

Wallace's New Book--
A Middle-Class Panacea

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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May Day Manifesto of the Socialist Workers Party

We greet this May Day, 1948, as a day of international working class solidarity and struggle against the capitalist war-makers and their preparations for a third world slaughter.

Less than three years ago the Allied conquerors trumpeted the "victory" which they claimed would usher in the new era of "Four Freedoms." Today their promises of peace, plenty, security and freedom are cynically tossed onto the rubbish heaps.

The money-masters, the predatory monopolists and profiteers, offer as their program for agonized humanity one more world war, "the greatest and the last." They openly propagandize and mobilize for it. They even boast of the unimaginable frightfulness—the atomic and biological destruction—they are preparing to unleash.

The Same Old Slogans

The Wall Street-Washington warmongers do not even bother to manufacture new pretexts. The old slogans, still encrusted with blood and broken promises, are again shamelessly displayed. Once more we are asked to "make the world safe for democracy" and spread "Four Freedoms" everywhere. Atom bomb in hand, U.S. imperialism and its satellites promise once again to save the world from "totalitarianism."

We remember World War I when American imperialism, hand in hand with Czarist despotism, fought "Kaiserism." Out of that "victory" came the sweep of fascism, world-wide economic crisis and a more frightful war. We witness how the "victory" of "democracy against fascism" in World War II has fastened new military dictatorships and fascist regimes on the people of Europe, Asia and Latin America.

For the atomic war it now plans against "totalitarianism," American Big Business has lined up such "democratic" allies as the Greek monarchists, with their "death-to-strikers" law; the putrid dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, falling apart from its own corruption; semi-fascist Turkey that bans all workers organizations, and a brace of Latin-American dictators. Even the remnants of Hitler's Axis are being mobilized under Wall Street's banner.

These Wall Street allies—the totalitarian scum of the capitalist world—give the lie to U.S. imperialism's claim that its war will defend "democracy against totalitarianism." It will be simply another war of conquest and loot, of exploitation and oppression, of stamping out the insurgent mass movements and fastening dictatorships upon the peoples.

Warmongers' Real Aims

The imperialist apologists pretend this will be a war exclusively against Stalinism. This is a fraud. Their hue and cry against the Kremlin's "totalitarianism" and "aggressions" were not raised when Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin by common agreement carved up the Eastern Hemisphere and joined in suppressing working class uprisings.

Stalin's brutal methods and shabby power-politics only provide a convenient pretext behind which American imperialism advances its real aims: To crush the recurrent upsurge of the masses; to destroy the system of nationalized property and planned economy in the Soviet Union, to wipe out colonial independence movements; and make the whole world a tributary of Wall Street.

Feeding the flames of the Wall Street-Washington war preparations is the internal crisis of American capitalism itself. Here, in the very citadel of world capitalism, we witness on a grand scale the fulfillment of those laws of capitalist development and decay that Marx and Engels disclosed just a hundred years ago in the "Communist Manifesto."

American capitalism is mired with a short-fused time bomb of economic crisis. War preparations and war have become the only means, however temporary, of staving off its inevitable collapse. War—with its cost-plus government contracts and inflation—has become an indispensable stimulant for American Big Business.

The widespread fear of a new war and the revulsion against the war program of the ruling Republican-Democratic coalition are being utilized by the Wallace third party to build a big "peace" movement in this country. Headed and run by the capitalist demagogue who whooped it up for the

last war, this movement promises to give the people peace by another deal with Stalin.

But this spurious "peace" party glosses over the fact that this country is in the grip of the Wall Street billionaires and that they are inexorably driven towards war because of the "irrepressible conflict" between two rival world powers and above all between the capitalist system and the system of nationalized property in the Soviet Union. Because this "peace program" is tied to the preservation of capitalism, it can only sidetrack genuine anti-war struggles, and disorient and mislead the masses.

The only program that can halt imperialist war and bring enduring peace is the program of Lenin and Trotsky—the program of socialist revolution. When the Russian workers and peasants kicked out the capitalists and landlords, took political power and began to build their country on cooperative socialist foundations, they pointed the way for real peace to the workers everywhere.

Against the imperialist "peace" by atomic conquest and economic enslavement, on this May Day we summon the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers, the impoverished lower middle class to fight for the only real peace program:

FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT! FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA! FOR A SOCIALIST WORLD!

Civil Liberties Under Attack

U.S. imperialism's drive toward world conquest is bringing totalitarianism here at home. The American people are threatened with military rule and regimentation. Civil rights are being trampled underfoot.

Behind the deliberately-fomented war hysteria, the government is trying to terrorize all opposition to its war schemes. New anti-red witch hunt laws are being prepared in Congress. Vigilante violence, openly incited by the White House and the Big Business press, has broken out against such dissenters as the Stalinists and Wallaceites.

The red scare represents a mortal danger to the whole labor movement and must be smashed before it grows strong enough to smash the labor movement.

RESIST ALL RED-BAITING! AGAINST ALL ATTEMPTS TO DESTROY THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE UNIONS AND OPPOSITIONIST POLITICAL PARTIES! FOR THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR AGAINST THE SPLITTING TACTICS OF THE BOSSSES AND THEIR AGENTS!

The suppression of civil liberties strikes

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\$100,000 REWARD OFFERED FOR ARREST OF REUTHER ASSAILANT

The CIO United Automobile Workers Executive Board on April 21 announced the offer of a \$100,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the unknown assailant or assailants who shot UAW President Walter Reuther from ambush on the night of April 20.

Reuther is reported recovering from wounds in the right arm and chest suffered when a shot gun blasted him from outside a kitchen window in his home. The attacker or attackers escaped unidentified.

From his bed in Detroit's Grace Hospital, the UAW president stated he has no definite idea who the gunman was. He suggested the possibility that the attack might have come from "management, the CP (Communist Party) or some screwball." He added: "They are not in any particular order."

Two threatening letters were sent to Reuther in recent weeks. One denounced him for saying, after a Stalinist's home was attacked, that "even Communists have civil rights." The other attacked the union's stand against Jim-Crow.

The Detroit police have announced they intend to question all Reuther's opponents in the union.

All UAW members and the whole labor movement will cooperate in every way to track down and bring to justice those guilty of this dastardly act of terrorism against a union leader.

DeGasperi Gains Election With Wall Street's Aid

Prémier de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party won the Italian elections receiving 48% of the votes. The Stalinist-dominated Popular Front received 31%. This represents a victory for the Italian capitalists and their Wall Street patrons, and a relative setback for the Stalinists who could not increase their vote despite the two years of crisis and mass starvation since the 1946 elections, when the Stalinist and Socialist Parties, running separately, won 31% of the vote.

The big achievement of the right is that the Christian Democrats have become the major party of Italy. No party openly supporting capitalism could before hope to win the votes of large masses of the Italian population.

It will be recalled that two years ago the capitalist government included the Stalinists in its cab-

inet. After the Stalinists were ejected on command of Washington, de Gasperi maintained his government by a shaky margin of a few votes. Today the Italian ruling class does not have to depend on innumerable splinter parties to piece together a shaky cabinet. The capitalists have succeeded, in other words, in rebuilding their way back into the capitalist government.

That is why the Italian elections demonstrate above all the necessity of rapidly building an authentic Marxist party which can win the support of the revolutionary Italian working masses and lead them forward—in alliance with the workers of Europe—to smash capitalism and institute a new socialist order.

Not that the miners are out of danger or even assured of their pensions. In announcing the sentence for criminal contempt, Goldsborough invited the mine owners to sack the union with a federal Court injunction to big damage suits on the basis of his civil contempt ruling. Moreover, the operators are now seeking a federal Court injunction to hold up the pension payments approved by the majority of the miners welfare fund Board of Trustees.

CRUDELY BIASED

From start to finish, the government has appeared crudely biased in favor of the operators and malevolent in its open hostility to the miners. Spearheading the conspiracy of the government and operators is the Democratic Administration.

When the miners went on strike March 15, Truman almost immediately set his strikebreaking

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Meat Strikers Halt Back-to-Work Move

ST. PAUL, April 21 — One union member was killed and three arrested this week in an all-out campaign of the Big Four packers to stampede striking packinghouse workers into going back to work.

In Chicago, a union picket was crushed to death when he was knocked under the wheels of a truck as it entered an Armour by-products plant. Two other pickets were arrested, bringing to 36 the number arrested in Chicago the past two days.

Sheriff's deputies at the Armour meat packing plant in West Fargo, N. D., carried firearms Tuesday night—by order of the state's attorney.

THREE ARRESTS

In South St. Paul, three more arrests were made over the week-

end. Two union officials—Milton Siegel, field representative for District 2, and William Nolan, president of Swift Local 167—were arrested for the second time. Raymond Maske, a member of the Swift union, was also arrested. All are charged with contempt of Court. Siegel and Nolan were released on \$1000 bail each and Maske on \$250.

Warrants cited Nolan and Maske with preventing a truck from leaving the Swift plant and Siegel was charged with threatening a scab who tried to go through the picket line at Armour's. The warrants charge all three with violating temporary restraining orders obtained by Swift and Armour. These three, along with Louis Kropelnicki, a member of Local 167, who was arrested last week, will be tried by jury on May 10.

A restraining order to prevent mass picketing has been obtained by the Cudahy plant in violation of an agreement made at the beginning of the strike. The agree-

ment provided that mass picketing would not be interfered with as long as office employees were allowed to enter the plant each day. About 150 pickets massed around the track of the Milwaukee railroad in Cudahy yards last Thursday to prevent a locomotive, manned by supervisors of the Milwaukee road, from entering the company's track and moving two cars of meat.

Although the three plants are claiming "limited operations," the truth is that only a few head of cattle are being slaughtered each day by foremen and supervisory personnel. A number of office workers at Armour's have been fired for refusing to work on the killing floor.

Picket lines have been strengthened at all plants since the restraining orders issued back-to-work invitations. The back-to-work movement has flopped at all the packing centers.

Hearings on the restraining orders issued back-to-work invitations. The back-to-work movement has flopped at all the packing centers.

More than 700 applications for unemployment compensation from packinghouse workers have been denied since the strike began. Over 200 stockyard workers have made application for unemployment benefits but have been refused. Stock handlers, members of the CIO Packinghouse union, have been honoring picket lines and consequently have not worked since March 16. An appeal on behalf of the stockyard employees will be heard in an appeal tribunal of the division of employment and security April 27-29. Following this, an appeal on the denial of compensation to packinghouse workers will be heard.

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It is wrong to imagine that the Stalinists can maintain the present precarious balance for long

and keep their present influence over the masses. The latter are sure to become disheartened and disillusioned if the so-called left wing parties continue doing nothing except trying to pressure their way back into the capitalist government.

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FANTASTIC BRIBES

Congressmen intimate that four million dollars was poured into Italy to swing the vote. Probably the biggest election bribe in history—the city of Trieste—was offered by the U.S. State Department. The Vatican moved into the picture no less aggressively. The Pope himself ordered all Catholics to vote against the Stalinist Popular Front. Absolution, it was announced, would be refused to Stalinist supporters. Even the Italian industrialists, who did not dare openly participate in politics since the fall of Mussolini, ventured out again on the political front on behalf of de Gasperi.

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The Detroit Branch has already exceeded its assigned quota by 500. The campaign spirit was so high that the Branch decided at its last meeting to continue the petition work for one additional week.

FLINT, April 19 — The Flint organization has concluded its campaign also ahead of its assigned quota. The success of the campaign in Flint was all the more noteworthy as the daily press has been conducting a continuous red-baiting campaign.

In addition a broadcast over the main Detroit radio station stated that the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were being investigated as complaints were being lodged against these parties for obtaining signatures under false pretenses.

PHILADELPHIA, April 16 — The Pennsylvania organization is now on the ballot for the presidential elections. The deadline for legal protest passed with no objections made.

Another good piece of news: The State Superior Court has reversed Judge McDevitt and released the SWP representatives, Irene LeCompte and Pauline Goldenberg from the charge of contempt of court.



May Day Manifesto of Socialist Workers Party

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hardest at the 14 million Negro people, victims of a cruel oppression that pervades all spheres of American life and has its seat in Washington. Relegated to the status of second-class citizens, the Negro people are denied equal rights and treatment in employment, housing, the schools, the armed forces, the courts, the ballot booths. The pattern of Jim Crow discrimination and segregation is enforced both by law and vigilante terrorism. Artificially-fomented antagonisms between white and Negro workers weaken the labor movement and strengthen the position of the capitalist class that exploits both. The lesson taught over and over again is that only mass struggle will achieve the second emancipation of the Negro people.

SMASH THE JIM CROW SYSTEM! UNITE THE WORKERS OF ALL RACES FOR THE COMMON STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR EXPLOITERS! FULL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITIES!

Against Capitalist Militarism

The bi-partisan coalition in Washington, at the behest of Big Business and the Big Brass, is trying to put the American people in a military strait-jacket, tailored from a peace-time draft, compulsory military training and industrial mobilization of labor under military command.

Washington's war program of totalitarianism abroad and at home must be resisted by a total mobilization of the American people, led by its most powerful force, organized labor. Capitalist militarism and war preparations must be fought on every front.

WITHDRAW ALL U.S. TROOPS FROM FOREIGN SOIL! AGAINST CAPITALIST MILITARY CONSCRIPTION IN ANY FORM! NOT A PENNY FOR WAR PREPARATIONS!

We realize that in a world dominated by militarism and war, the workers need military training to protect their interests. But the Brass Hats and big capitalists who dominate our military establishments want to create a Prussian-like military force to crush the democratic aspirations of the people, not only abroad, but also at home. That is why the only military training program that the masses should support is:

MILITARY TRAINING FINANCED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUT UNDER CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNIONS!

The Offensive Against Labor

Even before Congress passed the Marshall Plan for bolstering and arming anti-labor regimes abroad, it shackled American labor itself with the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law.

Union security is being undermined by the closed shop ban and severe restrictions on the union shop. The right to strike is gravely imperiled by Taft-Hartley injunctions, already wielded so brutally against the typographical workers and miners. Government-by-injunction has become the law of the land.

The miners, in the forefront of American labor struggles, are being subjected to malevolent government persecution and have once again been victimized by the capitalist-controlled courts. The strike of the CIO Packinghouse Workers is threatened by strikebreakers, mobilized by the "Big Four" meat trust and protected by massed police forces. Emboldened by the Taft-Hartley Act and government strikebreaking, the big corporations are contemptuously rejecting the wage demands of the unions and even refusing to renew contracts.

The war drive and anti-labor offensive go hand in hand. Before American imperialism drops atom bombs abroad, it seeks to atomize all resistance on the home front. Wall Street's War Task No. 1—the regimentation of American labor—requires the destruction of the independence of the labor movement and its fusion with the government war machine.

In this task, Big Business is getting its greatest aid from the top union leaders themselves. The bureaucrats who direct the CIO and AFL have shamelessly sold out to the war program of U.S. imperialism. Instead of uniting their forces against the Taft-Hartley Law and the lynch-labor campaign at home, they are busy selling the virtues of American "free enterprise" to the starving masses abroad.

The trade unions can regain their strength and fighting capacities only when the workers create a new leadership that will give 100% loyalty to the interests of the workers. The union militants must build their forces in an organized fashion and break the nefarious grip of the labor lieutenants of capitalism.

DEFEND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS! AGAINST ALL GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN UNION AFFAIRS! SAFEGUARD THE RIGHT TO STRIKE! SMASH THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT! DOWN WITH GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION!

Political Tasks of Labor

The most glaring aspect of the sellout of the trade union bureaucracy is its continued support of the Democratic Party, at the very moment that corrupt machine is falling apart.

The sellout perpetrated by the other section of the American labor bureaucracy—the Stalinists

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Picket Dear Old Harvard



A reporter from the Yale Daily News interviews members of Local 6, AFL Hotel and Club Employees Union, now striking against the Harvard club in New York, for a 40-hour week and increased wages. Federated Pictures

ists—no less reprehensible. The Stalinist flunkies are working with might and main to deflect the workers' powerful urge to build their own political party—into the blind alley of the Wallace third capitalist party adventure. Their crime against the working class is here no less than their previous betrayals when they used their influence to hogtie the labor movement to the Roosevelt administration.

Both these gangs of labor misleaders—those who serve the main enemy at home, American imperialism, and those who give their allegiance to the Kremlin bureaucracy—can only pave the way to catastrophe for the American labor movement.

The independence of the unions, the preservation of labor's rights, cannot be achieved through the capitalist political machines whose program is to destroy this independence and these rights.

Organized labor, 15 million strong, must rise to its full stature as the political leader of the nation and the unyielding opponent of Wall Street's political rule.

BUILD THE LABOR PARTY! BREAK ALL TIES WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES—DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN AND WALLACE! FOR A UNITED CONGRESS OF LABOR, WITH REPRESENTATION FROM ALL UNIONS, TO LAUNCH LABOR'S OWN PARTY AND RUN LABOR'S OWN CANDIDATES!

Today there is but one party which has consistently fought against imperialist war, for the independence of the labor movement, for a class party of American labor, for a Workers and Farmers Government, for Socialism.

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The Promise of the Future

The past few months have been rich in developments demonstrating the great militancy of the American working class and their will to struggle.

The unexampled solidarity and defiance of government strikebreakers on the part of the miners; the nation-wide strike of the packinghouse workers; the bold anti-draft declarations and proposals of A. Philip Randolph and his supporters; even the mistaken flocking of millions of workers and middle class people to the oppositionist Wallace movement—all these events bear eloquent testimony to the insurgent temper of the American people.

They are a promise that the Wall Street program of inflation, union-busting, witch hunts, military dictatorship and war will not go unchallenged. They are the promise that the American masses will continue the struggle for their rights and freedom and will not rest until they have driven the Wall Street misrulers from their high places and replaced them with a government representing the workers and farmers, and their inspiration to build a society of peace, plenty and the brotherhood of man.

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Tradition of May Day Lives On in America

By V. Grey

We are printing below extracts from a May Day address by V. Grey.

May Day is an anniversary different from all others. It is a memorial of the past, which common consent and practice has become a day of action on which working people fight for the future. This day was not born in Europe. It was not born in Asia. It did not originate in radical France or in red Russia. It began in that most capitalistic of countries, the United States of America. In the city of Chicago, to be exact, in the year 1886.

The original May Day was a time of world-wide struggle for the eight-hour day. Had the struggle been lost, had the heroes of May Day been less than heroes, we might not be here in this hall tonight. We might just now be coming home from the plant after a twelve-hour day, our minds and bodies too tired to attend meetings.

A demonstration for the eight-hour day took place in Haymarket Square in the city of Chicago. Important organizers and leaders of the demonstration were Spiess, Lingg, Fischer and Parsons. They were revolutionary socialists, members and leaders of Marx's First Workingmen's International. They were our political and spiritual forefathers. The events of the first May Day were as follows: On May 1, 1886, there were strikes all over the country for the eight-hour day. At the picket line of the McCormick Harvester plant in Chicago, several workers were shot and killed by the police. A big protest meeting was called for May 4 in Haymarket Square.

The long-suffering workers, after a winter of working from before sunrise to long after sunset, poured out into the square, full of hope and fight for a better deal—and full of protest against the murder of their fallen brothers.

Here were the workers, with banners, songs and bare fists.

One of them, Parsons, escaped the dragnet. He could easily have lost himself and lived his life out in obscurity. But he didn't choose to do that. No, when he heard about the frame-up he returned. He walked into the courtroom and said calmly to the minions of capitalist justice: "I do not expect to have this place alive. But I could not bear to be at liberty, knowing that my comrades were here and were to suffer for something of which they were as innocent as I."

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Monday, April 26, 1948



"It would be a great mistake to think the socialist revolution in Europe or America will be accomplished after the pattern of backward Russia. The fundamental tendencies will, of course, be similar. But the forms, methods, the 'temperature' of the struggle, all this has, in each case, a national character. By anticipation it is possible to establish the following law: The more countries in which the capitalist system is broken, the weaker will be the resistance offered by the ruling classes in other countries... the sooner the society will be reborn on the basis of a new, more full, more perfect and humane democracy. In any case, no revolution can infringe on the Bill of Rights as much as imperialist war and the fascism which it will engender."

—Leon Trotsky, Interview with St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1940



LENIN

TROTSKY

Danger Signals for Labor

The labor movement is beginning to feel the effects of the Taft-Hartley Law and the spread of reaction in America. For the first time since the establishment of the CIO we read of strikes being broken and the unions involved actually destroyed. Thus the CIO communication workers of New York were utterly routed after a 13-week strike. The Lumber and Sawmill Workers of the Redwood District belonging to the AFL. Carpenters Union had to call off their 27-month old strike without winning their demands.

These are isolated strikes of smaller unions, you say? Yes, but look at the strike of the CIO Packinghouse Workers. The meat packers are actually out to bust this strike of 100,000 workers. They are making full use of their tremendous wealth and the ready services of the courts, the "law enforcement" agencies and the federal government, to try to terrorize and herd the packinghouse workers back into the plants. The Union clearly has a tough fight on its hands what with being showered with dozens of injunctions and restraining orders at the same time that the meat packers have re-opened the plants and are trying to start back-to-work movement. The federal administration is doing its bit to swing public opinion behind the profiteers: Truman's "fact finding" board had the unmitigated gall to announce that the packers' offer of a 9-cent hourly increase was a "substantial" one.

The attitude of the meat trust is no isolated one. The Chrysler Corporation offered the union even less on the UAW demand for a 30-cent wage increase. Their best offer was 6 cents! The GM wage negotiations are completely bogged down. The company hasn't seen fit to offer anything as yet. Ditto for General Electric and Westinghouse. Ditto for U.S. Steel.

Red-Baiting in Bogota

When the popular uprising in Bogota, was dubbed by Secretary of State Marshall and President Perez of Colombia as a Kremlin plot it came as no surprise to the people of South America. This frameup technique had been employed so many times and exposed so often in the lifetime of the South American worker that he was not taken in by this obvious falsehood. This was even admitted indirectly by the N.Y. Times reporter Bracken. He wrote: "The extent to which every party in power invokes the menace of communism is ludicrous in Latin America. The opposition is almost invariably accused of communism, even if it is plainly farther to the right than the government."

The Bogota uprising was so clearly spontaneous and popular that the N.Y. Times was forced to say two days after the event that the "small Communist Party did not instigate the rioting." The following day, without batting an eyelash, it carried the news of the Perez accusation. The day after, Marshall called the revolt a "Kremlin plot" and the N.Y. Times as well as newspapers

Obviously, the corporations feel that they have the upper hand and can tell their workers to go to the devil. They have good grounds for their arrogance. They have the Taft-Hartley Law, they have been successful in creating an anti-red hysteria around the country, they have succeeded in embroiling the unions themselves in red-baiting and fratricidal warfare. And all this time, while they are sharpening their knives against the unions, the "labor statesmen" are going up and down the countryside selling people on the Marshall Plan and the wonders of "free enterprise." Small wonder that the Wall Street moguls think they can afford to get tough!

Two things stand out pretty clearly from the present sorry state of affairs in the house of labor—1) The union leaders are still living in some kind of a fool's paradise. They still haven't awakened to what is actually going on in this country. 2) The militants in the locals are going to have to put the squeeze on for an effective policy if the labor movement is not to take another serious beating in the current wage fight.

The time is long past when even big unions can singly challenge the super-trusts of American capitalism. What is necessary is not only militant action but also *united* action. Let the steel, auto, electrical, meat packing and rubber unions work out a defensive and offensive alliance; let them confront the united power of Big Business with the union's united power—and the whole labor picture will become transformed overnight.

When two million CIO workers manned the picket lines in 1946, the resistance of the manufacturers was broken and the unions smashed through to a significant victory. There is no other way today to stop the offensive of the power-drunk profit-bloated labor-hating plutocracy.

So crude was this particular frameup and so swiftly was it exposed that the American public easily saw through its fraud. The American people will see this frameup technique used over and over again in the days ahead. In its headlong drive toward war and to crush workers' revolutions everywhere, the Wall Street rulers are forced to abandon finesse and must resort to brazen lies and frameups.

Only by understanding this technique will the American workers be able to combat it successfully.

Nationalize Aircraft Industry

Isacson, the ALP representative from New York, recently announced he will introduce a bill in Congress calling for nationalization of the military aircraft industry. The need for this is so obvious one wonders what arguments the Big Business politicians and newspapers can devise against it, if and when it gets to the floor of Congress.

None of the usual phony "free enterprise" arguments hold water in this case. There is no risk in manufacturing military airplanes because the work is done on guaranteed, juicy government contracts. The spur of competition, supposed to produce improvements and cheaper methods and production costs, is likewise absent. There is only one important customer—the U.S. government. There is hardly any capital investment. Practically all of the military aircraft plants have been subsidized and paid for out of public funds.

Taking this industry out of the hands of the private capitalists would mean considerable savings to the taxpayers who are still reeling from the astronomical costs of the last war. It would end some of the graft in Washington, by removing temptation from the venal politicians and generals. The suddenly stopped investigation of Howard

Hughes' contracts gave a good picture of the corrupt relationship between the airplane magnates and the politicians and brass hats.

That this temptation for new juicy contracts is all but overpowering is illustrated by the brazenness of the airplane magnates who just finished conducting a campaign of full-page ads in the nation's newspapers urging a greater air force in the name of "patriotism."

The nationalization of this industry merits the support of labor. But the nationalization must not be a phony one—like the ones carried through in England, where the owners are given government bonds, guaranteed their profit, and permitted to run the "nationalized" industries as directors.

A real nationalization of benefit to the people means the confiscation of the industry with no compensation and its operation under workers' control. This would assure decent wages and working conditions. It would eliminate such plundering of the public funds as revealed in the recent scandal of General Myers. It would be a good beginning toward removing the grip of Wall Street's clique of super billionaires from the economic life-line of America.

Wallace's Campaign Book -- A Typical Middle Class Panacea for "World Peace"

By John F. Petrone

Wallace's new book* contains little that he hasn't already said a dozen times in his speeches, and its price is really exorbitant, considering that it is really a pamphlet. Nevertheless, it serves a useful purpose by giving an even clearer picture than you can get from his individual speeches of the mixture of demagogic and confusion that he and his party are peddling to the American people.

The most important fact emerging from this book is the sincerity of Wallace's desire to save the capitalist system. He correctly points out that "Roosevelt's policies... were usually the minimum necessary to save the situation for democratic capitalism in the United States. He was saving the reactionaries and tories from themselves, but they never knew it."

And Wallace's ambition is to continue Roosevelt's job. It is within that framework that he condemns such policies of the bi-partisan coalition as the Truman Doctrine: "Continuing the Truman Doctrine," he says, "is the surest way of committing a long, slow, painful national suicide in the most expensive way possible..."

One has only to examine his

* TOWARD WORLD PEACE by Henry Wallace, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948, 121 pages, \$1.75.

main proposal for offering a deal to Stalin to see what a thin tactical line separates him from the other capitalists. If he is president, he says, he would approach Stalin and, along with the promise of a big political loan, he would let the Russians "know the points beyond which we cannot tolerate further Russian expansion—all of them."

He would demand a "pledge by Russia not to expand either by direct coercion or by Russian-directed communistic infiltration beyond the agreed-on boundaries." He would insist that Russia "join the United States in agreeing to certain limitations on the use of veto power over United Nations decisions."

Wallace says, "I want to see a continuous and friendly competition between the two systems," but the basis of this desire in his belief that "the capitalist democratic system of the United States has certain unique advantages." Everybody knows that the most important of these advantages is—overwhelming superiority of economic power. Wallace wants to combine the use of the "friendly" approach with the use of American capitalism's superior strength.

Again and again he reminds his fellow capitalists about the opportunities for "wise" investments and the juicy returns to be gotten by casting bread upon the waters. "Under the program I have described there can be a great

expansion of business and markets for the benefit of the United States, Britain and Russia as well as the Eastern European countries themselves." He argues that at this time American interests can be better protected by his program, and far more cheaply, than by war.

And suppose he could not get from Stalin the concessions which he demands in return for the "friendly" approach? He does not discuss that problem—but the implication is obvious. In that case, Wallace would point out that he had "exhausted" all the possibilities of peace and that there was now no alternative but the more aggressive method of Truman and Marshall. Even if he did not succeed in postponing the war which he fears may sound the death knell of capitalism, he would still be able to resume his role as mobilizer of mass support for another war for "democracy."

This book expands on Wallace's concept about the two kinds of capitalism—reactionary and progressive—that he pretends are possible in modern society. "Personally I believe in democratic progressive capitalism—not capitalism that degenerates into fascism, but capitalism that learns to serve the common man in abundance without depression and without war," he says.

No use asking him where or when such a capitalism ever existed in the 20th century; liberal demagogic is not provided with

such answers. No use in even trying to determine which of these two kinds of capitalism Wallace believes exists in the United States today; half of his remarks lead to the conclusion he thinks it's reactionary, while the other half can be construed just as logically to mean he thinks it's progressive.

Equally ludicrous is his program for combating monopoly: "We have no doctrinaire answer. In some cases the great corporations must be bought by the government. Others must submit to regulation and planning on behalf of the general welfare. Still others should be run as cooperatives." The idea of turning U.S. Steel into a co-operative may strike some people as fantastically utopian; but it is no more fantastic, we must point out in all justice, than the idea of a capitalism "without depression and without war."

Wallace is not a Stalinist; he makes that abundantly clear in the pages here where he dissociates himself from them. But he accepts and parrots a good many of the Stalinist slanders and arguments. On Page 50, for example, he repeats the Kremlin's slanders about the Moscow Trials, referring to the defendants as "Nazi-Trotskyist conspirators." Three pages later, however, he admits that "Trotsky was an uncompromising leftist who wanted revolution as soon as possible in every capitalist country."

But how could a man who wanted revolution in every capitalist country have conspired with the political representatives of German capitalism? Like most of the other contradictions abounding in Wallace's book, this one is left floating in the air, flapping occasionally under the gusts of "progressive" rhetoric.

The Stalinist review of the book is perhaps worthy of as much comment as the book itself. The April 15 *Daily Worker* chides Wallace a little because while "he pictures the venality, corruption, violence and deceit of our ruling circles," he "surrounds it with the shell of an illusory 'progressive capitalism' which can rescue it."

But the point is that Wallace isn't stating just his own philosophy here—he is stating the philosophy of his party, the same party that the Stalinist are pushing with all their might. And Wallace's illusions about capitalism (lies would be a scientifically more accurate term) are not private quirks, but the very heart of the third party program which he and the Stalinists are trying to sell the American people.

Stalinist weasel words must not be permitted to obscure the fact that a vote for Wallace is a vote for the defense of capitalism. Wallace insists on this point, and so do we. Let everyone understand this fact and take his stand accordingly in this year's crucial election campaign.

Stalinists and Reformists Dishonor May Day Spirit

NEW YORK — The three major demonstrations scheduled for May Day in this city are all desecrations of the real tradition of the workers' holiday.

May Day commemorates the spirit of labor's solidarity against capitalism; it expresses the determination of the workers to fight unitedly as a class for a better world. But that spirit is totally lacking from the rallies being sponsored by sections of the labor movement this year.

The Stalinist-dominated May Day Committee, representing mainly the CP-controlled unions and front organizations, is being run in the same narrow, factional way that has always characterized the Stalinists. Its entire function is to whoop it up for their third-party adventure, to give the appearance of wide labor support for the "progressive" brand of capitalism represented by Wallace. And anyone who doesn't go for this program is not welcome.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

Equally alien to the spirit of May Day is the Conference for a United May Day Celebration, dominated by the Social Democrats, Socialist Party and the labor bureaucrats friendly to them. Their gathering puts its main emphasis on the need to

repudiate "totalitarianism" and will serve as a forum for propaganda on behalf of the Marshall Plan, etc. An observer sent by the Schachtmanite Workers Party was unceremoniously booted out of this conference despite his protest that his organization was just as anti-Stalinist as any of the others.

FWF AND CATHOLICS

A third demonstration, organized by the Loyalty Day Committee, is intended as an out-and-out red-baiting mobilization. Its main core is the Veterans of Foreign War, Catholic groups and other pro-militarist witch-hunters. But, according to reports in the press, that has not prevented some labor leaders (like Patrick McGrath of the CIO Utility Workers and William Curley of the CIO Telephone Workers) from announcing that their organizations would participate.

The very meaning of May Day is perverted by the Stalinists, Social Democrats and union bureaucrats. For them this holiday is of importance only as a means of subordinating the goal of labor solidarity to their own clique-maneuvers.

Workers interested in attending militiaman celebrations of May Day this year will find them only at the gatherings of the Socialist-Workers Party. In New York the SWP May Day meeting will be held at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St., Friday, April 30 at 8 P.M.

WORKERS FORUM

Macdonald Offers Marshall Plan

Editor:

The peculiar affinity between the Norman Thomas "Socialists" and the Schachtmanite "revolutionaries" was manifested on the campus of the University of Chicago. The occasion was a "united front" meeting sponsoring the muddle-head ex-Marxist Dwight Macdonald, speaking on the muddle-head messiah of liberal capitalism, Henry Wallace. What a show! Macdonald's speech—despite an impressive array of quotations damning Wallace as a fraudulent friend of the "common man"—was a typical example of vulgar anti-Stalinism and the negative, sniping-type of anti-Wallaceism. Macdonald spoke for over an hour and, aside from his pitiable confession that he has no program for resolving the world crisis of capitalism, he could offer only one immediate solution to the problems confronting the European masses: the Marshall Plan.

For this the Schachtmanites invited him from New York and paid him for the lecture. And they feted him with a house party afterward! It was clear that the misled followers of Wallace were neither weakened in their allegiance to that false hope nor given the only principled and realistic answer to the pressing problems of the world today by Dwight Macdonald's advocacy of the Marshall Plan.

The editorial speaks correctly of the headlong drive of American imperialism towards war with the Soviet Union, and the necessity of an all out struggle by labor against the coming holocaust. Where the editorial falls short is in relating the reason. It puts forward two premises, both of which are correct, but essentially secondary, or more precisely incomplete, and the editorial does not mention the two prime factors involved. The two reasons mentioned are: one, the greed for world empire and two, the disintegration of capitalism on a world scale.

The factors left unsaid are the

facts that the Soviet Union, because of state control of foreign trade closed off better than one-sixth of the world's surface to capitalist expansion and exploitation. The second reason withheld is that the Soviet Union, despite its terrific political recession under Stalinist bureaucratic rule, still, by its very existence, becomes a threat to capitalism. In spite of everything—Stalinist misrule, terror, bureaucratic dictatorship—this first attempt of the worker's state still manages to exist, even if in a mutilated and grotesque form.

To leave this unsaid would imply that the coming slaughter is between two capitalist nations, instead of between a power-mad Wall Street-controlled America and its coterie of secondary nations versus a debilitated and distorted workers state.

R. M.

New York

Ed. Note: While the actual points that R.M. makes are correct, his criticism of the March 22 editorial appears to us mistaken. It is neither possible, desirable nor necessary to bring in every single factor in every single editorial or article. Were we to do that, all editorials and articles would quickly expand into long theses.

The war question is discussed in fuller fashion in the article by E.R. Frank in the April 19 *Militant*.

Important Lecture

THE ITALIAN ELECTION ITS RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION

Speaker: Arthur Burch

Wednesday Evening

Wed., April 28 8 p. m.

Marxist Labor School

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
(corner 13th St.)
NEW YORK CITY

This information has been irre-

The Rebel

By Theodore Kovalesky

One counter man was middle aged and thin. The other was younger, stockily built. Both wore the white-aproned uniform of Pete's Donuts, Inc. The older of the two slapped a cardboard box down on the counter for the man ahead of me. "Thirty-eight cents," he intoned in a bored voice.

I looked over the display of Pete's wares, long, broad pans of crullers, jelly doughnuts, creams, doughnuts iced with chocolate and covered with cinnamon, nuts, powdered sugar, and coconut. I was about to order half a dozen crullers, when I felt a curious tension in the room.

"Mike," I heard the younger of the two whisper, "here he comes!"

The other stiffened. "He'll do it again," he muttered. "He always does it."

The door swung open and a mild appearing little man in his early forties walked in.

"Good evening," he beamed. "I'd like some assortments. Ah, let's see, two of these, two of the jellies, and, ah, three of the peanut sticks."

The thin counter man dropped the doughnuts deliberately into a cardboard box. Both of them stared coldly at the satisfied face of the customer. "That all?" the older counter man asked.

"That's all."

"You got seven?"

"Ah, yes. Just seven, thank you." There had been hatred and a sort of pathetic appeal in the counter man's voice, but the customer blandly ignored it. He picked up the box, smiled at the grim-faced counter men, and walked out.

"I hate that guy, Mike," the younger man muttered. "Every night!"

The Negro Struggle

Randolph's Campaign

By C. F. Eckstein

A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds have further concretized their program against Jim Crow. On April 19 Reynolds told a congressional committee that the Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training is actively preparing its civil disobedience campaign. He exhibited a card, saying the signer would not be drafted for military service, to be nationally circulated. All races would be invited to join 100,000 buttons saying "Don't Join a Jim Crow Army" have been ordered. Said Reynolds:

"Upon delivery we expect to launch the sale of these buttons—outside of the White House and on the steps of the Capitol. In this way, we hope to impress the mind of White America that Negroes have had enough of this bi-partisan maneuvering on civil rights and that, come what may, we are withdrawing our support of Herr Jim Crow."

Meanwhile the turmoil in the Negro community continues. The pages of the Pittsburgh Courier show the dilemma in which middle class Negroes find themselves. Four of its columnists have expressed their views and they are all different. But while the Negro intelligentsia betrays all the typical vacillations of intelligentsia, white or Negro, the general view is that the masses of the Negroes are deeply in sympathy with Randolph's proposals. And that is the crux of the question.

The bold and defiant way in which Randolph and Reynolds have raised this question is a contribution to the revolutionary struggle against the crimes and hypocrisy of American imperialism. But defiant protests and even going to jail solve nothing. The power of the protest is in the mass action and mass activity which it unleashes. It is precisely this fear of mass action, which has characterized the Negro leaders, as it has characterized the labor leaders. It is precisely what the government too respects and fears.

That Randolph, Reynolds and others are ready to go off to jail is creditable to them as individuals. But what is decisive is the organization of the great rank and file. Committees of action can be formed in every center of Negro life embracing the masses. Propaganda and agitation explaining the need for their active support should be the first consideration of Randolph and his committee. Huge meetings should be organized in every big town, explaining simply and clearly the issues and proposals.

A great mass movement can emerge from such local committees and demonstrations. The Negro people have always been fertile in invention of methods of struggle, and tenacious and self-sacrificing for their rights. Forces of organization and leadership can spring up overnight. The precise program of action and the best tactical methods of achieving it will thus be worked out in life through the experiences and contributions of the Negro masses themselves.

Notes from the News

8 BILLION LOST—Senator Styles Bridges, acting chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, charged that the Maritime Commission has been unable to account for over 8 billion dollars spent during the war. T. A. Reavis, chief of the Bureau of Accounts, explained that "Those were the war years," when strict bookkeeping methods were "sacrificed" in the rush of work.

WORK HAZARDS—118,000 manufacturing workers were disabled one day or longer by work injuries during the final quarter of 1947. 400 workers died of their injuries and close to 6,000 were permanently disabled.

DEMOCRATIC BALLOT—Congressman William C. Cole (R., Mo.) announced that his bill, HR 4482, provides that "no political party which is affiliated by any means whatsoever with the Communist Party" shall be permitted on the election ballot in "any national election." He said the Wallace Party would come under his bill "because the Communist party is supporting Wallace."

STALINIST FRAUD—The fake nature of the Stalinist left turn was shown up again by their

actions in France. The April 16 *Daily Worker* reports that "French Communists demanded tonight that they be included in a coalition [capitalist] government."

CIVIL RIGHTS—The House of Representatives defeated an amendment introduced by Clayton Powell of New York to bar Jim Crow in the Army Air Force.

MINIMUM WAGES—An analysis prepared for the Senate Labor Committee states that a \$2 an hour wage is the minimum necessary to permit a worker's family of four to meet a "modest but adequate standard of living."

ATOMIC STRIKES—Work came to a halt at the secret Sandia atomic base at Albuquerque, N. M., as 700 workers respected the picket line thrown up by 70 union carpenters who struck for a wage increase.

200,000 LAYOFF—GM announced that over 200,000 workers would be laid off beginning April 23, because of the recent coal strike. Walter P. Reuther, president of the auto union, said he thought the lay-off had more to do with the present wage negotiations than with any alleged shortages of materials.

STALINIST FRAUD—The fake nature of the Stalinist left turn was shown up again by their

Quill, Hollander Join Conspiracy With Mayor to Raise Transit Fares

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, April 21—The 25-year battle of New York's Banking and Real Estate interests to abolish the five cent fare came to a victorious conclusion last night with Mayor O'Dwyer's broadcast announcement that beginning July 1 subway fare will be hiked to ten cents and bus fare to seven cents.

O'Dwyer's decision to put over the fare increase violates his own public pledge to retain the five cent fare and is at odds with his own arguments against an increase.

As recently as Feb. 12, 1947 he charged: "The cost of city government has increased by 165 million dollars, a burden now being carried by you—and you—and not by the property owners.

The organized real estate owners of this city seek to shift this added cost to the low income wage earner and low rent families, those least able to afford it. A ten cent fare would amount to a harsh and unbearable tax, equivalent to a rent increase of from ten to fifteen percent. We won't make a decision of this kind," he solemnly promised, "until we have heard what the people want done. And that could only be done by referendum."

Two developments in recent months made it possible for O'Dwyer, whose election was assured primarily by the support of the Stalinist-controlled American Labor Party, to put over this wage cutting measure on the New York workers.

POLITICAL SUICIDE

At its last session the Republican-controlled State Legislature adopted a statute permitting the Democratic City administration to levy unlimited fare increases, without the popular referendum previously required for the enactment of any proposed increases.

Of equal importance in paving the way for this reactionary step was the capitulation of the main bodies of the CIO and AFL bureaucracy to the Wall Street-Tammany crew. Spearheading the movement of capitulation was Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union and ALP city councilman. His "demand for an immediate fare increase" became the springboard for his leap from the sinking Stalinist ship onto the Murray bandwagon. The outcome of his deal with O'Dwyer to swap support of an unspecified wage increase for the higher fare has served to isolate the transport workers in their campaign for a 20-cent an hour wage increase from the rest of the city's workers, and to saddle them with responsibility for this new blow at labor's living standards.

Opposition to this reactionary step was the capitulation of the main bodies of the CIO and AFL bureaucracy to the Wall Street-Tammany crew. Spearheading the movement of capitulation was Michael J. Quill, international president of the Transport Workers Union and ALP city councilman. His "demand for an immediate fare increase" became the springboard for his leap from the sinking Stalinist ship onto the Murray bandwagon. The outcome of his deal with O'Dwyer to swap support of an unspecified wage increase for the higher fare has served to isolate the transport workers in their campaign for a 20-cent an hour wage increase from the rest of the city's workers, and to saddle them with responsibility for this new blow at labor's living standards.

Hard on the heels of Quill's break with the TWU's established position of opposition to a fare increase, the trade union bureaucrats led by Louis Hollander, president of the State CIO Council, and Martin Lacey, president of the AFL Central Labor Council, put on a "demonstration" in the Mayor's office in support of the higher fare.

SOLE PURPOSE

The sole purpose of the Murray-controlled State CIO Council's participation in this sellout was to use this issue as a weapon in the struggle to wrest control of the New York CIO movement from the hands of the Stalinists.

Lending their voices to the O'Dwyer chorus that "the opposition to the fare increase is communist," these bureaucrats deliberately ignored the real issues involved.

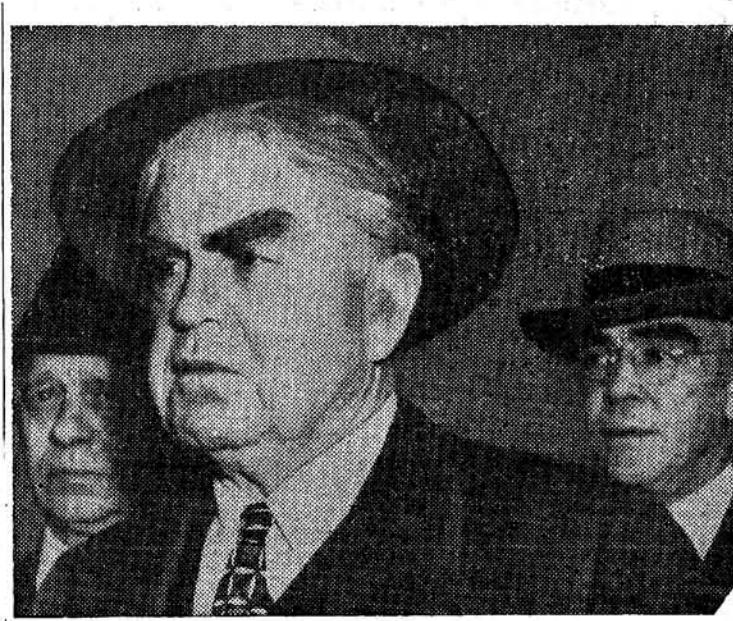
The present city financial crisis stems directly from the longstanding bleeding process to which it has been subjected by the Wall Street sharks. While O'Dwyer wails about a potential \$1 million dollar operating deficit on the municipally owned subway, he calmly ignores the 60 million dollars that is paid annually to the banks in interest on the "robber baron" price for which they sold to the city a broken down transit system nine years ago.

The New York organization of the Socialist Workers Party demanded that the city deficit be eliminated by the declaration of a moratorium on this crookedly incurred debt to the banks, rather than placing this additional heavy burden on the already sagging living standards of New York's working population.

Correction

The meaning of the next to last paragraph in last week's article, "Can the Workers Take Power?", was distorted by a serious typographical error. It should have read as follows:

"The fact that conservatives head the workers' movement far more often than the revolutionists testifies not to the workers' incapacity to take power but to the historical law that even a progressive class is able to challenge the enormous pressures and violence of the ruling class only on special occasions, and that such extraordinary exertions of strength can be maintained only for short periods." The words emphasized above were omitted unintentionally.



His hat shoved back on his head, President John L. Lewis of United Mine Workers leaves federal court in Washington. With him are two of his attorneys, Welly K. Hopkins (l.) and Earl Houck. Federated Pictures

Government Victimizes Mine Union and Lewis

(Continued from page 1)

machinery into motion, this time with the aid of the Taft-Hartley Act. He set up a "fact-finding" board of three men notoriously hostile to the miners. They promptly "found" that the mine strike constituted a "national emergency" and had been "induced" by Lewis when he reported to the union that the operators had dishonored the contract.

The splitting tactics of the Stalinists in supporting an opposition "labor slate" is held responsible for the failure to elect any of labor's candidates in Maywood. Their high man received 291 votes, while the high man of the Southeast Committee received 610 votes. Together, those votes would have been only 83 short of the number it took to elect a councilman in Maywood. More than that number could have been secured without the confusion of two slates contending for the labor vote in Maywood.

It was mere child's play for Truman to get a compliant federal judge to issue an injunction barring the strike and commanding Lewis to "order" the miners back to work. Lewis insisted that he had never ordered the men out in the first place, that they had ceased work on their own accord on the basis that union miners never work without an announced contract.

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