of Roosevelt's New Deal

By Felix Morrow

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Signs of Capitalist Stagnation

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

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

Today, when the war has brought the federal debt to 300 billions, the earlier figures are dwarfed. But one must understand their full significance. In the first place, only the previous

long generations of prosperity before 1929 had made possible the low figure of the federal debt as it stood when Roosevelt entered office. Thus Roosevelt's deficit spending was made possible only thanks to the previous prosperity.

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

## Seek New Investment Fields

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

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

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

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

announced that Philadelphia was refusing to accept projects which would put forty thousand men to work immediately. Other cities followed suit.

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

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

## New Deal Ends in War

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

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

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

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

## Wall Street Agents To Govern Germany

Who are the men appointed by the Allies as governors over the German people? This question is of grave concern to the American labor movement. If the governors are reactionaries, they will try to save German imperialism from the wrath of the people. They will try to safeguard the dying capitalist system—the source of fascism and wars—from being overthrown by the German workers. If, on the other hand the military rulers of Germany should permit the German labor movement to revive, the labor movement here would correspondingly find a new source of inspiration and strength. American Big Business understands this very thoroughly as can be seen from the choice of governors for the occupation of Germany.

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

## WALL STREET MEN

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

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



MURPHY

This unsavory crew is reinforced by Brig. Gen. William H. Draper, whose first concern is with German economics. His views on the labor movement may be judged from his successful career with Dillon, Read & Co., powerful Wall Street banking and investment outfit. Draper has moved in the intimate circles of the Morgans, Rockefellers, duPonts, etc. since 1919.

Such are Wall Street's Gauleiters for Germany.

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# Allies Impose Barbarous Rule On German People

By Joseph Hansen

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

The Atlantic Charter which announced the signatories "seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other," has been thrown into the ashcan. Wall Street has taken over "a sort of mandated Colony in the center of Europe," to use the expression of Demaree Bess in the Saturday Evening Post of April 14. "The Russians and the British are to have similar independence in their respective areas." Outright "annexation" of portions of Germany was agreed upon at Yalta, Mr. Bess reveals. The beneficiaries are to include Belgium, Holland, Poland, France and "other smaller countries."

England has taken over northwestern Germany. This was decided in secret at the second Quebec conference, says Mr. Bess. "The British wanted northern Germany rather than the south because this area is nearest to the British Isles, and also because it includes most of Germany's raw materials and those heavy industries which have competed directly with British industry."

Washington grabbed the southwestern portion after the British agreed to American "control of railways running from the southern zone through the British northern zone. . . So our zone now included... a sort of 'Danzig Corridor' through the British area, together with the port of Bremen."

No time limit has been set on the occupation. "Fifteen years," declares Mr. Bess, "is the length of time estimated as the minimum required to achieve the program roughly sketched in the Yalta communiqué."

## CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

"There is going to be a grave shortage of food in Germany this winter," declares the May 20 N. Y. Times. The caloric ration has been set at 1,150 per day (about eleven and one-half slices of bread). Not even this famine level can be met, however, without importing supplies. Occupation authorities have already cut "individual daily food consumption to 1,007 calories," reports the Times of May 15. "4,000,000 Germans face starvation this winter in the Ruhr alone," the Military Government director in the British area revealed.

The millions of German workers now in prison camps are not being returned to produce food and the other necessities of life. They are forced to repair roads, clear debris, etc. with simple hand tools outside of Germany. These slaves are doled 10 cents a day in cash and 80 cents a day in "credits," while their families face starvation at home.

The "iron control" of the Allies, from all reports, sounds more brutal than that imposed by the Nazis on occupied countries. All entertainment is outlawed. Postal circulation is forbidden. Use of telephones is banned. The curfew is enforced. Travel is prohibited by any means except foot and bicycle. Shops outside of those handling food remain closed. Millions are homeless and nothing is being done about housing. Civilian unemployment is rapidly spreading. Epidemic diseases are smoldering in a number of areas.

Industry has been devastated. The Ruhr, the "great forge of

Europe," was 90 per cent knocked out. Other cities and manufacturing centers were about 50 per cent destroyed. Berlin, capital of Germany, once a modern city of 4,000,000, is "a lifeless mound of debris."

Although the Anglo-American imperialists have thus crushed their main rival, they have no wish to destroy capitalism in Germany. Despite announcements about dismantling Germany's war industries, they have proceeded very cautiously. According to N. Y. Times reporter R. Daniell, "The Ford factory at Cologne has received permission to resume operations because, undamaged as it was by air attack, it was in a position to build trucks for Allied use. In fact, the first vehicle was scheduled to roll off the assembly line today." The miraculous preservation of Henry Ford's property from Allied bombs is a concrete illustration of Anglo-American concern over maintaining capitalism in Germany.

The Allies display no fundamental hostility toward the Nazi agents of German imperialism in spite of the propaganda that hopes to make scapegoats of the notorious officials. "The emphasis on expediency had tended to override long-term considerations involved in retaining Nazis in key positions," says Daniell. "That condition is likely to continue for some time, for there just are not enough anti-Nazis readily accessible with technical skill to take over. The Saar coal and iron mines have reopened with 5,000 of the former workmen back on the job. The management consists pretty much of the same people who ran them as feeders for the Nazi war industry and who, to the knowledge of Military Government officials, were supporters of the Hitler regime."

This is no isolated instance. Allied policy is to retain "municipal, county and state governmental structures." That structure however is the structure of the same German capitalism which produced Nazism.

Meanwhile the Allies are strictly enforcing their non-fraternization rule toward the tens of thousands of heroic anti-Nazi Germans released from concentration camps. "We haven't modified the non-fraternization order because we haven't found any decent people in Germany," cynically declared General Clay.

Allied policy in Germany is clearly aimed to suppress any revolutionary tendencies of the German workers. In the opinion of some commentators, a revolutionary situation can swiftly develop. "The Germans have not yet had time to form strongly organized underground groups," writes the Times correspondent James MacDonald (May 17). "... German soldiers, many of whom were straggling along the highways wondering what to do and where to go, are still being held behind barbed-wire enclosures. However... when these soldiers go to work on the land, in coal mines or on railroads, it is conceivable that they may try to form subversive groups, and precautions are being taken to guard against serious outbreaks within the next two or three months."

## Murdered By Stalin's GPU



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE  
1915-1940

## Stalinists Attempt Frameup Against French Trotskyists

Reset by growing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the Communist Party and among the workers generally with the treacherous policy of submission to the de Gaulle government, the Stalinist bureaucrats in France are using their old methods of slander and frame-up against the Trotskyists.

Charles Tillon, Stalinist Minister of Air in the de Gaulle government, is the instigator of the latest frame-up against the Trotskyists. The April 26 issue of L'Humanite, French Stalinist newspaper, reports that Tillon has turned over to a military tribunal a certain "Castaudet and accomplices" who are charged with a "plot against the security of the state." Castaudet, Plamien and others are accused of having distributed leaflets published by "Hitlerite Trotskyists" which had "the double aim of creating incidents among the population of the Parisian region and of organizing a veritable provocation against the Air Ministry."

The Stalinist paper charges that the Trotskyists are part of an international organization based in Berlin, that they are associated with the Cagoulards, a secret fascist organization in France, that Himmler provided money and plans for their work, etc.,

The French Trotskyists in the paper, La Verite, properly branded these charges as lies and demanded the creation of an impartial commission composed of representatives from workers organizations and the resistance movement to investigate the Stalinist accusations. Naturally the Stalinists ignored this challenge, knowing that the findings of such a commission would completely expose the frame-up.

The Trotskyists could easily prove that they were the first to begin the struggle against the Nazi occupation in France, that La Verite was the first paper to be published illegally in opposition to the Vichy-Nazi regime, that many members of the Trotskyist organization were executed by Nazi firing squads or tortured and killed in Nazi concentration camps.

Finally it would be shown that La Verite must still be published in illegality and the Trotskyist Internationalist Communist Party must function secretly because it is the only organization which agitates for an active policy of mass struggle against the big capitalist trusts.

A few weeks ago it was clearly demonstrated how the frame-up campaign of the Stalinists is closely associated with the attempt to prevent the workers from struggle to improve their conditions. On the orders of the same Stalinist Minister Tillon, the police arrested eight workers at the Amiot plant in the Paris suburb of Colombes. These workers had demanded that the General Confederation of Labor organize action to raise wages which have been frozen by the government. Stalinist party and trade union functionaries in this plant acted as finger-men for the police; the workers were arrested and imprisoned on their denunciation.

The charge of Trotskyism, so indiscriminately used against worker-militants inside and outside the Communist party, is neither surprising nor completely incorrect, La Verite states.

"The Trotskyists constitute the only party which defends the interests of the workers; every worker in a struggle for his demands unconsciously practices Trotskyism. . . Thus the workers of the Hispano, the Gnome, and the Jumo Factories were baptised as leftists or Trotskyists. . . In order to beat back this growing influence of 'Trotskyism' the Stalinist leaders have no other weapon but to couple 'Trotskyism' with 'Hitlerism.'"

La Verite reports: "L'Humanite resorts to the grossest use of the accusation of Hitlerism. Those who are Hitlerites, according to this rag, include not only the Trotskyists but also the editors of Combat, the liberal 'Resistance' paper, and more recently the Young Socialists meeting in con-

## STALIN'S MACHINE-GUN ASSAULT ON TROTSKY

By Paul Abbott

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

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

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

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## ASSAULT AT NIGHT

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

They threw themselves out of bed and into a corner of the room, lying flat, as machine gun slugs criss-crossed over their heads, the fire coming through the door to the study on one side and a barricaded French window to the patio on the other. The third door, opening on their grandson's room, burst open as the machine gun fire ceased. In the flames of an incendiary bomb Natalia Trotsky saw an assassin, pistol in hand, pour shot after shot into the beds they had just vacated.

The GPU gang fled, stealing two automobiles and kidnapping the guard who had been on duty, Robert Sheldon Harte, a young member of the Socialist Workers Party. What had happened was pieced together bit by bit. Disguised in police uniforms, the GPU had surprised the Mexican police guarding the Trotsky household on the outskirts of Cooyacan. Then through some means they induced Harte to open the doors. Pinning the other guards in their rooms by short bursts of machine gun fire, the gang attempted to carry out the orders of the Kremlin to murder Trotsky.

## TROTSKY EXPOSES GPU

The Mexican police, launched an investigation. Trotsky's knowledge of the GPU assisted them enormously. On May 31 he explained in a release to the Mexican press:

"It is first of all necessary to affirm that the attempted assassination could only be instigated by the Kremlin; by Stalin through the agency of the GPU abroad. During the last few years, Stalin has shot hundreds of real or supposed friends of mine. He actually exterminated my entire family, except me, my wife and one of my grandchildren. Through his agents abroad he assassinated one of the old leaders of the GPU, Ignace Reiss, who had publicly declared himself a partisan of mine. This fact has been established by the French police and the Swiss judiciary."

"The same GPU agents who killed Reiss trailed my son in Paris. On the night of November 7, 1936, GPU agents broke into the Scientific Institute of Paris and stole part of my archives. Two of my secretaries, Erwin Wolf and Rudolf Klement, were assassinated by the GPU; the first in Spain, the second in Paris. All the theatrical Moscow trials during 1936-1937 had as their aim to get me into the hands of the GPU."

vention in Bordeaux. In trade union meetings, at the convention of the young Communists, in branches of the French Communist Party it has become the custom to brand the most timid protest as a 'Hitlerite' provocation."

## STALINIST REPRESSION OF MASSES IN POLAND

By Albert Goldman

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

Where were the protests of the official representatives of the United States and Great Britain when Erlich and Alter, leaders of Jewish socialist workers, were arrested and murdered by Stalin? These Jewish socialist leaders with a record of many years of service to the cause of socialism were charged with being fascists by the cynical GPU. Only their immediate friends and the revolutionary workers rejected the charge as a slander and accused Stalin of murdering two of his conscious political opponents. The officials who are now protesting the arrest of the sixteen Polish leaders of the official underground were then silent as the tomb.

When Stalin, by agreement with Hitler, seized the eastern part of Poland he deported tens of thousands of Jewish and Polish workers to the Soviet Union. Most of these deportees are still in his clutches. The capitalist press writes nothing about their fate; there is no hue and cry about their whereabouts. It is absolutely certain that when the Stalinist army drove the German army out of Poland more thousands of Polish workers were arrested by the GPU and deported.

Stettinius and Eden did not see fit to lodge any protest in favor of the unknown workers who were dealt such cruel blows by Stalin's GPU.

## STALIN'S MOTIVES

The Stalinists and their fellow-travelers are shouting to high heaven that the sixteen arrested Poles are guilty of "diversionary activities." It was to be expected that the Stalinists would accuse any one they want to arrest for political reasons of being guilty of sabotage or some other crime allegedly committed against the Stalinist army. But if the charges are true why did it take the Stalinists so long to make them public? Why did they conceal the fact of the arrest for several weeks? As a general proposition it is safe to reject as a falsehood any charge made by the Stalinists against political opponents where the Stalinists are unwilling to permit an impartial investigation of the charges.

Why should Stalin act in such an arbitrary manner at this time? He is evidently determined to retain complete control of Poland and he chooses this method of openly flouting the Allies to notify them that he intends to be master of Poland. It is not of course excluded that Stalin will compromise with the Allies but the compromise will, nevertheless, leave him in control of that country. Arresting the sixteen Poles who, at his invitation, came to discuss a possible settlement of the Polish situation, gives Stalin an additional trump card.

Stalin acts on the hypothesis that to grab as much as he possibly can, including Polish officials, can do him no harm in the final settlement. He will have that much greater bargaining power. Creating a provisional government in Austria and seizing, through Tito, the city of Trieste, can serve the same purpose of giving him something to yield, in order to assure that he keeps what he really wants.

## ALLIED OPPOSITION

On the other hand British and American imperialism are deeply concerned with Stalin's highly independent attitude. There seems to be no limit to his ambition.

## LEON TROTSKY'S

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(Against the Petty-Bourgeois Opposition)

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## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### Algeria

Acute food shortage in North Africa ignited native hatred and opposition to their French overlords on "V-E Day." Armed groups of Arabs marched into the town of Seif where they urged the population to demonstrate against the food shortage. They are reported to have killed the French officials. The leader of the group was Ferit Abbas, President of the Mussulman delegation to the Algerian Finance Ministry.

French troops were immediately ordered into action and "stern repressive measures" taken. The local commander warned the native leaders that "he would not hesitate to use all the force at his disposal if the disorders occurred again."

The real situation in the North African colonies can be seen in the following quotation from Journal Officiel (similar to the Congressional Record) of the French Consultative Assembly. Deputy Joanny Berliez states that "in Algeria out of 38 native children who come into the world, 20 to 25 die before reaching the age of two."

"The masses of the people," says Paul Aurange, "today live in a state of almost complete

nudity; men, women and children are in rags... Sanitary conditions are deplorable... There is no social legislation in force nor do the starvation wages which Moroccans receive permit them to improve their standard of living."

"The Moroccan administration is composed of feudal cadres who dream only of enriching themselves as quickly as possible at the expense of their co-religionists. As far as education is concerned, there are only 27,000 students out of an urban population of one million and 8,000 students out of six million rural population. Finally, nothing has been done to industrialize Morocco. Its economy has been conceived from the beginning as the receptacle for metropolitan (French) and foreign manufactured goods."

The political regime in North Africa is one of complete colonial subjection to French imperialism. "The Third Republic," says another deputy, "has not found the time in sixty-five years to give the colonies a constitution. Their political statutes were contained in their entirety in the Royal decrees of Charles X and in the senatus-consultes of Napoleon III."

"Moslem Moroccans have

neither freedom of speech nor freedom of assembly. No newspapers, no organizations."

### Syria

The people of the Levantine states, Syria and Lebanon, have once again taken to the streets to struggle for their independence from French imperialism. In the very midst of discussions with French negotiators over the terms of independence, French military authorities were landing troops in Lebanon to reinforce their garrisons. A general strike was called in protest in Lebanon.

In Damascus clashes took place between French troops and demonstrators. French cars were set on fire. Seventeen persons were wounded. Eight were killed and twenty-five wounded when French troops fired on workers demonstrations in Aleppo homes. In Beirut, women participated in the demonstrations — one of the first instances of this kind in the near east.

Meanwhile the Syrian Parliament was considering a law stipulating the creation of a Syrian Army formed by volunteers and at the same time calling on all Syrian nationals under French colors to quit and join the Syrian army within a month.



JAMES P. CANNON'S

# History Of American Trotskyism -- I

LECTURE I

## THE FIRST DAYS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

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

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

### Bolshevism A Restoration of Marxism

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

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

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

The Communist Party, which took organiza-



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

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

### First Years of American Communism

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

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

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

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

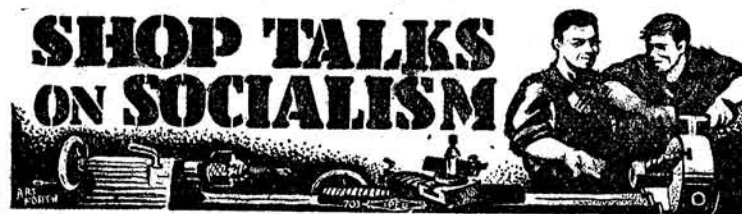
### Left Wing of Socialist Party

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

### Bolshevik Revolution Changed Everything

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

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



By V. Grey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### HOW YOU WILL LEARN--AND TEACH OTHERS

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

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

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

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

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

### Pioneer Paragraphs

## CONDITIONS FOR THE VICTORY OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The basic conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution have been established by historical experience and clarified theoretically.

(1) The bourgeois impasse and the resulting confusion of the ruling class; (2) the sharp dissatisfaction and the striving towards decisive changes in the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie without whose support the big bourgeoisie cannot maintain itself; (3) the consciousness of the intolerable situation and the readiness for revolutionary actions in the ranks of the proletariat; (4) a clear program and a firm leadership of the proletarian vanguard—these are the four conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

The main reason for the defeats of many revolutions is rooted in the fact that these four conditions rarely attain the necessary degree of maturity at one and the same time. In history, war has not infrequently been the mother of revolution precisely because it rocks super-annated regimes to their foundation, weakens the ruling class and hastens the growth of revolutionary indignation among the oppressed classes.

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

## RANKIN SEEKS WHITEWASH IN VETS' HOSPITAL PROBE

By Grace Carlson

Headed by the reactionary poll-taxer Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, the House Committee on World War Veterans Legislation is attempting to convert its so-called investigation of conditions in veterans' hospitals into a witch-hunt against newspapermen, doctors and veterans who exposed the bad state of affairs in these institutions. The Committee's latest move was the indictment of Albert Deutsch, reporter for *PM* on May 18. Deutsch was cited for "contempt of Congress" when he refused to reveal the names of doctors who had supplied him with information for a series of articles criticizing the treatment of discharged servicemen in Veterans Administration hospitals.

This whitewash of the Veterans Administration was undertaken by the Rankin-led Committee in order to head off an "impartial investigation" into complaints of conditions in veterans' hospitals proposed late in March by Representative Philbin of Massachusetts. By a parliamentary maneuver Rankin had Philbin's motion killed and then announced that each member of his Committee would visit veterans' hospitals during the Easter recess to check up on conditions. At the same time he called Brigadier General Frank Hines, Administrator of Veterans Affairs before a closed session of his Committee and immediately afterward issued a statement complimenting General Hines for the manner in which veterans hospitals are operated.

But there was too much heat upon the members of Congress to permit so cynical a whitewash of the Veterans Administration. Too many letters were pouring in from veterans and members of their families complaining about the terrible conditions in the veterans' hospitals. Rankin tried to discredit this evidence against the Veterans Administration officials in a speech in the House on May 11, in which he said, "Many such letters have been received by Members of Congress from individuals that we checked up and found to be insane."

But Rankin could not pass off as "insane" such writers as Deutsch, Leo Egan of the *N. Y. Times*, Thomas Niall of the *Associated Press* and Victor Miesel of *Cosmopolitan* magazine. Pressures put upon the members of the House Committee by readers of the articles of these informed investigators of conditions in veterans' hospitals forced Rankin

to announce two weeks ago that the Committee would hold open hearings on the charges made against the Veterans Administration.

### REPORTER INDICTED

Called before the House Committee on May 18, Deutsch was not permitted to give the facts as to overcrowding, inadequate treatment, etc., which he had gathered in his five-month survey. Challenged by Rankin for the names of his informants in the veterans' hospitals, Deutsch refused to give their names, saying that he feared there might be reprisals against them. Rankin then set the machinery in motion for instituting criminal proceedings against Deutsch.

Victor Miesel, who wrote the expose of veterans hospitals called *Third Rate Medicine for First Rate Men*, which appeared in the March and April issues of *Cosmopolitan*, is also scheduled to testify before the Rankin Committee. A student of military medicine and author of "The Wounded Get Back," Miesel contrasts the skillful care given to wounded soldiers in Army hospitals with the ill-treatment of discharged servicemen in veterans' hospitals. The decline in the death rate of wounded fighting men from 8.1 per cent in World War I to 3.3 per cent in this war bears out the truth of Miesel's statement that "endless resources and priceless skill combine to give our sick and wounded the best that modern medicine can provide."

"But I have been shocked and ashamed to discover," Miesel goes on to say "that these servicemen—changed only because after long service, they have received a veteran's honorable discharge—are suffering needlessly and all too often dying needlessly in our veterans' hospitals."

"Yes, our disabled veterans are being betrayed by the incompetence, bureaucracy and callousness of the Veterans Administration."

## Two Ways To Handle Fascists -- Cases Of Goering And Mussolini

By Bill Morgan

The heroic workers of Turin and Milan ripped to shreds the crafty camouflage which has served to disguise the real nature of the war. They knew what "liberation" meant. In North Africa it meant Darlan, French collaborator with the Nazis. In Sicily it meant hundreds of "former" fascists and black-shirts serving as mayors and judges, policemen and administrators. In southern Italy it meant the King and Badoglio kept in power by the Allied Military Government.

So, without waiting for the forces of "democracy" to reach their cities, the workers of North Italy took up arms and settled their long-standing accounts with the blackshirts. Thousands of fascists were arrested and shot. The carcass of Mussolini, butcher of the Italian workers, was hung up by the heels alongside sixteen of his gangsters in Milan. It was a glorious day of revenge for the unnumbered thousands who had fallen in the struggle against the fascist tyranny. It was a guarantee that the blackshirts would never again be dictators over Italy.

How the capitalist "democrats" howled. The powerful fury of an aroused working class scared them half to death. These people who have ordered millions killed in this war bleat like lambs about the Italian people being "primitive," "uncivilized" and "uncouth." With fear in their hearts and with crafty schemes in mind they whined that Mussolini should have been turned over to the Allied brass hats for a "proper trial"—like General Roatta who was kindly permitted to "escape" during his trial.

But the tears shed by the capitalist masters and their bootlickers over the fate of Mussolini were as nothing compared to the great rejoicing that took place all over Italy, in the concentration camps and dungeons of Spain, and in the remote hills and plains of Abyssinia. Everywhere the working class celebrated while the bosses looked on in fear.

### CLASS FRIENDS

Meanwhile, on the European front the brass hats of the American and British forces are demonstrating their method—their class method—of dealing



with the fascist and Junker butchers.

The American General Dahlquist shakes the blood-stained hand of Herman Goering. Together they speak of their Swedish ancestry. A hot bath, a chicken dinner, an easy chair and a cigar. And when American reporters interviewed Marshal Kesselring in his private train at Saalfelden in Austria he greets them with smiles and says, "We are similar races—the Nordic type—and it is senseless to beat one another to death."

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

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

### FASCISM'S REAL FOES

Of course the "democrats" will have to make a pretense of punishing the so-called fascist "war criminals." Some heads will have to be lopped off here and there. The millions of soldiers and workers who have fought and

slaved for five bloody years will have to be appeased. But the German capitalist class will be preserved as a bulwark against the German workers.

Even now, three weeks after the "surrender," a German government led by Admiral Doenitz and staffed with a gang of Nazi and Junker officials is permitted to issue orders and spread Nazi propaganda over the radio.

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

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

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## 'TRAILBLAZERS' MAKE THEIR FINAL REPORT

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

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

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

"Here the pattern of life of tens of thousands of workers has been conditioned according to the ruthless demands of America's most rapacious monopoly—the U. S. Steel Corporation. The driving greed of the Steel Trust for profits and power plus the natural advantages of river transportation and neighboring iron and coal fields has shaped Pittsburgh into a mighty workshop.

### KING STEEL

"Steel is absolute monarch in Pittsburgh. Workers' homes are congested patches of dwellings that follow the outline of the mills on the river banks. Schools, parks, libraries — all recreational and educational institutions belong to the Trust. According to what we heard not a few politicians and trade union leaders also are the property of the steel magnates.

"A measure of the careful control exerted by the steel moguls can be sensed in an incidental remark dropped by one of our new women subscribers. Being a class-conscious woman, she explained that a common practice of the steel bosses in fighting rising militancy, her husband, a former militant, she told us, had been given a political job and quit the mill. When we asked what kind of a political job he had, she answered, 'He's a fireman.'

"Among our new readers are many steel workers, however, who have resisted the efforts of the bosses to corrupt them and who have not succumbed to demoralization. These workers will draw fresh courage from the fighting spirit of *The Militant*. Its program will help them reassemble their forces for the coming battles against the Steel Corporation. Some of them will make a further acquaintance with the program of the Socialist Workers Party to the end that they

will join our struggle for a definitive victory over all the monopolists and against their system of exploitation."

## Trailblazer Team From Youngstown Visits Newcastle

Encouraged by their success 2 weeks ago when the Youngstown Branch sent a team of Trail-Blazers into Pittsburgh to introduce *The Militant* to new workers, the branch reports that last week another group of Trail-Blazers went into New Castle, Pa. and met with equal success.

"We packed our bag of *Militants* and canvassed New Castle, coming home with 66 subscriptions. Those who didn't have the money when we called promised to send the coupon in by mail. The reception was very good.

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

### CORDIAL RECEPTION

"Another person was also revisited by mistake but he was very cordial and insisted on having our comrade come in and sit down. Only eight minutes previously he had bought the sub from the first comrade and had been reading it intently. He insisted on knowing how he could renew his subscription because he was already prepared to renew it!

"Here at home when we approach a person who has no money, we usually subscribe for him and make arrangements to collect later. And, after they get an issue of the paper, they are very happy to supply the quarter. In one house the wife who was opposed to subscribing at first is now reading *The Militant* from page to page, and is very enthusiastic about it. She asked us to come back again any time.

"This week's issue was very good, and handing it to a new person was very easy. It's attractively laid out and the specific picture in front of Mussolini's death was apropos. In fact it looks better and more like a newspaper to have something workers have seen and know about on the front page. Cartoons would be most effective in the rest of the paper."

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

MAY 25, 1935

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### NEW YORK

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

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Director

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

### FROM THE BRANCHES

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

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

Bob Kingsley, Cleveland: "Comrade Dave must have already informed you of Cleveland's intention to quadruple its original quota. This is the least we can do toward the prospective national score of 20,000. Yesterday this local score of 800 and national score of 20,000 might have struck us as fantastic, but today we can feel it to be only a preliminary resting place. The comrades are taking the additional work in stride."

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

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

Jerry Kirk, Detroit: "In the remaining two weeks I believe we can average 200 subs a week if the weather is with us, as it has been the entire campaign. If all turns out well we will wind up with more than 2,500 new readers."

P. Mertens, St. Paul: "Am enclosing 24 more subs. That gives St. Paul 207 subs, so our quota is doubled and we fully intend to get 250 by May 27. The Twin Cities are going to celebrate the very successful campaign by a supper in Minneapolis at 5 P.M. on the final Sunday. We are very confident that when the final score is compiled, the party will have more than doubled its original quota of 10,000."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SCOREBOARD

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



Agents of *The Militant* are utilizing every opportunity to sell subscriptions. According to a report from Ruth Haddon of San Francisco they are finding union meetings a source for subs. "On several occasions comrades recently have sold subs to longshoremen in the Bridges' (Stalinist controlled) union. In each case the men have been eager to subscribe to a paper which exposes the role of the betrayers of labor. One of these men said, 'If this paper is against Bridges' policies and is for militant working class action, I am all for it.'"

"An effective distribution of *The Militant* to trade unionists is also reported by Ruth Haddon: 'Over 500 copies of the paper were distributed last Wednesday evening at the Civic Auditorium at the 'World Labor' meeting. Those people who attended the meeting told us that the paper was being read by many in the audience and especially so during the speeches given in foreign languages. This meeting, sponsored by the CIO, had a large attendance of longshoremen, auto workers and trade unionists from all the major industries in the area.'"

Jack Miller, our agent in Philadelphia, reports subscriptions as well as other literature sales at an NAACP rally: "Sunday, May 6, Comrades Raymond and Miller distributed *The Militant* at a local NAACP rally. One comrade circulated for subs while the other sold literature. We obtained nine subscriptions and sold 16 copies of the 'Struggle for Negro Equality.'"

One of our agents traveling by train to New York this week sold six trial subs to *The Militant* while enroute, five of these to union workers and the sixth to a recently-discharged war veteran whom he believes will be a valuable friend to the party. Our agent reports that only a glance at *The Militant* and his announcement of the price sold these subs. He confidently expects one of these workers to sell other subs in the coming period.

Inez Cope of Youngstown expresses her appreciation of Grace Carlson's articles: "Grace Carlson's contributions are a real asset in selling our paper. One of the boys I met the other day is now receiving his sub regularly through the mail and I asked him if he had his wife read the paper. He said he didn't but after I assured him she would enjoy reading Grace's articles on her 'down to earth' subjects, he had her read them. He has since informed me his wife thinks Grace's articles very good and most important of all — true."

Connie Locke of New York comments about Theodore Kovalsky's column which appears weekly in *The Militant*: "Just when I was wondering what the origin of May Day was, my eyes fell on the opening lines of 'Diary of a Steel Worker' — 'What's May Day, anyhow?' Joey asked me. I read the ab-

## Midwest Vacation School Open July 1

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

In describing the attractive location of the Vacation School Camp and its many recreational facilities, Charles Carsten, National Education Director of the Socialist Workers Party says: "The Mid-West Vacation School is situated on a wooded slope beside a small lake in central Michigan. The camp is ideal for sports — softball, archery, fishing and hiking. A magnificent grove of oak trees provides pleasant surroundings for picnics and wiener roasts."

For vacationers interested in "indoor sports," the school bulletin announces that there will be opportunity for games like chess, checkers, cards and ping pong. Amateur shows are also expected to provide additional entertainment and relaxation.

William F. Warde, associate editor of *The Militant* and a well-known educator and lecturer, will be in charge of the educational program at the nine-week long Vacation School. The teaching staff will include many of the best-known contributors to *The Militant* and the Fourth International as well as experienced leaders of the trade union movement.

Classes on the following subjects will be given during the two-months period:

The Role and Function of Trade Unions  
What is Marxism?  
An Introduction to Marxism  
Economics  
Lectures on Marxist Philosophy  
History of the Socialist Workers Party.

Accommodations at the Vacation School Camp include a main dormitory and dining hall as well as individual cabins overlooking the lake. Equipped with all modern improvements, including showers with hot and cold water, the camp is clean, light and airy.

Because the Vacation School Camp has a limited capacity, those interested in attending are asked to make early reservations. Applicants who include part or full payment of the fee will be given first consideration. Advance reservations may be made by mail through:

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

### FEES PER WEEK

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

Readers of that popular *Militant* column, *Diary of a Steelworker* will be interested in Comrade Kovalsky's comments on last year's Workers Vacation School which was held at the same camp.

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

"It was inspiring to see these workers, young and old, Negro and white, men and women, joining in the discussions of Marxist economics, history and politics, of trade union policies and organizational questions, straining to learn the maximum in the short time allotted."

## 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!  
Establish the workers' and farmers' government!

### 6. Tax the rich, not the poor!

No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

### 7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

### 8. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!

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

## Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:  
☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.  
☐ To obtain further information about your organization.  
☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name ..... (Please Print)  
Address .....  
City ..... Postal Zone ..... State .....

War and the 4th International  
Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution 5 cents.  
Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.



## THE MILITANT

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

— Leon Trotsky

## Colonial Freedom

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Double Standard

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

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

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

The second incident concerns the House of Representatives. Most of these political stooges of Big Business are either rich themselves or have

profitable ties with the wealthy. They get free office space, desks and typewriters. They are handed an allowance of thousands of dollars for office help which often consists of members of their immediate family. Their mail is sent out free; a federal fund takes care of their telegrams, and they are paid 20 cents a mile for traveling expenses.

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

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

## Trieste-A Warning

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Biddle Conspiracy

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

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

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

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

That these steps envisaged arrests can be deduced from the admission of Biddle on May 16, following a private conference with Truman: "The miners apparently have been observing the law very carefully and have not held any meetings that could be construed as encouraging a strike. They seem to be walking a line very close to the brink but at the same time within the law."

Here Biddle, the Attorney-General who is supposed to uphold the law, publicly regrets that the striking miners haven't violated the oppressive Smith-Connally Act so that he can railroad them to jail!

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

## Dumping Them On the Scrapheap



## WORKERS' FORUM

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

### Hotel Workers

EDITOR:

Thanks for your fine article on the building service employees in the Empire State Building. As a hotel worker I know only too well that these conditions are just as you describe them, and worse. Hotel chambermaids, for example, take home \$19.97 for a six-day week, and elevator men \$20.07. Many of the women have sons in the service, but these are far from being the oldest women. The really old women are very bent and their veins stand out prominently on hands and forearms. Obviously many of them are over sixty, yet they stagger on and on under loads of bedclothes often larger than themselves.

Naturally the women do not love their jobs. They do not do this work by choice but because under capitalism they are the most victimized of all workers — and they know it!

D. B.  
New York

### Benefits to Women Of Nursery Schools

EDITOR:

I have enjoyed Grace Carlson's recent articles on women's problems.

I was glad to see some articles directed toward women. I have been kidded a bit for being too keenly interested in the woman question. But I have just been going over the "Theses and Resolutions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International" and I think that coiffers should read the very interesting section regarding work among women, and particularly consider this warning:

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

I think it would be of value to have some articles which give the socialist program for women—nurseries, communal housekeeping, etc. These questions are of general interest now because of the great expansion of nursery schools, and group housekeeping arrangements which have sprung up, especially in housing projects, which of course are ideally suited to the development of communal housekeeping.

In one case in San Francisco the nursery became the communal

center—supplied hot meals for women to pick up on their way home, did shopping for the women, took out laundry, shoes for repair, etc., took children to the dentist, even set up a beauty shop for the women. This progressive group also provides 24-hour care and an isolation ward for sick children.

But this whole program will soon be discontinued. The nursery has funds for only a few more months. This makes it a "hot" issue. I don't believe the women who have experienced the benefits which nurseries and other developments give them and their children will see the program scrapped without a struggle.

J. H.  
San Francisco

### "Virtual Slaves"

EDITOR:

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

The situation is simple. This

## QUESTION BOX

Q: The May 19 issue of The Militant, said that one-fourth of the farmers in America are prevented from voting by the poll tax. How many people altogether are kept from voting by the poll tax?

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

Q: If the Selective Service laws regarding jobs for veterans are observed, how many veterans will get their jobs back through those regulations?

A: Not more than one out of five, according to the report of Economic Outlook, a publication of the CIO. The report points out that the vast majority of the men now in the army were jobless when they were drafted; other millions replaced workers who were drafted early in the war, and therefore only the first ones drafted would have legal job seniority under the Selective Service Act.

Q: What is a "yellow dog contract?"

A: A yellow dog contract is an agreement providing that a worker cannot join any labor organization (or any union other than a company union) under penalty of losing his job. Generally such contracts when used are presented to the worker to sign before he is hired—and are a condition of employment. Sometimes the term is also used to describe any formal notices by the company that workers joining a union will be fired.

group, merely demanding one of its prerogatives as citizens (religious freedom), has been segregated into concentration camps where the men are forced to do 51 hours a week manual labor with absolutely no compensation—not even board! This is enforced on pain of prison and is for an indefinite period—the duration plus six months—which has now been over four years for many.

Surely if this is not unveiled slavery and a flagrant violation of the most primitive of any "bill of rights"—involving freedom of religion and from enforced labor without compensation—I should like to be so informed.

John B. Noland  
Los Angeles

### Britisher On India

EDITOR:

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

I heard an interesting interview this morning over Mutual. Some one was asking a Britisher pretty pertinent questions about the starving kids and adults he encountered in India. The suave Briton simply "passed the buck" about Britain being engaged in an all-out war—and said they would get around to correcting the starvation conditions later!

New Reader

Warren, Ohio

### Contributes Poem

EDITOR:

I am sending this poem to you, hoping you will print it in The Militant.

By Danny O'Neill

I wonder what this life's about,  
Hear! Politicians bleat and shout.  
The marching feet and war's mad heat,  
Old famed faults prone to repeat.  
The shortened years, the unshed tears  
All aspiration turned to defeat.  
All the finer senses dulled,  
By false promises we are lulled.  
Useless effort, wasted prayer,  
Lifeless — with an empty stare.  
Detrimental to all human weal,  
Deaf to all just and fair appeal,  
Insatiably imbued with greed,  
No human cry of misery they heed.

Scarring wounds so deep  
That time alone won't heal.  
Mortal hurts!  
The joys of life they steal.  
Day of judgment now at hand.  
Empire making final stand.  
Truth and justice will unfold  
To the masses, still untold.  
And our world with spirit whole,  
Finally victory uncontrolled.

June Doyle,  
Philadelphia

## How Monopolies Profit From the Sick and Dying

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## No Freezing of Salaries For Corporation Big-Shots

Corporation executives have suffered no "wage freeze" during this war, according to Your Investments, a monthly publication devoted to protecting the interests of small stockholders.

This magazine recites a list of corporation big-shots who have upped their salaries as much as 800 per cent from 1940 to 1944. The highest on the list is Victor Emanuel, of Aviation Corporation, who boosted his salary from \$25,000 to \$100,000 annually.

Other who have done well are M. R. Kaskel, United Merchants and Manufacturers, Inc., raised from \$54,810 to \$146,230; M. J. Sullivan, American Can Co., up from \$51,400 to \$154,000; W. H. Dow, Dow Chemical Co., from \$50,000 to \$100,000; J. H. Rand, Jr., Remington-Rand, Inc., from \$92,780 to \$226,084. None of these included pensions.

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

## Defective Planes Cause Death to Thousands

Over a year ago, on April 15, 1944, The Militant attributed the death of many American flyers to the sale of defective aircraft to the government. This charge came in connection with the conspiracy of the Wright Aeronautical Corporation to palm off faulty and improperly-inspected plane engines on the Army Air Corps. Similar material, previously published in The Militant, was incorporated into George Breitman's pamphlet, "War-time Crimes of Big Business," issued by Pioneer Publishers. (Order from 116 University Place, N. Y. C. 6 cents).

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

"More than 17,500 of our planes have crashed in the U. S. — more than in combat on all the world battlefronts put together. Yet we sit here, some indifferent, others carefree, while our boys die in what appears to be defective planes made in American factories."

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

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

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

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

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