

Allies Prepare Slaughter In Java And Indo-China

By Joseph Hansen

The drive of Allied imperialism to crush the rising colonial movement for independence in the Far East continued this week on the two fronts of Indo-China and Java.

In Java, the British made four landings at Batavia. Some 1,700 liberated Dutch prisoners of war have been armed.

The SWP's Stand On Benjamin Davis

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, which is running Louise Simpson, young Negro trade unionist as the Trotskyist candidate for City Council in the New York elections, is calling upon the voters of Manhattan to designate Benjamin J. Davis, candidate of the Communist Party, as their second choice.

part of the discrimination imposed upon the Negro people has been its disfranchisement and deprivation of political rights. "We fight for the democratic right of representation for the Negro people in all spheres of public life.

S.W.P. Issues Call To Block Fascists

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8.—The Socialist Workers Party today called on organized labor here to "set up machinery" to meet Fascist G. L. K. Smith's threat to again invade this area, and urged immediate preparations "to mobilize all labor and minority forces for mass picketing of any meeting" Smith "dares to hold in Los Angeles."

Buffalo CIO Votes Action Against Smith

SPECIAL TO THE MILITANT BUFFALO, N. Y.—Amid considerable applause, a motion calling for united action of the CIO and AFL against the fascist Germain L. K. Smith was passed unanimously at the Buffalo CIO Council meeting Tuesday, September 18.

Labor Strike Upsurge Reaches New Heights

"Let's Negotiate, Gentlemen"



WORKERS FACE GOVERNMENT STRIKEBREAKING

Last week saw American labor's militant coast-to-coast strike upsurge sweep to new heights as well over half a million workers in virtually every industry battled for their rights on the picket lines.

Among major strikes in progress last week were some 150,000 soft coal miners, 60,000 northwest AFL lumber workers, more than 40,000 CIO oil workers, some 60,000 New York area longshoremen, a four-hour protest stoppage of nearly 200,000 long-lines telephone operators.

BITTER STRUGGLES

These strikes are not episodic affairs. Many are nationwide in scope, engulfing whole industries. They are spreading rapidly into every center, large and small, of production and commerce.

Whether the union officials sanction these walkouts or not the workers are taking strike action on their own initiative, distrusting any other method of winning their just demands except their own militant mass action.

WHY THE STRIKES

The workers know that the corporations looted the country (Continued on Page 8)

NEW YORK LONGSHOREMEN FIGHT FOR SAFE LOADS

Special To THE MILITANT

By F. J. Lang

NEW YORK, Oct. 6.—The world's largest port has been paralyzed for the past six days by the first work stoppage of longshoremen here since 1919.

All work, except for the provisioning of troop transports, was brought to a standstill on October 1 by a lockout initiated in the midst of negotiations for a new long-shore contract.

DEMAND SAFE LOAD

However, the size of the sling-loads had not yet been fixed. This is the principal demand of the men. Since no load limit was specified in the proposed new contract, the stevedores refused to build loads in excess of the safe limit of a long ton, or 2,240 pounds.

The harbor tie-up started when stevedoring companies refused to hire ILA Local 791 members unless sling-loads running as high as 6,000 pounds were sent out of the ships holds at the Cunard White Star, Grace Line and U. S. Lines docks.

GERST'S STATEMENT

Jack Gerst, Secretary of Local 791, today told this reporter in an exclusive interview that "the

IN THE NEWS

Relief For The Greedy

A recent issue of "NAM News," organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, revealed: "The Administration and Congress appear in close harmony on the tax problem... Outright repeal of the excess profits tax is generally predicted... a reduction in the corporate rate likewise is expected."

Agreed At Last

"LONDON, Oct. 3.—The first peace conference of World War II failed last evening and after twenty-two days of almost continual meetings the Foreign Ministers of the five greatest Allied powers could agree only to terminate their present session." (N. Y. TIMES, Oct. 3.)

Poor Parasites

On their recent arrival aboard the Argentina at Le Havre, France, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor gave a press interview. Said the Duchess: "I'm dying to see the French fashions, but I will not be able to buy anything—it is much too expensive."

Sacrifice Profits, Too?

Billionaire John D. Rockefeller, Jr., told a business men's luncheon at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria in New York, Oct. 1, "Unless we want peace as we want it in life, enough to make any sacrifice for it, we may just as well begin now to prepare for the next war."

Needs Bigger Drawers

"The President is approaching the time when it no longer will be possible to file his troubles in the bottom drawer of the Presidential desk and expect them to solve themselves as time passes. The present White House troubles are tending to grow with time, not to diminish." (United States News, Oct. 5.)

War For "Democracy"

Scripps-Howard international political commentator Wm. Philip Simms on September 27 summed up the first five-power "peace" conference: "For sordidness this first peace parley made the 1919 Paris peace conference look like a thing of sweetness and light."

Detroit Police Attack Anti-Fascists



CIO auto union flying squadron members and other unionists resisting police attempts to break their picket line of over 1,000 workers protesting a meeting of America's No. 1 Fascist, G. L. K. Smith, in a Detroit high school on September 27.

LOS ANGELES EXAMPLE

Sister Plassman then told the Council how the effort of Smith to recruit followers to his anti-labor fascist outfit in Los Angeles was given a severe setback by the united action of the labor movement of that city.

"The CIO Council must be on the alert for further visits of Smith or other fascists and must initiate united labor action to counteract such activities in Buffalo," she concluded. While they commend the CIO Council here for its stand on this matter, alert unionists are bearing in mind that the Council is dominated by the Stalinists.

60,000 AFL Lumber Men Out On Strike

Special To THE MILITANT

SEATTLE, Wash., Oct. 4.—More than 60,000 AFL Sawmill and Lumber Workers Union members in the Northwest's major industry are going into the third week of their strike with unabated militancy. They demand a minimum industry-wide wage of \$1.10 an hour instead of the prevailing 72½ cents to 85 cents minimum; a 20 cents an hour increase "across the board;" and industry-wide negotiations and uniform-contracts.

The SLW scored its first victory in the strike on September 29, when the Siler Mill Company of Seattle, principal provider of fish boxes for Seattle packers, signed a contract embodying all the union's wage demands. However, the lumber workers are prepared for a long siege. "We are prepared to carry the strike into the spring of 1946 if necessary," stated E. C. Jorgensen, business agent of SLW Seattle, Local 2519.

GET WILD SUPPORT

The strike is receiving the full support of the Pacific Coast Metal Trades Council, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Washington State Building Trades Council, and the Brotherhood of Carpenters. These unions are complying with the SLW's decision that all lumber from the strike-bound seven state area become "hot cargo" September 24.

Especially helpful has been the action of the Sailors Union, (Continued on Page 2)

Stalinists Whitewash Detroit Police Terror

Special To THE MILITANT

DETROIT, Oct. 1.—A resolution denouncing the Detroit Police Department for its brutal assault on unarmed unionists peacefully picketing a meeting here of Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, was presented Friday night by Ernest Mazy, UAW Briggs Local 212 executive board member, to the Region 1 conference of CIO auto union locals, but was tabled through a maneuver by leading Stalinists. The

Stalinists sought to whitewash the police and denounced instead the Trotskyists as "super-militants" responsible for the mass picket line against the fascists.

The Stalinists were completely shaken by the collapse of their plans to maintain only a token picket line across the street from Smith's fascist rally in a Detroit high school on September 27. Lacking control over the militant workers from the various UAW locals who formed the back-bone of the anti-fascist picket line and unable to prevent mass picketing, the Stalinists aided the club-wielding cops to pick out the leading militants for vicious beatings.

STALINIST ATTACK

Nat Ganley, notorious Stalinist hatchetman in the UAW, defended the police actions by complaining that "the Trotskyites shouted provocative slogans." Fred Williams, Stalinist member of the Wayne County CIO Council, wailed that "they had their own steering committee and

gave their own orders." He complained in a rage that Arthur Burch, Socialist Workers Party organizer, played a leading part in the anti-fascist demonstration.

These Stalinist remarks were made in the discussion of their amendment to Mazy's resolution—an amendment against the "super-militant Trotskyites for their provoking the police by provocative slogans, etc."

EXPOSE THEMSELVES

Immediately after Williams made his vicious attack on the leaders of the mass anti-fascist picket line, his supporters offered a motion to table the entire resolution in order to prevent Mazy and other auto militants who played a prominent part in the picketing from taking the floor and exposing the treacherous role of the Stalinists. Nevertheless, the Stalinists had confirmed by their own words that that Trotskyists were in the vanguard of the struggle against Smith while the Stalinists had aided the police who were defending the fascists.

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Detroit SWP Opens Campaign For Frankenstein

Special To THE MILITANT
By John Saunders and Art Preis

DETROIT, Oct. 3.—The Detroit local of the Socialist Workers Party this week opened an all-out campaign in support of Detroit's labor candidates, Richard T. Frankenstein for mayor, and Tracy M. Doll, George Edwards and Rev. Charles A. Hill for Common Council.

Thousands of printed cards are being distributed inviting the workers to hear Arthur Burch, Detroit SWP organizer, give a series of three radio addresses on "Why Trotskyists Support Detroit's Labor Candidates." He will speak over station WXYZ on Saturdays, 11:45 a.m., October 20 and 27, and November 3.

The forthcoming municipal elections are expected to be the most important political event in the history of Detroit labor and will have significant national repercussions. Labor in this city, center of the mighty CIO auto workers, may well set in motion a nation-wide movement towards the formation of a labor party.

LABOR SUPPORT

Understanding the real implications of this election, the SWP is throwing its full weight behind the labor candidates. Its support for Frankenstein, it has made clear, is based not on his personal policies or record, but on the fact that he is a genuine union representative in a non-partisan race and is backed officially by the CIO and auto locals.

When Frankenstein announced his candidacy, the Detroit workers, anxious to use any appropriate opportunity to express their desires for independent labor political action, began to rally around him as their own candidate. A spontaneous labor political upsurge was precipitated and his campaign was speedily converted into a labor campaign with the endorsement of numerous leading CIO locals and the CIO-PAC.

BRITISH LABOR VICTORY

Confounding all the capitalist "inside dope" boys who predicted a scanty vote because "labor is apathetic," Frankenstein won the majority nomination in the August 7 primaries, getting 14,000 more votes than his nearest opponent, Republican Mayor Jeffries, whose police recently clubbed unionists picketing Fascist G. L. K. Smith's meeting.

Of particular significance in crystallizing the independent labor political action movement behind Detroit's labor candidates was the victory of the British Labor Party, which further inspired the trend in the direction of independent labor politics.

Frankenstein himself has proved a weak candidate, taken strictly on his personal merits. He readily succumbed to the clamor of the big business interests who are yelling that the CIO plans to "take over" the city. Frankenstein has gone around declaring he is "not a labor candidate" but a candidate of "all the people." This does not help his chances with the overwhelming majority of the Detroit populace. The union members and their families will support Frankenstein precisely because he is a union man and a genuine labor candidate and because they want a class political party and program.

Further, Frankenstein has little personal popularity among the auto workers, because of his rotten role as a UAW vice-president. He has repeatedly intervened against striking workers and consistently opposed militant policies against the profiteering, union-busting auto corporations. Nevertheless, the bulk of the auto workers, who are advanced in their political thinking, are backing him primarily to express their desires for independent labor political action.

The Detroit Free Press, September 3, reflected the class significance of Frankenstein's campaign and the labor response to it, when it reported: "Monday's Labor Day celebration will provide the kickoff in the final lap of the contest for Mayor of Detroit. CIO unions are stressing the political campaign in their floats and signs to be carried in the parade."

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CAPITALIST PRESS
The capitalist press, well understanding that Frankenstein's strength lies precisely in the fact that he is a labor candidate, has been deliberately baiting him with the charges that he is a "CIO candidate," "Do You Want The CIO To Run City Hall?" and implying he does not represent the interests of the AFL, etc. Frankenstein has snapped at this bait, loudly proclaiming he is "not a labor candidate," thus serving to alienate his strongest support.

PROPAGANDA LIES
In spite of Frankenstein's conduct and lack of a fighting program for labor, the workers are rallying to him in such a degree that the capitalists are desperate. The capitalist line now is to attempt to spread pessimism among the workers by making it seem that he doesn't have a chance. The bosses represent the present strikes and militant actions of the Detroit workers as "hurting" Frankenstein's "chances." But they know full well that the desire for independent labor political action is part and parcel of the present militant spirit of the workers and is Frankenstein's greatest assurance of victory.

Despite all this propaganda, a common sentiment expressed here among the workers is that "any union man in the mayor's office would be better for us than any capitalist politician."

DEMOCRATIC SUPPORT
So great is the boss fear of a labor victory in the elections that the local Wayne County Democratic Party, which is a mere hollow shell today, was compelled to jump belatedly on the Frankenstein bandwagon and endorse him. This is an attempt to blur the fact that a labor candidate can win without and against the capitalist parties. In the event of a Frankenstein victory, the Democrats will claim credit.

Thus, the capitalist press represented this move as "an attempt to bulwark Frankenstein's strength at a time when his majority bid has suffered a severe setback due to uncontrolled strikes." (Detroit Free Press, Sept. 20.)

The most informed and politically conscious union militants know that it is because Frankenstein has a great chance for victory that the Democratic machine is trying to hang on to the workers' coat-tails and to prevent a clean break. This endorsement, however, will not help Frankenstein with the workers, but only compromise him.

TROTSKYIST SUPPORT
An important, if not decisive element in a possible Frankenstein victory, is the support of the Trotskyists. Their opposition to Frankenstein's policies in the union is well known. The fact that the Trotskyists can support him solely on the grounds that he is a labor candidate, and thereby advance one important step further—the movement for independent labor political action and the formation of a labor party.

Kelsey-Hayes Strikers Silence Thomas



Over 2,000 Kelsey-Hayes strikers booing and jeering United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas at a mass meeting in Detroit. Thomas was silenced by the angry workers when he issued a strikebreaking order for them to go back to work. Here he is shown pleading as the workers storm up to the platform.

Texas CIO Oil Strikers Wage Militant Fight For 30% Raise

Special to THE MILITANT
HOUSTON, Texas, Sept. 29.—Oil worker history is being made in South Texas as militant and progressive District 4 of the CIO Oil Workers International Union continues shutting down plant after plant in the heart of the country's main oil-producing area.

At this writing, OWIU Locals 23 and 254 have nailed the lid on Texaco, Atlantic, Gulf and Neches Butane in the Port Arthur area. Local 449 has sewed up American Liberty, Pan-Am and Republic at Texas City, and Locals 227 and 387 are busy educating the oil barons on the picket lines at Sinclair, Shell and Crown here at Houston.

21,000 ARE OUT
Bulk plants of all of these, in addition to those of Pure Oil and Cities Service, are also struck and all pipe lines have ceased flowing. Better than 21,000 enthusiastic strikers are informing the corporations that they mean business when they say "52 For 40 or Fight!"—for the 40-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. Morale is high among the strikers. Canteens have been set up before plant gates and are serving coffee, doughnuts, sandwiches and cigarettes to the strikers. Despite company requests, police have so far refrained from interfering with the canteens. It is a wonderful sight in this Southern area to see white and Negro workers in many places picketing side by side in spite of instructions from some backward union officials that the Negro workers are "to stay home and stay off the picket line."

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OPPOSED FUSSYFOOTING
The extension of the oil strikes in this key area developed in opposition to the policy of the international officials, as stated by OWIU Vice-President A. R. Kinstley, who wanted the strike limited to "only" the Pure Oil and Sinclair units in Indiana District 6, which would set an "example to the others" who would "follow the precedent set when the Indiana strike was won."

Against the instructions of OWIU President O. A. Knight to "hold off until after the Labor-Management conference in Chicago," District 4 leaders pulled the pin on the militant Texas walkout. T. M. McCormick, Chairman of the District 4 Strategy Committee and Local 449 secretary, informed the international in Chicago that "District 4 is coming down all the way." He is reported to have stated: "We'll make this strike so terrible to the companies that they'll never want another one and will quiver every time they see a workmen's committee heading for the office!"

Native fascist groups, such as "Fight for Free Enterprise" and the Christian Americans, which are financed by the wealthy anti-labor interests in this area, have attempted to intimidate oil union leaders here with tele-

phoned threats. These anonymous phone calls are made by individuals who invariably identify themselves as "veterans from Okinawa."

Kelsey-Hayes Unit Conducts Brave Battle

(Continued from Page 1)
President of Local 174, of which Kelsey-Hayes is a unit, further urged that the picket line be crossed and broken.

The Kelsey-Hayes management, unable up to this week to cope with the strike, became emboldened by this action of the international union. Yesterday it obtained a temporary injunction restraining picketing at its plants. Circuit Judge Ferguson used the UAW officials' actions to justify his issuance of the injunction, always a dangerous anti-labor weapon.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Chester (Moon) Mullins, strike leader and one of the fired men, pointed out that the company had held up signing a union contract on one pretext after another, trying first to rid the plant of militant union leaders. Last spring the company took advantage of an incident, in which two obnoxious foremen were ejected by some of the workers, to fire 13 union leaders.

A panel of the Detroit regional WLB which investigated the case recommended the reinstatement of all the fired men. On August 20, four months after the incident, the regional WLB ruled that four of the men, one of whom has since left town, should not be reinstated, although the three remaining, including Mullins, were admittedly not involved in the scuffle with the foreman. The strike was called against an obvious move to head the union.

WHY MEN ARE SORE

When Thomas told the strikers they could not get international support because they did not take a secret ballot strike vote, they proceeded to such a vote on August 30, upholding strike action by 1036 to 213. Still the international refused to authorize the strike.

"That's what makes the men so sore," said Mullins. "We did everything according to the union constitution and the by-laws of Local 174. We took all the steps which our union officials asked us to take. There was nothing left for us to do but strike."

The return-to-work pressure was terrific. Ford Motor Company locked out 50,000 workers on the phony pretext the Kelsey-Hayes tie-up prevented Ford from getting needed parts. The UAW international executive board appointed an administrator over the Kelsey-Hayes unit and on September 30 by edict removed from office the union's elected 17-man executive board.

Wide-spread rank and file support and sympathy from other UAW locals has been extended to the strikers. Collections were started this week in a number of plants, both here and in other auto centers, to aid the strike.

Strikers Resist Union-Busting Of SKF Trust

(Continued from Page 1)
SKF's three plants. Outside of the office staff and foremen, only 12 misguided workers managed to sneak by the pickets. The main fight is being carried on at the No. 1 plant, Erie and Front Sts. Carrying banners announcing their grievances and condemning the company's anti-union policies, the pickets effectively closed the two main entrances to the plant.

The banners boldly proclaimed the workers' feelings against the blood-soaked international trust, which has sucked profits out of workers on both sides of the war: "Denazify SKF;" "This is not Sweden, SKF, This is America;" "World War No. 3—Labor vs. Concentration Camp Management;" "Industrial Democracy vs. Industrial Dictatorship or The People vs. Post-War Profiteers," were some of the banners carried by the workers.

COMPANY PROPAGANDA

The company, faced with the complete shut-down of its plants and the solidarity of its 3,500 men and women employees, resorted to the old gag of a statement in the local press announcing the closing of its plants until, as the hypocritical language of the statement declares, "a complete change in the attitude of union representatives . . . makes it possible for the company to reopen its plants."

The union replied with a statement headed: "A Rebuttal to Vicious Lies and Unfair Labor Propaganda Spread by SKF." The union charged that the company has been carrying on an incessant drive since 1934, to reconstitute its company union in its plants. It is this union-busting campaign which brought about the present strike and not any unreasonable demands on the part of the union. The union, in its statement, clearly puts forward the issues of the strike in a question directed to William A. Batt, president of SKF and a high official in the administration of President Truman: "Why does Mr. Batt tolerate such anti-union activity by the executives of the company?"

The statement concludes with three main demands: 1. That the non-union employe appointed to the position of set-up man in violation of the contract shall be removed. 2. That the dismissed steward be reinstated. 3. Immediate contractual disposal of grievances and arbitration awards.

The local union leadership, under its earnest, hard-working president, Steve Root, has shown

Detroit Readers!

Hear Arthur Burch SWP Organizer Speak on "Why Trotskyists Support Detroit's Labor Candidates," SATURDAY AT 11:45 A.M. Station WXYZ-1270 K. Oct. 20-Oct. 27-Nov. 3

good understanding of the issues involved in the fight against the roller-bearing trust. It is to be hoped that they show an equal understanding in dealing with the representative of the Bureau of Conciliation, which is attempting to mediate the strike.

Lesson number one, for all unions, is that strikes are won on the picket line. With the continued solidarity and determination so far shown by the SKF workers, there can be but one conclusion to this basic fight—complete union victory.

Buffalo CIO Votes Action Against Smith

(Continued from Page 1)
Buffalo labor must prepare for his return. Militant unionists here realize that a real united front of all labor organizations and groups opposed to fascism is needed.

Militant labor action against Smith and all others of his kind provides the real answer to the growing threat of fascism.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

The "Red" Scare Begins

"Trotskyism" is becoming the big "red"-scare bugaboo used by labor's enemies in their intensified campaign to smear and disrupt the present strike struggles of the American workers.

Last week we commented on the attempt of "pro-labor" Victor Riesel, N. Y. Post columnist, to represent the current Detroit auto strikes as nothing more than the doings of a "handful of Trotskyites" who want "immediate revolution."

The notorious George E. Sokolsky, rabidly anti-labor columnist, has also taken up the hue and cry. In his September 28 (N. Y. Sun) column, titled "The Enemy Within," Sokolsky complains: "Strikes are mounting in number and in seriousness. Some are not even authorized by their international unions. Some are definitely political in character as when a Trotskyist union in Detroit strikes against a mixed Social Democratic-Communist union."

Of course, Sokolsky is talking gibberish. And he knows it. He'd have a tough time showing an instance where any Detroit strike is being conducted for any reason other than to win some long-delayed and just demands from the corporations.

Sokolsky's invention is intended merely to smear the current strike struggles with some good old-fashioned red baiting. The Trotskyists, whose record for trade union militancy is well known, make the handiest whipping-boys for the Sokolskys these days.

"Savior" Of Democracy

Michigan's Governor Kelly put on the garb of a savior of democracy when he intervened against the striking Kelsey-Hayes workers in Detroit. He claimed that he had "heard" that "not more than 25 per cent" of the workers favored the strike and he was going to find out "if it really is the will and wish of the majority of the strikers" to continue to "strike against the government."

Kelly didn't have to wait long to find out. Three days later, on September 28, a mass meeting of more than 2,000 Kelsey-Hayes strikers booed R. J. Thomas and other top CIO United Automobile Workers officials off the platform when they tried to order the strikers back to work.

We didn't notice Governor Kelly rushing into print on behalf of the democratic rights of the Kelsey-Hayes workers last week when Thomas and the other UAW leaders bureaucratically ordered the removal from office of 17 elected Kelsey-Hayes unit officers.

Stalinist Strikebreaking

Despite their alleged "left" turn, the Stalinist strikebreakers did their anti-labor chore for Westinghouse Electric Corporation against the militant 20-day strike of the Federation of Westinghouse Independent Salaried Unions which ended on September 30.

60,000 Lumber Strikers Fight For Wage-Increases

(Continued from Page 1)
which has tied up lumber ships at Everett, Washington and in the Columbia River basin. In spite of Dave Beck's announcement that the AFL Teamsters will not comply with the SLW's "hot cargo" ruling, rank and file teamsters have refused to cross the lumber workers' picket lines.

TWO RIVAL UNIONS
The strike is unfortunately weakened by the conflict of two rival lumber workers unions. The CIO International Woodworkers of America, with a membership in the Northwest of 40,000, is demanding a 25 cents an hour "across the board" increase and \$1.15 hourly minimum. The IWA membership has voted to go out on strike if necessary to enforce these demands. However, to date the leadership of the IWA has issued no call for a strike.

It is true that the IWA officials have extended their moral support to the AFL strike. But they continually misrepresent the strike as one merely involving industry-wide negotiations, which they claim the IWA already won several years ago, brushing aside the fact that the SLW is battling for wage increases similar to those demanded by the IWA.

Furthermore, the Stalinist-inspired leadership of the IWA in Washington is obliquely attacking the SLW strike, although officially giving it support. They have put forward the fantastic claim that the lumber operators wish at this time to lock out the

The Stalinist leaders of CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Local 601, representing the Westinghouse production workers in the struck East Pittsburgh plant, tried to break the strike and went so far as an attempt to crash the picket lines. John H. Dillon, spokesman for the "white collar" strikers, described the Stalinist actions in a radio broadcast on September 25. He stated:

"It is a fundamental rule of all bona fide unions to respect the picket lines of all other bona fide unions, but on Monday acting vice president Marshall Daugherty of the UE-CIO, together with recording secretary William Harper and divisional stewards Wilkins and Panzino, assembled some 200 members of their union and led them right up to our picket lines. William Harper then told our pickets to get out of the way and said, 'We are coming through.'"

"The four UE-CIO officers then made a spectacular charge through the picket lines and after getting through, they looked back and found their army had deserted with the exception of five misguided souls. At this point the photographer was set to take a picture of one of the rarest of shameful phenomena—one group of union men crossing another union picket line."

"Here was history in the making—but before they entered our line, we explained to them through our loud speaker system that we had unbounded confidence in the rank and file of UE-CIO, Local 601, though we knew what some of their officers would do."

"It was heart warming to see them stop, listen to our talk and then not only refuse to cross our lines, but later the maintenance crews refused to enter the plant even with our blessing and special passes."

Peoria Rail Strike

Three and a half years ago, the Roosevelt administration "seized" the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad to halt a wartime strike when the line's president, open-shopper George P. McNear Jr., refused to carry out government orders respecting a union contract.

Last week, the government returned control of the railroad to McNear, whose profits had come in regularly during the "seizure" but who had never come to agreement with the union. Promptly the 13 unions on the line took a strike vote which passed overwhelmingly.

The unions had asked McNear to continue in effect the conditions maintained by the government. He agreed to do so only insofar as these conditions "are applicable to the railroad's operations" and also refused to employ those working under government management, who he alleged "engaged in acts of violence" during the 1942 strike. In short, McNear would agree only to fire whomever he pleased and impose any conditions he saw fit.

entire industry in order to break the unions and that a lumber strike now therefore plays into the hands of the lumber bosses.

The Sawmill and Lumber Workers is seeking to close down all lumber operations in the Northwest and to that end has placed picket lines around CIO shops. These picket lines have invariably been respected by the IWA men.

The SLW-AFL is in a strong position at this time to issue a call for a united fight of both unions against the lumber bosses, and in this manner to pave the way for overcoming of bitter inter-union conflicts.

SHAMEFUL ACTION.
The IWA officialdom's reaction to the AFL pickets has been shameful and in marked contrast to the response of the ranks. Instead of seeking close unity of both unions throughout the common wage fight, it has gone to court to enjoin SLW picketing of CIO operations, and under the cover of these injunctions has managed to reopen a number of plants.

"In my long union history, it has always been the employer who has gone to court for an injunction against picketing," stated SLW Local 2519's business agent E. C. Jorgensen. "This is the first time that I have seen a union go to court to restrain picketing." In spite of injunctions, a reported 12,000 IWA workers on October 3 were observing SLW picket lines.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Czechoslovakia

The August 25 L'Humanite, official organ of the French Stalinists, carries an interesting item on plans for the nationalization of industry in Czechoslovakia.

An "economic council" has been set up, says the report, which will survey the economic situation "and elaborate plans for the development of the different branches of the national economy."

Sixty-three per cent of the metallurgical industries are scheduled for nationalization within the month. The banks are next on the list. "Cooperative establishments," however, "will escape nationalization."

South Africa

The Conference of Non-European (colored) trade unions in South Africa adopted a resolution August 6 demanding 10 shillings (about \$2) a day minimum wage for all unskilled workers.

The resolution, according to The Sun, a South African paper, declares: "This conference of Non-European trade unions demands, as the human right of every non-European worker, a living wage."

"To begin with we demand a national minimum wage of 10 shillings a day for all unskilled workers."

"To ensure that this should reflect real wages we demand a sliding scale."

"This means that industrial agreements should ensure an automatic rise in wages in relation to the increased prices."

The discussion on the organization of a National Council of Non-European Trade Unions was opened by J. Phillips of the Non-European Garment Workers Union. He said: "A more definite line must be adopted so that we can take our rightful place in the trade union movement in South Africa."

"Closer cooperation between the non-white and the white worker is essential. After all, our struggle is one struggle and our aims are identical."

Belgium

Royalist groups are arming themselves, reports the Brussels newspaper Le Soir. As quoted in the August 2 Manchester Guardian, the Belgian paper declares: "There has been formed in Flanders a Leopoldian movement which no politician could dare to oppose without the risk of being broken. Royalist militias are being formed nearly everywhere, and their recruitment is amongst members of a former anti-democratic movement."

They are obtaining a considerable amount of their arms from Allied sources. "There are many stories," says the Guardian, "circulating amongst British officers of weapons and supplies of war destined for the Allied forces having gone astray."

In contrast to its friendly attitude toward these reactionary groups, the Van Acker government is extremely hostile toward militant working class tendencies. Vole de Lennine (Lenin's Road), official organ of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Party), Belgian section of the Fourth International, is still under government ban. The paper was suppressed for solidarizing with the German working class.

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France

American soldiers are not the only ones anxious to get back home. Senegalese troops, according to the August 22 Stars and Stripes, "restless over the delay in being shipped home, attacked a French patrol." The incident occurred at the Riviera port of St. Raphael. A French lieutenant killed one Senegalese with a revolver. In the evening "between 500 and 600 armed Senegalese, seeking vengeance for their comrade's death, entered the town."

When police and French troops were called out "a battle followed." Eleven civilians were killed and many more wounded before the fray ended.

Germany

A new and significant development in the German situation is the appearance of armed guerrilla bands. In the American-controlled area of Bavaria "bands of armed marauders... have been carrying off newly harvested crops." United Press reported September 30. Hoegner, the newly-appointed Minister-President, said that "more than 1,300 raids" had occurred within a week. Armed with sub-machine guns and machine pistols, the guerrillas swoop down on isolated farms at night and expropriate the crops. Hoegner declared former "concentration camp inmates" are among the leaders of the guerrillas.

The phenomenon is not confined to the American sector. On the same day as the above report, Donald MacKenzie, staff correspondent of the N. Y. Daily News, wrote from Berlin that "Guerrilla warfare is reaching alarming proportions in the countryside south and west of Hamburg." This is in the British-controlled area. MacKenzie reports that a British officer has revealed "Large bands of displaced persons" have obtained arms and organized themselves into "bandit gangs." They fight "British patrols attempting to subdue them."

"Dozens of German villages were being attacked nightly," according to the British officer. Casualties are listed as on an "important scale." Despite all the British troops can do, continues the same source, "the outlaws" are "growing more numerous and bolder."

The class composition of these groups of "bandits" and "outlaws" is not clear. They appear to resemble the resistance movement in other countries during the war who fought the Nazi conquerors, except of course they are fighting this time against the Allied conquerors. MacKenzie says that they are mainly "Poles, Czechs and displaced Germans." He adds "there are indications that they now have been organized like cadres, with intelligence service that keeps them informed of counter measures being taken by the British."

The situation will become much worse "when cold weather sets in," continues MacKenzie, quoting British officials. "There are something like 19,000,000 persons on the move toward Berlin and Hamburg, between the Oder and Elbe rivers."

The 3,000,000 who have already passed through Hamburg since the first of August face frightful conditions. "These persons are living in crude caves among the rubble of bomb-blasted buildings like animals and slowly starving to death."

Allied Rulers Prepare Slaughter In Far East

(Continued from Page 1) results were disastrous to the Greek movement.

The picture in Indo-China is essentially the same. A "truce" was negotiated with the Annamese nationalists. Before the "truce" was reached, the British in Saigon, using mortars, machine-guns and rifles drove the Annamese from the outskirts of the city. The Japanese, fighting under Allied orders, killed 40 to 50 Annamese on September 30. The Allies have placed Japanese guards at key spots.

Two French battleships arrived at Saigon October 3. Some 18 cruisers, light cruisers, etc., and a flotilla of seaplanes are following. French paratroopers broke up an unarmed demonstration of 1,500 Annamese in Saigon October 7, while in Paris, spokesmen of the nationalist movement were arrested by the de Gaulle government for demanding freedom for Indo-China.

The role of American troops landed by air has not been clearly reported since they engaged last week in armed struggle with the Annamese nationalists.

Indonesian Nationalists Fight Dutch Imperialism

By Ratna Soemanti (The First of Two Articles)

On August 17, the Indonesians proclaimed their independence and founded the Republic of Indonesia.

The first British troops which landed on Java in the last days of September found street cars and buildings painted with signs saying: "Better to live in hell than be colonists again" and "We don't ask freedom—we are entitled to it." No Dutch flags were displayed anywhere until the English hoisted one outside Allied headquarters. For the rest there was only the red and white emblem of the new Indonesian government.

All independence leaders, when interviewed by Allied reporters, declared their determination to fight rather than return to a colonial status. All warned that any occupation landings by Dutch forces would be resisted, although they professed to have faith in the pledge of the British not to meddle in local politics and guaranteed there would be no trouble as long as the British and Americans are there.

At the same time Dutch government spokesmen in the Indies and in London issued bitter denunciations of the nationalist movement and its leaders. Dr. Charles van der Plas, representative of the Netherlands government in Batavia, attempted to belittle the scope and the influence of the movement and discredit its leaders. He kept the Japanese mayor of Batavia in office rather than replace him with a nationalist, until he was finally ordered to make the change by the British occupation chief Lt. General Christison. With classic Dutch haughtiness, entirely out of keeping with his position of impotence, van der Plas further refused to meet with the Indonesian leaders to discuss the situation. But the British general, who takes a far more realistic view of the strength of the nationalist movement, again forced him to arrange such a meeting.

As the situation stands now, the English troops have occupied Batavia. The Japanese garrisons were withdrawn into the interior where they will continue to maintain "law and order" until they are repatriated. "To have to work through the Japanese is very humiliating," says Dr. van der Plas, yet he uses them against what he terms "a movement of Japanese puppets backed by small determined bands of terrorists."

According to a Dutch spokesman in London it will take another two months before the first Dutch troops will reach the islands. However, 1,000 troops have already landed, and a Dutch official in Australia declared Oct. 6 another 10,000 will arrive in three weeks. The Dutch are dispatching a number of Indonesians who have allegedly "been active in the independence movement in Holland since 1921" to the Indies by plane to act as mediators. Very likely these gentlemen will lose their conciliatory zeal when they come face to face with their countrymen. Things have changed since those days of 1921 at Leiden university when independence was something Indonesian students talked about. Today the Indonesian masses are getting a taste of the real thing and they are in no mood to deal with Uncle Toms.

The two main figures in the Indonesian nationalist movement today appear to be Soekarno, President of the newly-founded Republic and Mohammed Hatta, Vice President.

Who are these men? Are they newcomers who came to the fore only under Japanese domination? Are they what the Dutch officials claim they are: turncoats, opportunists, Japanese puppets?

MOHAMMED HATTA'S RECORD

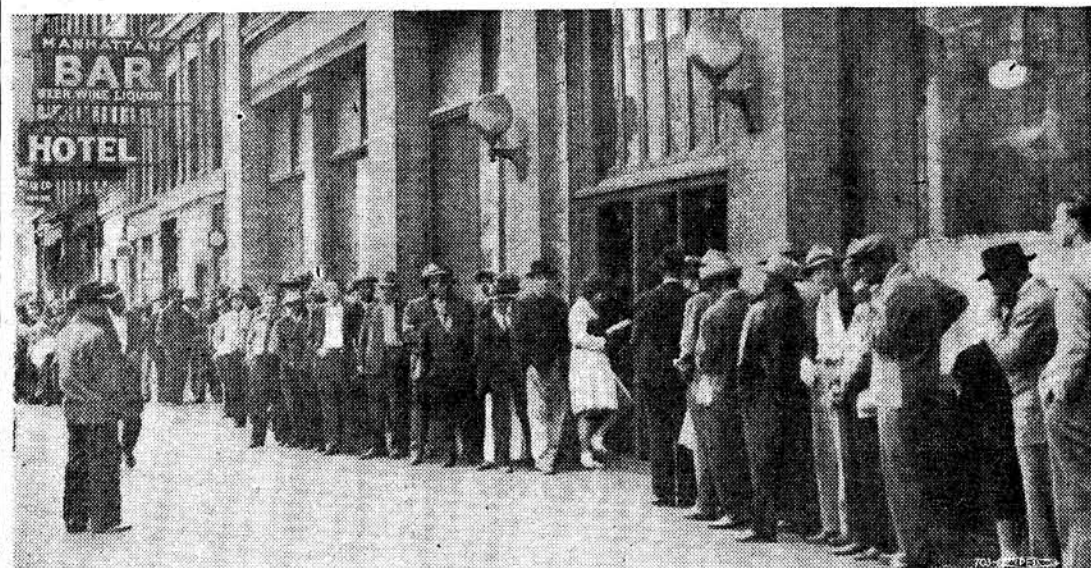
Let us look at their record. Mohammed Hatta, when a student at Leiden university in Holland in 1922, was one of the founders of the student organization Perhimpunan Indonesia (Indonesian Society) which from its very inception followed a sharply anti-Dutch, anti-collaborationist course.

Up until that time Dutch students from the Indies and Indonesian students both belonged to one organization, but relations between the Nationalists and imperialist-minded Dutch students and their Uncle Toms soon made this impossible. The Perhimpunan Indonesia published a Dutch language magazine in which Dutch imperialism was incessantly attacked. These young men called themselves revolutionary nationalists and sought

Vanquished



"Victors"



While the people of Tokyo line up for their meager rations (top picture) the people of Detroit line up at the U. S. Employment Office for fast-vanishing jobs. In defeated Japan, millions face the specter of hunger. In victorious America, millions face the specter of mass unemployment.

contact with the Communist International and the communist-sponsored Anti-Imperialist League.

In 1926 Mohammed Hatta as the representative of his organization met with the Indonesian communist Semaon to discuss joint action in the Indies. Semaon, who was then exiled from the Indies after the Communist uprisings in 1926, agreed to joint work under the leadership of the Nationalists and to handing over all printshops in the Indies formerly controlled by the communists. In return Mohammed Hatta for his organization promised that the Perhimpunan Indonesia would build a real national movement in the Indies.

NATIONALIST PROGRAM

The program mapped out at this conference was as follows: The Nationalist party would strive to create a state within the state. This would be done above ground through social work, congresses, the creation of national feeling and betterment of the material and intellectual condition of the people, and underground through the creation of a national army, with a boy scout movement as its starting point. The national feelings of the population were to be led in a revolutionary direction, with special attention to work in the trade unions. Any collaboration with the Dutch government was of course excluded.

To bring the cause of Indonesia to international attention the Perhimpunan Indonesia delegated Mohammed Hatta to anti-war congresses and congresses of the Anti-Imperialist League in different European countries. In 1927 he was arrested in Holland along with several other Indonesian students on the charge of incitement to revolt against the government on the basis of speeches and articles that appeared in the magazine of their organization. All were acquitted in 1928.

Upon his return to the Indies he belonged to the Partai Nasional Indonesia (National Indonesian Party) but did not play too public a role. We must note, however, that he never was part of the collaborationist nationalist movement that arose after the P.N.I. was crushed in 1930. (To Be Continued)

to break through the wall which the Red Army has vainly thrown around the Balkans.

STALINIST PARTIES

Against these economic and political weapons, the Kremlin can hold the Balkans only by totalitarian means. Even if great mass Communist parties existed in Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria they would not be sufficient to keep those countries out of the western orbit. That was demonstrated in France, where the Communist party is the party, with a million members, which since the expulsion of the Nazis seemed to dominate political life—yet proved completely impotent to prevent de Gaulle's sharp turn to a western orientation.

Whatever illusions the Balkan masses may have had about the Kremlin, it has revealed itself during the past year as having nothing to offer them.

At first the Kremlin's influence over the peasantry seemed assured by the policy of expropriating the big landowners and dividing the land. But the Kremlin's reactionary policy necessitated excluding from the division the considerable areas owned by the church; the countries involved are small and relatively over-populated; the new farms are therefore in many cases too small to sustain a peasant family.

Add to this that the economy of the countries is devastated and unable to provide the peasant with farm implements, horses, cattle and poultry, fertilizer or even with food until the next harvest. Add to this that the Kremlin, far from being able to send these needed items from the Soviet Union, has stripped the Balkans of just such material.

Two Means

1. Directly, by establishing in those countries official and unofficial agents of the Anglo-U. S. bloc; a network of consulates, press correspondents and branches of Anglo-U. S. business firms. These agents will encourage capitalist and reformist labor leaders to organize against Kremlin domination, will finance such movements, sell businessmen cheap goods at prices with which the shattered Soviet economy cannot hope to compete and, what is more, sell the goods on credit; and finally, UNRRA relief agencies will demonstratively make clear that help for the needy comes only from the west.

2. Indirectly, by demanding free press, free elections, evacuation of the Red Army, abolition of the Balkan secret political police based on the model of the GPU, etc. By these means the Anglo-U. S. bloc will secure free play for the anti-Kremlin forces in Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. (Needless to say, if these forces are successful, the Anglo-U. S. bloc will close its eyes if its satellites then demolish the democratic instrumentalities once they have served their purpose of dislodging the Kremlin from the Balkans.)

The Big Five Foreign Ministers' conference, after 33 sessions, wound up October 2 without concluding a single agreement. The fiasco was blamed on the Kremlin by the other powers and vice-versa.

The procedural point at issue need not occupy us very long. The Kremlin, sticking to the letter of the Atlee-Truman-Stalin agreement at Potsdam, insisted that neither France nor China discuss the peace treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. No doubt Molotov preferred to talk to the British and U. S. ministers without their French and Chinese satellites, while the Anglo-U. S. bloc were bent on showing that the Kremlin stands alone.

However, behind this procedural dispute is the extreme disinclination of the Kremlin to discuss, much less to conclude treaties on the Balkan countries now occupied and dominated by the Red Army. Had Molotov insisted on limiting the Balkan treaties to the Big Three on September 11, when the conference took the decision that all five ministers have a voice in all questions discussed, the Anglo-U. S. bloc might well have yielded. But Molotov went along for eleven days in which the conference was irrevocably committed in the eyes of the world to five-power participation in all discussions, then suddenly made his demand on September 22. The resulting fiasco was undoubtedly very satisfactory to the Kremlin which has nothing to gain and a great deal to lose when the Balkan treaties are finally written.

Our Martyrs GERMANY

Comrades Who Died in the Cause of Communism Under the Terror of the Gestapo and Its Puppets

MARTIN WIDELIN, German Trotskyist active as a leading member of the French and Belgian sections of the Fourth International. Organizer of the International underground work in the German Wehrmacht; an editor of Arbeiter und Soldat, the newspaper of the I.K.D. (International Communists of Germany) published illegally in Paris under the Nazi occupation. He, together with 65 other French and German Trotskyists engaged in this work, fell as a victim of the Gestapo. Trapped by the French Fascist "Brigade Speciale" in the Bois de Vincennes near Paris, he was shot and left for dead. Hospitalized, he was denounced to the Gestapo, dragged from his bed and shot the same night.

WILLY, One of 30 German Trotskyist soldiers and sailors active at Brest shot by the Nazis. He organized arms delivery to Maquis partisans, desertions in the Wehrmacht and the utilization of "Organization Todt" work certificates for underground work.

ROGER, 40-year-old German Trotskyist, functionary of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French section of the 4th International; member of Partisan corps in the Dauphine region.

MAX, 30-year-old German Trotskyist, adjutant-chief of F.P.I. troops of the Ardeche Maquis. These are only the first reports on our losses among the German Trotskyists.

GREECE

PANTELIS POULIOPOULOS, 45 years old. Active in the revolutionary workers' movement since 1919. Elected a member of the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party soon after its foundation, he became General Secretary of the Party in 1924. Delegate of the Greek party to the Fifth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1925. Founded the "Spartakos" group in 1927 and later affiliated this group with the International Left Opposition formed in the Communist International by Leon Trotsky. Arrested by the Greek bourgeoisie and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment. Escaped. Arrested in 1939. In 1943, Italian military authorities occupying Greece ordered him shot; he talked to the soldiers assigned to kill him, and caused a mutiny in their ranks, but was finally shot. His life and death have become legendary in Greece where his memory is respected as exemplifying the purest proletarian heroism and revolutionary devotion.

JEAN MAKRISS, 40 years old. Bakery worker. Well-known trade union militant. Long active in the Young Communist League of Greece. Member of the Central Committee of the Greek Section of the Fourth International. Arrested many times, imprisoned and deported. Shot in 1943 by the occupation authorities.

JEAN XYPOLYTOS, 40 years old. Building trades worker. For a long time a leading functionary of the Greek Communist Party. Member of the Central Committee of the "Spartakos" group. Imprisoned and deported many times. Shot in 1943 by the occupation authorities.

The following comrades were also killed by S. S. troops at the Kandara Concentration Camp: Dascalos, Kamatasas. CONSTANTIN YANNAKIS, 30 years old. Teacher. Former leader of the Young Communist League. Member of the Central Committee of the Greek Section of the Fourth International. Arrested in 1939. Shot by the Nazi occupation authorities in 1943.

The following comrades were executed by the notorious "Security Battalions" under the German Wehrmacht: Christos Gianovlis, Delia Baltas, Eleftheros Kokimas.

Victims of the Stalinist Terror

In addition, the following comrades are known to have been killed by Stalinists during the civil war last December: DEMOSTHENES BOUZOUKIS, member of the Central Committee; and more than a hundred other comrades fighting under his leadership in Athens, whose names are not as yet available.

STERGIOS, The brothers Tatsos, Mangos Kostas and many others, in Salonika.

THANASSI OICONOMOY, A Stalinist militant who joined our party in 1943. Killed in Athens on December 4, 1944.

MITSO MELIADIS, worker in the subway company at Athens. Active in the revolutionary workers' movement since 1928. Shot by the Stalinists December 4, 1944.

NICOS ARAVANTZOS, active in the movement since 1930. Agrarian specialist. Imprisoned under the Metaxas dictatorship in 1938. Member of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. Horribly murdered by the Stalinists.

THYMOS ADRAMITIDES, A Trotskyist since 1931. Organized illegal revolutionary group among Greek police. Imprisoned under Metaxas dictatorship. After release from prison, active in leading capacity in Athens city organization. He was killed by the Stalinist military organization, December 3, 1944.

command has made belated attempts to restore discipline, but when the army officially is living off the land, ruthlessly requisitioning what it needs, the soldier can scarcely be blamed if he does some requisitioning for himself—at watch from a shooless passer-by, a pair of shoes to send home, etc.

Such are the realities in the Balkans under the Red Army. The Kremlin cannot dream of dominating the area without occupying troops, or the equivalent in "native" troops and secret police. Red Army evacuation, unrestricted entry of Anglo-U. S. agents and businessmen, free elections, would spell the end of Kremlin control of the Balkans.

MOLOTOV'S TACTICS

Hence Molotov's tactics at the London conference. The Kremlin must try to delay Balkan treaty settlements as long as possible, while it tries to conjure up pro-Kremlin regimes and parties strong enough to withstand some of the concessions which must eventually be made.

The London fiasco does not at all mean a break between the Anglo-U. S. bloc and the Kremlin. Both sides have too many reasons to patch up the situation. The Anglo-U. S. bloc can afford to be patient, depending in the long run on its overpowering economic preponderance. The Kremlin cannot afford not to be patient, depending on the six billion dollar loan from America for help in the reconstruction of the Soviet economy. So, whatever their differences, the Big Three alliance remains a terrifying reality, looming over the masses of ruined Europe.

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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

Smash The Fascists!

America's No. 1 Fascist Demagogue, Gerald L. K. Smith, whose aim is to mobilize and lead the storm troopers of American capitalism against the labor movement, is beginning to meet some serious obstacles to his anti-labor, anti-Negro, Jew-baiting ambitions.

Last July, he breezed into Los Angeles with the announcement that he intended to establish his national center there. But he didn't make the grade. The Los Angeles labor movement, pressed into action by the union militants and the Socialist Workers Party, countered Smith's mass meeting with a giant rally of 14,000 workers. Smith left for greener pastures.

He hit Detroit two weeks ago. But, here again, Smith didn't fare so well. A fighting mass picket line, sponsored by the CIO Council and manned by over 1,000 CIO and AFL workers, limited the Smith meeting to only 150 of his actual followers, a demoralized and frightened handful.

Instead of maintaining his bold, brash front, G. L. K. Smith is being forced to proceed more cautiously and timidly. As our report from Buffalo (See Page 1) relates, there Smith elected to sneak into town and hold surreptitious meetings. The Buffalo CIO Council, getting wind of his previous secret visit, voted to give him a hot reception the next time he dares to show up.

These events have one decisive feature in common. In every case, it was the threat or actual conduct of militant mass labor action which put real fear into Smith's followers, demoralized his ranks. These actions will help inspire American labor everywhere to take the offensive and nip the American fascist menace in the bud.

In both the Detroit and Los Angeles demonstrations, the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyists, stood shoulder to shoulder with the militant unionists in the vanguard of the struggle against Fascist Smith. Every facility and all the energies of the Trotskyists were placed at the disposal of the labor movement to mobilize and conduct the fight.

The Detroit anti-fascist demonstration was particularly commendable and noteworthy. Local auto unions sent their famous flying squadrons, trained in the defense of innumerable strike picket lines, to hold the line against police assaults. They conducted a courageous battle worthy of their tradition.

This, however, was precisely the effective feature of the struggle which brought protests from the yellow Stalinists and liberals. These latter advocate "fighting" fascism with mealy-mouthed protests and mere gestures. The Stalinists actually acted as finger-men for the Detroit cops in pointing out the leading union militants for clubbing.

As always, the police stood on the side of the labor-haters, in this instance, the fascists. They mauled and beat the Detroit anti-fascist fighters and protected the fascists from the workers' wrath.

But the Detroit workers have demonstrated to the entire labor movement that the way to fight fascism is not to wait or equivocate. Fascism can be defeated only by the full fighting might of the labor movement. It must be met head-on, courageously and militantly, with the power of mass labor action wherever and whenever it raises its ugly head to spit forth its venom.

Anti-Jewish Slander

One of the strategic aims of the fascist movement is to split the working class into bitter, warring factions, thus weakening the anti-fascist struggle. Pitting one nationality against another is a time-tested way of accomplishing this aim. The fascist movement throughout Europe followed this tactic.

That is why the fascist demagogues in America whip up every vile prejudice against such minority nationalities as the Jewish people. The growth of anti-Jewish sentiment parallels the growth of fascism. Knowing this, Big Business and its tools utilize every resource to spread foul lies about the Jews.

The most recent is the lie cooked up by John O'Donnell, professional poison-pen columnist

of the N. Y. Daily News. This scurrilous prostitute of the McCormick-Patterson press is trying to place the halo of martyrdom on the glistening helmet of none other than General Patton, who was relieved of his post in Bavaria when he came out too brazenly in favor of retaining Nazis in U. S. Army-controlled posts. O'Donnell's version, date-lined October 2, is that the pistol-packing, kick-the-wounded, richest-general-in-the-army slapped a private of "Jewish descent" in the notorious 1943 face-slapping incident in Italy. Because of this, says O'Donnell, "foreign-born political leaders" (he singles out prominent Jews) put on a campaign against the injured Patton. Through the "secret and astoundingly effective might" of these individuals back of the government, Patton was crucified.

O'Donnell's version is undoubtedly now being peddled throughout America by all the native fascists. All the links in this slander against the Jewish people are clear. Patton, like the majority of the officer caste, is anti-Jewish and highly sympathetic to Nazi propaganda. He was simply a bit more incautious than the rest, thus permitting himself the luxury of telling the press what he thought.

Coincident with Patton's remarks, an official report to President Truman revealed that tens of thousands of Jews in Germany are still suffering in concentration camps under conditions as frightful as those they endured under the Nazis. In the resulting storm of protest, the Truman Administration was forced to slap Patton on the wrist. But the capitalist propagandist, O'Donnell, instead of telling the truth, converted the incident into sewage for the mud-slinging political machine of America's native fascists.

That such propaganda is printed in the great newspapers of the capitalists, indicates how far Big Business is opening the throttle on the native fascist movement.

Full Employment

The Murray Full Employment Bill was introduced into Congress with great fanfare. It was offered by the Truman administration, backed by many financial and industrial bigwigs, as their answer to the capitalist crisis of mass unemployment.

As its own sponsors admitted, the bill actually contained no specific or practical measures. It left entirely to future unspecified acts of Congress the exact program to be adopted. Congress, by its recent killing of the \$25 unemployment compensation bill, has amply demonstrated what it intends to do to any real measures to aid the unemployed.

The feature of the Murray Bill which the extreme reactionaries mainly opposed was its agreement, in principle, to the use of government funds "as a last resort" to aid the unemployed. Last week, in a decision that the bill's sponsors declared "satisfactory," the Senate knocked even that acknowledgement on the head.

The Senate adopted the bill with an amendment which, in effect, prohibits the use of federal funds to aid the unemployed where this would increase the government deficit.

These same Senators who reared up in horror at going into "debt" for the benefit of the workers are the very ones who did not hesitate to approve the appropriation of some \$300 billion for world-wide slaughter and destruction. They poured tens of billions into the coffers of the war profiteers. They hailed the expenditure of a cool \$2 billion for the atom bomb which obliterated hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in two Japanese cities.

If any further proof were needed of the utter indifference and callousness of the capitalist politicians in Washington toward the needs of the American people, their latest action on the Murray bill is proof positive.

These agents of Big Business understand only one language, will yield only to one argument, that is the forceful kind used in the resolution adopted by the CIO auto workers' recent National General Motors Conference and now being advanced by local unions such as the Buffalo auto and steel locals, as reported in this issue of THE MILITANT.

The GM auto workers have called for a giant united Congress of American Labor to convene as soon as possible in Washington. This mobilization of representatives from every union body in the land would elaborate a genuine labor legislative program and spearhead a nationwide labor fight for its adoption by Congress.

HEAR FARRELL DOBBS Trotskyist Candidate For Mayor of New York RADIO BROADCAST SCHEDULE

Monday, Oct. 15, 10:10 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial,
"People's Choice"

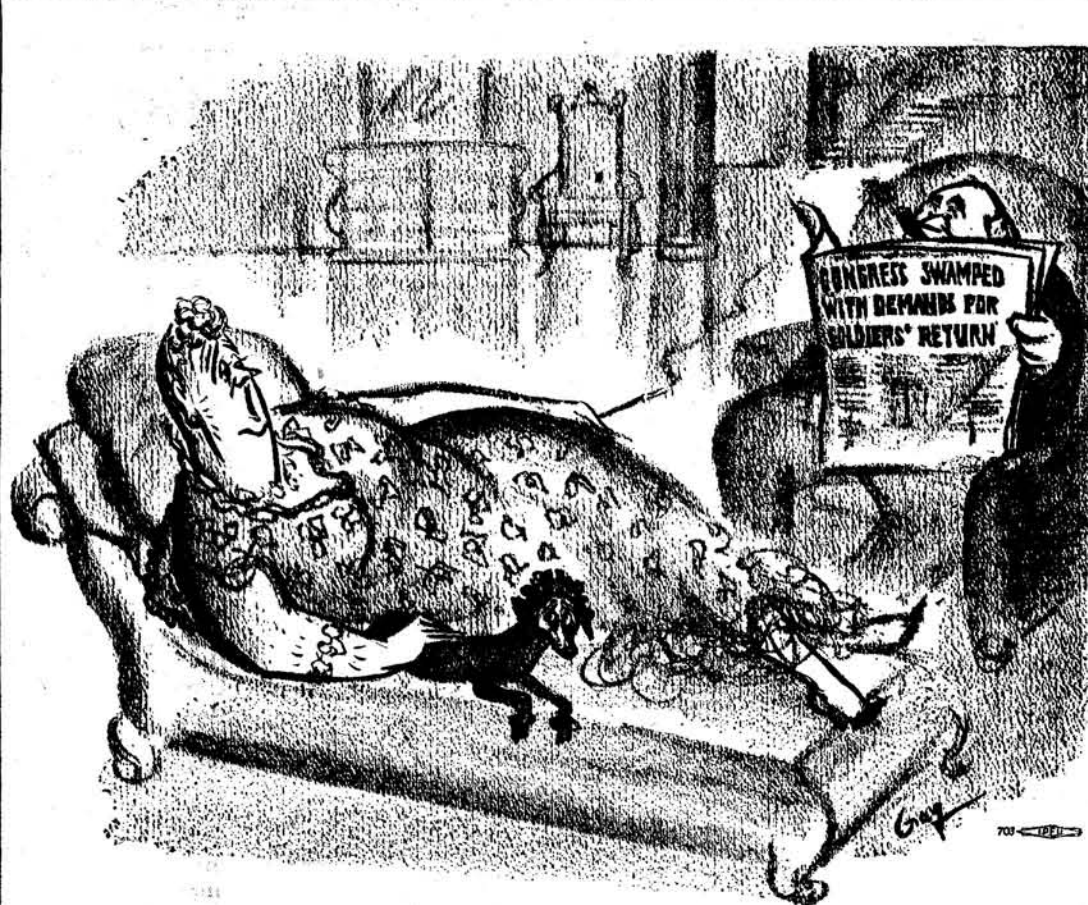
Saturday, Oct. 20, 9:00 to 9:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial,
"People's Choice"

Sunday, Oct. 21, 9:00 to 10:00 p.m.:
Station WMCB 570 on dial,
"Women's City Club"

Monday, Oct. 22, 10:00 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial,
"People's Choice"

Thursday, Oct. 25, 10:45 to 11:00 p.m.:
Station WQXR, 1560 on dial,
"Public Service Series"

Saturday, Oct. 27, 9:00 to 9:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial,
"People's Choice"



"I can't understand why they're so anxious to leave their nice, cozy barracks. There's obviously no room for them here!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

"NEGROES IN THE POST-WAR WORLD" by Albert Parker. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. 16 pp. 5 cents.

The history of the Negro's struggle for equality runs like a scarlet thread through the somber and chaotic pattern of capitalism's whole existence.

The subjugation of the Negro produced running ulcers on the face of capitalism which, even at its healthiest and most progressive stage, indicated the presence of a fatal, organic disease. This internal corruption, often dismissed by the kept-professors of endowed institutions as merely a temporary functional disorder, was quickly recognized by the Marxists for what it was—another symptom of the general and rapidly increasing decay of a doomed social order.

UNITY GROWS

Today, as capitalism, on the brink of its grave, twists and jerks in a frantic effort to escape the vengeance of its victims, the Negro is taking his place beside the white wage worker in the vanguard of the proletarian revolution.

This development is the result of a long and bloody process in which both Negro and white worker gradually learned to know and trust one another. This process is far from complete but the initial steps have been taken and the development gains momentum as the class consciousness of the workers grows in the solidifying heat of the fight against the common enemy.

Today, Negro and white work and picket side by side. This is an objective factor created by capitalism itself. The subjective factor too—the conscious and deliberate effort of the revolutionary Marxists to smash prejudice and promote fraternization—has become a vital weapon in the class struggle.

Many volumes of material on "The Negro Question" have been published. Every aspect of Negro life in America has been explored and exposed by dozens of authors with various aims. Today we have an inexhaustible supply of statistics, surveys and novels dealing with this question.

All these books and surveys are helpful to the student of Negro problems—but it has remained for the Marxists to produce written material aimed directly at solving the question. Unlike the social-worker authors and some "Uncle Tom" Negro intellectuals, the revolutionary writers on the Negro question cut through all the soul-searching and "Christian" moralizing to strike at the root of the problem.

INCREASING VALUE

"Negroes in the Post-War World" by Albert Parker is a small pamphlet of only sixteen pages—yet it is one of the most valuable documents on the Negro question ever published. Written some time ago, it has become more timely with the passing months and demonstrates the keen understanding of the author who was able to predict the nature of the Negro's struggle to maintain and broaden the rights won during World War II.

"The Negro's greatest opportunity for advancing toward full equality is now, as his enemies well recognize, and if the Negro does not take advantage of this opportunity now, he will find it much harder to make progress after the war, when his enemies will have disposed of their foreign rivals and will be able to devote their energy and attention toward keeping the Negro 'in his place'."

Today the enemies of the Negro are busy provoking "race riots" and anti-Negro sentiment wherever possible. Recent "strikes" of white high-school students against Negro students in Hammond, Indiana and in New York City indicate an or-

ganized effort to stir up anti-Negroism. Attempts by Gerald L. K. Smith to conduct fascist meetings in Los Angeles and Detroit, and the revival of the fascist Christian Front and America First movement will bring with them campaigns designed to whip up and organize prejudice and persecution.

GOVERNMENT ROLE

The pamphlet cuts through the role of "Uncle Toms" and shows how only a militant and mass struggle will win real freedom for the Negro people. Parker exposes the role of the Federal government and proves that Jim-Crow was the policy of the very government and politicians who claimed to be fighting a war for democracy. The record of Roosevelt and the fate of the FEPC are analyzed. Army-Navy Jim-Crow even transplanted race prejudice from America to places and countries where it had been unknown.

The capitalist class roots of discrimination are made clear in this pamphlet. When the Negro worker enjoys the full economic freedom offered by the Socialist society, then and only then will full social and political freedom be possible. Until then the Negro can look forward to continued and increasingly severe persecution and segregation. The solution to this problem for the Negro and for the white worker is unity in the struggle against capitalism and for the socialist society.

For the Negro who believes that the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties or the Stalinist betrayers will aid him in his struggle this pamphlet should be interesting reading. For the Negro militant this pamphlet will serve as another weapon—an educational weapon—in the fight for a better society.

Reviewed by
Bill Morgan.

Congressmen At Work

The curtain rises this week on the House Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments. Wall Street's Congressmen are cross-examining Harold D. Smith, Director of the Budget, in an effort to find out the real meaning of the "Full Employment Bill."

Mr. SMITH: "First of all 'full employment opportunities' does not mean that the bill assures that there never will be any unemployment. . . . Furthermore, the bill does not guarantee specific jobs. . . ."

THE CHAIRMAN (Rep. Manasco of Alabama): "Of course there are a lot of people thinking that, if this bill were to become law tomorrow, they would go to work the next day. There is nothing in the bill that would insure that; there is nothing that would insure them work, in this bill on the first of July next year?"

Mr. SMITH: "That is correct." It takes a lot to convince a Congressman, however, especially where the interests of Big Business are involved.

THE CHAIRMAN: "Do you think that this bill . . ."



of that it does not assure any specific job."

Manasco is a cagey politician. Perhaps a different tactic might bring out a hidden joker that would hurt Big Business. . . .

THE CHAIRMAN: "This bill does not authorize a single appropriation, does it?"

Mr. SMITH: "No, sir."

THE CHAIRMAN: "And it does not intend to, according to the proponents of the bill and the way I interpret the last page of it."

Mr. SMITH: "That is right."

Other members of the Committee likewise sniff the hot air pursuing the interests of Street. The examination

of the bill must be thorough!

Mr. BENDER (Rep. of Ohio): "If I understand the English language at all, I fail to see anything in the bill that indicates it means anything except possibly repetition of a lot of pious phrases. . . ."

Mr. JUDD (Rep. of Minnesota): ". . . If this bill, as you say in your testimony, does not solve the problem of unemployment, do you or do you not think that it is a little inaccurate, perhaps even a serious mistake, to call it the Full Employment bill. . . .?"

Mr. SMITH: "When you make a speech or when I make a speech we have problems with the title. . . ."

Mr. HENRY (Rep. of Wisconsin): "Well, then, do you believe that this bill should be passed regardless of its cost to the taxpayers?"

Mr. SMITH: "This bill will not cost the taxpayers anything."

When Big Business wants a "Full Employment Bill" containing nothing but hot air and pious phrases, these politicians make sure Big Business gets exactly what it ordered!

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

The Shabby Treatment of Disabled Veterans

"They said when we went away that when we came back nothing would be too good for us, and when we came back that was just what we got, NOTHING!" Thus spoke the veterans in 1919, after World War I. GI's are saying the same thing today, perhaps more bitterly after World War II.

The disabled veterans have the greatest cause for dissatisfaction, and, among them, those receiving about the rawest deal are the amputees.

A wounded veteran at the Thomas M. England General Hospital, the army's amputation center, complained with justifiable bitterness to Frederick Grube, writer for the "Philadelphia Record," that "a government which could spend \$2,000,000,000 for an atomic bomb has spent almost nothing for scientific research in artificial limbs."

A soldier who lost an arm in France and is undergoing treatment at England General Hospital stated that he heard constant complaints about the artificial limbs issued to the amputees. Soldiers say "they cause sores on stumps" and are "constantly in need of alterations."

He said amputees are so dissatisfied with the artificial limbs that without exception they say: "As soon as I get out and can make enough money to afford it, I'm going to buy a decent limb and throw this junk away!"

Summing up the boiling resentment of all amputees, Jimmy Wilson, a twenty-year-old soldier who lost all four limbs in a bomber crash and was made famous by a newspaper's drive to raise a fund for him, flatly refused "to go on the air with Major General Norman T. Kirk and tell the nation he was satisfied with or benefited by the artificial limbs supplied by the government," according to Ed Sullivan's column in the "N. Y. Daily News," September 26th.

The army is fitting 14,000 amputees with artificial limbs that are in all essential respects the same as those issued World War I veterans.

Veterans whose arms have been amputated are being equipped with hooks or with hands that are little more than useless dummies. They are fastened to the body with heavy leather harnesses which soon become soaked with perspiration.

Chief among the complaints against artificial legs issued by the army is that they are too heavy and cumbersome and so poorly constructed that they break down under everyday conditions. In addition, men say they are unsightly and inefficient.

Tactfully admitting the army's failure to adequately provide or even plan for these wounded men, General Kirk, Surgeon General of the army, recently announced the army's adoption of a program to "study" and "investigate" the possibilities of producing "more efficient and less obtrusive artificial limbs for handicapped war veterans."

Those familiar with brass hat red tape know it will be a long, long time before the men are benefited by any improvement. General Kirk implies that better artificial limbs have not been developed.

But the truth of the matter is that a new plastic arm and leg has been produced, according to the "Philadelphia Record," September 21, "which achieves lightness in weight without sacrificing strength."

In ease of operation, utility and appearance these new limbs are far superior to those issued by the army. However, army brass hats, in their complete disregard for and indifference to the needs of wounded soldiers, have not made even these modern improvements available to them.

The government's failure to provide for these men, who lost their limbs in a war to defend Wall Street's interests, serves to illustrate the measure of the swindle perpetrated on soldiers who were told of the "better world" they would return to. As far as the government is concerned the shabbiest treatment is good enough for men whose usefulness has been impaired.

Trial Reveals Thievery By Huge Food Monopoly

Short-changing, short-weighting and price-boosting are the brazenly crooked devices by which the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company plunders its customers, according to documentary evidence presented by the Department of Justice during the trial now going on against the A & P for violation of the anti-trust laws.

Most of the 4,445 exhibits used in evidence against the corporation were secured directly from the files of the A & P. These documents show the cynical and ruthless methods employed by the gigantic food monopoly to pile up its own profits, destroy competition and rob the people.

This scandalous thievery from A & P customers is given the fancy title of "stock gains." According to information now in the hands of the Justice Department and reported by Representative Wright Patman of Texas in the September 19 "Congressional Record," it is achieved as follows:

"Grocery items are billed to the retail stores by the warehouse at the retail price. No allowance is made for shrinkage, spoilage, waste, etc. Any sums secured on the sale of these items over and above the price billed by the warehouse are 'stock gains.' They are secured by such practices in the retail stores as short-weighting, short-changing, boosting of prices at the check-out counters."

The A & P in its court record tried to prove that the stores are operated with practically no profit except for what it makes on these "stock gains," allowances and other subsidiary profits. ("Allowances" are nothing more than illegal "kick-backs" from manufacturers, which, even after a "cease and desist" order from the Federal Trade Commission and upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court, netted the A & P \$6,400,000.)

The rigged-up books of the A & P showed that during 1938 they operated 4,374 stores at a net loss despite "stock gains." In one division alone, they tried to show as much as 40 per cent of the stores were operated in the red.

But the A & P is a capitalist monopoly — not a charitable institution. The government now has evidence to prove that in the 6-year period between 1935 and 1941 \$21,714,000 was stolen from A & P customers through these "stock gains" alone. In the one year of 1941, when the over-all A & P profits amounted to \$26,125,000, the extra plunder called "stock gains" amounted to \$1,953,000. Yet in the trial the A & P has the gall to claim that without "stock gains" and other swindles, its store operations in 1941 would have been conducted at a loss of \$4,199,547.

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.

False Leaders Hit In Letter To Jackson

Dear Comrade Jackson:

There are news items in today's Chicago newspapers in regard to the banning in Bridgeport, Conn., of a musical version of Uncle Tom's Cabin. This ban applied by Mayor Jasper McLevy was according to newspaper reports at the instigation of a CIO Council and the Communist Party.

The claim was that the play tended to degrade the Negro people. I have not seen this play and I don't know to what extent it is based on the book by Harriet Beecher Stowe. It is quite possible that there are lines and scenes in the play that neither conform to the text of the novel or to historical truth or to reality. Plays are written and produced in general to make money for the writer and producers and to give entertainment to the public who attends.

Very often in a class society, entertainment reflects the prejudices of the ruling class. This may be true of this play although it was certainly not true of the original novel which was written by a woman who desired to expose the evils of chattel slavery.

However, I want to point out the danger involved in a controversy of this nature. A great number of middle-class Negroes as well as whites object to anything showing the existence of present day or even past conditions of an unpleasant nature. Like Dr. Fangloss in Voltaire's Candide, they want a beautiful picture to be painted of the world around them. Mayor Ed Kelly of Chicago was so motivated in the banning of Tobacco Road in this city, and the Communist Party is so motivated when they do what little they can to discourage the sale of Richard Wright's "Black Boy."

Marxists differentiate themselves from these whitewash artists in that they realize the necessity of exposing at all times the evils that exist and on the basis of the willingness of the people to end these evils, provide a plan of action in that direction.

Where is this Pastor's Association and where is the Communist Party in the fight against the real conditions of oppression against the Negro in the United States and in the British Colonies? It is very convenient to periodically make the record by opposing a musical comedy which is only incidentally if at all pointed in a false direction. How much better it would be if these people had a part in a positive program to expose the real situation of discrimination and oppression and undertake to do something about it.

Certainly in opposing a musical comedy, no matter how biased it may be, they are only trying to excuse themselves before the masses of Negroes who are not primarily concerned with being presented in a false light by a road show, but are concerned with the questions that involve the vast majority; and those are segregation, joblessness, improper and inadequate housing, lack of opportunity to better themselves, lack of security, discrimination wherever they turn.

I think that no better example of inadequate and false leadership can be shown than that over eighty years after the ending of chattel slavery, the

religious and political leaders that stand at the head of organized Negro protest, can find nothing better to expose and protest against than a musical comedy.

F. J. Chicago, Ill.

It's The Rich Who Injure All

Dear Comrade Jackson: I truly do enjoy reading your truthful and brilliant message every week in The Militant. Everyone in my family enjoys reading it. The only thing I regret is that we don't have more men like you in our race.

Now, Mr. Jackson and all other comrades, the question I am asking is what have the Negroes ever done to the white man, to make him keep throwing bricks at us? We have never caused him to be hungry or naked or without jobs or any necessity of life. It seems to me that they should begin throwing bricks at the right fellow, and leave us alone.

As for the mixing of races, the white man started that, and he didn't start it here alone but everywhere he went. If it is such a bad thing why did he start it? And he certainly does it now. We know that's an individual matter and not for the cops.

We think it's time for the people to see who is really doing the harm. It's not the Negro but the rich man who causes him to die on the battle field, and then deprives him of any opportunity to earn a decent living.

W. J. Seattle, Wash.

Seaman Exposes Standard Oil's Sales to Hitler

The air thickened with the peculiar gasoline-refinery odor as I neared the gates to re-enter the plant grounds to board my ship that night. The Dutch guard scrutinized closely, checked the pass, and before long I was walking along Finger Way.

The ship docked just ahead of our held my attention: It was colorful, its superstructure was white, cowling green; and the three flags of a wide red horizontal band sandwiched between narrower yellow bands, shone brightly against the jet black hull. This was in sharp contrast to the monotonous gray of ships at war.

The name of the ship I've forgotten, but its home port, Malaga, painted on the stern, made me wonder. How did the state of Malaga fare in the Spanish civil war? What are the thoughts of the seamen aboard?

After changing into work clothes and making my rounds I decided to board the Spanish ship and talk with the seamen. I climbed the gangway, passed the Dutch guard, approached a group of deck-hands and we jabbered in Spanish. Soon we were on the way to the carpenter's room, some brandy was brought forth, and we talked a great deal.

Some of what I learned will be astounding to many people. To begin with, Spain was a neutral, yet the seamen on Spanish ships were absolutely forbidden to leave the ship, only one person on watch could go on the wharf to check the lines. And no one was allowed to board the Spanish ships. The authorities meant us not to know what the Spanish seamen could tell us.

Remember when not so long ago they used to drool, "And there'll always be a job for you—waiting for you when you get back." They've got a word for this kind of talk in the Navy, but you're running a respectable newspaper.

A Detroit Sailor F. P. O. San Francisco.

The crew told me the guard thought I was one of them boarding the ship after checking lines. (How I got off is another story).

It was February, 1945 and up until a few months previously the Spanish seamen were receiving the equivalent of \$700 bonus per month in addition to regular wages. No wonder \$700 bonus per man had been paid—they were getting aviation gasoline which went to Spain and from there to Hitler's forces. In other words, the Standard Oil Co. refinery at Aruba, the largest in the world, was processing gasoline at a fabulous profit for the American and German armies at the same time.

Standard Oil Co. pumped 80 octane gas into our ships destined for Italy, and used for moving trucks and men—including my brother—to the front lines. Standard Oil Co. pumped gasoline into the ship next to us for Hitler's army, keeping alive the flames that devoured the flower of German and American youth, including my brother.

Here is cold-blooded Finance Imperialism in the raw, shorn completely of the phony "patriotism" and "duty to your country" that these rotten corporations and their tools in Congress reserve for us, the working people.

It does me good now to see the oil workers striking out to get something back from the conscienceless, dirty, rotten, slimy, bastardly oil companies who have been having their day. I think of the tired old fellow working for Standard Oil Co. who was told he must work longer hours to make more gas for the boys over there. And thinking of his son and the other men's sons over there, he came through; but the poor old fellow, he didn't realize that the gluttonous Rockefeller and their cohorts were chucking at him.

Go to it, oil workers! Hit them in the solar plexus, their money bags—and avenge the deaths and sufferings of the boys who were over there.

Frank Riccio, Richmond, Calif.

One Job With A Postwar Prospect

I saw this sign posted on the bulletin of the ship's service at one of the air stations where I was visiting yesterday.

PERMANENT STATE EMPLOYMENT Beginning salary \$200 a month. A job with a future now and after the war. The California Department of Employment needs many examiners to help handle unemployment insurance claims.

The feather merchants that take these jobs will spend a lot of their time filling out claims for veterans. The number of vets of this war applying for claims rose from 1318 last week to 1558 this week. In the last 12 months of good job conditions 18,614 vets had to be paid compensation. And this is only the beginning.

Remember when not so long ago they used to drool, "And there'll always be a job for you—waiting for you when you get back." They've got a word for this kind of talk in the Navy, but you're running a respectable newspaper.

A Detroit Sailor F. P. O. San Francisco.

absolutely essential to guard workers' rights, and said that more is necessary—a political program. I asked him if he had ever heard of the Socialist Workers Party. He stopped me with an understanding smile:

"I'm 60 years old," he repeated. "I leave that fight to you younger ones. But remember that the war has opened a lot of people's eyes, and many of them are younger than I am. I think this war is going to lose the fight for the bosses."

I think he is right. D. S. New York

'Militant' Makeup Affects Sales On Newsstands

Editor: It has been my job for the past year and a half to deliver The Militant and Fourth International to five downtown newsstands in Los Angeles. During this time I have discovered a few things which might be of interest to you, and which might help you in boosting Militant sales.

I have learned that Militant sales for the newsstands that display the full page of The Militant are directly dependent upon the makeup of the headlines. For example, when the single large headline was used which ran clear across the first page, these stands would register an increase in sales of about five per cent over the headlines of two lines and smaller words.

However, I realize that you undoubtedly have your reasons for using this system, and that you probably have to use the large type for important events. But I think that too many words in the headlines cut down on the sales.

When the headline "THERE IS NO PEACE" was used, there was a sudden sharp increase in sales of about fifty per cent in all newsstands. When the two issues came out with double headlines, that is, with one headline over the masthead, there was an increase of about ten or fifteen per cent over the old system on all stands. I think double headlines would be the best to use all the time, and with the one extra large headline to be kept in reserve for important events.

In this week's issue, with one small headline entitled: Truman's Congressional Message Hailed By Agents Of Big Business, there was a sudden drop of at least sixty per cent in sale due to the fact that people would only read as far as: "Truman's Congressional Message Hailed," and would lose interest. I think this was a very bad slip-up as it sounds exactly like the pro-Truman capitalist press on a superficial reading, and also because our sales will probably not recover for two or three weeks because of the impression left.

Fraternally, B. P. Los Angeles

(Ed. Note: The present front page makeup of The Militant is designed to include at least one complete major headline and a picture or cartoon on the quarter-fold. This layout, we believe, will greatly facilitate the display of the paper on newsstands. A headline extending beyond the quarter-fold would, on the other hand, be unintelligible to the newsstand customer. Since newsstand sales have become a very important circulation medium for the paper, we feel compelled to pay close attention to the problem of effective newsstand display. However, we are equally conscious of the fact that adaptation of makeup to newsstand points cannot be carried to a point where display of the paper for sales at union meetings, factory gates, etc., would be seriously impaired. We appreciate Comrade B. P.'s comments on this question and shall study his suggestions most attentively. Further comment on this subject from other distributors and readers will be welcomed.)

Regulate War?—Or End Capitalism? Editor: I would like to reply to the letter signed Stephen Kraus in your September 22 issue.

I cannot agree with his statements... except one, that imperialism war is a violation of human decency, or, as he put it, of "human law," but I should like to point out that once upon a time there WERE laws of war and that these laws were framed in an earlier period of capitalism, when the present economic system possessed certain positive features, at least, when compared to the social systems that preceded it.

In this period, many progressive things were done, abolition of slavery, expansion of industrial production, etc., also a certain mitigation of the horrors of war, of which, in my opinion, the high point of progress was the declaration that CIVILIAN LIFE MUST BE RESPECTED by the armed forces of all nations. Now capitalism, in its declining period, is tearing to pieces the

American Soldier In Naples Sees Picture of Leon Trotsky

Editor: Perhaps you would be interested in the following paragraphs taken from a letter from a G.I. who has been in Italy for over two years.

"As I've told you before, if Italy can be judged as an example then all of Europe is leaning toward communism or at least more on the radical and labor's side. The trouble of course (as usual) is there are too many parties. Communists, Socialists, Laborites, Democrats, etc. But I think most of them are on the right track and the British and to me their elections brought out the biggest surprise of the year. Tho' it shouldn't have been because I talked to many Tommies and they unhesitatingly and frankly spoke against the money-men.

"But all this is leading me into something that should bring you some kicks—what? Just this! I was walking up the main drag of Naples about a week ago and on one of the many stone pillars near the American Red Cross theatre I saw a fairly large poster. Normally I don't look at Italian signs or posters unless they are old ones put up by the Nazis or fascists during their control and which the Allies had forgotten to take down, to compare their dirty propaganda about us to ours against them. This one caught my eye. The picture was very familiar—it was Trotsky.

"It wasn't an old poster but it was weather beaten and torn slightly in parts by the wind, rain, etc. I couldn't understand the Italian print but his name and strong face were as clear as a bell. It was the first time I had seen any mention of Trotsky in Italy. I don't believe their Party is strong—at least not outwardly. That may mean that the Trotskyists are taking advantage of the present situation since surely the Allies cannot condemn it as a Fascist organization. The poster was not torn down as it would have been if someone had objected vehemently. I believe in the next election Italy will go even more radical than England, unless...? DeGaulle should be out in France too, the bum."

F. B. Battle Creek, Mich.

QUESTION BOX

Q: How much has the U. S. gained in merchant shipping over Great Britain in recent years?

A: In July 1939, before the war, the U. S. had a merchant fleet of less than 12 millions gross tonnage. Today it has 55,500,000 deadweight tons, far more than the rest of the world combined. Before the war Britain had over 21 million gross tons in its merchant fleet. Today this has shrunk to 13 millions. It is interesting to compare these figures with the year 1929, peak prewar year of trade. Great Britain then carried 40 per cent of world shipping trade; the U. S. 5 per cent.

Q: Can you tell me how much the U. S. has spent in Lend Lease, and what it consisted of?

A: As of July 1, 1945, Lend Lease from the United States to foreign countries totaled \$42,021,000,000. Of this, \$28 billion represented munitions, fuel, metals, medicines and communication equipment, most of it used in the course of battle. Foodstuffs and other agricultural products amounted to \$6 billion. Machinery, tools and supplies amounted to about \$3,500,000,000.

Q: How much higher are food prices now than before the war?

A: As of June 1945, retail food prices were 51 per cent above the level of August 15, 1939. The over-all cost of living is the highest since 1921.

Belle Montague Cambridge, Mass.

P. S.: Also I would like to remind Mr. Kraus that wars are not always criminal... witness conflicts for abolition of slavery, revolutionary uprisings of workers, etc., and therefore I believe it to be incorrect to make such a declaration in the abstract. But the ruthless murder of the non-combatants is and must always be a crime...there is no evading this issue!

NEW YORK Socialist Workers Party STREET MEETINGS—FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12 From a Sound Truck Hear About the Trotskyist Candidates and Their Program Vote For: FARRELL DOBBS—Mayor of New York LOUISE SIMPSON—New York City Council Schedule: 12:00 Noon—Manhattan, 38th St. (between 7th and 8th Aves.) 6:30 p.m.—Brooklyn, N. W. cor. Atlantic and 4th Ave. 7:45 p.m.—Brooklyn, N. W. cor. Brevort Place and Bedford Ave. 8:25 p.m.—Bronx, 161st St. and Prospect Ave. 8:45 p.m.—Manhattan, 146th St. and Amsterdam Ave. 9:05 p.m.—Manhattan, 146th St. and 7th Ave. 9:25 p.m.—Manhattan, 110th St. and Lenox Ave. 9:45 p.m.—Manhattan, 126th St. and 7th Ave.

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1,000 Detroit Workers Picket Fascist Meeting... FASCISM... LEON TROTSKY... HALTS CLEVELAND Police Terror... Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place



September was a banner month, judging by the number of subscriptions turned in by our comrades and friends nationally 519 six-month and 100 one-year new readers were added to the ever growing ranks of the Militant Army. All sections of the country were heard from. However, the following locals represent the high scorers and special commendation is accorded to them: Flint, 103 six-month—4 one-year. Connecticut, 88 six-month—4 one-year. Pittsburgh, 34 six-month—13 one-year. St. Louis, 36 six-month—4 one-year. San Francisco, 27 six-month—3 one-year.

Pioneer Notes

Since the announced reduction in the price of James P. Cannon's "History of American Trotskyism," Pioneer has been flooded with orders from the Socialist Workers Party branches and from many outside sources. Several branches have reported that this book is especially attractive to new members and close sympathizers who find it an excellent introduction to the movement which they are entering.

Interest in Trotskyist literature generally, is shown as orders from book stores and dealers all over the country increase in volume. One book store in Hollywood, California, wrote us recently asking for copies of "The History of American Trotskyism" to be used for a window display. Dealers in New York and Boston have sent in sizeable orders. From Portland we hear: "We have been discussing the need for the comrades to read this book—'The History of American Trotskyism.' Everyone agreed that it is a must, especially for new members. One of our newest members bought a copy right away. We are slightly broke at the present moment or we would send in a large order. But we will order as fast as we can. We intend to really push the sale of this book. Giving the new members a Marxist education is a big job, but it must be done. Hope the other books will be cut in price as soon as it can be done."

Jerry Kirk of Flint reports that this interesting incident: "One of our readers who is the chairman of a shop committee wrote a letter in to The Militant which was published in the Workers' Forum. He posted the display in the locker room of the plant. When the workers saw it they asked where it had been published. As a result he obtained five one year subscriptions; and he is now after more."

J. Steward of New York, a new subscriber writes: "After reading A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow, I am very much interested in reading Charles Jackson's fighting column in The Militant, so am herewith enclosing my money for a subscription."

Sandy Robertson reported the following demonstration: "Comrades of the New York Trotskyist Youth Group distributed 1,800 copies of The Militant in a few hours on a crowded street in Harlem. Not one copy of The Militant was thrown away; one copy which was dropped by a distributor was picked off the street by a young worker. "A great many people who were offered The Militant were already subscribers to the paper. It was these people who were most enthusiastic, many of them asking for more information about the Socialist Workers Party. "A sympathizer of the Youth Group who participated in the mobilization was so impressed by the inspiring reception given our program by the Negro people that he immediately contacted the group, saying: 'After seeing this today, I feel I would be willing to live outside the movement.'"

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM, by James P. Cannon. New low prices. Cloth bound, \$2.00, paper \$1.00. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Our 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! Establish the workers' and farmers' government! Build the independent labor party!
- 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

SWP Set For Action In "Militant" Drive

By Justine Lang Campaign Director

Enthusiastic acceptance of quotas and a "rarin' to go" spirit permeate the responses received from the Socialist Workers Party branches nationally in the new subscription drive for 10,000 new readers of *The Militant*. This will be an intensified six-week drive commencing with a National Red Sunday mobilization on October 14, and concluding on November 25. Pittsburgh adds this plan of

action to its quota acceptance: "We accept the quota of 100 subs with the conviction that we can surpass it. We have selected six points to work in, planning a week's concentration in each. We are going to use the 'Jobs for All' Red Sunday Mobilization to lay a base for sub work in Hazelwood. We will leave a copy of the paper with each person to whom we sell a pamphlet, and will promise to return in a couple of weeks." St. Paul writes: "Of course we plan to get more than 100 subs—

but this will be a start. Send us another 100 sub cards." Many branches inform us they plan to involve present readers of *The Militant* in this new campaign. Judging from the many subscriptions that have come in from friends of present readers,

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*

It should be an easy task to get our friends' and sympathizers' aid in our new campaign.

WIRE RESULTS

After the initial mobilizations next Sunday, branches are requested to wire in their results Sunday evening for publication in *The Militant*.

Socialist competition will be a feature of the campaign and challenges are expected to fly fast and furious.

Our hardworking technical staff, consisting of Naomi Kane, Mill Adams, and Sara Ross are geared for action. New machinery has been installed, and we're prepared for a bang-up, fast moving campaign to spread *The Militant* to 10,000 new readers.

Guerin Article On Fascism Featured In September F.I.

A timely and important article by Daniel Guerin, author of "Fascism and Big Business," is featured in the September issue of *Fourth International*, just off the press. Written in March 1945 as the preface to a forthcoming French edition of this work, it brings up to date Guerin's evaluation of fascism begun in 1934, "while the phenomenon of fascism was still in the full course of development (above all in Germany)."

Guerin reaffirms his fundamental analysis of the essential nature of fascism. "Rereading it, 'Fascism and Big Business,'" he states, "we are impressed with the fact that its real subject is socialism much more than it is fascism. For what is fascism, at bottom, but the direct product of the failure to achieve socialism?"

ARTICLE BY TROTSKY

An article by Leon Trotsky on "Nationalism and Economic Life," written in 1934 for *Foreign Affairs*, authoritative political quarterly of the American capitalists, and published in this issue of the *Fourth International*, is just as timely today as it was eleven years ago. Trotsky points out how catastrophic is the world attempt in this epoch to force world

economies into outmoded national frameworks and how such attempts are accompanied by fascism. "Decadent fascist nationalism, preparing volcanic explosions and grandiose clashes in the world arena, bears nothing except ruin," Trotsky prophesied with remarkable insight eleven years ago. Other features of the current *Fourth International* include an article on "The Big Three at Potsdam," by William F. Ward, in which is clarified the counter-revolutionary role of these enslavers of the working masses. An article on the atomic bomb by William Wallis defines the chemical properties contained within this most recent destructive weapon of the capitalist class.

REPORT FROM INDIA

In "The Wavell Plan—A New Form of Old Slavery," Comrade K. Tilak, one of the Indian Trotskyist leaders, analyzes the moving forces on the Indian political scene.

Reports on the Trotskyist movement in other countries, and the editorial "Review of the Month" round out the highly informative and educational contents of the September issue of *Fourth International*.

EVEN TENTS IN PARK DENIED HOMELESS VETS

NEW YORK — Deluged by a waiting list of 5,000 veterans and their families desperately in need of housing, and with new hundreds jamming her offices every day, Mrs. Herbert L. Carlsbach, chairman of the housing division of the Officers Service Committee here, last week made an offer to 100 of these veterans: "If I had tents to pitch in Central Park, would you live in them?" she asked. Every veteran said he would. One remarked: "It's cleaner than a foxhole." Another added, "It's better than Okinawa." One woman, who expects a baby in five weeks and whose husband is now on his way to Okinawa, declared: "I'll live in a tent!"

So Mrs. Carlsbach picked up the telephone and called an Army and Navy store and ordered 25 second-hand pup tents at \$3.98 a tent. "Doesn't matter what the tents are—pyramidal or pup," said Capt. Monroe Sills, wearing four battle stars. Mrs. Carlsbach did have three apartments available. One, furnished, was \$300 a month. Two, unfurnished, rented for \$8,500 a year. The veterans had to take the pup tents.

DENIED EVEN THE PARK Park Commissioner Moses, however, hastily vetoed the use of the park "for such purposes."



Mrs. Carlsbach apologized: "The tents are out because it's a question of wives and families." Besides, she belatedly pointed out: "New York climate is not conducive to sleeping in the park." Behind this scandalous and needless housing crisis lurk the profit-seeking real estate wolves, now baring their fangs in earnest. On October 4 the National Association of Real Estate Boards, with a powerful pressure lobby in Washington, threatened a "sitdown strike" on all housing construction unless governmental rent controls were lifted. Their intent is to force up rents by deliberately maintaining a housing shortage.

In their hurry to boost rents and pile up profits, the big landlords are engaged in an "all-out offensive" against the OPA. They demand that the Price Control Act be wiped out at the very latest when it expires next June, and that no other rent controls be instituted in its place.

Vote Trotskyist! for DOBBS & SIMPSON in the Coming N. Y. ELECTIONS

Workers In Three Ohio Cities To Hear J. G. Wright This Week

On his coast-to-coast tour, John G. Wright, associate editor of *The Militant* and *Fourth International*, is speaking this week in the Ohio area, after meetings held in New York state at Rochester and Buffalo.

Lecturing on the subject of "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers," Comrade Wright will this week cover Youngstown, Akron and Cleveland where the audiences will include mainly workers in steel, rubber, auto and other mass production industries. A leading feature of these meetings is the Question and Answer period following the lecture, when members of the audience are invited to present questions to be answered by the speaker. Next week Comrade Wright will continue the Michigan-Ohio leg of his tour, with meetings to be held in Toledo, Ohio, and Flint and Detroit, Michigan.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
CLEVELAND	Saturday to Monday, Oct. 13-15
TOLEDO	Tuesday to Thursday, Oct. 16-18
DETROIT	Friday to Sunday, Oct. 19-21
FLINT	Wednesday, October 24
CHICAGO	Friday to Wednesday, Oct. 26-31
MILWAUKEE	Thursday, Friday, Nov. 1-2
TWIN CITIES	Monday to Friday, Nov. 5-9
SEATTLE	Tuesday to Friday, Nov. 13-16
PORTLAND	Sunday to Tuesday, Nov. 18-20
SAN FRANCISCO	Friday to Monday, Nov. 23-26
LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO	Thurs., Nov. 29 to Wed., Dec. 5
KANSAS CITY	Monday, Tuesday, Dec. 10-11
ST. LOUIS	Thursday, Friday, Dec. 13-14
PITTSBURGH	Sunday to Tuesday, Dec. 16-18

For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

Preis Pamphlet Sale Totals 2,689 In Day

With returns still incomplete, telegrams from 18 branches of the Socialist Workers Party report the highly successful sale of 2,689 copies of the new Pioneer Publishers pamphlet *JOBS FOR ALL!* on the October 7 National Red Sunday Mobilization. From the far west Los Angeles reports the sale of 347 pamphlets; San Francisco 175; Portland 41; Seattle 60. In the east, New York reports 223 pamphlets sold; Newark 110; Pittsburgh 66; Boston 140; Philadelphia 254; Buffalo 225. The branches in the middle-west report the following sales: Toledo 198; Akron 51; Detroit 108; Chicago 325; Milwaukee 20; Minneapolis 267; St. Paul 70.

Pittsburgh where, as in many other cities, the pamphlets were sold door to door, they report: "We left *MILITANTS* at each place as a base for our coming subscription campaign."

The report from Minneapolis contained the enthusiastic comment that the "campaign method opens great vistas for the sale of all Pioneer pamphlets... our comrades are waiting for the next one!"

Art Preis, labor editor of *The Militant*, is the author of the pamphlet *JOBS FOR ALL!*

Buy THE MILITANT AT THE FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND Opposite the Theatre

EXCELLENT RESPONSE Most of the branches reported an excellent response. Average individual sales were high. In

Hear JOHN G. WRIGHT Associate Editor of "The Militant" and 4th International speak on "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers"

CLEVELAND Sunday, Oct. 14, 8 p.m. Carnegie Bldg., 1220 Huron Road (off Euclid) Room 914.

FLINT Wednesday, Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m., YWCA, E. First St. & Harrison.

TOLEDO Wednesday, Oct. 17, 8 p.m., Roi Davis Bldg., Room 304, 905 Jefferson Ave.

DETROIT Tuesday, Oct. 23, 8 p.m., 12 Horsemen's Civic Center, Erskine at John R.

Chicago MILITANT LABOR SCHOOL

4 Eight Week Courses Oct. 18—Dec. 7

THURSDAYS: Marxian Theoretical System W. Simmons—7:30 p.m. Public Speaking J. Rosen—8:50 p.m.	FRIDAYS: Fundamentals of Socialism M. Bartel—7:30 p.m. Marxist Classics A. Goldman—8:50 p.m.
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Register from Oct. 1 to Oct. 18 Tuition: \$1 for each 8-week course 160 N. Wells St., Room 317

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

TROTSKYIST ROLE IN MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES

The success of this debate set the stage for a series of lectures on the program of the *Fourth International*. Illustrative of the upsurge of our movement was the fact that we had to get a bigger hall for the lectures than we had used before. We had to move to Irving Plaza. The audiences at lectures were three or four times bigger than we had been accustomed to in the five years of our worst isolation.

Trotskyism was putting itself on the political map in those days and was striking hard, full of confidence. "The Militant" of March and April 1934 reports a national tour by Shachtman, extending for the first time all the way to the West Coast. His subject was: "The New Party and the New International." On March 31, 1934, the whole front page of "The Militant" was devoted to a Manifesto of the International Communist League (the world Trotskyist organization) addressed to the revolutionary socialist parties and groups of both hemispheres, calling upon them to rally to the call for a new International against the bankrupt Second and Third Internationals.

Trotskyism on a world scale was on the march. We in the United States were in step. In truth, we were at the head of the procession of our international organization, taking advantage of every opportunity and confidently advancing on all fronts. And when our really great opportunity came in the trade union movement, in the great Minneapolis strikes of May and of July-August 1934, we were fully ready to show what we could do, and we did it.

Awakening of American Workers The year 1933, the fourth year of the great American crisis, marked the beginning of the greatest awakening of the American workers and their movement towards union organization on a scale never seen before in American history. That was the background of all the developments within the various political parties, groups and tendencies. This movement of the American workers took the form of a tremendous drive to break out of their atomized state and to confront the employers with the organized force of unionism.

This great movement developed in waves. The first year of the Roosevelt administration saw the first strike wave of considerable magnitude yield but scanty results in the way of organization because it lacked sufficient drive and adequate leadership. In most cases the efforts of the workers were frustrated by governmental "mediation" on one side and brutal suppression on the other.

The second great wave of strikes and organization movements took place in 1934. This was followed by a still more powerful movement in 1936-37, of which the high points were the sit-down strikes in the auto and rubber factories and the tremendous upsurge of the CIO.

Our lecture tonight deals with the strike wave of 1934 as represented in the Minneapolis strikes. There, for the first time, the effective participation of a revolutionary Marxist group in actual strike organization and direction was demonstrated. The basis of these strike waves and organization movements was a partial industrial revival.

This has been mentioned before and must be repeated again and again. In the depths of the depression, when unemployment was so vast, the workers had lost their self-confidence and feared to make any move under the ominous threat of unemployment. But with the revival of industry, the workers gained new confidence in themselves and began a movement to wrest back some of those things which had been taken away from them in the depths of the depression. The ground for the mass activity of the Trotskyist movement in America was, of course, laid by the action of the masses themselves. In the spring of 1934 the country had been electrified by the Auto-Lite strike in Toledo in which some new methods and new techniques of militant struggle had been introduced.

A political, or at least semi-political grouping, represented by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which had set up the Provisional Committee for the formation of the American Workers Party, had led this tremendously significant strike in Toledo through the medium of their Unemployed League. There was shown for the first time what a great role can be played in the struggles of industrial workers by an unemployed organization

led by militant elements. The unemployed organization in Toledo, which had been formed and was under the leadership of the Mustelie group, practically took over the leadership of this Auto-Lite strike and raised it to a level of mass picketing and militancy far beyond the bounds ever contemplated by the old line craft union bureaucrats.

The Minneapolis strikes raised the level even higher. If we measure by all standards, including the decisive criterion of political direction and the maximum exploitation of every possibility inherent in a strike, we must say that the high point of the 1934 wave was the strike of the Minneapolis drivers, helpers and inside-workers in May, and its repetition on a still higher scale in July-August 1934. These strikes put American Trotskyism to a crucial test.

For five years we had been a voice crying in the wilderness, confining ourselves to criticism of the Communist Party, to the elucidation of what appeared to be the most abstract theoretical questions. More than once we had been accused of being nothing but sectarians and hairsplitters. Now, with this opportunity presented in Minneapolis to participate in the mass movement, American Trotskyism was put square to the test. It had to demonstrate in action whether it was indeed a movement of good-for-nothing sectarian hairsplitters, or a dynamic political force capable of participating effectively in the mass movement of the workers.

We Organize the Truckdrivers

Our comrades in Minneapolis began their work first in the coal yards, and later extended their organizing campaign among the general drivers and helpers. That was not a pre-conceived plan worked out in the general staff of our movement. The drivers of Minneapolis were not by far the most decisive section of the American proletariat. We began our real activity in the labor movement in those places where the opportunity was open to us. It is not possible to select such occasions arbitrarily according to whim or preference. One must enter into the mass movement where a door is open. A chain of circumstances made Minneapolis the focal point of our first great endeavors and successes in the trade union field. We had in Minneapolis a group of old and tested Communists who were at the same time experienced trade unionists. They were well-known men, rooted in the locality. During the depression they worked together in the coal yards. When the opportunity opened up to organize the yards they seized it and quickly demonstrated their capacities in the successful three-day strike. Then the extension of organizing work to the trucking industry generally followed as a matter of course.

Minneapolis wasn't the easiest nut to crack. In fact it was one of the hardest in the country; Minneapolis was a notorious open-shop town. For fifteen or twenty years the Citizens Alliance, an organization of hard-boiled employers, had ruled Minneapolis with an iron hand. Not a single strike of any consequence had been successful in those years. Even the building trades, perhaps the most stable and effective of all the craft unions, were kept on the run in Minneapolis and driven off the most important construction jobs. It was a town of lost strikes, open shops, miserably low wages, murderous hours, and a weak and ineffectual craft-union movement.

The coal strike, mentioned in our discussion last week, was a preliminary skirmish before the great battles to come. The smashing victory of that strike, its militancy, its good organization and its quick success, stimulated the general organization of the truck-drivers and helpers, who up to that time and throughout the years of the depression, had been cruelly exploited and without benefit of organization. True, there was a union in the industry, but it was holding on to the ragged edge of nothing. There was only a small handful of members with some poor kind of contract with one or two transfer companies—no real organization of the mass of truck drivers and helpers in the town.

The success of the coal strike uplifted the workers in the trucking industry. They were tinder for the spark; their wages were too low and their hours too long. Freed for so many years from any union restraints, the profit-hungry bosses had gone too far—the bosses always go too far—and the ground-down workers heard the union message gladly.

Our trade union work in Minneapolis, from beginning to end,

was a politically directed campaign. The tactics were guided by the general policy, hammered home persistently by the *Militant*, which called on the revolutionists to enter into the main stream of the labor movement represented by the American Federation of Labor.

It was our deliberate course to go along the organizational line the masses were travelling, not to set up any artificially constructed unions of our own in contradiction to the impulse of the masses to go into the established trade union movement. For five years we had waged a determined battle against the ultra-left dogma of "Red Unions," such unions set up artificially by the Communist Party were boycotted by the workers, thus isolating the vanguard elements.

The mass of the workers, groping for organization, had a sound instinct. They sensed the need of help. They wanted to be in contact with other organized workers, not off on a sideline with some howling radicals. It is an unfulfilling phenomenon: The helpless, unorganized mass in industry have an exaggerated respect for established unions, no matter how conservative, how reactionary, these unions may be. The workers fear isolation.

Trade Union Bureaucrats Fear the Trotskyists

In that respect they are wiser than all the sectarians and dogmatists who have tried to prescribe for them the exact detailed form of a perfect union. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, they had a strong impulse to get in with the official movement, hoping for its assistance in the fight against the bosses who had made life pretty tough for them. Following the general trend of the workers, we also realized that if we were to make the best of our opportunities, we should not put unnecessary difficulties in our path. We should not waste time and energy trying to sell the workers a new scheme of organization they did not want. It was far better to adapt ourselves to their trend, and also to exploit the possibilities of getting assistance from the existing official labor movement.

It wasn't so easy for our people to enter the American Federation of Labor in Minneapolis. They were marked men who had been doubly expelled, doubly damned. In the course of their struggles they had been thrown not only out of the Communist Party, but also the American Federation of Labor. During the "Red Purge" of 1926-27, at the height of the reaction in the American labor movement, practically all of our comrades who had been active in the trade unions in Minneapolis had been expelled. A year later, to make their isolation complete, they were expelled from the Communist Party.

But the pressure of the workers toward organization was stronger than the decrees of trade union bureaucrats. It had been demonstrated that our comrades had the confidence of the workers and had the plans whereby they could be organized. The pitiful weakness of the union movement in Minneapolis, and the feeling of the members of the craft unions that some new life was needed—all this worked in favor of our people making their way back into the American Federation of Labor through the Teamsters Union. In addition, there was the fortuitous circumstance, a lucky accident, that at the head of local 574 and the Teamsters Joint Council in Minneapolis was a militant unionist named Bill Brown. He had a sound class instinct, and he was strongly attracted by the idea of getting the cooperation of some people who knew how to organize the workers and give the bosses a real fight. That was a fortunate circumstance for us, but such things do happen now and then. And when an accident comes your way—a good one—you should grab it and make the most of it.

We certainly made the most of this accident, the circumstance that the President of Teamsters Local 574 was that wonderful character, Bill Brown, who held open the door of the union to the "new men" who knew how to organize the workers and lead them in battle. But our comrades were new members in this union. They weren't in there long enough to be officers; they were just members when the fight began to pop. So not a single one of our people—that is, members of the Trotskyist group—was an official of the union during the three strikes. But they organized and led the strikes just the same. They were constituted as an "Organizing Committee," a sort of extra-legal body set up for the purpose of directing the organization campaign and leading the strikes.

(To Be Continued)

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the preparation for mass work.

As you know, and as it will be related in the subsequent lectures, this approach and these negotiations eventually culminated in a fusion of the AWP and the Communist League, and the launching of a united political party. This was done not without political efforts and not without overcoming difficulties and obstructions. When you stop to think that in the leadership of the American Workers Party at that time were such people as Ludwig Lore, who is one of the chief jingoists in the democratic front today, and that another was such a man as J. B. Salutsky-Hardman, you can readily understand that our task was not easy. Salutsky, the literary lackey of Sidney Hillman and editor of the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, well knew who the Trotskyists were and wanted no truck with them. His role in the American Workers Party was precisely to prevent it from developing into anything more than a plaything; to prevent its developing in a revolutionary direction; above all, to keep it free from any contact with the Trotskyists who mean business when they talk about a revolutionary program. In spite of them, the negotiations began.

We were active on other sectors of the political front. On March 5, 1934 was held the historic debate between Lovestone and myself in Irving Plaza. After five years, the representatives of the two warring tendencies in the Communist movement met and crossed swords again. The score was evening up. They had begun by expelling us from the Communist Party as Trotskyists, as "counter-revolutionists." Then, after their own expulsion, they deprecated us as a little sect with no membership and influence, while they had a comparatively big movement to begin with. But, in those five years, we had been gradually cutting them down to our size. We were growing, becoming stronger; they were declining. There was quite a wide interest in our proposal for a new party, and the Lovestone organization was not free from it.

Call For a New International

As a result the Lovestoneites found it necessary to accept our invitation for a debate on the subject. "Strike out for a new party and a new International"—that was my program in the debate. Lovestone's program was: "Reform and Unify the Communist International." This was nearly a year after the German debacle. Lovestone still wanted to reform the Communist International, and not only to reform it but to unify it. How? By first having the Lovestoneites taken back in. Then we, the Trotskyists, who had been so unceremoniously kicked out, should be readmitted. The same on an international scale. But by that time we had turned our backs on the bankrupt Comintern. Too much water had passed over the mill, too many mistakes had been made, too many crimes and betrayals had been committed, too much blood had been spilled by the Stalinist International. We called for a new International with a clean banner. I debated from that point of view. That debate was a tremendous success for us.

There was widespread interest and we had a large audience. "The Militant" reports that there were 1,500 people, and I think there must have been very close to that many. It was the biggest audience that we had ever spoken to on a political issue since our expulsion. It was something like old times to be fighting once again before a real audience with an old antagonist, although now the struggle took place on a far different, on a higher plane. In the audience, in addition to the members and adherents of the two organizations represented by the debaters, were many left-wing Socialists and Ypsels, some Stalinists and a good many independent radicals and members of the American Workers Party. It was a critical occasion. Many people, breaking with the Stalinists, were wavering between the Lovestoneites and the Trotskyists at that time. Our slogan of the new party and the new International was more in accord with reality and necessity, and it gained the sympathy of the great majority of those who were turning away from Stalinism. Our program was so much more compelling, so much more realistic, that we swung practically all the wavering elements to our side. The Lovestoneites could not make much progress with their outmoded program of "unifying" the bankrupt Comintern after the German betrayal.

N. Y. Trotskyists Back Ben Davis As Second Choice For City Council

(Continued from Page 1) inevitably betray the struggle of the Negro masses for equality. Benjamin J. Davis appears on the ballot as a candidate of the Communist Party. He was first nominated and then publicly repudiated by the corrupt Tammany machine. He is running as an independent candidate despite his readiness to be the candidate of the Democratic Party of New York City. His willingness to accept the nomination of the Democratic party which includes among its leaders the bitterest enemies of the Negro people, shows that Davis cannot be relied upon to conduct any militant and uncompromising fight in the interests of the Negro masses.

"His policy of collaborating with the agents of Wall Street is part and parcel of the treacherous policies of the American Communist Party. The Stalinist Party, of which Davis is a national officer, functions as a servile tool of the reactionary foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union. During the war the Stalinists urged the Negro people to subordinate and sacrifice their struggle for the sake of supporting Wall Street's war. They echoed the capitalist propaganda that the imperialist war would bring "democracy" and "the four freedoms" to the oppressed peoples of the world, especially the Negroes in the United States.

because he and his party have anything in common with real Communism, but solely because he is a Negro candidate on the ticket of a working class party. The method of proportional representation governing the councilmanic elections permits the voters to indicate their order of preference opposite the names of the various candidates. "For City Council vote for Louise Simpson Number 1, Benjamin J. Davis, Number 2."

Simpson Scores Anti-Negro Role Of Big Business

NEW YORK. — "The recent outbreak of violence against Negro students and workers stems from the union-busting campaign of Big Business and its stooges in government," declared Louise Simpson, young Negro trade unionist and Trotskyist candidate for New York City council. "The fountainhead of race hatred," Comrade Simpson added, "is in the very heart of the nation's capital. From the Halls of Congress there has been spewed forth a venomous stream of incitement against minority groups in general and Negro people in particular.

SPREADING HATE "Bilbo, Rankin, Eastland and their cronies have used Congress as a forum to spread the most vicious and provocative type of anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, anti-labor hate propaganda. "To successfully combat the 'divide and rule' tactics of Big Business and its political agents," Comrade Simpson concluded, "the unions must take the initiative in the formation of a genuine independent labor party, that would unite the Negro masses and other minority groups in a 'war for survival' against their capitalist enemies."

HOW SUB CAMPAIGNS MIRROR SWP GROWTH

In launching the October 14-Militant subscription campaign it is instructive and stimulating to review some of our past campaigns through which we can observe the steady growth of the Socialist Workers Party. Eleven years ago when, as the Communist League of America, we first took the road of an independent party, The Militant "cleared the decks" for a sub campaign in January, 1934. A goal of 1,000 new readers was set "for a limited time" on a special offer of 25 cents for six months. Two and a half months later we went "over the top" with 1,014 subs.

These were the days when our comrades were leading the great strike struggles of the Minneapolis truckdrivers. Minneapolis challenged New York and triumphed with 404 subs and New York's 128. It wasn't until ten years later that New York "got even."

MINNEAPOLIS LABOR CASE In 1941 we launched another big campaign to see how many combination subscriptions to The Militant we could get in two months' time. Eight issues of The Militant and two of the Fourth International were offered at the special price of 50 cents.

This was the period when the government was preparing for American entry into the Second World War. In the summer of 1941 came the FBI raids upon the Twin Cities headquarters of the Trotskyists and the arrests and convictions of our comrades in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case. This campaign wound up with 798 new combination subscriptions.

Two years later, the Roosevelt administration, in its wartime witch-hunt against revolutionary socialist ideas, cancelled The Militant's second class mailing rights. We found this violation of freedom of the press so vigorously that the Post Office Department was compelled to restore our rights in March, 1944.

THREE-MONTH DRIVE One week after this victory, we launched a three month subscription campaign offering a special price of 25 cents for 13 issues. The branches entered into spirited competition with each other. N. Y. West Side local made up for New York's earlier defeat by

challenging Minneapolis and winning with 825 subs to 253 for Minneapolis. In fact, West Side led every other branch in the country. The party averaged 662 subs a week and rolled up the grand total of 7,614 subs—more than twice its goal of 3,000. And we achieved this splendid score despite the fact that 18 of our leading comrades were imprisoned in Roosevelt's jails.

RED SUNDAYS Coinciding with the release of our 18 comrades from prison, we launched a three months campaign for 10,000 new readers, beginning February 25, 1945. We offered 26 weekly issues at the reduced price of 25 cents. The drive began and ended with National Red Sunday mobilizations. The first Red Sunday brought in 1,526 subs; the last 3,430. Every branch went well over 100 per cent of quota. And a smashing total of 22,437 subs—more than double the goal—was rolled up in this campaign!

Youngstown challenged Cleveland and won with 901 subs over 807. Philadelphia challenged Bayonne and won with 285 subs over 182. Akron challenged all the other branches to achieve 500 per cent of their quota, asking cockily: "Are there any takers?" At the close, this branch led all the others with 692 per cent. Which branch is going to outpace Akron in the coming campaign? Among the individual pace-setters, the N. Y. Trotskyist Youth Group put 16 year old Ruth Grayson forward for national Youth singles champion. Ruth rolled up an impressive total of 150 subs. But L. Leo of Los Angeles came from behind to win with 185 subs. Mike Warren, West Side, N. Y., was top-man in the Senior singles with 859 subs. Jerry Kirk of Detroit came in second with 415.

TRAIL-BLAZERS Eloise Black and Rudy Rhodes, the pioneer Militant Trail-Blazers, set the pace for their trail-blazing successors. In Allentown, Bethlehem, Pittsburgh and Rochester, they garnered 899 subs.

The past two campaigns, so successful despite wartime repressions, are an indication of what can be expected from our present Militant drive which takes place in a period when workers throughout the country are on the march.

CIO Red Caps Raise Demands For Higher Pay

Special to THE MILITANT CHICAGO, Oct. 2.—Redcaps, dining-car and Pullman laundry workers today demanded a 50 per cent wage increase to adjust widespread wage inequalities among these low paid workers. The CIO United Transport Services Employees, to which the workers belong, sent a notice to more than 60 railroad companies asking that they set a date not later than October 30 for initial conferences to open negotiations on the wage demands.

In addition to asking for the adjustment of wage inequalities, the union made a demand for a 15 cents an hour increase above the adjustment rates to offset the rise in the cost of living. By adjusting wage inequalities the union seeks to increase the present hourly wage rates from 57 cents to a minimum of 85 cents. The UTSEA-CIO is also demanding a reduction of hours for dining car workers from 240 hours per month to 160—a 40 hour week—with no reduction in take-home pay.

Willard S. Townsend, president of the UTSEA-CIO, in announcing the new wage demands declared that the "major areas of wage inequalities in the railroad industry exist among the low-paid service employees, which included redcaps, dining car employees and Pullman employees. Today there is no real economic justification for this condition.

"The maintenance of static wage rates in the face of the tremendous rise in the cost of living during the war has virtually pauperized large areas of railroad service employment. The present basic minimum wage rate of 57 cents per hour does not half way assure decent living standards. . . . the best cure for this condition is a drastic revision of the basic wage structure of the industry."

Trotskyist Runs For Office In British Election

The British Trotskyists are running Herbert Bell for office in the Wallend Ward election at Newcastle, according to the September Socialist Appeal, official organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British Section of the Fourth International.

Comrade Bell, declares the Socialist Appeal, "played a primary role in the building of the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party, in several areas being the founding member. He was one of the first Labor Councilors at Newbiggin. At Scarborough in 1920 he was Labor Party agent and increased the vote from 800 to 7,600.

"Today he is a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party in the North East. Having lived and suffered on Tyneside as a worker between the two world wars he is familiar with the problems of the Tyneside workers."

ADVANCE OWN PROGRAM In their first election leaflet the Newcastle Trotskyists declare that although they took active part in the fight for a Labor Government, they do not "believe that the Labor Party program is, or ever can be adequate to solve the major crises which lie ahead, and while we wholeheartedly support every action against the capitalist system which the Labor Party takes, we will at every stage advance our own independent program."

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Capitalist Legislation Fosters Race Ghettos

By Jean Simons (The Second of Two Articles) Any history of the drive to force Negroes into hell-holes like those which segregated Jewish people in Europe, gives the lie to what capitalist politicians say about their wars.

Established nationally during the First World War "for democracy" the drive to shove Negroes into ghettos has grown by leaps and bounds during the Second World War "against fascism."

As we pointed out last week, the capitalist politicians got around the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution by legal trickery. Using the old howl about "individual" rights they "illegally" decided that while all individuals are equal under State law, individuals can discriminate against whom they please.

If you can't follow the reasoning, don't worry about it — it's tops in hypocrisy. By the Second World War, many States had established segregation "laws" that varied only in detail. **STATE LAWS** In Alabama, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia, it is "legal" to bar Negroes from buying or leasing property in "white" areas. In California, Virginia and Ohio it is "illegal" to bar them from buying property in a restricted area but "legal" to bar them from living on their property once they have bought it.

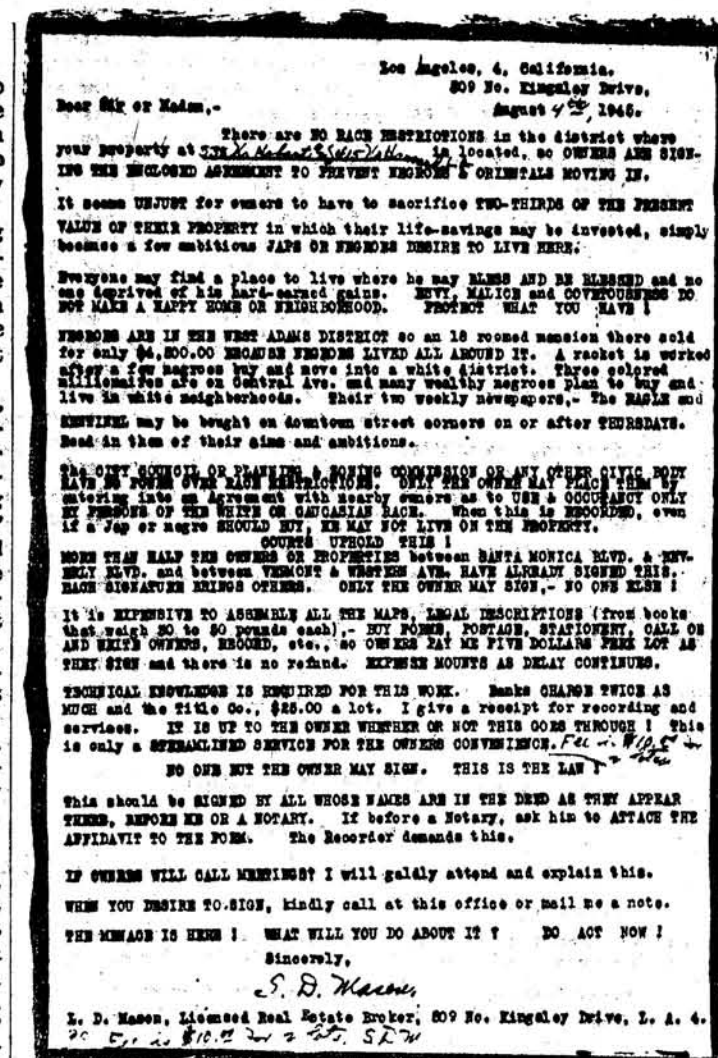
There is also some variation in the wording of the restrictive clauses. In most states "Negroes" or "persons of African descent" are specifically barred, but in California covenants restrict use of such property to "Caucasians" in order to bar other races as well as Negroes. The first restrictive covenant suit in California (1892) involved a Chinese. In Los Angeles in June 1945, Judge Myron Westover ruled that property restricted to use by Caucasians is barred to American Indians.

A most far-reaching restriction is one in an area near Fresno, California, which bars "any Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Armenian, Asiatic, or native of the Turkish Empire, or descendant of above named persons."

All these restrictive clauses add up to one thing: Ghettos. But the colored people aren't just "taking it."

Centered in Los Angeles where conditions are particularly vicious, the legal fight against race restriction has been conducted with energy and devotion by capable Negro attorneys.

That is important, but it's not enough. Trying to wipe out ghettos by winning a few victories



The above is a sample of the propaganda fostered by Jim Crow advocates in their drive to establish walled-off ghettos in America for the colored people. See accompanying story.

in the packed courts is as futile as trying to clean up a cesspool with a pound of salt. Any successful fight against the Jim Crow restrictions must go beyond the arena of "legal" suits. It must call upon working class solidarity to break the restrictive residential "race" clauses by refusing to observe them. It must call for a Labor Party which will kick out capitalist politicians and put in office working class representatives sworn to abolish ghettos.

Midwest Vacation School Inspires Stirring Report

By William F. Warde Approaching the Midwest School and Camp for the first time, some comrades may have wondered whether it would equal their expectations. The first sight of the camp buildings on the wooded rise overlooking the blue waters of Little Pleasant Lake sixty miles from Detroit was reassuring. Then came the warm greetings, the eager questions from the staff and the previously-arrived guests. And by the time the genial manager, Oscar Coover, with his omnipresent pipe, had checked you in and assigned you a room, you felt at home.

It did not take long to discover how different the atmosphere of this working class camp was from the profit-souging enterprises and "restricted" resorts catering to the well-to-do. Here were men and women who had sweated the year round in the auto plants, the steel mills, the ships and the shipyards. They had come not only to refresh their bodies with good food, pure country air and healthful recreation but to stimulate their spirits and their minds through the education, congenial companionship, and enthusiasm to be gained from a more conscious participation in the fight for socialism.

BASIC COURSES The program of activities was designed to satisfy these requirements. The mornings were devoted to courses on the theory and history of the revolutionary movement. Under the trees small groups of workers became better acquainted with the basic ideas of Trotskyism under the direction of an experienced comrade. In a class held on the inside windswept veranda another instructor explained the fundamentals of Marxist economics with the aid of simple diagrams on the blackboard.

The more advanced courses on Marxist philosophy and history

and their relations to it in a very different light. I recall a few exclamations along this line, "I never realized there was so much to the socialist movement. I had a notion there was a lot of theory behind Trotskyism from the way your members worked in my union but only now do I understand where it comes from and what it consists of." Here is another: "I never got beyond grade school. After you work so hard for many years as I have, you get so far behind that you lose interest in learning. But the classes here have opened up a new world for me. From now on I'm going to keep on studying socialism. I've got to and I want to so I can keep in step with the future of the American working class."

One index to the educational stimulus imparted by the courses is the fact that \$273 worth of books and pamphlets were sold by the Pioneer bookstore in the camp canteen. In all 188 adults and 23 children attended. The school ran for nine weeks, from July 1 to September 1. Most of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party were well represented, with members coming from as far west as San Francisco and as far south as Memphis. New York City with 42, Detroit with 33, Chicago with 28, and Minneapolis with 14 sent the most sizeable delegations. Eight sympathizers who were guests at the camp signified their intention to join the SWP.

LITERATURE SOLD But the most valuable aspects of the Midwest School cannot be registered in statistics. These are the intangible assets every person there derived from personal acquaintance and intimate association with fellow-fighters for socialism, knowing them as individuals, as party-activists, as comrades. The summer wove unbreakable ties of sympathy and solidarity between the comrades from various

localities, between veterans and newcomers to the movement. These experiences served to enrich the meaning of a revolutionary party built on Leninist lines, a band of communist fighters united on a national and world scale into a single disciplined and powerful army through their common ideas, program, and aims. Their determination to play a worthy and responsible role in this emancipating movement and their ability to do so, was enhanced a hundred-fold. They left the camp with greater confidence in the party's future and in themselves. That is why the Midwest School was so successful an educational enterprise. That is why its beneficial effects will be evidenced for years to come in all departments of party life. And that is why so many comrades are already making plans to return with their friends and shopmates when the Midwest School opens its third season next July 1.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

As A Man Thinketh . . .

If you think racial prejudice is born in a person and can never be changed, if you are not convinced that it is the rules, the regulations, the customs and the teachings of society which mold a man's way of thinking and his likes and dislikes, you should ponder a moment on the "strange ways of white folks."

Take for example their decidedly different way of thinking as far as the question of race is concerned. Look at how their outlook varies in different parts of this country and how they are misinformed by the sources of public information.

There are, without a doubt, millions of white people throughout the North who do not even know that such a thing as Jim Crow exists. They have read and have been taught that this is a democracy in every sense of the word. They have no idea that a ten per cent segment of our population is mercilessly discriminated against and forcibly segregated into American ghettos. They do not know that if your skin is the "wrong color" you can no more enter a downtown theatre in the nation's capital than a rich man can enter the kingdom of heaven or to come down to earth, than a poor man can enter the kingdom of economic security.

STRANGE EXPERIENCE Many Negroes have agreed that this is one of life's strangest experiences. To go through life living in terms of Jim Crow every moment of the day and then come North and meet a liberal small-town white person who states that he cannot conceive of such conditions even existing in this United States of America.

Because, you see, they have been indoctrinated to believe that way, they would swear on a stack of Bibles that this IS in truth and in practice the "land of the free" and that there is "equality and justice for all." They would bet their bottom dollar that you were lying when you say that the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution and the sacred Bill of Rights are being openly violated in America each and every day of the year.

On the other hand let us take a look at the millions of white people in the deep South. They belong to the same species and often may belong to the very same family as those whites of whom we just spoke who live in small towns in the North. Those people of the "dear old South" not only know that there is such a thing as Jim Crow but they actively take a part in carrying it out.

"NATURAL THING" The fact that they know of such a practice in America and that they help carry it out daily

is not nearly so significant as the fact that they consider all this to be the natural thing. To them, Negroes are supposed to catch hell just as sure as the sun is supposed to rise on a cloudless day. To them a "Nigger" is just a dog and that is as it should be. You can give him a pat on the head when he licks your boots and wags his tail but don't forget to dish out to him a kick in the hindquarters every now and then just to remind him that he is still a dog.

If you told them that all scientific investigation has proved that the black man is the equal of the white man in every respect, they would be convinced that you were "teched in the head." In fact, to state that a Negro is not a dog would elicit about the same consternation in the average southerner as would a statement that there is no God in Heaven.

TWO BELIEFS Thus we see two entirely different beliefs neither of which is based on the truth. In each case the individuals have come to accept as part of their "knowledge" that which they had read and heard. These kinds of beliefs can be changed just as easily as they are established.

In the middle we have the Negro who, even though he may be illiterate and may not have had the advantage of all the stack of scientific evidence to bear him out in his conclusion, will yet instinctively know that he is any man's equal if given the same chance to learn and develop.

He may "Yes Suh!" or "Yes Mam!" all the white folks on the pullman train because at the time that is the job to which he is driven by economic necessity. But you can bet that he knows and will say so to those he trusts, that he never once truthfully thinks that another man for all his fine clothes and his white skin is a better man or has more brain matter than he — given equal opportunity for training.

The only place where he is stymied is in finding the correct program and the right people who can help him realize the truth which he holds within his mind. It will be a great day when the Negro masses find the program of the Trotskyists, the program that will liberate them and white workers too with the inevitable Socialist reconstruction of Society.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities AKRON—Visit The Militant Club, 405-E Everett Bldg., 38 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 8 p.m. ALLENTOWN-BETHLEHEM—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m. at Militant Labor Forum, 8 E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown. BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St., open evenings (except Sundays) until 9:30; also Monday and Saturday afternoons. Come in and get acquainted. Complete stock of literature. BUFFALO—Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 539 Main St., 2nd floor. CHICAGO—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters to obtain The Militant, Fourth International, Marxist books and pamphlets, as well as information about the SWP. 160 N. Wells, R. 317. Open

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

It has been said that the rain falls upon rich and poor alike, but that is a lie. Nothing ever happens to rich and poor ALIKE. There is always a difference.

Autumn is here, and the dust of the steel towns has turned to a red-brown paste in the autumn rains. Rain pelts the pavement with a soft, monotonous murmur that rises to a hissing whine as the automobiles race by flinging water and mist in their wake. Great pools of dirty water lie in the hollows of broken sidewalks before the saloons, and little pools of somewhat cleaner water grow beneath old, blistered ceilings that have seen too many seasons without repair.

Sheets of rain sweep across the vast lawns of the rich, soaking them, bending for a little while the soft shoots of thick, green grass. Raindrops hammer lightly at the great, bright windows of their drawing rooms so that the rich, sitting inside, hear the incessant murmur and are glad that they don't have to go out.



Paddy Noonan and old Stanley Kopera huddle their heads down into their coat collars, twisting their whole bodies as they peer down the street into the glimmering blackness watching for the bus to take them to work. They look forward to a long night shift in the rain. Old Stanley, Stash, as they call him, coughs deeply and mutters to Paddy, "Ah, this goddamn rain. I get cold all the time when it rains like this!" Paddy shivers and nods his head. Then he sways his body leftward again, his eyes searching the dark, rain-shining street for the bus that will take them to the steel plant.

"They're A Bedraggled-Looking Lot"

A day or so of sunshine, and then more rain. The morning sky is gray as the long, low, sleek limousine glides up to the mansion. The Great Man steps gingerly out of the door in his well-tailored trench coat and Stetson. The marquee shields him from the downpour as he enters the car. James lets out the clutch, and the car surges forward through the rain like a swift launch. The Great Man leans back in the warm upholstery, lights a cigar, and hums under his breath. The long sedan moves swiftly through the traffic toward the office, where James pulls up to the curb and helps the Great Man out. Rain drops spatter on the expensive trench coat for a brief moment, and then he's under the shelter of the building. But the Great Man has been outside long enough to see the first part of the daily crowd of working men and women that come to the State Unemployment Office for their checks. "They're a bedraggled looking lot," the Great Man thinks to himself.

A shivering Italian with only a short leather jacket to protect him from the rain shuffles rather meekly into the elevator. The Great Man wrinkles his nose and moves away from him, thinking, "They ought to have a separate elevator for those unemployed." The Italian gets out at the third floor, and the Great Man rides disgustedly up to the ninth to preside over his board meetings.

Mrs. Otis Crawford, wife of a colored steelworker, hugs her shawl over her head and runs through the downpour all the way to the super-market. "Lord, Mrs. Smith," she says to a neighbor at the meat counter as the clerk wraps up her head-cheese, "I sure hated to come out in this rain!"

"You should have sent your maid, Mrs. Crawford," says Mrs. Smith, and they both laugh a little as they start for the door. The Great Man's wife has a guest in her drawing room. With a malicious smile the guest says, "My husband was telling me those strikers have been out in the rain EVERY minute for fear some loyal worker would get into the factory. It would serve them right if they all got pneumonia."

The Great Man's wife is religious. "Yes," she replies. "The rain seems like a visitation, doesn't it?"

The picket line is soaked to the skin, but the pickets walk their post, coat collars turned up. Mike says, "What the hell, if I was working, I'd be out in the rain anyhow," and Eddie answers, "Yeah, but it burns me up when I think of them damn executives sitting in their nice, dry offices trying to figure out how to bust this strike."

The rain falls steadily, growing constantly colder, for it is autumn.

NEW HEIGHTS REACHED IN LABOR'S UPSURGE

(Continued from Page 1)

during the war, while labor was bound by the no-strike pledge, compulsory arbitration and the wage-freeze. Today take-home pay has been sharply cut. Labor is fighting for higher wages to maintain its minimum living standards.

Many strikes, however, are directed against corporations and government union-busting, to preserve the very existence of unions or reinforce their bargaining power. The bitter Kelsey-Hayes strike fought direct union-smashing. The present coal mine walkouts are to force recognition of the bargaining rights of foremen and supervisory employees.

GOVERNMENT ACTIONS

The fiction that the government intends a kid-glove policy

towards the workers, that it will rely solely on "voluntary" commitments for "industrial peace"—the presumed purpose of Truman's forthcoming government-capital-labor conference—is speedily being belied. If the workers thought that the wartime anti-labor curbs were just temporary, Truman last week showed that that is far from the case.

Big business and its government intend to make permanent these "temporary" curbs. Thus, Truman last week broke the oil workers' strike with a Navy "seizure" of the struck refineries. Truman's order directed the action "in the interests of the war effort!"

Combined with government attempts to impose tricky "conciliation" to whittle down the demands the workers might win on the picket lines, are the old tried-and-true methods of terrorism and violent strikebreaking.

STRIKEBREAKING TERROR

Local and state armed forces are supplementing the efforts of the federal government. Mounted police recently brutally rode down and clubbed the Parker strikers in Cleveland. Detroit pickets cracked the heads of unionists picketing a fascist rally. Troops engage in demonstrative strikebreaking drills in Chicago, Toledo and elsewhere.

But organized labor has tremendous power. It can win—provided it trusts only in its own strength, refuses to permit its hands to be tied by government agencies and back-room dealings, and defends itself to the utmost against strikebreaking assaults.

New York Voters!

YOU STILL HAVE TIME TO REGISTER!

October 10, 11, 12—5 p.m. to 10 p.m.

October 13—7 a.m. to 10:30 p.m.

WHO CAN VOTE?

All citizens who, on Election Day—...Are 21 years old or over ...Live in the state one year preceding election.

...Live in county, city or village for four months.

...Live in election district, in which vote is offered, for 30 days.

Members of Armed Forces October 15 is the last day to mail application for war ballot.

November 5—Your war ballot should reach office of War Ballot Commission, Albany 1, N. Y. Before Noon

Militia Strikebreaking Practice Held In Chicago Stockyards

Giving A Good Tip To Scabs

CHICAGO, Ill. — Some 2,000 fully armed troops of the state militia recently rolled into the stock-yard area of this city and treated the scores of thousands of packinghouse workers to a "dress rehearsal" of how the big packing interests and their political tools plan to resist the workers' demands for increased pay and better conditions.

On Sunday, September 23, shortly after the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union issued its demand for substantial wage increases and launched a campaign to extend its organization, the troops "took over" the stockyard area. They set up machine guns at all strategic points and entrances. Some of the troops advanced in armored cars. Others overran the district with bayonets at the ready.

They even entered one plant. All workers entering or leaving the area were halted and forced to show identification to prove they were employed in the stockyards or one of the packing plants. Although many of the militiamen in accordance with their instructions, refused to talk to the workers, some disclosed that they were out for practice in military strike breaking. One is reported to have said they were preparing for "race riots" because "there are too many blacks working in here."

NOT ACCIDENTAL

All the circumstances of the timing and place of this strike-breaking demonstration prove that it was not accidental, but intended, as the indignant unionists charge, to intimidate the workers and threaten them with bloody reprisals if they should dare to fight for a greater share of the huge profits sweated out of the workers during the war.

Conditions in the packing industry here are notoriously bad. With the reduction of hours from 48 to 40 and the consequent loss of overtime, the stockyard workers are now getting in most instances the same take-home pay they secured at the beginning of the war, although prices have skyrocketed since. In some cases, the workers are drawing wages for only 36 hours, the guaranteed contract minimum. Sentiment has been growing for strike action to force the packers to increase wages.

UNION PROTESTS

Union men and women who were on the scene during the militia demonstration immediately notified their union officials. A petition was circulated throughout the yards demanding an immediate apology from those responsible for this strike-breaking, terroristic threat. Naturally, company officials and Mayor Kelly, of Memorial Day (1937) Massacre fame, denied knowledge of what had transpired, while the army officials claimed this was just "ordinary" maneuvers and for only one day. But this is the first time such "maneuvers" have ever been staged inside the city at an anticipated scene of action.

The union held a protest meeting exposing the real purposes of the militia demonstrations of all packinghouse locals and the District Council also was held. Plans were laid to combat the threat. Thousands of leaflets explaining the real meaning of the "maneuvers" were distributed to the workers. Individual and group protests are flooding the Mayor, Governor Green and President Truman.

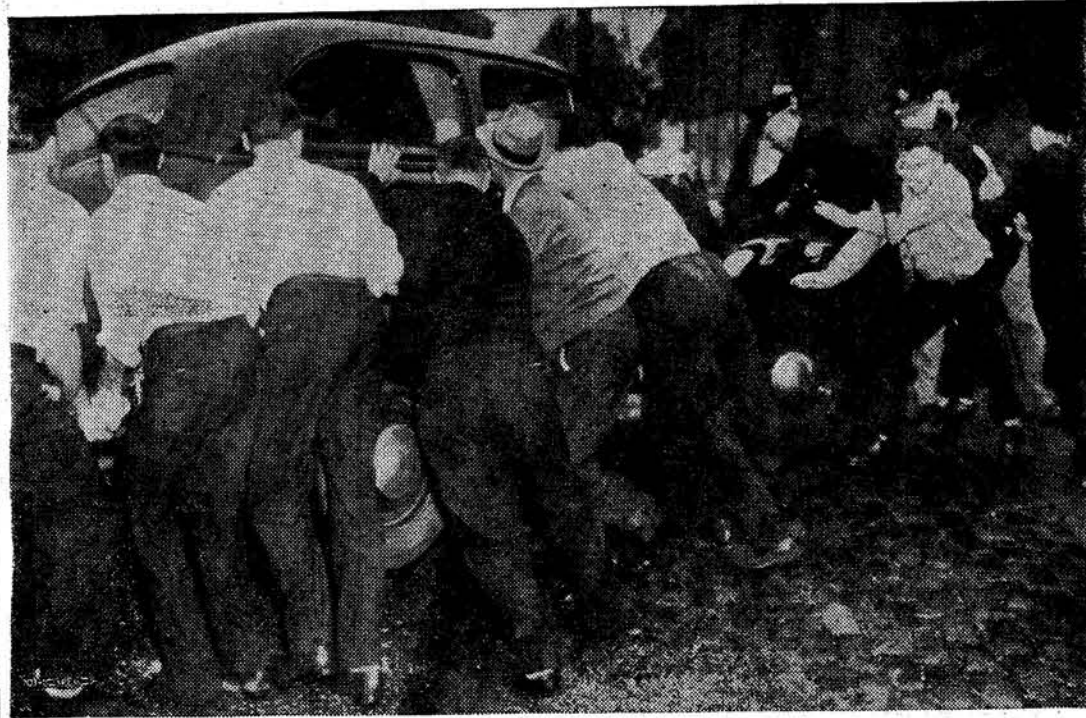
Buffalo Unions Ask Conference

Special to THE MILITANT

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Two unions in this area, Local 501, United Automobile Workers, CIO, and Local 2601, United Steel Workers of America, CIO, have recently passed resolutions calling for a national conference of all labor organizations to conduct a united campaign to provide jobs and a decent living standard for workers and veterans. These resolutions indicate the growing resentment in the ranks of labor here at the failure of Congress to enact legislation to protect workers and their families in the reconversion and post-war crisis.

This coincided with similar action taken by the UAW's national General Motors Conference in Detroit, representing more than 300,000 GM workers, which called for a united Congress of American Labor to meet in Washington to fight for a real program against unemployment and wage cuts.

The resolutions passed by the two locals also call for a 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay, trade union wages for unemployed workers and veterans, and government operation of the idle plants under workers' control.



Striking AFL street car and bus workers of Lancaster, Pa., on September 25 teach a lesson to six scabs who try to ride through a mass picket line at the Conestoga Transportation Company car barn. This determined strike has halted city transportation for nearly a month.

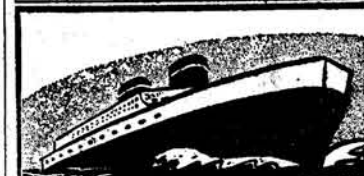
G.I. Writers Of Protest Letters May Face Brass Hat Reprisals

Letters to Congress protesting the delay in demobilization are steadily mounting in volume. But instead of enacting legislation to bring the troops back home, Wall Street's Congressmen have hit upon a slick way of getting rid of the letters.

Drew Pearson, in his column of September 28, reveals that "Andrew J. May of Kentucky and other Congressmen" are sending "bushel-baskets of soldiers' mail . . . over to the War Department, where 400 WACs, who thought they enlisted to help win the war, now have to help the Congressmen's elections by answering soldiers' mail."

This might appear simply to be a method of cutting civilian stenographers out of jobs. But there is a catch. "War Department brass hats are delighted," says Pearson. "Not only do they make friends in Congress, but they get a chance to see who the trouble-makers are in each camp. All a GI pours out to his Congressman about his superior officer is spelled out in black and white for War Department perusal, while the army officials claimed this was just "ordinary" maneuvers and for only one day. But this is the first time such "maneuvers" have ever been staged inside the city at an anticipated scene of action.

Postwar Notes for Seamen



Five thousand government-owned ships are on the auction block in Washington. The Maritime Commission is determined to get these ships off its hands. That is why the "sale" of them is one of the biggest farces of recent years. Hagging over prices centers upon how little the ships shall go for, not what they are worth.

Two bills are now before Congress—the Senate Bailey Bill and the Bland Bill in the House—for the disposal of ships. If these bills become law, American ship-owners will get their pick of the huge wartime fleet, which cost the American people a cool \$25 billion, for a list price on each ship of about half its prewar domestic construction cost. This "cost" price can then be paid by the ship-owners over a 20-year period out of "earnings." These so-called "earnings" are in turn guaranteed by government subsidies paid to the ship-owners for operation of the ships.

On September 25, John W. Snyder, director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, sent Senator Bailey a letter which exposes the fraudulent character of the present ship "sale." Snyder says "the bill authorized the acceptance of old ships on a trade-in basis through U. S. nationals and authorizes the Maritime Commission to count the value of these ships against the cost price of the (new) ships that are being sold. Whereas the price of the new

forces who writes his Congressman is subject to court-martial. Thus a soldier who trusts a capitalist Congressman enough to write him about his problems may find his letter used in court-martial proceedings as "evidence."

SINISTER IMPLICATIONS

Consequently the brass hats are providing the Congressmen with efficient service. "Maj. Gen. Edward F. Witsell, Adj. Gen.," reports Pearson, "is taking great pains to do a good job for the Congressmen. The WACs work directly under him, and two are practicing his signature so all letters can be signed as by Witsell."

"GETTING VOTES" At the same time, the Congressmen hope by this means to impress the servicemen with their diligence in "helping out" their constituents. "The WACs have been admonished to remember," says Pearson, "You're getting votes for Senators and Congressmen whose letters you answer."

The brass hats do not forget in the process to soft soap the Congressmen. "One officer, Capt. C. Bunn," declares Pearson, "admonished the girls: 'Be careful to be nice to Senators and Congressmen. They appoint generals.'"

The WACs assigned to this work have been given no opportunity to protest. "Col. William M. Clarkson threatened to take away all rank from any WAC who objected to doing the work because of its political nature," Pearson reports. He adds that "The WACs have been given neatly mimeographed form letters which they must retype. One begins: 'Hon. Andrew J. May, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, has personally requested me to reply to your letter of recent date in which you asked concerning—'"

The character of the mail flooding Congress can be judged from the remarks of Representative Byrnes of Wisconsin (Congressional Record, p. 8772):

FAMILIAR QUESTIONS

"Are large numbers of men and women being kept in the service today in order that high officers can obtain their temporary rank and station? Are many men and women being kept in the service today in order to avoid unemployment problems? Are the services sincere in their statements that they want to reduce the number of their personnel to the point of actual need just as soon as possible? These questions are familiar to you. Members of Congress find them every day in their mail."

Representative Bunker of Nevada declared on the same day (Sept. 17): "The unexplainable delay in demobilization has caused a wave of indignation among servicemen and their relatives that is approaching serious proportions."

Despite these remarks, however, the Congressmen are doing everything except speed up the process of demobilization.

New York SWP Continues Sales In Negro Areas

Members of the Socialist Workers Party sold 800 copies of the party's anti-Jim Crow pamphlet, "Negroes in the Post War World" and "The Struggle For Negro Equality," in a 45-minute street sale Saturday night, September 29, in the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas of New York City. In addition 3,000 copies of the SWP election platform and sample copies of THE MILITANT were distributed.

National Maritime Union officials claim that U. S. Lines tried to reject a veteran of this war for a steward job because he had lost an eye in the war.

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

What great dignity the average human being has! When you consider how the capitalist system grinds his soul into little pieces, it's a wonder how even the littleness that is left still refuses to be dust.

With what tenacity and through what suffering a man will hold onto his position in life! How hard he will work for the extra dollar that means new furniture for his home, or sneakers and gym suits for the kids in school. And yet it would be so very easy to slip down a notch—take things slower—work for day-work instead of piece-work, or muddle along generally.

In the labor gang you get \$6.24 per day. But it's often easy to dog it on the job. A third helper on the blast furnace gets 90 cents more per day, and his job is just a red, smoky hell. But men rush to quit the labor gang and be third helpers at the first opportunity.

There are more expenses as a third helper. You have to eat heavier for one thing. You have to put double soles on your shoes so you can stand in the scorching slag runners and tear loose the leavings that have hardened in the trough. You have to buy gloves and shirts oftener. You're not very much farther ahead. And you work harder than any human being should.

But the third helper feels that he's doing a man's work. He's out of the labor gang! He's Bill or Ed or Jim—not "Hey you." He's with the same fellows every day. He works on the same job with them and begins to learn from them until the day he can hold his own with the rest of them.

What Would He Think of Himself?

He knows he'll never get much more money. But he works hard to keep his place and is careful not to slip back into the labor gang. What would the other fellows think of him if he did? What would he think of himself?

Some men are even anxious to be second helpers, although they have to work even harder than they did as third helpers. And the second helper gets only a lousy 40 cents per day more than the third!

But the second helper (he has to have anywhere from five to ten years' seniority) is an "old hand." He's a Man. The old timers don't figure he's just a fool for doing all that work. He's a blast furnace man, that's all.

When people can be so heroic in their daily lives and reach out so hard for the tiny comforts of capitalism, and set so high a price on the good opinion of their fellow workers, it gets you sore to hear Scissorsbills say that people are not good enough for socialism.

The wise guys try to say that under socialism we'll all lie around like beachcombers and lazily reach out a hand to pick a pineapple, or catch coconuts as they fall, etc., and do nothing else. We'll all turn into fat hogs, they say.

But even though a great many workers will deserve a year's rest living under the coconut trees, and even though we'll make such a rest possible for them under socialism, very few workers will want it.

And when they see that the steel they make is for their children to have a better life with, and not be shot to hell with—when they see that not just the furnace workers but all of society respects them—then they'll be prouder of their jobs than ever.

Militant Strikes Sweeping Jersey

By Harry Robinson

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 4.—The wave of militant action sweeping the American labor movement has struck this area with full force. Nearly 30,000 North Jersey workers are on the picket lines defending their unions and wage standards against some of the most powerful corporations in the state. In a series of resolute actions, the unions involved are giving a mighty demonstration of the power of organized labor.

Three thousand members of Local 184, Bakery Drivers & Salesmen's Union, with a demand for wage increases, have reduced Newark's bread supply to five per cent of normal. Two hundred and fifty stores of the A&P food trust have been shut down by the AFL Teamsters and Retail Clerks who are demanding a union contract for the company's warehouse workers.

The refusal of the Public Service Corp., the powerful utilities interests, to grant union recognition and a 10 per cent wage increase to 600 members of the Journeymen Plumbers & Steamfitters Union, AFL, has caused the stoppage of maintenance and repair work on gas lines. The loading and unloading of vessels at Fort Newark has been brought to a halt as 10,000 members of the International Longshoremen Union, AFL, extended the strike action of the New York longshoremen.

BIG INDUSTRIES HIT

The five major oil refineries in the area have shut down as more than a thousand members of the CIO Oilworkers Union walked out in support of their International demand for a 30 per cent wage increase. Displaying their traditional fighting spirit, 6,000 Paterson textile workers have joined the strike movement for higher wages. Mass picket lines of 4,000 members of Locals 407 and 431, United Electrical & Radio Workers, CIO, who are demanding a two-dollar-a-day wage increase, have completely shut down the Thomas E. Edison Co. and the Monroe Calculating Co.

In the face of this powerful offensive the struck corporations have rallied behind Governor Walter E. Edge, who has emerged as their chief strikebreaker. A reactionary politician who married into the Sewall family, influential shareholders in Standard Oil, Edge has energetically but unsuccessfully attempted to drive the workers off the picket lines.

This demand, coupled with the one for a minimum of four hours work for each period hired, represents an effort to forestall the move of the companies to reinstitute the pre-war policy of having men hanging around the docks all day for an hour or two of work.

In a veiled threat to use state troopers against the strikers, Edge declared through a spokesman, "If the Governor feels that all existing democratic processes have been exhausted in an effort to bring about settlement, then he will act. He will not permit any dispute, to continue which threatens to critically affect the daily life of the state's consumers."

VEILED THREAT

In a telegram to Walter E. Margetis, chairman of his Phony State "Mediation" Board, Edge further declared "It is absolutely essential that you insist that all workers return to their jobs immediately."

"Margetis, who serves as a 'public' member of the State Board, and who recently retired as an employer member of the WLB, was forced to report back that every union that appeared before him refused to return to work until they got a settlement! The New Jersey labor movement is on the march. The bosses will need more than their stooge Edge to stop it."

Longshoremen In N. Y. Fight For Safe Loads

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ollic Youth Organization hall, on 17th Street officials of Local 791 explained the situation to members of other locals, and then adjourned to their own meeting hall where the membership voted by a slim margin to return to work pending further negotiations.

WHAT WORKER'S WANT

Besides the demand for a maximum safe load for the longshoremen are also demanding two instead of three shape-ups per day, a minimum of four hours work for each period hired and double-time for all meal-hours worked. The demand for two shape-ups, at 7:55 a. m. and 12:55 p. m., will make it possible for men hired for the night shift to know in the middle of the day whether they will be required that night.

This demand, coupled with the one for a minimum of four hours work for each period hired, represents an effort to forestall the move of the companies to reinstitute the pre-war policy of having men hanging around the docks all day for an hour or two of work.