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Our Appraisal Of The Russian Revolution

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Trotskyist Mayoralty Candidates Wins 4,267 Votes In New York

NEW YORK, Nov. 9—Farrell Dobbs, mayoralty candidate of the Trotskyist Party, ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party, gained 4,267 votes in the municipal election here November 6. This is a four hundred per cent increase over the 1,102 votes for the Trotskyist candidate in the last city elections in 1941.

No count is as yet available for the votes of Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for city council, running in the borough of Manhattan. Councilmanic elections are based on proportional representation and counting of the votes takes about 10 days.

The steep rise in the votes for Trotskyism was registered at a time when the general disgust of the workers toward the pro-capitalist politics of the local American Labor Party and Liberal Party was reflected in marked political apathy and the smallest

Complete Analysis Of Detroit Elections In Next Issue

turn-out of voters since 1928. Both these parties, which backed notorious capitalist candidates, suffered unusually severe losses in voting strength. (See article by Felix Morrow on Page 8.)

MINORITY VOTE

By contrast with the healthy growth in the electoral support for the Socialist Workers Party, all other minority parties claiming to represent socialism which ran mayoralty candidates suffered catastrophic declines in

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Trend To Socialism Shown In French Workers' Votes

By Paul G. Stevens

The overwhelming majority of the votes cast in the French elections last month went to the traditional parties of the working class. For the first time in French history these parties, the Socialists under Blum and the Stalinists under Thorez, together polled an absolute majority.

This development is fully as significant in trend as the sweeping victory of the Labor Party in Great Britain last summer. The workers of western Europe have demonstrated that in vast numbers they are prepared to place labor governments in power and to support a program of full socialism.

But neither the Stalinized Communist Party nor the reformists of the Socialist Party wish to take power, much less to initiate a program of socialism. They utilize their great electoral gains among the workers only for the purpose of hanging on all the more tenaciously to the capitalists.

The election trend shows unmistakably how correctly our co-workers in France analyzed the situation, how correct was their central election slogan: For a Socialist-Communist-Trade Union Government.

CRUCIAL MONTHS

In the coming crucial months, there will undoubtedly be a great deal of horse-trading and parliamentary jockeying in the Constituent Assembly. The old line politicians and their reformist and Stalinist colleagues, will probably attempt to reconstitute a Peoples' Front Coalition. It is not excluded moreover, that de Gaulle will attempt to more clearly unfold his Bonapartist plans facilitated by the fact that

Hand Of U. S. Deep In China Civil War

American imperialism is daily becoming more deeply involved in the civil war now raging in China between Chungking and Yenan. Although Secretary of State Byrnes promised on November 7 that United States marines would be recalled from China, an unidentified Navy spokesman assured the capitalist press on the same day that "the marines had a mission in North China."

Vice Admiral Barbey admitted on November 9 that "there is enough shipping available in North China to get most of the American marines home by Christmas." But the following day, General Wedemeyer, commander of American forces in China, said U. S. forces would not be out of China until "early spring."

Meanwhile "American ships continue to carry Chinese Government troops to the North China trouble zone," a U. S. Army spokesman told the Associated Press, November 10. "Three transports jammed with well-equipped troops of the Chinese Eighth Army sailed from the Kowloon docks" in Hong Kong. "Previously the Chinese Thirtieth Army was transported from here to North China."

U. S. TRANSPORT TROOPS

An undisclosed number of Chungking troops have been transported in U. S. Army planes.

no one party commands a majority. The reformist Socialists under Leon Blum have already compromised themselves considerably by supporting de Gaulle in his move to give the recent elections a semi-plebiscitary character; they called for a "Yes" vote on the question of limiting the powers of the Constituent Assembly. The Stalinists, motivated by the interests of their masters in the Kremlin, called for a "No" vote on this question; nevertheless, they are equally compromising themselves by their support of and coalition with the Bonapartist bourgeoisie in the government and by their association with Stalin's brutal policies in Kremlin dominated Europe.

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM

The French Trotskyists, pursuing the only consistent and independent working class policy in the elections, correctly called for a "No" vote and out of these considerations, supported the Stalinist candidates in the elections as against the reformist socialists. The latter, by calling for a "Yes" vote, indicated that they were playing de Gaulle's game openly. The Trotskyists' intransigent opposition to Stalinism did not blind them to the issues involved.

Rejecting Stalinophobia out of hand as a political method, the Trotskyist Parti Communiste Internationaliste took its clear-cut class stand in the elections, concentrating on the central slogan for a Socialist-Communist-Trade Union government. This slogan, despite all the parliamentary skulduggery and particularly in face of de Gaulle's Bonapartist plans, will inevitably get an ever-greater response from the masses as they watch the

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Huge Labor Struggle Looms As Bosses Scorn Wage Plea

Open The Books!



Withdraw Troops From The Orient!

By THE EDITORS

A bloody war has been unleashed against the peoples of the Orient.

British warships are pouring destruction and death upon the defenseless people of Java. British and Dutch troops, equipped with the latest American death-dealing weapons, are indiscriminately slaughtering men, women and children of Indonesia.

American lend-lease machine guns, artillery and tanks are used by the French imperialist brigands to kill and pillage the people of Indo-China.

American marines are embroiled in the Chinese civil war. American ships, planes and guns — even their technical personnel — are propping up the reactionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, Wall Street's puppet in China.

This war which has been unleashed against half a billion people inhabiting Indonesia, Indo-China and China is no minor conflict. It is a war to smash their efforts to gain their freedom and independence. It is a war to sub-

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IN THE NEWS

Innocents Abroad

Alf M. Landon, 1936 Republican presidential nominee, last week told a Kiwanis Club audience that "we are seizing strategic bases in a speaksy sort of way and then wondering why the world should look at us with cynicism and suspicion."

The Bigger The Better

A sixteen-and-a-half-mile long picket line was thrown around the giant Willow Run plant on November 5 by three locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers. This is the longest picket line on record. It was formed in protest against cancellations of the union contract by Graham-Paige which is being absorbed by the Kaiser-Fraser corporation which is reopening Willow Run. The picket line was withdrawn when it was agreed that accumulated seniority of Graham-Paige workers would be recognized.

"Dream" Wages

Three out of every four workers in this country earn less than \$3.70 a week or 87 1/2 cents an hour, which a new CIO Political Action Committee pamphlet, "Let Our People Live—A Plea For A Living Wage," says is the minimum subsistence wage needed for an average family of four. "In fact," says the pamphlet, "millions earn so much less, that 87 1/2 cents per hour sounds to them more like a dream than a minimum wage need."

Need Dose Of Strikes

In a speech before a recent CIO-PAC conference at Columbus, O., CIO President Philip Murray attacked the war-rich corporations which refuse to pass on any of their profits in the form of wage increases to the workers. The corporations, he said, have amassed total assets worth \$66 billion, which "they want to lie in their coffers and stink and rot until the effect of it causes a form of economic constipation."

Washington Parley Called To Curb Militant Actions

By Art Preis

Last week the Ford workers in a national poll voted 11 to 1 for strike action. This makes it an overwhelming "grand slam" vote, combined with the previous votes of the General Motors and Chrysler workers, for strike in the giant auto industry. The CIO United

British Dockers Set Up Placards To Mark 'Truce'

When the British dock workers went back to their jobs after a six-week strike, they told the Attlee Government it was only a 30-day truce. They meant just that. "At the entrance of each London dock," reports the November 6 Christian Science Monitor, "there is a large notice containing one number. Yesterday when the dockers returned to work it was 30. Today, as eight union and eight employers meet behind closed doors, it is 29. This is the strike committee's way of dramatizing the number of days allowed union leaders to negotiate wage-hour improvements."

The dock workers struck for \$5 a day, an increase of \$1.10. This demand, as well as others they made, was officially recognized by union heads.

NOT "OUTLAW"

Thus the strike was not a "wildcat" strike as described by the capitalist press. It was simply unauthorized by the union heads and the government. Forty to fifty thousand workers had no reason to call an "outlaw" strike.

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Automobile Workers International Executive Board on November 10 elected a strategy committee authorized to call a strike "as it may see fit."

On November 28 some 700,000 CIO Steelworkers, whose demands for a \$2 a day wage raise have been summarily rejected, are scheduled to take an NLRB strike vote. Another 200,000 CIO workers, the meat packers, have filed for a strike vote. The CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers has called for a strike poll among 270,000 workers, including those of Westinghouse Electric and General Electric. Last month twice as many workers voted in strike polls as during the entire first 18 months of the Smith-Connelly anti-strike law.

WORKERS ACT, TOO

The workers are not only voting but they are acting. Hundreds of thousands have taken to the picket lines in the past few weeks alone. Every week brings new tens of thousands into fighting action. Week after week, on scores of picket lines in bitter, prolonged and frequently bloody battles, the workers are demonstrating that they do not propose to take it on the chin any longer from the arro-

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SKF Seeks Court Aid Against Union

Special to THE MILITANT
By Max Goldman

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Nov. 8.—The bitter 39-day CIO Steelworkers Strike against SKF, the profit-swollen international roller-bearing trust, continues to dominate the local labor picture. The SKF workers are learning all the lessons that a strike can teach. They are learning that lined up against them on the side of the SKF Corporation are all the reactionary forces in the city. But they have also seen the power of labor solidarity, which has enabled them to withstand all attempts to smash their picket line.

The company, having failed in its attempts to break the solid ranks in front of the SKF plants through police terror, is now taking its case to one of the strongest bulwarks of the capitalist class—the courts.

Last week saw the battle to unionize SKF shift from the picket line to the courtroom. The company, with the help of its high-priced legal staff, hopes to win with the connivance of the courts, what it failed to win with force. It is seeking an injunction against mass picketing, and \$2,000,000 for alleged damages to its property.

UNION ASKS DISMISSAL

Judge Smith, presiding over Common Pleas Court No. 5, recessed hearings on both the injunction and the suit until the

union attorney, M. H. Goldstein, presents a brief summarizing the union position. After SKF completed its case yesterday, Goldstein asked the court to dismiss the company's petition on the grounds that the bill of particulars was not properly served, that the original bill was improperly prepared, that the court had no jurisdiction over the case under its state anti-injunction act of 1937, and that, furthermore, the company did not come into the court "with clean hands," since it is responsible for provoking the strike.

Frank B. Murdock, the smooth-talking SKF lawyer, based his case on state equity laws going back to 1836 and 1857. All laws, no matter how ancient, remain holy and immutable for Big Business as long as they protect property rights.

Comparison Table Of Vote Trend Of Minority Parties In New York

	Dobbs Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist)	Glass Socialist Party	Haas Socialist Labor Party (Industrial Govt. Party)	Shachtman Workers Party
Manhattan	1945	1941	1945	1945
	1,043	273	1,984	4,790
Bronx	1,191	306	2,886	6,005
	1,197	315	3,695	8,574
Brooklyn	778	188	1,075	3,004
	58	18	74	274
Queens				40
Richmond				
TOTALS:	4,267	1,100	9,714	22,647
			4,167	869
				2,019

* Did not run a candidate in 1941

Protest The Massacre Of The Colonial Peoples!

Demand The Withdrawal Of Allied Troops From China, Indonesia And Indo-China

MASS MEETING AT HOTEL DIPLOMAT, FRIDAY, NOV. 30

SPEAKERS: Farrell Dobbs, Editor of The Militant

George Novack, National Secretary, Civil Rights Defense Committee

108 West 43rd St.

New York

8 p.m.

Dobbs Gets 4,267 Votes As Trotskyist Electoral Strength Shows 400 Per Cent Gain In New York

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comparison with their 1941 votes. The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, which in the past has traditionally registered tens of thousands of votes and as late as 1941 won 22,647 votes for mayor, dropped to only 9,714 votes for its 1945 mayoralty candidate, Joseph G. Glass. The Socialist Party is primarily an electoral machine which points most of its activities to elections. It has been on the ballot for decades.

Similarly, the Socialist Labor Party, which has been running candidates for nearly 40 years and engages in very little other activity, this time secured less votes than the Trotskyist candidate. The SLP received 4,167 votes for its candidate for mayor, Eric Haas, running on the Industrial Government Party ticket.

Max Shachtman, candidate of the Workers Party, a petty-bourgeois group which split from the Socialist Workers Party in 1940 in opposition to the SWP program of Defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, received only 869 votes, a 57 per cent drop from his 1941 vote of 2,019. His vote is about a fifth of the vote won by the Trotskyist candidate Dobbs.

SIGNIFICANT RISE

The sharp rise in votes for the Trotskyist candidate represents a significant increase of SWP influence among the most class conscious and politically advanced New York workers. There was no accident about their choice of the Trotskyist ticket and its candidate. Dobbs was clearly designated on the voting machine as "Trotskyist." A trick

of the election laws did not permit the regular Socialist Workers Party designation. There is evidence that Dobbs, along with other candidates lost many votes because of defective voting machines. Numerous calls came into the New York Local office of the SWP on election day reporting failure of the voting machines to function on the Dobbs line.

UNIFORM TREND

As the vote by boroughs indicates (see comparison charts of minority party votes at bottom of page one), there was no freak, spotty or concentrated voting in just one borough or district. The votes for Dobbs were fairly uniformly distributed throughout all boroughs in relation to the size of the populations. Every working class area was well represented.

That the Trotskyist appeal reached down to the most oppressed layers of the New York working class is indicated by the 341 votes Dobbs received in the Negro area comprising the four assembly districts of Harlem. In 1941, in this same area, the Trotskyist candidate polled only 49 votes. While the general vote for the Trotskyists rose four times, the Negro vote rose seven times. All the other minority parties recorded marked declines in this area.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

The Trotskyist candidates ran on a program of revolutionary socialism. Their main immediate slogan of the campaign was the call for independent working class political action and the formation by the labor movement of a genuine independent labor

party running strictly labor candidates.

The Trotskyist candidates, by contrast with all others, declared their unconditional support of all militant strike struggles of the workers and proposed to advance the wage raise campaign of the workers generally by initiating substantial wage increases for municipal workers. They called for government operation of idle plants under workers' control, the 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay, as well as government projects including low-rent housing, to meet the immediate problem of unemployment.

A decisive factor in mobilizing the increased Trotskyist vote was the great increase in The Militant circulation. Thousands of new readers have been gained through the Militant subscription campaigns of the past year.

The membership and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party, despite their limited forces, did yeoman work in bringing the program of Trotskyism to the New York workers. They worked not only during the election campaign, but all have been concentrating their energies over months and years in advancing the ideas of Bolshevism.

Once again, the Trotskyists demonstrated their qualities as disciplined, devoted, self-sacrificing working class revolutionists who work and fight harder and longer and more consistently than any others for the cause of the workers. The results of their activity is reflected in the 400 per cent increase in Trotskyist votes, a trend of great symptomatic importance for the future of the New York working class.

Marshall Field Strikers Force Wage Concession

CHICAGO, Nov. 9.—Over 800 workers at the swank Marshall Field department store, on strike since November 1, went back to work this morning after the company agreed to pay a minimum starting rate of \$23 a week (\$3 over the previous rate) and to negotiate wage scales on all other classifications.

The strikers included elevator operators, maintenance workers, mechanics, bakery shop and candy kitchen workers, packers, and helpers, who are members of the Marshall Field Employees Union, Local 242, affiliated to the Building Service Employees International Union. They constitute nine per cent of the company's working force.

UNION DEMANDS

Negotiations began over a year ago with the union demanding: a union shop for all bargaining units; 65 cents an hour minimum wage; a pay-increase of at least 15 per cent for all job classifications; 40-hour, 5-day week; time and a half for overtime, and double time for Sundays and holidays; a better medical plan; and administration of a "job evaluation" plan by a union-management committee.

All Field enterprises in Chicago and suburbs were picketed during the strike. At the Field Annex Building where 500 doctors and dentists have offices and normal elevator traffic is 14,000 daily, elevator operators joined the strike Wednesday. They refused to cross picket lines maintained by Local 242. Only emergency patients were given elevator service.

On the same day, Martin Heckman, international representative of the Building Service Employees Union, announced that the Joint Teamsters Council was instructing its members to respect the picket lines, and that AFL tunnel workers would refuse to make deliveries.

British Dockers Set Up Placards To Mark 'Truce'

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They organized picket lines only when they became convinced that the "negotiations" were a farce.

The union officialdom did its utmost to break the strike by back to work movements. But only the government's use of some 17,500 soldiers as strike-breakers and the threatened use of another 20,000 forced the strikers to grant the 30-day truce.

The very next day, on November 6, the construction workers staged a series of tremendous demonstrations. In London more than 100,000 shouting, chanting workers marched 10 and 12 abreast through the principal streets. Their chief demand was a pay rise from the 47 cents an hour they are now getting to 60 cents an hour for a 40-hour week.

STRIKE SPREADS

Carrying banners, they converged on Hyde Park, then paraded to the heart of the city. Traffic was blocked for hours.

In Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Birmingham and other cities another 50,000 construction workers staged a one-day "token strike" for higher wages. Groups of miners in England, Scotland and Wales likewise threatened strike action. Bakers and bus drivers in various cities have also struck. And 1,000 fishermen suspended strike action pending negotiations with trawler owners.

The British workers are in a very militant mood. They do not intend to take wage cuts lying down. They are demonstrating on the picket line that they expect satisfaction for their just demands.

OLD EXPERIENCE

During the war, the workers had a bitter taste of the kind of stew the union leaders, together with the bosses and government, can cook up for the workers. Labor has gone through the experience of the War Labor Board, that wartime graveyard of grievances, the frozen wages and compulsory arbitration and no-strike policy.

Now these same union leaders have been corralled together in Washington at a government "industrial peace" conference which has no other purpose than to put the clamps on labor once more, to

Voting For GM Strike



Here Chevrolet workers in Detroit are voting for strike action in support of their 30 per cent wage increase demand. Soon they may be voting with their feet on picket lines along with 325,000 other General Motors workers.

Withdraw Troops From The Orient!

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ject them to imperialist exploitation, enslavement and terror. It is a war to pillage the vast natural resources of these countries. It is a war of imperialist plunder and carnage.

While Truman and Attlee, like Roosevelt and Churchill before them, mouth hypocritical phrases about "civilization," "freedom" and "democracy," they are engaged in a large-scale war, whose sole purpose is to enslave the peoples of the Orient.

Although, the teeming millions of the Orient have on their side the strength of numbers and the determination that stems from the conviction that their cause is just, they are fighting against heavy odds. For the imperialist masters have on their side the most modern war machine, the most powerful instruments of death that modern science can produce. These instruments were built with the billions of dollars of taxes extracted from the American and British people.

The American and British workers who toiled and sweated to produce these death-dealing instruments of war, now see them being used against the peoples of the Orient who are fighting for their freedom.

The war against the peoples of the Orient is waged by the same greedy monopolists who are conducting economic warfare against the labor movements in their own countries.

There is a community of interest between the workers of Great Britain, Holland, France and the United States who are today, fighting for a decent standard of living, and the peoples of the Orient fighting for their independence.

The working masses of the East and the West have a common enemy — MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.

That is why the American workers must come to the aid of all peoples wherever they are fighting for their liberation.

We must raise a mighty voice of protest against the present undeclared war in the Orient.

Wherever workers assemble, at mass meetings, union meetings, they should adopt resolutions of protest against these imperialist crimes and send them to President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee.

The workers of New York City will have an opportunity to voice their protest at a mass meeting to be held under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party at the Hotel Diplomat on Friday, November 30.

Demonstrate your opposition to colonial slavery. Let your voice be heard on behalf of freedom and independence for the peoples of the Orient.

Any part of the globe that is wrested from the bloody grasp of the imperialists will hasten the day when imperialism will be destroyed everywhere.

The defeat of imperialism and the building of a socialist society is the only guaranty against World War III and against the atomic destruction of civilization and humanity.

Hands off China, Indonesia and Indo-China!
Demand the immediate withdrawal of all Allied Troops!

U. S. Role In China Exposed By "Fourth International"

What is the meaning of the use of U. S. troops in China today? To understand this, it is necessary to understand the background of the present Chinese civil war and its causes. A very timely article, "The Situation in the Far East," by E. R. Frank, in the October issue of Fourth International, analyzes the explosive situation existing in China at the close of the Japanese war.

"For the whole past year," states Frank, "it has been quite clear that the class struggle would violently flare again with the collapse of Japanese imperialism — the major 'stabilizing' force in the Far East for the past eight years. Chiang Kai-shek was in mortal fear that the great mass movement of 1927 would

again revive and sweep his rotted and corrupt regime into the discard. "American imperialism was more than sympathetic. The preservation of the rotted Kuomintang clique is indispensable for its plans of super-exploitation of China. With the dispatch of Hurley as ambassador to Chungking, all ambiguity was eliminated from United States policy. American imperialism threw its full weight behind Chiang Kai-shek."

Readers of "The Militant" may obtain copies of "Fourth International" by sending 25c in stamps or coin to Business Manager, "Fourth International", 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Jumped Too Quickly

President R. J. Thomas and Vice-President Walter Reuther of the CIO United Automobile Workers rushed from their radio sets after the wage-price policy speech by Truman and unrestrainedly hailed it as "supporting" the auto workers' demand for a 30 per cent wage increase.

They were so anxious to appear to be acting in accord with government policy that they simply ignored the real essence of Truman's speech. Truman told the workers they would have to accept a big slash in take-home pay. Such unspecified and meager increases as the workers may wring from the bosses are going to be used as a pretext for price inflation.

Since Truman's deliberately vague speech could be interpreted several ways—except in the sense of supporting the demand for no reduction in take-home pay—General Motors also found a prop in it—for refusing the wage demand of the auto workers.

It seized hold of Truman's specific directive allowing individual increases where present straight-time hourly earnings may not equal cost of living increases between January 1941 and September 1945 (falsely figured at only 30 per cent by the government, or 15 per cent above the Little Steel formula limit). General Motors therefore proposed a "cost of living" raise which would add up to no more than eight or ten per cent.

Instead of trying to fool the auto workers about how Truman is "really" supporting their demands, Thomas and Reuther ought to be exposing Truman's attempt to foist a take-home pay cut on the workers under the guise of vaguely advocating wage increases. There is small consolation for the workers in Truman's speech. Even CIO President Philip Murray was constrained to describe it as "disappointing."

UPWA-CIO Strike Poll

Another big CIO union has petitioned for a strike vote. The United Packinghouse Workers of America is seeking an NLRB strike poll among 200,000 workers employed by the Big-Four combine of Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy, as well as a number of independents.

A similar petition had already been filed on October 15 on six of the major independent meat-packing companies. Hormel & Co. of Austin, Minn., responded by granting an immediate 17½ cents an hour increase and agreeing to raise this to 25 cents if that demand is secured in national negotiations with the industry.

Three years ago, in 1942, the packinghouse workers demanded a 20-cent raise. Recently they finally were paid off on meager fringe grants authorized by the War Labor Board after years of government stalling. Now the packinghouse workers are becoming really aroused and demanding a militant fight for the

wage increases so long denied them.

"Lily White" Policy

The bigoted and divisive "lily white" policy of the AFL International Association of Machinists was opposed at its convention last week by a powerful movement for lifting off the Jim-Crow restrictions on IAM membership.

A stormy session resulted from the proposal of 18 lodges and the recommendation of the Ritual Committee to eliminate the clause in the union's ritual which restricts membership to "white candidates." The proposal lost out by the narrow margin of 2,173 votes to 1,958.

This is the closest the racial discriminatory clause has come to defeat. It reflects the growing awareness of white workers that discrimination against Negroes is a self-defeating policy which weakens and divides the working class.

Railway Program

A program being advocated by the Permanent Joint Legislative Committee of Railway Unions, Reading, Pa., which the committee is distributing for consideration of the railway workers, is evidence of the growing progressive trend among the ranks of the railway unions, traditionally among the most conservative in the country.

The program endorses such excellent proposals as a minimum retirement pension of \$100 per month at the age of 60; the 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay; union unemployment committees to protect laid-off union members; organization of the veterans by the unions; government operation under trade union control of all idle and government-built plants; union wages for the unemployed; and a national labor congress of all unions to meet in Washington, and draft a labor legislation program to push for adoption in Congress.

The local railway unions belonging to the Permanent Joint Legislative Committee are Boilermakers, No. 560; Blacksmiths, No. 197; Carmen, No. 652; Machinists, No. 682; Electrical Workers, No. B744, and Maintenance of Way Employes, No. 2780.

Gentle Reminder

Now that the Stalinists are trying to fool the workers with a shift in line and are making a pretense of "militancy," we thought it would be a good idea to check back in the files and see what Stalinist union leaders like Harry Bridges were saying in the not-so-distant past.

For instance, a little more than a year ago, on July 27, 1944, Bridges had a discussion on post-war problems with the head of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. Bridges publicly stated: "Any union planning a big fight with the bosses after the war won't get the support of much of labor." "Strikes," said this Stalinist traitor, "won't help."

Huge Struggle Looms Over Wage Raise Issue

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gant, war profits-fat corporations.

The militant temper and fighting actions of the workers are a direct reaction to the intolerable sacrifices imposed on them during the "war for democracy." They do not mean now, after suffering frozen wages and compulsory arbitration and price-gouging while the capitalist profiteers reaped staggering profits, to submit to reduced take-home pay, down-grading and a further general drastic slash in their standards of living.

BITTER MOOD

The bitter mood of the American workers has been aggravated by the brazen and contemptuous attitude of the monopoly corporations. General Motors has virtually spat in the face of the UAW negotiators. It has proposed provocatively that the work week be lengthened at straight-time pay, and has launched a multi-million dollar propaganda war against the auto union and its just wage demands.

U. S. steel, its coffers bulging with hundreds of millions of dollars looted from the public treasury during the war, last week broke off negotiations with the steel union and issued an ultimatum to the government that it will consider no wage increases until it is permitted to raise prices as it sees fit.

A labor storm of gigantic proportions is looming on the immediate horizon. That is what brought the spokesmen of Big Business and their government agents, together with the top union officialdom, hustling into Washington last week at the call of Truman to put their heads together for so-called "industrial peace."

From the first day of the Truman Labor-Management Conference it was transparently clear that the corporation and government spokesmen have no other thought in mind but to exact commitments from the union leaders to establish new machinery in the pattern of the discarded and virtually defunct War Labor Board, or some agency which would serve a similar wage-freezing, strikebreaking function.

GANGING UP

They showed that they have no interest in the real issues which have forced the workers to greater and greater strike actions. They ganged up, with the concurrence of William Green, AFL President, and John L. Lewis, mine union head, to brush aside with a mere sweep of the hand the proposal of CIO President Philip Murray to place the key question — wages — upon the agenda.

Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, unctuously informed the CIO delegation that Truman had called the conference exclusively to "devise the machinery of free collective bargaining by which the wage issue and other issues can be resolved satisfactorily." Meanwhile, the arrogant barons of industry for whom Mosher speaks, have rejected all wage-concessions and made a farce of "free collective bargaining."

THREATEN NEW LAWS

The recurrent refrain of the conference was on "procedure" for preventing strikes. But that "procedure," according to most of the conferees, has no relation to the basic cause of current strikes — the ruthless slashes in take-home pay imposed by the profiteers, their refusal to yield-up

one nickel of their blood-profits to those who do the toiling and sweating.

The clamor of Wall Street and its government agents for "procedures" to stifle the militant actions of labor's ranks was combined with open threats of legislative curbs to enforce the Big Business conception of "free collective bargaining." Truman, in his opening address, had stressed the possibility of new anti-labor laws if the union officials do not go down the line. H. W. Prentiss, former president of the NAM, asserted that "the extent to which they (labor restrictions) are written into the law of the land will depend in no small measure on the outcome of the discussions at this conference."

R. J. Thomas, UAW President, correctly stated: "If all this procedure is adopted I can't see how it will put one more slice of bread in many workers' mouths in America. I can't see how procedure will furnish clothes. I can't see how procedure will do away with unemployment. Procedure will not as a general rule foment strikes, and procedure will not stop strikes. There are

For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

other things more basic . . . Millions of working men in America are looking to us not for procedure but for a better standard of living."

No, the American workers can hope to achieve none of their basic demands through the "procedure" being concocted at Truman's conference. Their strike votes and their strike actions are evidence that they are looking to themselves, their organized might and militant union action to win their needed wage increases and better conditions. But they face the danger that the weak and servile union officials will submit to the dictates of Big Business and its government and once more commit the labor movement to policies calculated to bind labor's hands and render it helpless before the onslaughts of the employing class.

OLD EXPERIENCE

During the war, the workers had a bitter taste of the kind of stew the union leaders, together with the bosses and government, can cook up for the workers. Labor has gone through the experience of the War Labor Board, that wartime graveyard of grievances, the frozen wages and compulsory arbitration and no-strike policy.

Now these same union leaders have been corralled together in Washington at a government "industrial peace" conference which has no other purpose than to put the clamps on labor once more, to

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Japan

During the war, the Allied propagandists alleged that the Japanese people marched into battle like puppets blindly obedient to the orders of the Mikado.

How far this propaganda differed from the truth can be judged from a report in the October 26 New York edition of The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury.

India

A militant demonstration against British Jim Crow was staged by Indian students bound for England.

Twenty-five students refused to sail, protesting against the "menial jobs" assigned them.

Greece

After holding the post of Premier for 15 days, the British-approved regent, Damaskinos, appointed a new Premier on November 1.

Reports from various sources, says the October 19 British Tribune, "agree that the 'Left wing forces' . . . are all firmly convinced that these negotiations (leading to the appointment of Kanelopoulos) are but a maneuver designed to put the Right into undisputed power and pave the way for a neo-Fascist dictatorship."

France

The atrocity stories about the Nazi concentration camps were utilized by the Allies to direct hatred and indignation against the Hitlerites.

But the German capitalists are not the only ones who vented the bestial treatment on their captives.

"The first German prisoners of war returned to the United States Army control by the French have been classified as unfit to work by American medical authorities," declares a November 5 Associated Press dispatch.

"At the screening, it was hard to believe that some of them could be alive. One 47-year-old man weighed only 92 pounds and his sore-blotched and scaly skin hung in thin folds."

"The number of prisoners returned is now 2,474. 'All were unfit to work — three-quarters of them because of malnutrition.'"

These pitiful victims had been handed over to the French by the Americans to work as slave-laborers in "stone quarries, coal mines, farms and clean-up details of northwest France."

"The prisoners were called back when the International Red Cross charged they were being 'treated below standards set by international convention.'"

Korea

Increasing resentment against American imperialism is apparent among the Korean people.

This pamphlet, according to the October 29 N. Y. Times "expressed unrestrained indignation over General Arnold's proclamation" which decreed that the Military Government was the only government south of the 38 parallel.

Apparently in reply to the pamphlet, the American Military Government on October 29 banned the publication and distribution of handbills and pamphlets in Korea.

Mass Slaughter Launched In Java As Allies Begin Bombing Civilians

Victims In War-Torn Germany



A German woman feeds some orphans in Berlin. These homeless children were orphaned when Allied bombs killed their parents.

By Joseph Hansen

British warships and planes on November 10 began blasting the city of Soerabaja, after fighters for the freedom of Indonesia turned down an Allied ultimatum to give up their arms and deliver their leaders to the tender mercies of the imperialist butchers.

The British, hoary with experience in putting down rebellious colonial masses, were utilizing every stratagem to advance Allied troops deeper into Java.

Britain is moving as ruthlessly and swiftly as possible in Indonesia, not only to safeguard Allied investments, but to nip in the bud a colonial uprising which could sweep like wildfire toward India if it succeeded in throwing off despotic Dutch rule.

U. S. AID TO DUTCH

The American imperialists are backing the British. Truman maintained a contemptuous silence to the protests of the Republic of Indonesia against British and Dutch use of American-made uniforms, arms and ammunition.

"From 400 to 600 American vessels . . . are being used in delivering American equipment purchased by the Dutch," reported the November 7 N. Y. P.M.

Meanwhile the role of Soekarno, head of the newly-formed Republic of Indonesia, became more equivocal. Instead of rallying the people of Java to a life and death struggle against the savage foreign invaders, he continued to follow a policy of appeasement.

But "British army formations, including highly mobile forces of tanks and armored cars, have taken positions at strategic points . . . in readiness to suppress winter food riots," declares an October 28 United Press dispatch.

SOEKARNO LOSING

"Soekarno's personal popularity undoubtedly is declining even among the illiterates," reported the correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, November 3.

How Allies Betrayed The Jewish Refugees

By Dan Shelton

(The second of two articles)

A second lie of the Zionists was openly revealed by the publication of correspondence between Roosevelt, that "great friend of the Jews," and Ibn Saud, king of Saudi Arabia.

We have consistently pointed to Roosevelt's record of many words and no action on behalf of Jewry. But it is only after his death that his real role as defender of U. S. imperialism aims is becoming clear to ever more Jews.

The existence of these letters, written after a series of conferences between Roosevelt and Ibn Saud subsequent to the Yalta meetings, was previously proclaimed by Arab sources and denied by the Zionists and the U. S. government.

BLOW TO ZIONISM

There could have been no more damaging blow to the Zionist cause than Roosevelt's answer to this Arab potentate who controls one of the world's richest reserves of oil.

In Roosevelt's letter to his "great and good friend," there is not a single reference to the U. S. expressed "support" of a Jewish Home. There is not a single word supporting Jewish claims. Instead there is the clear-

over the extremists, who, come what may, intend to carry out the Republic's slogan and "fight for freedom."

A youth rally at Jogakarta, which Soekarno was addressing, is said to have broken up when news of the British bombardment of Soerabaja was received.

Famine And Death Stalk People In German Ruins

During the war the Allies pointed to horrors of Hitler's rule in Germany. But capitalist "civilization" has plunged to a still more bestial level in Germany under the rule of the Allied "democracies."

The Americans, the British and the Stalinists are methodically stripping the factories and blowing up those they do not dismantle. The destruction of these factories dooms millions of human beings to death.

The Allies have uprooted an incredible number of people from their homes. More than nine million have been expelled from areas given to Poland. Another million have been expelled from Czechoslovakia.

"No child born in Germany in 1945 will survive the coming winter. Only half the children aged less than three years will survive," declared Hans Albrecht, as

GUERIN ARTICLE ON INDO-CHINA IN NEXT ISSUE

The imperialist butchery of the people of Indo-China is proceeding behind a heavy curtain of censorship. In the past 15 days not more than a few paragraphs have appeared in the capitalist press reporting the movements of French and British troops.

Next week The Militant will print an article from France on Indo-China, by Daniel Guerin, author of Fascism and Big Business. Guerin reports the background of the struggle and analyzes the aims of French imperialism in Indo-China.

GERMANS STARVING

Already a survey conducted by the American Military Government "shows that the weight of German adult civilians has dropped from 3.2 to 14.9 per cent of normal."

CHILDREN'S MISERY

Pastor Gruber of the Commission of German Churches reports: "Eight million Germans from east of the Oder have been forced to leave their homes and farms forever, at short notice and under terrible conditions . . . The process can be described as mass murder, particularly in the case of the children, for whom it is literally impossible to provide the smallest quantity of milk."

The Rev. Henry Carter describes the Berlin area: "In the woods around Berlin corpses are surrounding the participation of the Trotskyists in the elections, the vote therefore seems to indicate an important straw in the wind. There is a shift among the most advanced militants of the working class away from Stalinism and towards Trotskyism."

That the French Trotskyists know how to take advantage of this shift is evidenced by their correct election tactic. We are confident that the Trotskyist vote in the French elections is a magnificent symbol of future successes.

hanging from the trees. Other men, women and children throw themselves into the rivers. Hundreds of bodies are continually drifting down the rivers Elbe and Oder. All roads leading to Berlin are crowded with exiles. Thousands fall exhausted at the road-sides. Children may be seen trudging along pathetically without their parents. Hundreds of people are dying daily beside the roads from hunger and disease."

A member of the British Parliament warned that disease started in this mass of humanity "can spread like wildfire" throughout Europe.

MOUNTING HATRED

But "British army formations, including highly mobile forces of tanks and armored cars, have taken positions at strategic points . . . in readiness to suppress winter food riots," declares an October 28 United Press dispatch.

Although American troops were received with friendliness at first, they are now the object of swift mounting hatred. Armed bands of starving victims, foraging for food, fuel and clothing show increasing desperation. A sharp rise in the number of attacks on American soldiers is one of the consequences.

Indonesians Will Fight To The Death Against Dutch Despots, Says Seaman

By Evelyn Atwood

"We Indonesians are a peaceable people—but when we are forced to fight, we fight to the death!" Sam R. Sulin, born in Sumatra 36 years ago, spoke for the group of striking Indonesian seamen gathered in the lounge of the Servicemen's Club at 224 West 124th St., N. Y., when I visited them on November 5.

There were about 175 men in the harbor when the Indonesians revolted against restoring the hated Dutch rule. They all went out on strike in a political protest against both the Dutch and the British who are intervening in behalf of the Dutch.

Even seven Indonesians shipped here after four and a half years in a German concentration camp went out with the strikers," said Sulin proudly. "They were staying at the Dutch Seamen's boarding house in Brooklyn. They immediately left the boarding house because they were

afraid the Dutch government would force them to act as strikebreakers."

Sulin told me what conditions were like in the Dutch East Indies. "They were always bad and began to get even worse. Most people work for 10 cents a day. Only the rich can send their children to school because it costs so much. That is why only six per cent of the people can read and write. Dutch seamen get about \$10 a month. Everything is taxed; in the country even a coconut tree and a chair are taxed."

DESCRIBES CONDITIONS

"Until recently the Dutch used the system of 'herrenland'—that is, forced labor, where everyone must work part of the year for the government without pay. The people cannot even buy shoes and have only rags to cover their bodies with. Then, after the Dutch did this to us, they say we are no better than jungle animals."

Many of the Indonesians participated in the "war against aggression," Sulin related. "We really wanted to help get democracy, peace and independence. Now we ask: What was this war fought for? We thought we fought to destroy the masters of slaves. But who are the masters



INDONESIAN SEAMAN

of slaves today? Now it is clear that the British and Dutch rulers are no better than the Japanese."

Regarding the Indonesian nationalist movement, today headed by President Soekarno, Sulin said: "This movement has grown since 1921 when we had a general railroad strike. Our leaders were exiled and many thousands thrown into concentration camps. As you see, the Dutch had concentration camps many years before even Hitler."

voit in 1926 and 1927. It started in Java and Sumatra and spread to the whole East Indies. Again our leaders were exiled and thousands thrown into concentration camps. During that time I was in Palembang, Sumatra, working in a railroad warehouse near the river. They came in motor boats at night to search our houses. After this revolt the Dutch made it illegal to belong to any organizations and outlawed our press. Everything we had built was smashed. That was when I left there and worked my way to this country as a seaman."

With a broad smile Sulin talked about the strike action of the Australian labor movement in defense of the Indonesian struggle. "We talk all the time about the Australian workers for helping us in our fight for independence. We are extremely grateful to them. They know as we do that our struggle is not for us alone. We are helping all the colonial people enslaved like us by foreign rulers."

At the conclusion Sulin said: "We Indonesians want to say to the American workers: You have had your revolution and have won your independence. We want to follow in your footsteps and win our independence too."

Trend To Socialism Shown In French Workers' Votes

(Continued from Page 1)

utilizing for this purpose the police of the Stalinist Minister for Air, Charles Tillon.

The de Gaulle government, in cahoots with the Stalinists, maneuvered until the very last moment to prevent our French co-thinkers from appearing on the official ballot. The Trotskyists thus could not make their candidate lists public until one or two weeks before election day.

A deposit of 20,000 francs (\$400) was required by the government before a candidate could be put on the ballot. This made it necessary for the French Trotskyists to confine themselves to a contest for only 16 of the 580 seats in the Constituent Assembly. But even to put these 16 in the field they had to raise \$6,400, an enormous sum for a small working class party operating under conditions of illegality and under daily terror.

Yet, in spite of all these, apparently insurmountable difficulties, the French Trotskyists polled 11,000 votes in only two electoral districts! Despite illegality,

despite persecution by the government, despite terrorization by the Stalinists, despite a last minute campaign without adequate preparations, despite extreme poverty, the Parti Communiste Internationaliste reached thousands of French workers. In the light of these circumstances the 11,000 votes cast for Trotskyism in France represent a figure of great significance.

Where did these 11,000 votes come from? What do they indicate? The 8,000 votes polled by the PCI in Paris come from a predominantly proletarian district in the cordon rouge, the "Red Belt," the stronghold of the Communist Party. It appears, therefore, that these votes came mainly from militants disillusioned with Stalinism. Unquestionably they were cast, first of all, for the slogan of a Socialist-Communist-Trade Union government. Undoubtedly, too, the electoral tactic of the French Trotskyists — critical support of the Stalinist candidates wherever they could not run candidates of their own—also played an important part in obtaining this vote.

DEFY HARSHIPS

Considering the circumstances

successes.

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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

Open Their Books!

General Motors' claim of "inability" to pay a 30 per cent wage increase was again countered last week by the CIO United Automobile Workers with the demand that the multi-billion dollar corporation open its books and records for public inspection.

GM Vice-President Harry W. Anderson contemptuously replied that under no circumstances would the corporation reveal its profits records. He added: "We don't even open our books to our stockholders." As the union's brief states, the corporation insists that how much wealth it drains from the workers is "nobody's business" but its own.

Of course, General Motors doesn't think wages are "nobody's business" but the workers'. It is spending millions to mobilize sentiment against the union's wage demands. It proposes a federal law restoring a 48-hour week at straight-time pay.

General Motors has been a chief beneficiary of the monumental war profits ladeled out of the public treasury. Its "normal" profits are guaranteed through a generous tax bill eliminating over \$3-billion annually in corporation profits taxes and providing huge tax rebates. Still, General Motors brazenly asserts its profits are "nobody's business."

The true reason why corporations like General Motors fight tooth and nail against public examination of their books, is fear of what such inspection would reveal. If the criminal practices and gigantic hidden profits of the corporations were exposed to the light of day, the people might rise up in terrible wrath against Big Business.

Take for instance the steel corporations which are refusing to negotiate the issue of a \$2 a day wage increase until the government first raises steel prices. In 1944, U. S. Steel reported its net profits were "only" \$60,000,000. Government statisticians reveal that its real profits after taxes were \$157,000,000. Profits of \$97,000,000 were concealed in phony "depreciation" and "reserve" funds. This is the practice of all the big corporations.

Big Business insists on the "inviolability" of "business secrets" in order to hide its crimes of plunder and exploitation. One of the major slogans which The Militant and Socialist Workers Party have been advocating for years to expose the rottenness and corruption of monopoly capitalism is: "OPEN THE BOOKS AND RECORDS OF THE CORPORATIONS!"

"Victors"

An instructive lesson can be drawn from the parallel strike actions of hundreds of thousands of workers in Great Britain and the United States.

These two countries emerged "victors" in the Second World War. Victory, promised the framers of the Atlantic Charter, would bring freedom from fear and freedom from want.

Yet for the masses in both countries "victory" brought only immediate wage slashes, plant shut-downs, unemployment and further price rises.

During the war, while the bosses raked in stupendous profits, the trade union bureaucracies in both lands did their utmost to hog-tie labor with the vicious no-strike policy.

With the defeat of the Axis powers, the American workers smashed the no-strike policy in action. The strike struggles now sweeping the land did not begin on the initiative of the trade union bureaucracy but arose as a powerful rank and file movement.

The strike movement in Britain is likewise a rank and file movement. The dock strike began in Liverpool and swiftly spread to all major ports. At present the strikers have agreed to a 30-day truce. Although the demands of the British longshoremen were officially recognized by the trade union heads, these bureaucrats fought the strike tooth and nail.

One great difference in the British and American situations is that the British workers elected a Labor Government to power. The dock workers therefore counted on aid from this government. Their strike expressed their determination to back up the Labor Government in opposing the British capitalists.

Attlee and his lieutenants, however, betrayed the longshoremen. He ordered out 17,500 soldiers against the workers and announced troops would be commanded to re-

place all longshoremen who left their jobs. But no sooner did the dockers agree to the truce than the construction workers began giant demonstrations in the larger cities, with essentially the same demands as the longshoremen.

These bitter strike struggles reflect the fact that the workers of the victor powers have emerged from the war not only with no gains, but with seriously undermined standards of living. In both countries, the workers are beginning to draw the same conclusion: The masses are only losers in imperialist wars. Militant action in the class struggle alone is capable of safeguarding and bettering the condition of the working people.

Free Enterprise

Andrew J. Higgins, Sr., became an "industrial genius" by securing an inside pipe-line to government war contracts, acquiring large shipyards on the Gulf Coast built at public expense and pocketing millions in cost-plus profits from the public treasury.

In order to attract shipyard labor into the low-wage South during the war, Higgins publicized his "friendship" to unionism. So long as the government was handing out the dough, and labor was scarce, Higgins was quite patronizing toward the unions.

Last week, however, he arbitrarily shut down three yards in New Orleans and fired 3,500 workers. The pretext for this action was "labor trouble." The workers had dared to go on strike demanding continued recognition of their union. For this reason, Higgins said, he was "selling out."

According to reports, it just "so happens" that Higgins is having a little tax trouble. The story goes that he owes the government quite a wad in taxes due and is trying to pull out from under.

What is of prime significance is that through the whim and greed of one war-profiteering chiseler thousands of workers and their families can be condemned to want and destitution. A mere handful of greedy capitalist parasites like Higgins, through their control of the means of production, hold the power of life or death over the vast working masses.

The workers are being flooded these days with capitalist propaganda about the "blessings" of "free enterprise." The case of Higgins, Sr., epitomizes the real nature of capitalist "free enterprise" and its "blessings." Labor will begin to escape such "blessings" at the hands of "free enterprise" scoundrels like Higgins only when all idle and government-built plants are operated under workers' control.

The Italian Armistice

After more than two years of complete secrecy the terms of the Allied armistice imposed on the Italian people were made public November 6.

From the brazenly imperialistic N. Y. Daily News to the liberal N. Y. Post, the capitalist press concertedly hailed the terms as "Dess Harsh Than Had Been Expected."

It would be difficult, however, to imagine a harsher armistice. Under its terms, prices have sky-rocketed to fantastic levels in Italy; devastating unemployment has paralyzed the country; and the standard of living has dropped below the abysmal level of the Nazi occupation.

In their effort to whitewash the brutal armistice, capitalist commentators label the terms now as an "anti-climax," a "let-down," etc., and express puzzlement over the long secrecy.

The fact is, the terms of the armistice have been revealed in action. The Militant has consistently pointed out what the terms are in practice.

First of all, instead of cleaning out the rotten fascist regime, the Allies made a deal with the monarchy and former fascists. When the Italian people tried to carry out purges, the Allies intervened to protect these fascists and Nazi collaborators.

Second, the Allies laid iron hands on the political life of Italy. Instead of allowing the Italian people to form a government of their own free choice, the Allies set up in succession the puppet regimes of Badoglio, Bonomi and now Parri.

Third, the Allies placed a stranglehold on the economic life of Italy. The Allies control the Italian colonies, territories and markets. They protect Italian capitalism from swift destruction at the hands of the working class.

Fourth, the Allies maintain domination over Italy by armed might. British and American troops constitute the major force today preventing the Italian workers from reconstructing their ravished country through establishment of a Socialist planned economy.

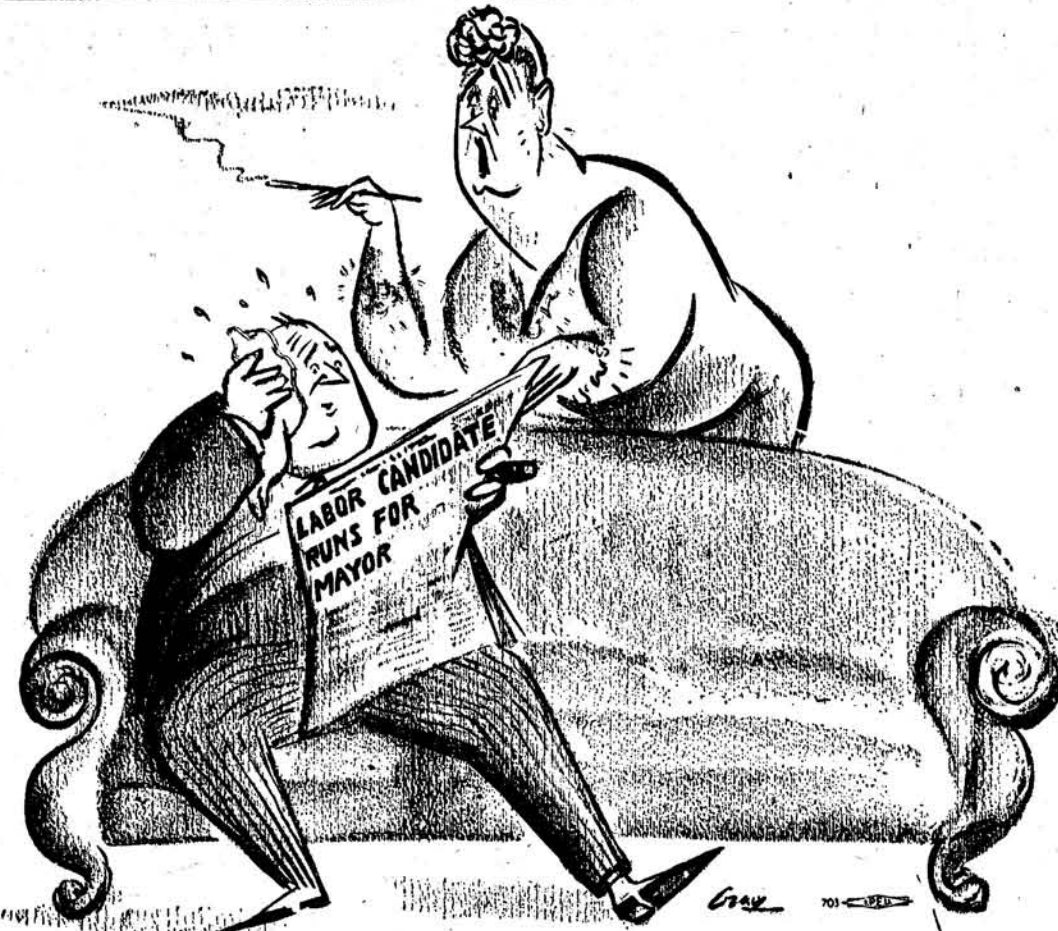
The terms of the Allied armistice, in brief, constitute a tightening noose around the throat of the Italian people.

And these are the terms the capitalist press whitewashes as "Less Harsh Than Had Been Expected."

Why did Washington and London follow a policy of secrecy for two long years? The Allied diplomats gave as their reason in 1943 that publication of the terms would draw the fierce resentment of the Italian people in un-conquered territories and thus help the Nazi cause.

These diplomats thereby revealed that Allied aims in the war were so sordid and ruthless they could not be distinguished from those of the German, Italian and Japanese capitalists.

But the most important consideration, undoubtedly, was that these terms would have shocked the American and British workers. Churchill and Roosevelt claimed they were fighting for democracy. The terms of the Italian armistice would have exposed their real aims as utterly predatory and imperialistic. That is why the lid of secrecy was kept tightly nailed down until Wall Street emerged completely victorious.



"But why do they permit labor candidates to be put on the ballot if so many people are going to vote for them?"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

AMERICAN WORKERS NEED A LABOR PARTY, by Joseph Hansen. Pioneer Publishers, 1944; illustrated by Ruth Wilson and Laura Gray. 48 pp., 15 cents.

On November 6, Richard Frankenstein, running for mayor of Detroit as an independent candidate, polled a vote so heavy that the Republican Jeffries squeaked through to re-election by the small margin of 50,000 votes. And this, despite the fact that Frankenstein did not have an organized party or a clear program, while the auto barons threw against him the weight of a frenzied labor-baiting, race-hate inciting campaign by press and radio.

The Detroit election, with its tremendous vote for a candidate from labor's own ranks, reaffirms the readiness of the American workers to organize politically. They are becoming increasingly aware that only on the political arena can they win economic security. A great impetus has been given to the movement for a labor party.

"American Workers Need A Labor Party," issued last fall by Pioneer Publishers, is today more timely than ever. It exposes the structure of the capitalist two-party system, and presents practical steps which must be taken to form a political party of the working class.

Hansen presents first the case for such an Independent Labor Party, organized on class lines. "No one can escape taking part in politics. The worker who rejects political action because 'politicians are crooks,' is fooling himself. He has not avoided politics. He has simply given up his rights to the enemies of labor

without putting up a fight."

He shows how all political parties are established to defend class interests, and how the Republicans and Democrats have consistently served the capitalist class while pretending to do otherwise. The tricks of Wall Street's political agents are exposed in these pages—how they create artificially built-up "public leaders" and how they maintain the great fraud of the "two-party system."

CAPITALIST TRICKS

Hansen reminds us of the plight of the unemployed during the last depression, when workers stood helplessly outside the closed factories. "Despite their huge ranks they are helpless in the face of a politically organized minority." But if these workers had organized their own class party, such a political party in power would have been in the positions to open up the factories and produce goods for use instead of for profit.

How the organized capitalist minority is able to force and trick the people into war, is described. War is profitable for the capitalists, although disastrous for the masses who are politically unorganized and cannot prevent it.

U. S. DOMINATION

Hansen shows how the whole world is affected by the dominant power of the United States. How clear that has become in the year since this pamphlet was written; the year that brought military triumph to Wall Street, and produced the atomic bomb which today threatens all mankind! The fate of humanity depends upon whether Labor will take leadership in this nation, Hansen warns, or whether Wall

Street will retain its control in order to carry out its imperialist aims.

But what can a worker who favors a labor party do? Hansen explains the factors which favor and will clear the way for the labor party-minded workers. In spite of all their power "Wall Street lacks the decisive weapons. First, truth is against them. They are forced to lie. Second, the economic interests of the majority are against them."

Hansen recalls the triumphant and stormy growth of the CIO industrial unions against all opposition. An equally rapid development is now possible on the political field.

The Labor Party will attract huge masses. It will open up a great opportunity for the Negro people; its power as a weapon for them and the strength which they in turn will bring to it, are related. Once labor shows that it means business, it can rally behind its program the dirt farmers and the white collar workers as well.

PROGRAM FOR LABOR

An 11-point program for the Labor Party is outlined for discussion. Such a program can be altered or added to as events dictate. But the Labor Party must remain independent of the capitalist parties. "It must put up its own candidates, and its own program, opposing the bosses up and down the line."

"American Workers Need A Labor Party" is written in a simple and convincing style. It contains many illustrations by Ruth Wilson and several of the powerful cartoons drawn by Laura Gray, staff cartoonist for The Militant. Reviewed by C. Andrews

Congressmen At Work

Not all the capitalist Senators and Representatives are doomed to spend an entire lifetime in Congress running the country for Wall Street. A few, gifted with initiative, brains, luck, or financial connections—much to the envy of the rest of the herd—get higher and juicier posts in the political hierarchy of Big Business.

The most recent to hit the political jackpot was Senator Chandler of Kentucky. On October 29 he took the floor to crow over his colleagues on his good fortune:

"Mr. President, on April 24 last, I was unanimously elected to be High Commissioner of Baseball of the United States. This is not a position I have personally sought, although I will confess that above all others it was the one I most desired."

At first, Chandler explained, he tried to combine the jobs of Senator and High Commissioner of Baseball. But he discovered that "work in the United States Senate is a full-time job" and "the work of the High Commissioner of Baseball is also a full-time job." After a half-year's experience, the astute Senator discovered that "it is not possible for one man to perform two full-time jobs at one and the same time."

CHANDLER'S CHOICE

So he had to make an "election." He recalled how he had crawled up the political ladder as "a master commissioner in chancery, State Senator, Lieute-



nant Governor, Governor, and United States Senator."

Should he limit his ambitions to this narrow field? Chandler pondered: "The odds against any man being elected Commissioner of Baseball are approximately 135,000,000 to 1." With this thought, he grabbed the gravy bowl with both hands.

The lucky winner expressed his "appreciation to the Official Reporters, who have made my speeches look like oratorical gems, when really they were not so good." And then he proceeded to rub salt over his envious colleagues smart the most:

"Mr. President, there are three ways to retire from public office. One is to die... Another way is to stay here too long and be defeated... The third way is to be offered a fine place. I have such a place. I acknowledge all the way my obligations to that one above who holds the destiny of all of us in the hollow of His Hand..." Chandler then delicately turn-

ed the blade in a tender wound among those of his fellow-Congressmen who believe they should get a better shake-down out of the public treasury than \$10,000 a year salary and some \$2,000 a year expenses:

SOME SECURITY

"I have four children and mama... I have two fine sons-in-law and one grandbaby who is my pride and joy. With \$50,000 a year and expenses and an opportunity to live at home in Kentucky, I can establish for them an opportunity for some security which the boys in my neighborhood did not have when I was a youngster."

Senator White of Maine gave an eloquent reply to Chandler's valedictory address, summing up the feelings of Congress over the Kentucky Senator's lucky break: "In this particular case, Mr. President, the departure of the Junior Senator from Kentucky brings to each and all of us a real sense of personal grief, and causes real regret."

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PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Plight of Negro Veterans

Over a million Negroes were drafted into the armed forces, about half of them from the south. These men, called upon to sacrifice their lives for "democracy," were segregated into separate Jim Crow units whose duties, for the most part, consisted of doing the dirty, hard work for the army.

While they were being trained, while they were awaiting shipment to the front and when they were in battle, fighting for "democracy," the same policies of discrimination that are practiced in the south were enforced by the Brass Hats.

Negro troops were thrown into battle where the fighting was bloodiest. When the shooting was over, whole units of highly trained men—for example, the famous 9th and 10th Negro cavalry regiments—were converted into "service" troops. Their reward was hard labor, pick and shovel jobs, menial tasks.

Negroes in uniform are beaten and terrorized by race-hating southern Bourbons. And it is a well known fact that four Negro soldiers were killed by bus drivers in the south. The drivers received no punishment. At least four were killed by police and county sheriffs. No one was punished. Others were found lynched. No one was punished.

Since that was the treatment Negroes received while they were in uniform, what can they expect as veterans?

Negro soldiers were treated differently in Europe. Although officers did everything in their power to induce the local population to copy the racial discrimination of the United States, Negroes were treated as equals when they were outside the army camps. They rode in the same busses and cars without discrimination, ate in the same restaurants and drank at the same bars with other people.

Almost half a million Negro troops learned that the lie of their "inferiority" is perpetuated by capitalists in this country to divide them from the rest of the working class. They lived for the first time among a population that did not humiliate them through segregation and discrimination. And they bitterly resent returning to live under Jim Crowism.

White officers know this only too well. Before Negro soldiers from overseas are discharged, groups are called together and reminded by white officers that they are back in the United States where racial discrimination remains in all its viciousness.

This reminder serves no purpose other than an added insult to the Negro soldiers. For they know that Negro workers were the last to be hired during the war boom and have been the first to be fired. Negro veterans know it will be equally tough for them, since they will be pushed around with other Negro workers.

Not only the employers and the Brass Hats practice and condone discrimination, but so does the Federal Government. The CIO and the Veteran, published recently, states that "Region 7 of the U. S. Employment Service covers the six states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee. Of its 2,240 employees, only 30—less than 2 per cent—are Negroes, although those six states have more than one-third of the Negroes in the United States. And of the 30 Negro employees, most are janitors."

What, Negro veterans ask, can we expect from such a biased set-up? How can we hope to get anything better than the \$1-a-day domestic and service jobs, the starvation wages for agrarian work that we have known in the past?

For Negro veterans as well as non-veterans the only solution lies in joint struggle with white workers for the abolition of the capitalism that breeds racial hatred and the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

Nazi Document Reveals Aid From Standard Oil

How Standard Oil provided the Nazis with industrial aid and information of "utmost importance in warfare" and enabled Germany to be "completely prepared from a technical point of view" is revealed in a captured Gestapo document, according to a dispatch from Hoechst, Germany, on October 18, to the N. Y. Times.

The document is a detailed report of an investigation which the Gestapo undertook on reading an article in a trade journal claiming that Standard Oil of New Jersey had gained rather than lost from its cartel agreement with I. G. Farben, giant German chemical trust.

Refuting this claim, the document asserts that Standard Oil provided Germany with a number of vital processes in the field of lubricants. For instance, "it need not be pointed out that without lead tetraethyl modern warfare could not be conceived. Since the beginning of the war we have been in a position to produce tetraethyl solely because, a short time before the outbreak of the war, the Americans had established plants for us ready for production and supplied us with all available experience."

The document further reveals that I. G. Farben secured from Standard a license for the process with the consent of the War Department in Washington. "We were not entitled by our contract to this request," the Gestapo states, "and later on we learned that the War Department in Washington had consented only after long deliberation."

Huge stocks of airplane benzene and lubricants were supplied the Nazis by Standard Oil and the British Royal Dutch Shell company. The Gestapo report states "the Government inquired of I. G. Farben whether it would be in a position to buy these quantities for itself, but actually as trustee for the Government on account of its friendly relations with Standard Oil." The transaction was accomplished "only because of the support of the Standard Oil Company."

The Gestapo document also reveals that the Nazis were advised "in a very liberal manner of the action of lubricants in automobile and airplane motors." This enabled them to develop synthetic lubricants for war so that "we were completely prepared from a technical point of view. In this way we obtained standards not only from our own experiences but also from those of General Motors and other big American motor-car manufacturers."

READ THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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.

Compares Programs of SWP and SLP

Editor:
After 14 years membership in the Socialist Labor Party, I have recently broken with it and joined the Socialist Workers Party.

My reasons for breaking fall under three major points.

1. The SLP fails to understand that the building of Socialist Industrial Unions (the central slogan of their program) cannot be accomplished by passing the 13 or 14 millions of the most class-conscious section of the working class organized in the existing unions. The party that is really serious about gaining influence over the working class must necessarily fight with its most advanced section for the workers' day-to-day demands, if for no other reason than to show that it has no axe of its own to grind. The SWP is such a party.

2. The SLP has no program for fighting fascism save that of the Socialist Revolution. But long before revolution is on the order of the day, fascist gangs will be breaking up their meetings, ransacking their headquarters, and beating up their members. What defense would they have? Appeals to the courts or the police? One might as well appeal to the fascists themselves. The SWP has the answer: "Workers' Defense Guards" organized by the unions.

3. The SLP holds that the day the unions take over the industries it will "adjourn on the spot." I have come to the conclusion, through my study of Trotsky's works, that to do this would be to place the leadership of the revolution into the hands of the most backward section of the working class. The working class needs a party until society has been completely transformed and the consciousness of the working class as a whole has been raised to the level of comprehending its historic mission.

My advice is that all members of the SLP read "The Militant," and "Fourth International," study Trotsky's works, and act according to his convictions as I have done.

A. M. Niles, Ohio

High School Youth Tells Meaning Of Conscription

Editor:
In the November 3 issue of The Militant there appeared on the front page, a cartoon showing a burly soldier representing "military conscription" and handing a rifle to a newly graduated high school boy. The caption read: "A Graduation Gift from Truman."

I was reading The Militant in the school lunchroom, one day, and a boy passing by, stepped and lingered over the cartoon. I said, "Good, huh?" and he answered very seriously,

"That depends on how you look at it."

Interested in his ideas, I began to ask a few questions on his thoughts concerning military conscription.

He said, "Look at the boy in the sketch. He's a white boy. He doesn't know what it is to be discriminated against, he has had his opportunities, but look at the frown on his face. Even he knows that military conscription will only benefit one guy, the guy on top, the boss. It's a year taken away from him, he loses his individuality and becomes one of many, doing tasks which he may not want to do. But me! Ha—that is a good laugh. You know, maybe it would not have been so bad if I had been born and brought up in the North. I was not that fortunate, however. Here it's merely a question of a few first-rate hotels and restaurants, but down South, where I spent 13 of my 17 years, it was just plain hell!"

"I saw Negroes, like myself, killed, not because they had done something against the law, mind you, but because their skin was black. I know what it's like to go to 'all Negro' schools, in 'all Negro' communities, scarcely clothed, and ill fed. Under the white boss we couldn't travel but so far, couldn't learn but so much, and could never earn enough to live a decent life. I came to New York after my father died.

"No, my father didn't die a hero's death, and he wasn't lynched. But he did die of tuberculosis, and two brothers died of pneumonia a year before. That's what the southern section of this wonderful, democratic country does for the Negro.

"No, military conscription is not for a Negro. Imagine me putting on Uncle Sam's uniform to train for a full year — a year that's preventing me from continuing my education, and in a Jim Crow army, at that," he added bitterly.

"It's hard enough being discriminated against myself," he said, "but suppose I were trained to help keep other colored people like myself in subjugation. You read every day in the papers, of the Indian revolts and the fighting in Indonesia, and all of the other colonial countries where the people are too weak to help themselves. And all these reports also say that American, or British, or French troops are there. Wouldn't I look wonderful, an American Negro, sent to a colony to fight more colored peoples and keep them down!"

"No, that's not for me. And another thing, what would I find when I came back? I'll tell you, the same damn thing our boys are finding now. They've fought the battle and won. Now they're shipped home in all Negro Jim Crow ships, and their points are tampered with. And when they finally get home they find unemployment, rising prices, and lowered standards of living. Above all, the same damn thing

they left here to fight against—Jim Crow. They still can't enter Child's restaurant and be served, or get a room in a first-class hotel, or see the inside of the State capitol!"

"There's an election coming up now for city officials. Congressman Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. called a meeting a few weeks ago and the three major candidates were either there, or had sent representatives. It was really a laugh, they all gave themselves a pat on the back for the wonderful plans they have for the Negro people, how hard they've been trying to better the conditions in Harlem, and what they will do if they are elected to office as mayor. Why do they always come to the Negro people? We're waking up now and we know that to us it will mean another Big Shot up there trying to keep us down. As far as I'm concerned, O'Dwyer, Goldstein, and Morris can all go to hell."

With this remark he stood up and prepared to leave. He asked if he could borrow The Militant. I said certainly and that I hoped he would tell me what he thought of it. He glanced through the pages and came to Jackson's column on the Negro Struggle. After scanning it, he read aloud:

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

He thought a while and musingly said: "You know, this paper has got the right idea."

Gloria Wall
Trotskyist Youth Group
New York

Wants Book On Socialist Future

Editor:
Recently I went back to work at the Chrysler Corporation in Detroit. I got a good job again at 98 cents per hour. We had a little trouble with the corporation about job transfers; some of the boys got a bad deal from the corporation, so we held a special meeting and went out on strike.

We caught hell from the local newspapers (as usual) and also from the CIO big shots Addes, Rueben and Jarvis. They told us to go back to work so they could help us settle it. We told them and the U. S. Conciliator would throw them out the door if they told us to go back to work once more. Also we got a wire from the CIO president to go back to work, as we are hurting the war effort.

All this happened just two weeks before V-J Day, so you can see that it was all politics with the union big shots and the corporation heads to try and get us to go back to work.

The company met our demands for a meeting which had been

QUESTION BOX

Q: I have been told it would require an annual business totaling at least \$186,200,000,000 to make the 60,000,000 jobs they talk about. How does this compare with total business in pre-war years?

A: An annual aggregate outlay by business, government and individuals of \$186,200,000,000 would provide jobs for 57,000,000 workers leaving a "float" of 3,000,000 unemployed. This is 51.5 per cent above the total outlay in 1940, and 78.5 per cent above the annual production of the pre-war years of 1935 to 1939. It is not considered possible even by capitalist economists.

Q: How much in terms of money has Great Britain lost by the second world war?

A: The war has turned Britain from a great creditor nation of the world into the greatest debtor nation. Britain has lost half of her \$18 billions in pre-war capital assets abroad. She owes \$14 billions, outside of Lend-Lease, to creditors outside her country. The Lend-Lease debt amounts to \$13,500,000,000. Britain is \$22 billions poorer than before the war.

Pittsburgh Public Forum
"What Does The Russian Revolution Mean to American Workers?"
Sunday, Nov. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Militant Reading Room,
Seeley Building, Room 207
(Corner Penn Ave. and Beatty St., East Liberty)
Admission free

refused before and so we went back to work. We also passed a motion at the meeting to remove the General Manager of the plant. (He is the real picture of a big capitalist: bald head, pot belly, and smokes big cigars.) We do not want to deal with him any more. Boy, that sure got a big spot in the papers here (as usual) and we even were given hell over the radio by a Detroit commentator (a big mouthpiece for capital). So you can see we are having a good time for ourselves up here.

This Sunday we had a special meeting again and we o.k'd the 30 per cent raise for all Chrysler slaves. We also took a vote to strike if necessary to get it (which we will have to do in order to get it, of course).

Will you send me a book explaining how the industries are to be run and by whom, after socialism is in control of the country? Also will you see if you can get a book on how the people will be equal. (I mean, will the people who run large industries get much more money than the workers, or what arrangements are to be made between the different kinds of jobs?)

I hope I can make this clear to you. I can explain to my friends all about socialism except how everything will be handled when the people take over, things like who will be in charge of production, and whether things will be equal or some will get more money, or what the set-up will be.

I am educating my fellow workers as well as I can. If you can get a little paper or pamphlet with talks on socialism and its benefits to the working class, I wish you would send it to me so I can explain everything about socialism after it is in control.

A.O.R.
Fort Huron, Mich.

(Editor's Note: Marxists have not attempted to blueprint the operation of industry under socialism. Marxists have always contended that once capitalist exploitation is overthrown and genuine democracy for the toilers is instituted under socialism, the workers will know how to manage society for the benefit of all, the workers will know how to take care of any individual who might attempt to improve his position by the exploitation of others. A brief treatment of the Marxist approach to these questions is contained in "Socialism on Trial," by James P. Cannon, published by Pioneer Publishers. We call attention especially to that section of Comrade Cannon's pamphlet beginning on page 18 under the subtitle, "The Socialist Workers Party Aims," and continuing through the section entitled, "Government in a Workers' State," page 36.)

A Request For More Explanation About Stalin

Editor:
I have just read Larissa Reed's article on the 28th Anniversary of the October Revolution. It is very good, but there are two things missing, and it seems like they are always missing in our articles on the course of events in Russia during the years since the workers took power, and to my way of thinking they are important to explain, yes, and often.

1. How was it possible for the bureaucratic clique of the Butcher Stalin to come into power?
2. How can we guarantee that another Stalin will not come to power?

We Trotskyists have every reason in the world to expose Stalin, it is our duty as Bolsheviks! I can't tell you how often I've been asked those two questions. We now are in another sub drive many new and inexperienced persons are being reached by our paper and don't understand—I believe this is one of our faults. We have so very much to teach the new workers, to analyze and explain everything is a very difficult task. I realize that only too well. But it is still a very important question and though to us it might seem like "re-hashing old stuff," nevertheless we know we must explain, and explain and explain again just how these things came about.

Another question: it may be the first one to enter the minds of the workers; and it is a question raised here very often in our campaign and contact work: "Why all this Trotsky business?" Then we must go into that detail and explain the need to differentiate.

If the first two questions were answered more often, or explained, in our press, I'm sure this last question would not be so bothersome, time-wasting.

Here I am kicking about the thing I preach, "patiently explain, and explain again"—but I do believe we are missing an important point by skipping those two questions.

Yours for a workers' world and no more Stalins!
L. M.
Pittsburgh

TWO LETTERS ON THE RECENT NEW YORK LONGSHORE STRIKE

Editor:
Lang's article on the longshoremen's strike in the October 27 issue of The Militant was a distinct disappointment to me. The article states, in bold print: ". . . the longshoremen's just fight for economic demands and union democracy was lost sight of in the jurisdictional warfare provoked by the Stalinists."

Who was it that "lost sight" of the real issues in the strike? Does the writer of the article refer to the politically backward majority of the stevedores, bewildered and coerced by Ryan's red scare? If so, I agree and would add to the ranks of the misguided, a considerable section of the metropolitan labor movement, prodded by their red-baiting, corrupt leadership. But Lang, too, must be counted among the confused.

How else can one interpret his story which relates the strike-breaking positions adopted by the AFL Council, Teamsters, and the Seafarers' Union with not a single word said in condemnation of their actions? Let me ask him: how would he advise me to act on a resolution introduced in my union calling for full moral and financial support to the Rank and File Committee of the ILA? My vote would be decisively "aye."

Let me ask Lang further: placed in Bridges' or Curran's position, how would HE have reacted to the rebellion in the gangster-controlled ILA? Any thing short of full support to the insurgents would, in my opinion, be false to the principles of revolutionary socialism.

It is indeed unfortunate that, through their intervention in the dispute, the Bridges-Curran-Stalinist gang were able to obscure to a great degree their wartime record of strikebreaking and treachery. This does not alter the fact that they have made serious inroads among the best, most advanced elements in the Longshoremen's Union, who, despite everything that Ryan and the boss press have screamed about the Red Menace, HAVE NOT "lost sight" of the "just fight for economic demands and union democracy."

Much more to be regretted is The Militant's poor and disorienting story of the conflict which can, for some time, close the door of the ILA rebels—and many other progressive workers—to the advances of a genuinely revolutionary organization—the Socialist Workers Party.

L. Williams
Bayonne, N. J.

Editor:
I have been a consistent sympathizer of the Trotskyist movement for over 10 years. My feelings for the movement came as

a result of being disillusioned with the Stalinist betrayers.

Recently the Socialist Workers Party, through The Militant, has taken a position on several issues inconsistent with its socialist principles.

I can't understand the party supporting Ben Davis just because he is a member of a working class party. The Communist Party which is reactionary to the core is running other members on its ticket. Why not be consistent and support them for the same reason? Or could it be that because they are not colored, they are not endorsed?

I also oppose supporting Frankenstein for mayor of Detroit, because I feel he has been a reactionary trade union leader and would be just as reactionary as a mayor. Further, I don't believe he would represent labor, but rather, judging from his red-baiting speeches, would attempt to hold labor down. Further proof of this could be found in his announcement that if elected he would quit the CIO (PM, Nov. 4).

As for the recent longshoremen's strike, I feel that you haven't taken a position that is 100 per cent correct. It is undoubtedly true that the Stalinists had ulterior motives in the recent strike, and I like the position you have taken in regards to "King" Ryan. But you have failed to take a position on the reactionary role the SIU of the AFL played. This union, which practices Jim Crowism in its organization, took a position of strikebreakers and scabs. Despite the fact that Bridges and the NMU turned the strike into a jurisdictional fight, Lundberg and the SIU actually took the position of supporting dictator Ryan.

Actually the NMU took a more progressive position than the SIU, since they supported the men against both Ryan and the shipowners. Of course, we both understand that the NMU could do a lot more for their own men, and their hands are none too clean.

In the past the Socialist Workers Party fought the capitalists bitterly when they tried to deport Bridges. But didn't the AFL waterfront unions express the same ideas when they cried, "Throw Bridges out of N. Y.?" He of course is not my idea of a progressive union man, but as The Militant has correctly stated, he represents a substantial force of working men. He must be fought from within his union, honestly and democratically.

I wish you would, through your paper, clarify your position on these matters as I am intensely interested.

J. F.
New York

EDITOR'S NOTE:

The Militant published a series of articles on the New York longshore strike which reported accurately the developments of each stage of the struggle.

During the first stage of the strike, lasting 10 days, the issue was clearly that of a fight against the bosses for better conditions and a struggle of the rank and file against Ryan's attempt to impose an unsatisfactory contract on the workers. We defended the rank and file against both the bosses and Ryan.

We also hailed the action of the waterfront unions, including those led by the Stalinists, in supporting the longshore strike and refusing to operate ships involved in the strike. These are the facts which any careful and unbiased reading of our articles will prove.

The Stalinist leaders of the CIO National Maritime Union and Bridges CIO International Longshoremen's Union intervened in the strike not to help the workers win their demands, nor to help them fight Ryan for union democracy inside the AFL International Longshoremen's Association, but to divert the struggle of the ranks into a water-front jurisdictional war. Thus, the fight for a decent contract from the bosses was transformed into a tug-of-war between the Stalinist-led CIO unions and the Ryan machine.

The Longshoremen, and the groups in the AFL who supported them, were confronted with a choice of union loyalties, to their own AFL organization or to some rival union. This, of course, gave the pretext for the AFL officialdom to uphold Ryan under the guise of defending the ILA-AFL against CIO raiding. This also gave them a pretext for a vicious red-baiting campaign. Thus, the strike was disrupted, Ryan was strengthened in the process and the real issues were so confused that the longshore workers were demoralized and disoriented. The Militant correctly pointed out all these facts.

Many complex factors must be taken into account, of course, in analyzing the trade union problems confronting the waterfront



The straightforward talk our comrades and friends use in selling subscriptions to The Militant is disclosed in a few quotes from some of their letters:

Bob Kingsley of Cleveland: "We tell the workers we meet that The Militant is the only labor paper that really fights Jim Crow, and prove it by displaying Charles Jackson's 'The Negro Struggle' column, and the weekly campaign statement of our Trotskyist candidate (ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party) for city council in New York."

Sylvia Wallace of Local New York: "I point out the fighting role The Militant has played all during the war, supporting the workers in their struggles for decent living conditions, higher wages, against Jim Crow. A display of the many articles and

stories in the paper soon convinces the potential subscriber that this is the best 50-cent investment he could make."

An unusual method of selling subscriptions is revealed in the following letter:

Libby Jones of Buffalo: "I have about a dozen copies of the May 26, 1945 issue of The Militant, which carried Laura Gray's cartoon 'Live Plants—Dead Men: Dead Plants—Live Men.' I let each subscriber have one copy which they must not give away, but use again on each mobilization. This cartoon shows so graphically one of our basic criticisms of the capitalist system, summing it up in an instant, that we find it a great help in selling The Militant. Of course, we carry the latest copy of the paper which we leave with all subscribers."

Our campaign scoreboard on page six lists the total number of new subscriptions (both six months and one year) obtained by the branches. While the greater number are six-month subscriptions, many one-year subs have been included. Below are listed just a few of the branches which have sent in a good number of one year subs since November 1:

Detroit	28
New York	9
Minneapolis	6
Los Angeles	4
Pittsburgh	4
Chicago	4

Clara Kay of Chicago reports the following: "The sale of The Militant on Chicago newspapers has been materially spurred by sympathetic dealers who push the paper and pamphlets of the Socialist Workers Party. One newsdealer in a Negro neighborhood can often be found involved in a political discussion with his customers. One evening while taking the current issue of The Militant to the stand, I listened to one of these discussions between the dealer, a minister, and a highly articulate young worker. On noticing me carrying the paper in my hand, the latter stopped talking and asked if I handled the distribution of The Militant. He then told me, very enthusiastically, that he had liked the paper from the first time he had read it.

"He went on to say that reading The Militant started him on the reading of our pamphlets, 'Socialism on Trial,' 'Struggle for Negro Equality,' 'Jobs for All,' etc.

"Several days after this incident, he appeared at our office, bought additional literature, and expressed his agreement with our ideas, and his intention to join the Socialist Workers Party shortly."

Letters from abroad indicate the real hunger for Fourth International literature. From Johannesburg, South Africa, we have received this letter:

"Please send us all your publications which are so frequently advertised in the press. Also put us on the mailing list. . . It is hardly necessary to emphasize that all your literature is more than welcome here, living as we do in a wilderness, both political and intellectual. . ."

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!
 - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
 - No restriction on the right to strike!
 - 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. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
 - For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
 - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
116 University Place
New York 5, 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

A FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR LABOR

JOBS for ALL

by Art Preis

10c

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

Order from Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

5,457 New Readers Gained As "Militant" Subscription Drive Hits Half Way Mark

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

At the half way mark of the national subscription campaign, 5,457 new readers have been introduced to *The Militant*. This represents 55 per cent of our quota for 10,000 new readers. A total of 1,791 new subscriptions were sent in during this fourth week of the campaign, surpassing by 288 the high score reached last week which recorded 1,503 new readers. The scorecard reveals that St. Louis retains for the third consecutive week its first place position, having oversubscribed its quota by 172 per cent. Philadelphia holds down second place for the second consecutive week with a total of 407 subscriptions, having attained 135 per cent of its quota. Two additional branches, Connecticut and Pittsburgh, enter the "over 100 per cent" class at this early stage of the campaign and special commendation is accorded to them for this fine achievement.

delphia holds down second place for the second consecutive week with a total of 407 subscriptions, having attained 135 per cent of its quota. Two additional branches, Connecticut and Pittsburgh, enter the "over 100 per cent" class at this early stage of the campaign and special commendation is accorded to them for this fine achievement.

It was reported here last week that Pittsburgh wired a challenge to Connecticut. Undaunted by this, H. Spangler of Connecticut writes: "The challenge of the Pittsburgh branch has just begun to warm us up. We in Connecticut aim to disprove the theory that New Englanders are slower 'on the uptake.' The only thing that is slow is the bus that takes us from town to town. We accept Pittsburgh's challenge, and as a tip to them, we're aiming for 200 per cent of our quota."

At this point, Connecticut has 108 subscriptions and Pittsburgh 101. In addition both branches are represented by pace-setters this week, H. Spangler and Eloise Gordon. It will be interesting to Militant readers to follow the progress of both branches. In addition to the four branches who have gone over the 100 per cent mark, 11 branches have now reached 50 per cent more of their quota. Portland which was in eighteenth place on last week's scoreboard now is in sixth having fulfilled 85 per cent of its quota. Another notable climb was made by Reading, from fifteenth place last week to tenth this week. Undoubtedly, at the time of charting next week's scoreboard many more branches will go "over the top."

We quote from a number of interesting letters our campaign directors have sent in, describing their achievements: A. Field of Minneapolis: "We had a very successful mobilization last Sunday. A few of us went out to two of the small towns close to Minneapolis, and came back with 30 subs. One of the heartening things about going from door-to-door selling *The Militant* is that more and more people are recognizing the paper. I have heard a number of comrades say that they had heard of *The Militant*, or that a friend or relative was subscribing."

Al Cutler, campaign manager of Boston: "We have found the most successful way of selling subscriptions is to first have a distribution of *The Militant* in the area we plan to cover. Last Saturday afternoon we distributed about 300 Militants in a section of Roxbury that we had not been in previously, and when we went back on Sunday for subscriptions, we met with good results. We feel that this method is very helpful as many people not acquainted with *The Militant* are given a chance to read it."

"One of the strong selling points last Sunday, particularly among the Jewish workers, was the fact that ours was an anti-fascist paper. The concrete headline and excellent story in the October 27 issue of *The Militant* describing the activities of the Socialist Workers Party in conjunction with other organizations in the picketing of fascist Smith's meeting, made them eager to read and subscribe to *The Militant*."

Naomi Kane, Chelsea Branch, New York, writes: "The new way of graphically recording the campaign scoreboard with the figures of workers is very novel. I think it is quite an improvement over the thermometer we've used in the past several campaigns. The first thing I turn to when I receive the current issue of *The Militant* is the illustration to ascertain how many out-

Minneapolis Workers Appreciate Speech On British Labor Victory

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Nov. 4.—"The British labor victory is one of the manifestations of a revolutionary process going on throughout the world, finding expression on the political arena," stated John G. Wright, speaking to an audience of 80 at the Twin City Sunday Forum of the Socialist Workers Party this afternoon.

Tracing the development of the British Labor Party from its early beginnings in the Chartist movement, Comrade Wright showed that what is needed to lead the British workers through a successful revolution is new leadership. The present leaders of the Labor Party in England want the consent of the capitalist class for a revolution; such consent will never be obtained.

FUTURE IN U. S. Although American workers are still tied to the two-party system, hundreds of thousands of them—on the picket lines—are telling their capitalist masters: "You will not drag us and our families down. A new union leadership is emerging in the basic industries whose eyes will soon be opened to political problems, as they are to economic ones. Their ranks will be augmented."

lined workers have been filled in, and are now reading our paper. The slogan 'Let's put *The Militant* into the hands of each outlined worker as quickly as possible' should be our goal."

NEW PACE-SETTER This week brings a surprise contender from Chicago, in the person of Paul Kujak. He takes the lead away from Therese Stone, who had consistently maintained it since the inception of the campaign. Paul was a national pace-setter in our spring campaign, ending up in third place by selling 308 subscriptions.

Local New York still retains top representation in the pace-setter box with 5 high scorers, and Detroit is next with four.

hundreds of thousands of whom in England witnessed the triumph of the British workers over Churchill. Together, the workers and soldiers will begin to ask: Why can't we elect our own people, too? When the giant of American labor does begin to use the political arm still tied behind its back, Comrade Wright concluded, Wall Street will find its schemes at home and abroad threatened, and the American workers will begin to see the light of a better day.

Milwaukee Gathering Hears Lecture By John G. Wright

By K. Zellon

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 3.—About 35 people, many of them militant auto workers, listened to the lecture presented by John G. Wright on the British Labor Victory. They were greatly enthused when the speaker declared that "it happened in England; it can also happen here."

To the capitalists the labor victory came as a thunderbolt. But to us of the Socialist Workers Party, it did not come as a surprise. The vanguard of the laboring masses had foreseen the victory of the future in the ever-growing misery of the masses and the ever more gangrenous condition of the capitalist ruling class.

increased capitalist contradictions and intensified international competition, England was able to throw no more sops and crumbs. Instead, the workers were more ruthlessly squeezed. The masses of England ousted Churchill by a vote that included 90 per cent of the soldier ballots. But the class collaborationist policies of Attlee and Bevin are not satisfying the more advanced sections of the working class, Comrade Wright said. The colossal rhythm of the tremendous swing of the masses to the left has not yet subsided. More surprises are in store for the ruling classes of the world.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
PORTLAND	Sun., Nov. 18 to Wed., Nov. 21
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
CINCINNATI	Sun., Dec. 16 to Tues., Dec. 18
PITTSBURGH	Thurs., Dec. 20 to Mon., Dec. 23

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Per Cent
St. Louis	50	86	172
Philadelphia	300	407	136
Connecticut	100	108	108
Pittsburgh	100	101	101
San Francisco	300	279	93
Portland	75	64	85
Cincinnati	50	42	84
New York	2000	1501	75
Allentown-Bethlehem	100	68	68
Reading	50	34	68
Detroit	1000	595	60
Minneapolis	300	164	55
Baltimore	100	54	54
Milwaukee	100	51	51
Newark	300	151	50
Seattle	300	148	48
Bayonne	100	47	47
Buffalo	300	136	45
Chicago	1000	451	45
Boston	200	88	44
Los Angeles	1500	501	34
St. Paul	100	32	32
Youngstown	300	103	31
Cleveland	200	48	24
Rochester	50	12	24
Toledo	300	63	21
Akron	300	58	19
Flint	200	35	18
San Diego	50	0	0
Groups, Members at large and Friends	175	30	12
TOTAL	10,000	5,457	55

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

Here are the twenty who have sold the highest number of subs.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Paul Kujak	Chicago	122
Therese Stone	Philadelphia	91
Ernest Drake	Detroit	78
Rigo Carl	Detroit	58
Mike Warren	Seattle	51
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	49
Bill Ference	Minneapolis	48
G. Roberts	Detroit	46
Eloise Gordon	Pittsburgh	46
H. Spangler	Connecticut	46
Ed Lewis	Detroit	43
Albert Conway	Los Angeles	42
Sympathizer	Philadelphia	41
Ruby Parker	Harlem, New York	38
Ida Brady	East Side, N. Y.	38
Ruth Brady	San Francisco	37
Max Goldman	Philadelphia	35
Margaret Moran	Chicago	35
Rose Young	West Side, New York	35
Marvin Smith	West Side, New York	35

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

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 Minneapolis Strikes of 1934.

About that time, in October 1934, I was sent abroad by the National Committee to the meeting of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the International Communist League in Paris. From there I went to visit Comrade Trotsky in Grenoble, in the south of France. It was the first time I had seen Comrade Trotsky personally since his exile from the USSR years back. Numerous other American comrades had been abroad, but this was my first trip. Shachtman had been there twice and several other individual members of the organization, who were able to finance personal trips to Europe, had seen him. At that time Comrade Trotsky was being hounded by the French fascists.

Some of you remember that at that time, 1934, the French fascist press began a big hue and cry about the presence of Trotsky in France. They created such an agitation—in which they were joined by the Stalinists under the joint slogan: "Drive Trotsky out of France"—that they terrorized the Deladier government into revoking his visa. He was ordered to leave France, deprived of his right to stay. But they could not find one single capitalist country in the entire world that would give him an entrance visa, so they had to keep him in France. But he was there under the most uncertain and dangerous circumstances, without any real protection, any legal rights, while the fascist press and the Stalinists kept hounding him all the time. He was then hiding in the house of a sympathizer in Grenoble. He had no assistants, no secretariat, no typist, because he was living on a day to day basis. He was obliged to do all his work in longhand. The hounds of reaction kept him on the go.

Hunted from one place to another, he would just get settled in the house of a sympathizer, and get started to work, when the local fascists would discover his presence in the new place of refuge. The next morning there would appear a screaming headline in the newspaper: "What Is the Russian Murderer, Trotsky, Doing in This Town?" Then there would be a hue and cry, and he would have to leave in the dead of night, as quickly as possible, in order to save his life, and find another place of safety. The same thing was repeated over and over again. During that time Trotsky's health was very bad and he almost succumbed. Those were the days of the greatest anxiety for all of us.

It was a very, very happy moment for me, early in the morning—about seven—after riding all night from Paris, to be able to walk into his house in the country, to see and know that he was still alive. I met him before breakfast, but he wanted to sit down and begin a political discussion right away. His first questions were, "What happened at the Plenum? Did they pass the resolution?" I politely raised the question of a little sustenance.

So I had breakfast with Trotsky and Natalia, and broke one of the house rules, which I later regretted very much. I did it through ignorance. I had heard that he did not allow smoking in his presence. Giotzer and others had come back with fierce tales of the scoldings they had received on this score. I had thought it only an idiosyncrasy on Trotsky's part, not to be taken too seriously. I am accustomed to smoking after breakfast, and, as coffee was served—that is the time when a smoke tastes best—I pulled out my cigar and after the fact was about one-half accomplished, I said facetiously: "I hear some people get expelled for smoking. Is that correct?" He said, "No, no, go ahead and smoke." He added: "For boys like Giotzer I don't allow it, but for a solid comrade it is all right." So I smoked all the time in his presence during my visit. Only in later years I learned that smoking was physically repugnant to him, even made him ill, and I deeply regretted doing it.

Discussions With Trotsky in Paris

In the afternoon Trotsky's host took us on a trip in his automobile to the top of the French Alps. On the mountain top we had a long discussion on the projected fusion with the Musteiters. The Old Man approved everything we had done, including our evasion of the provocation on the USSR. We came to an agreement on one or two points which we had held in abeyance awaiting his advice; measures to facilitate our unity with the Musteiters. He was fully in favor of it, and he also was greatly interested in the personality of Muste, asked me questions about him and enter-

TROTSKYISTS AND AMERICAN WORKERS PARTY FUSE

tained some hopes that Muste would develop into a real Bolshevik later.

The Plenum of the International Communist League was held in Paris, October 1934. The purpose of this Plenum was to put the capstone on the decision that had already been agreed upon by the International Executive Committee and endorsed by referendum of the national sections: the decision to carry out the "French turn." That is, the turn taken by our French organization to join the Socialist Party of France as a body in order to work within this reformist party as a faction; to come into contact with its Left Wing, seek to influence it and to fuse with it; and thereby to broaden the basis for the eventual construction of a new revolutionary party in France. The Plenum supported this line, which meant a reorientation of our tactics throughout the world. The action was taken under the general slogan which I mentioned before: Turn from a propaganda circle, such as we had been for five years, to mass work, to contact with the living movement of workers traveling in the direction of revolutionary Marxism.

When I returned from Paris to report on the Plenum to our organization in New York, we encountered an opposition headed by Oehler and Stamm and reinforced by a voluble, left-sick German emigre named Eiffel. They objected in principle to our joining any section of the Second International. Their arguments, like all the arguments of sectarians, were strictly formalistic, sterile, defiant of the reality of the day. "The Second International," they said—and quite correctly—"betrayed the proletariat in the World War. It was denounced by Rosa Luxemburg as a 'stinking corpse.' The Communist International was formed in 1919 in struggle against the Second International. And now, in 1934, you want to go back into this reformist, traitor organization. That means a betrayal of principle."

In vain we explained to them that the Second International of 1934 wasn't exactly the same organization that it had been in 1914 or in 1919. That the bureaucratization of the Comintern had pushed into the Socialist parties, with their looser, more democratic form of organization, a new stratum of awakening workers, of militants. That there had grown up a new generation of young socialists who had no part in the betrayal of 1914-1918. Since we were barred from any participation in the Comintern, we should recognize the new force. That if we wanted to build a new revolutionary party we should direct our forces into the Second International and establish contact with this new Left Wing.

Then the sectarian opposition came forward with a new argument. "Isn't it one of the principles of Marxism, and one of the conditions for admission into the Trotskyist movement, that we must stand for the unconditional independence of the revolutionary party at all times and under every circumstance? Isn't that a principle?"

"Yes," we answered, "that is a principle. That is the great lesson of the Anglo-Russian Committee. That is the fundamental lesson of the Chinese revolution. We have published pamphlets and books to prove that the revolutionary party must never merge itself with another political organization, never mix up the banners, but remain independent even in isolation. The Hungarian revolution was destroyed in part because of the falsely-motivated fusion of the Communists and Social Democrats."

Our Problem Is to Become a Party

"All that is correct," we said, "but there is just one small screw loose in your argument. We are not yet a party. We are only a propaganda group. Our problem is to become a party. Our problem, as Trotsky put it, is to get some flesh on our bones. If our French comrades can penetrate the political mass movement of the Socialist Party, attract the viable Left Wing and fuse with it, then they can constitute a party in the real sense of the word, not a caricature. Then they can apply the principle of the independence of the party under all conditions, and the principle will have some meaning. You set up the principle in such a way as to make it a barrier against the tactical moves necessary to make the creation of a real party possible."

We couldn't budge them. Formalistic-mindedness, that is the trait of sectarianism; lack of a sense of proportion; disregard of reality; sterile hairsplitting in a closed circle. We began to fight out the question of the "French turn" in our League a year before

it had to be applied here in the same way as in France. The projected fusion with the Musteiters was the same thing in different form, but the Oehlerites didn't recognize it—precisely because the form was different. They forgave us the fusion with the Musteiters, but with great trepidation, fear and prophecies of bad things to come from mixing with strange people. As one of our lads—Larry Turner—expressed it in a letter the other day, the sectarians are always afraid of their own suppressed desires to be opportunists. They are afraid of coming into contact with opportunists lest the opportunists corrupt them. But we, being sure of our virtue, went confidently forward. In the 1934 discussion of the French turn, a division grew up in our organization. The contending tendencies eventually hardened into factions. The dispute of 1934 over the action of our French comrades was the dress rehearsal for the knockdown, drag-out definitive fight against Oehlerite sectarianism in our ranks the following year. Our victory in that fight was the pre-condition for all our further advances.

We were moving rapidly toward the fusion, negotiating day after day. We were cooperating with the Musteiters in various practical activities, and the whole trend was toward unification of the two organizations. We finally came to an agreement on the draft program; that is, the two committees came to an agreement. We came to an agreement on the organizational proposals. Nothing remained then except to submit the matter to the conventions of the respective organizations for ratification. There was still some doubt on both sides as to what the rank and file would do. We did not know how strong the Oehlerites might turn out to be outside New York; and Abern, as always, was maneuvering furtively in the dark, monkey wrench in hand. Muste, by this time, had become a firm advocate of the fusion, but he wasn't sure of his majority.

Consequently, instead of calling a joint convention, we first held separate conventions of the two organizations. The conventions met separately, November 26-30, 1934, and thrashed out all the internal affairs of each side. Each convention finally ratified the Declaration of Principles that had been drawn up by the joint committees, and ratified the organizational proposals. Then, on the basis of these separate decisions, we called the two conventions into joint session on Saturday and Sunday, December 1-2, 1934. *THE MILITANT*, reporting that joint convention in its next issue, said: "The Workers Party of the United States has been formed. . . . The unity convention of the American Workers Party and the Communist League of America completed its historic task Sunday afternoon in Stuyvesant Casino. . . . Minneapolis and Toledo, exemplifying the new militancy of the American working class, were the stars that presided over its birth. . . . New party launched into its tremendous undertaking: The overthrow of capitalist rule in America and the creation of a workers state."

Formal Unification of the A.W.P.

The formal unification of the Communist League and the American Workers Party, the Musteiters, was the first unification of forces that had taken place in the American movement for more than a decade.

The revolutionary labor movement doesn't develop along a straight line or a smooth path. It grows through a continuous process of internal struggle. Both splits and unifications are methods of developing the revolutionary party. Each, under given circumstances, can be either progressive or reactionary in its consequences. The general popular sentiment for unification all the time has no more political value than a preference for a continual process of splitting which you see taking place interminably in the purist sectarian groups. Moralistic views on the question of splits, and so forth, are simply stupid. Splits are sometimes absolutely necessary for the clarification of programmatic ideas and for the selection of forces in order to make a new start on a clear basis. On the other hand, in given circumstances, unifications of two or more groups which approach programmatic agreement are absolutely indispensable for the regroupment and consolidation of the forces of the workers' vanguard.

Unity between the Trotskyist organization—Communist League of America—and the Musteite organization was unquestionably a progressive action. It brought together two groups with different origins and experiences which, nevertheless, had approached as

least in the formal sense of the word, an agreement on the program. The only way to test out whether this agreement was real and thoroughgoing or only formal; the only way to learn which elements in each of the groups were capable of contributing to the further progressive development of the movement, was by unification, by bringing them together and testing these questions out in the course of common experience.

As throughout the world since 1928, there had been a continuous and uninterrupted series of splits in the American movement. The basic cause of this, of course, was the degeneration of the Communist International under the pressure of the world encirclement of the Russian revolution and the attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy to adapt itself to this encirclement by deserting the program of internationalism. The degeneration of the Communist International could not fail to produce disruptions and splits. In all the parties the defenders of unfalsified Marxism within this degenerating organization were a source of irritation and conflict which the bureaucracy found no way to remove except by bureaucratic expulsions.

We were expelled from the American Communist Party in October 1928. Six months later, in the spring of 1929, the Lovestonites were expelled and set up a third Communist organization in this country. Little sects and cliques of individuals and their friends, representing quirks and vagaries of various kinds, were a common feature of the times. The movement was going through a period of pulverization, of pulling apart, until a new rise in the class struggle and a new verification of programs on the basis of world experiences could lay the ground for integration once again.

There was our faction and the Lovestone faction. There was the little group of Weisbord which at one time reached the total of 12 or 13 members, but made enough noise to make one think they represented a great historical tendency. Moreover, the Weisbordites, not satisfied with forming an independent organization, insisted—under what appears to be the compulsion of a natural law for such arbitrarily created groups—on going through a couple of splits within their own ranks. The Fieldites—Field and a few of his personal associates and friends and family connections whom we threw out of our movement for treachery during the hotel strike—naturally formed an organization of their own, published a paper and spoke in the name of the entire working class.

The Program Is the Decisive Question

The Lovestonites suffered a split of the Gitlow forces, and a few months later of a little group represented by Zam. There had existed in this country since 1919 still another Communist group called the Proletarian Party, which had also maintained as isolated existence and also poduced periodic splits.

The demoralization of the movement during that period was reflected in this trend to dispersal, this continuous process of splitting. This sickness had to run its course. Throughout that period we Trotskyists were never unity shouters, especially in the first five years of our separate existence. We concentrated on the work of clarifying the program and rejected all talk about improvised unifications with groups not sufficiently close to us in what we considered then, and what we consider now, the question of all questions—that of the program. The fusion that we entered into in December 1934 was the first unification to take place in this entire period. Just as the bona fide Trotskyist group was the first one to be expelled from the Communist Party when the Stalinists were completely bureaucratizing the Third International and stifling revolutionary and critical thought, so also, was the Trotskyist group the first to take the initiative to begin a new process of regroupment and unification when the political prerequisites for such a step were at hand. It was the first positive sign of a counter-process to the trend of disintegration, dispersal and split.

The unification of the Trotskyists and the Musteiters, the formation of the Workers Party undoubtedly represented a great forward step, but only a step. It soon became apparent to us—at least to the most influential leaders of the former Communist League—that the regroupment of revolutionary forces had only begun. We were obliged to take this realistic attitude because, as has been remarked in previous lectures, simultaneously with the radical development of the Musteiters, important changes had taken place in the Socialist Party of the United States, as in the Social Democratic movements throughout the world.

(To Be Continued)

Russian Revolution --- Our Appraisal

Cannon's Address At 28th Anniversary Celebration

The following is the text of the address on the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, delivered by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, before 300 workers at the meeting of the New York Local of the SWP held in Hotel Diplomat, Sunday, November 4.

By James P. Cannon

The development of socialism from a utopian conception to a scientific doctrine was accomplished with the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848—97 years ago. The development of socialism from science into action was accomplished 69 years later by the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of November 7, 1917. On the fusion of these two great historic achievements—the formulation of the principles of scientific socialism and their verification in action in 1917—the union of theory and practice—we stand today, as we have stood in the past, and once again assemble to celebrate the anniversary of the great Revolution.



JAMES P. CANNON

Socialism cannot be established in one country. That requires international action and cooperation. A workers' revolution, started on national ground, cannot be completed unless it is extended to other countries. The Russian Revolution was the beginning of the international revolution but only a beginning. Only from this point of view can it be properly judged. Every year for 28 years we have had to answer impatient and disillusioned people who demanded more from the Russian Revolution than it could give, and withdrew their approval from it; who prematurely announced the end and the death of the Revolution; who wanted to close the account and write it off as a bad debt. But the Russian Bolsheviks did not promise the millennium. They only said: "We will begin the international revolution in Russia, but you, the workers of Europe and America, must finish it."

The Russian Revolution was national only in form, but in the essence it was the beginning of an international action. That is what we have to understand about it first of all. The leaders of the Great Russian Revolution were internationalists through and through. Incapable of thinking in limited national terms. The guiding theory of the Russian Revolution came not from Russia but from a German Jew, Karl Marx, who lived in exile in England. The victory of the Revolution was made possible by the international contradictions of capitalism in the First World War. It was kept alive in the postwar period by the international support and solidarity of the workers in the capitalist countries, above all those in Europe. The workers of Europe were not strong enough to carry through their own revolution in the postwar years, but they were strong enough to prevent a full-scale military intervention against Russia by their own governments.

Lenin and Trotsky linked their revolution directly to the German Revolution. They said: "We live in a beleaguered fortress until the European revolution comes to our aid." None of the leaders of the Russian Revolution believed it could last very long if it remained by itself, alone and isolated in a capitalist world.

Strength of Revolution

But the Russian Bolsheviks built better than they knew. The Revolution proved to be stronger than they or anyone else ever dreamed it could be. The Russian Revolution could not complete itself within the national borders of a single country, but in spite of that, in spite of the drawn-out delay of the European revolution to which they had looked with such hope, the Revolution in Russia didn't die. It survived and struck deep roots into the soil. The property foundations laid down by the Revolution—the nationalization of industry and the planned economy—proved to be far stronger than any previous calculations, even the most optimistic.

But the isolated Revolution, encircled by a hostile capitalist world, could not escape the ravages of a terrible reaction which set in on Russian soil. This reaction led to the renunciation of the international perspective and a nationalistic degeneration all along the line. The regime of workers' democracy based on the Soviets was replaced by a brutal totalitarian tyranny. The Revolution was beheaded, and a whole generation of Bolsheviks was massacred. The political rule of the workers was overthrown, but the economic conquests of the Revolution displayed a great vitality. Thanks to that, the Revolution survived twenty years of bureaucratic degeneration and betrayal and revealed an enormous power on the field of battle in the war with Nazi Germany, as Trotsky had predicted it would.

Trotsky alone analyzed and explained this phenomenon, hitherto unknown and unforeseen, unique in history, of an isolated workers' state in a capitalist encirclement, mutilated and betrayed by a usurping bureaucracy, but surviving nevertheless, although in a horribly degenerated form.

Trotsky—and we following him—had far more confidence than others in the reserve powers which the soviet economic system would display in the war. But even we underestimated it by far. Even we underestimated the tremendous resources of power that were lodged in the basic achievements of the workers' revolution of 1917 when they swept away capitalist private property and reorganized production on a nationalized and planned basis. The frightful bureaucratic degeneration proceeded at an accelerated pace during the war. How far it has gone, and how far it is yet to go before the uprising begins again, we do not know. But we are firmly convinced that the destiny of the revolution of 1917 is not yet decided. It will be decided in the further course of the war which they call "the peace."

A Lesson of History

Social revolutions in history, which represented the greatest, the most colossal exertion and expenditure of the creative energies of the masses, concentrated on a single point, have always been followed by periods of reaction. We have seen that in the last twenty-odd years in the Soviet Union. But the reactions against the great basic revolutions have never swung back to their starting point. Observing that fundamental fact of history, one has to be very cautious and careful about writing off any part of the achievements of the Russian Revolution before it is time to do so.

The great French Revolution, the revolution which destroyed feudalism and laid the basis for the tremendous expansion and development of the productive forces of mankind on a capitalist basis—this great revolution had its Thermidor; its Napoleonic dictatorship; it even saw the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. But the reaction never was strong enough to restore the feudal property system that had been swept away by the revolution.

The American Civil War—a genuine revolution—was followed by a reaction which restored political power to the expropriated slaveholders in the South, but it could not go back far enough to restore private property in slaves.

The revolutionary changes in property forms, which enabled mankind to increase its productive powers, have been the fundamental basis of human progress. These have been the achievements of the great revolutions. The abolition of the capitalist private property in the means of production, and the nationalization of industry and planned economy made possible by this abolition of private property—that is the great conquest of the Russian Revolution which has not yet been overthrown. That is what we see yet in Russia. That is what we see through all the monstrous betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy. And that is what we defend. Not Stalinism, not the treacherous and corrupting bureaucracy, but the economic conquests of the great revolution which still remain. That is what we defend against the imperialists and against the Stalinist bureaucracy too.

Marxism asserts that the capitalist system of production is decayed and doomed; Marxism asserts that the workers' revolution must and will sweep away the capitalist order and reorganize world economy on a socialist basis. That is what Marx and Engels proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. But neither Marx, Engels, nor the disciples who came after them, ever promised a free and easy road to socialism, without defeats, and setbacks, and even catastrophes, along the way. We have had nothing but defeats, and setbacks, and catastrophes for 22 years. Our movement has had to make its way in the face of defeats ever since 1923, the defeat of the German revolution. That is why our movement remained comparatively small in numbers, and isolated. But the important thing is not that the Marxist movement, in the face of the defeats and catastrophes, was small and isolated. The important thing is that, in spite of all, we made our way and are still fighting.

We Marxists-Trotskyists can still fight and we are still fighting, not because we cherish illusions; not because we wish to deceive ourselves and others; but because we see the whole reality in the world and not just a part of it. We recognize the defeats, but we do not recognize the total defeat of humanity. The war was a terrible defeat for mankind. Fascism was a terrible defeat. The degeneration of the Soviet Union under the Stalinists is a defeat. The failure of the first stage of the war to produce victorious revolutions in Europe is, in a sense, a defeat. These are facts, big and important facts, and we recognize them. But the death agony of capitalism is a bigger and more important fact, and we see that side of the picture too. We see that capitalism, in this period of its decay and death agony, is utterly and completely incapable of organizing the economy of the world to provide, not abundance, but even a living for the masses of the people.

We see not only the weaknesses on the side of the workers, but we also see the fatal diseased weakness of the capitalist world order. We do not close our eyes to defeats. But in each case Trotskyism seeks to establish precisely, in every situation, what has been lost, what has been saved. Trotskyism searches in every defeat or setback, and the altered situation created by it, to find a vantage point for a new development of the struggle. And Trotskyism alone proceeds this way. That is why Trotskyism is the only revolutionary political current in the whole world today.

Survived The Defeats

Fascism could survive only with victory after victory. The great vaunted military power of Mussolini and Hitler could not stand up under a few military defeats. Social-Democracy and Stalinism are both capitulatory currents which survive only because of working-class defeats. They renounced faith in the proletariat and converted themselves into servitors of the class enemy. But the Trotskyists, the modern Marxists, lived now through more than twenty years of continuous defeats and continued to fight. That is the surest indication that Trotskyism is the doctrine that will flower and expand in the days of the coming victories of the workers, and prepare the way for them.

The party that made the Russian Revolution didn't begin with victory. The Bolsheviks really began with the defeat of the 1905 revolution and persevered through the long years of the Czarist reaction from 1906 to 1917. It was precisely in that period, when all the faint-hearted people, when all the disillusioned, ran for cover, when they all gave up the fight and renounced it as hopeless—it was precisely in that period that Bolshevism showed its caliber. In the depths of darkest reaction and defeat the Bolsheviks forged the party that was destined to lead the victorious revolution in 1917.

The accusation has been made against us—and not for the first time—that our theory is a religion with which we console ourselves; that our analysis of the Soviet Union, of what has been lost and what has been saved and what is still worth defending, is a religion. Those who made that accusation in the past—and there have been many of them—nearly always ended by placing their own faith in "democratic" imperialism. We want nothing to do with that kind of religion in any case.

Theory And Practice

Marxism and the Russian Revolution represent the union of theory and practice; the union of the word and the deed. Every tendency toward capitulation to the class enemy which we have known in the past—and we have known many—every one began with a revision of the theory and ended in repudiation of the deed. After the first flush of victory in 1917, each and every setback of the struggling Revolution, every difficulty, every defeat, brought new waves of disillusionment, and with them new experiments and new revisions of theory; and, finally, new capitulations in principle to the class enemy. The case of Professor Burnham is only the latest example.

The case of Professor Burnham is recent enough to be remembered. He began with a revision of the Marxist theory of the state and the Marxist analysis of the Russian Revolution, and ended in the camp of American imperialism. That is the most disgraceful and shameful capitulation that one can make. It represents a real betrayal of humanity because American imperialism is the enemy of humanity. One who goes over into that camp has a "religion" which no self-respecting worker ought ever to become infected with.

Stalinism itself began as a revision of Marxist theory and ended in class betrayal. Trotsky began his struggle against Stalin in the realm of a theoretical dispute over the revisionist theory of "socialism in one country" and the renunciation of the international character of the Russian Revolution. The Trotskyists understood the nature of Stalinism better, and explained it earlier, and fought it longer and harder than any others. Therefore nobody needs to incite us against Stalinism. But vulgar "anti-Stalinism" is no more revolutionary and no more attractive to

us. We know where this "anti-Stalinism" leads. Up to now it has always led to the camp of "democratic" imperialism.

We can have no quarrel whatsoever with those who denounce Stalinism for its bloody crimes against the workers—and they are legion. But excessive zeal in criticizing and denouncing the Soviet Union and those who still defend it—that part of it which is worthy of defense—against imperialism—is subject to suspicion. The unbridled antagonism bordering on Russophobia—which one can notice in the atmosphere these days—is a very dangerous sentiment, especially at the present time. Because it is perfectly clear to everybody that before any peace is concluded, the mobilization for the next stage of the war, a war against the Soviet Union, is already taking place, and proceeding at a feverish pace. Why, the preparations are going forward openly on all fronts.

The Anti-Soviet Drive

Who can be so blind as not to see them and understand them? On the diplomatic front American imperialism is mobilizing its forces and lining up allies. On the economic front American imperialism is granting or withholding loans and credits to serve its diplomatic aims. On the propaganda front, why, the American people are being bombarded by a calculated campaign of prejudice to prepare them for another war of "democracy"—God help us!—against the Soviet Union. And even on the military front we read the brazen announcements in the papers every day now that the armies of Chiang Kai-shek engaged in the civil war in Northern China, are armed, equipped, and even partly trained by American militarists.

A tremendous wave of public sentiment against Russia, reminiscent of the early days of 1917-19, which some of us remember, is being set into motion. The present agitation recalls again the days of the Soviet-Finnish war when every democrat, every liberal, every Russophile, every anti-Stalinist, was waving the flag for war against the Soviet Union in the service of American imperialism. It was a little difficult, and it took some courage and independence of judgment, to stand up against that terrific anti-Russian wave of sentiment and propaganda at the time of the Soviet-Finnish war. We see the same thing developing again today, helped along, as before, by the bestial crimes of Stalin. The crimes of Stalin inside the Soviet Union, in Poland, in Eastern Europe, and now in Korea, deal mortal blows to the prestige of the Soviet Union. In the occupied territories the Red Army, under Stalinist leadership, behaves in such a way as to tear the heart out of the workers and disillusion them with the Soviet Union, and weaken their allegiance and friendship for it, and thus open the way for a more effective eventual mobilization of the capitalist world against it.

Denouncing these crimes with all our souls, we must still strive to keep our balance, to see the picture whole, to see behind the crimes and filth of Stalinism the Soviet Union and the stake which the workers of the world still have in it. Trotsky predicted that the fate of the Soviet Union would be decided in the war. That remains our firm conviction. Only we disagree with some people who carelessly think that the war is over. The war has only passed through one stage and is now in the process of regroupment and reorganization for the second. The war is not over, and the revolution which we said would issue from the war in Europe, is not taken off the agenda. It has only been delayed and postponed, primarily for lack of leadership, for lack of a sufficiently strong revolutionary party. The Fourth Internationalists all over the world are working to build that leadership, to build that party.

Destiny of Revolution

The destiny of the Russian Revolution is not yet decided. Much has been lost, much has been betrayed, but something yet remains. The ultimate destiny of the Russian Revolution is bound up with the central issue of this historical epoch and will be settled with it. Either the downfall of mankind or its socialist emancipation—this is the issue which faces the whole world of humanity today.

The Russian Revolution appears only as a part, and not even the biggest part by any means, of a colossal world-wide conflict of forces which cannot be reconciled. The Russian Revolution of November 1917 showed the workers of the whole world the way to power, to the overthrow of the capitalist property system, to the reorganization of economy on a rational basis. There is no other way to save mankind on an international scale than the Russian way. From that point of view we salute the Great Revolution tonight, as the initiator and inspirer of greater things to come. therein lies its greatest significance.

If we view the Russian Revolution in the right perspective we must see it for what it really was: an international action of the working class, started in a backward country, the most backward country of the great powers, Czarist Russia; and destined to be concluded in the most advanced and powerful country, the United States of America. That which was begun in the domain of the Czars will be finished in the domain of the American monopolists. And regardless of victories or defeats in one country or another, or even one continent or another, the central issue of our epoch—capitalism or socialism—will not be finally decided until it is decided in the United States of America.

The Russian Revolution didn't fall from the skies. It was foreseen and prepared for. So also its continuation in America, the American Revolution, must be foreseen and prepared for too. Just as the Russian Bolsheviks gave us the model of a victorious revolution, so also they gave us the model of a party fit to lead and organize the revolution. If we take the Russian Bolshevik party for our model—and there is no other model worth even talking about—this means a party that is orthodox Marxist in its theory, that is firm in principle and strong in its unity and its discipline. Only such a party is fit to organize and lead a revolution.

We Are Preparing

We are striving to build such a party in the United States, and we invite you to join us in the task. If you can foresee, as we do, the grandiose perspectives of the American revolution, we invite you to join us in preparing for it.

In the first years after the Russian Revolution the Soviet Union could not have survived without the support of the workers in the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union cannot survive now, either, without that support. But now the question is posed somewhat differently. Now the revolution at home is a life and death necessity for the workers in the capitalist countries. It is no longer a question for them of simply stopping, or trying to stop, an intervention against the Soviet Union. It is a life and death question of carrying through to the end the kind of revolution that was made in Russia in 1917. It is a question of doing away with capitalism before capitalism destroys humanity. This is a life and death necessity for the workers in the capitalist countries, including the one we live in. Short of the socialist revolution there is no salvation for us.

Here in the United States is the greatest imperialist power, a monster exploiting and oppressing the whole world. That is true, and we take full account of it. But here also is a still greater power—and that is the militant and undefeated American working class. Great historic responsibility surely rests on our shoulders. The two greatest powers of the world—the power for evil and destruction, and the power for the regeneration and salvation of mankind—are both here.

There is only one way for us to do our duty. That is to foresee the revolution and to prepare for it. And the way to prepare for it is to go to the American workers with the message of the party. Go to this source of power that is greater even than the power of American imperialism and teach them the lesson of the Russian Revolution. Organize them and inspire them. And lead them to the socialist victory in America which will insure the socialist victory throughout the entire world.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Reply to Comrade Thomas

Dear Comrade Thomas:

In your letter of criticism which was published here last week, you accuse the column of having a "chauvinistic tint." You say that the fight we are conducting for complete equality will only help the exploiters "divide our class."

If you have followed these columns in the past you know that we have launched some of our most scathing attacks against chauvinism—black as well as white. We are trying constantly to show the futility of chauvinist tactics for workers of either color. Furthermore, if you are serious you must admit that we are almost monotonously repeating that the only way the Negro can win his equality is by uniting with the white worker instead of dividing from or fighting against him.

You say that we never mention the plight of the workers of other lands or other colors, and that we complain only about the Negro's status. Here again, if you are serious, you will admit that the Negro is a whole thoroughly covers the struggles of the workers not only in this country but throughout the world. Anyone who even glances through our paper once can see that. Unfortunately, however, people who want to find out everything that is going on everywhere in the world in one column of eight or ten paragraphs, are doomed to disappointment.

WHAT MOTIVATES PEOPLE

Despite our concern for the "spirit of internationalism," most people are primarily motivated by those phases of life's struggle which directly affect them. I imagine most non-political trade unionists who pick up the Militant, turn first to the "Trade Union Notes." I also believe that most new Negro workers turn first to read that part of our paper which is devoted to discussing the Negro struggle.

You inferentially call upon Marx, Engels, Trotsky and Bolshevism in general to arrive at a most non-Bolshevik conclusion—"there is no Negro struggle." In the manner of a political Houdini you use the quotation from Marx which is carried at the top of this column and which obviously contends that there must be a struggle to free the black workers from their special brand of slavery. Then, presto—change, without benefit of a cycle of development, you turn this statement into its opposite—that the white and Negro struggles are "identical."

LENIN'S POSITION

Trotsky, who I am sure you will admit was the greatest of internationalists, stated in the Founding Conference of the Fourth International that it was the specific duty of American revolutionists to lead the struggle to "destroy white chauvinism."

Lenin conducted many of his

polemics against the tendency to ignore or lift one's self above the struggles of national minorities which strive to free themselves from oppression by other races or other nationalities. He labeled "ultra-leftist" this tendency to ignore minority struggles, and he correctly characterized this condition as an "infantile" political disease.

It is not only necessary that we correct such tendencies but also that we determine from whence they come. One can only correct his weaknesses, Comrade Thomas, by exposing and studying their origins. Such ultra-leftism on the part of a Negro militant is the other side of the coin of a patronizing attitude taken towards Negroes by newly-converted white liberals. It is a result of subjective and non-realistic thinking.

The white who has been anti-Negro most of his life is subjectively "making amends" by being "more than nice." And the Negro who has been kicked around by prejudiced whites all his life (and may have done a little kicking around himself) becomes class conscious and, realizing his previous follies of anti-whitism, carries his new attitude to such an extent that he wants to deny the existence of such a thing as a Negro struggle.

LEADS TO ABSTENTION

Another factor we must not forget is that such a tendency leads to abstention from the real-life fight. Whether this is unconscious or intentional on the part of a certain individual makes no difference in the final analysis. The fact is that if you deny that we have a fight against capitalist-fostered discrimination, you are lost to the worker's side just as surely as if you, openly capitulated to the class enemy. In America the oppression of the Negro, the use of the Negro as a scapegoat, is one of the capitalists' main weapons against the entire working class. He who denies the need to fight this oppression is looking out the window while our already lousy foe is allowed to don brass knucks.

Finally, for a Negro himself, who has surely run into job discrimination, political disfranchisement and social ostracism from prejudiced whites—for such a person to state that "there is no Negro struggle" seems to me to be something like the super-cynical kid who, when shown a giraffe at the zoo, still contends that "There ain't no such animal."

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

- AKRON**—Visit The Militant Club, 408-6 Everett Bldg., 38 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m. Campaign mobilizations every Sunday at 2:00 p.m., 408-6 Everett Bldg., 39 E. Market St., Supper after mobilization at 4:30 p.m.
- ALBANY-BETHLEHEM**—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m., at Militant Labor Forum, S. E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Allentown.
- BOSTON**—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Mondays and Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m., Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- SUFFALO**—Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.
- CHICAGO**—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters, 160 N. Wells, R. 217. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7862.
- DETROIT**—All Militant readers invited to the SWP Open House held every Saturday evening, from 8 p.m. on. Forums on topical questions every Sunday, 9 p.m. Refreshments. Basic Training Class in Fundamental Principles of Marxism every Thursday 8 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES**—Buy The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets and get information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-05, 212 S. Hill St., VA-7866. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- MILWAUKEE**—Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 424 E. Wells St., any evening from 7:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—Visit the Labor Book Store, 19 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. daily. Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p.m.
- NEWARK**—Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30 p.m. Nov. 16—First of a series of Post-war Problems of American Workers: "Can Wall St. Stabilize the Postwar World?" Nov. 23—"Boss Offensive Against the Unions."
- NEW YORK**—Sun., Nov. 17, 10:30 a.m., meet at 116 University Place to sell subscriptions in The Militant Campaign for ten thousand new readers. Sat. Dec. 1, 9 p.m. International Package Relief Social, 116 University Place. Classes: Every Monday 8 p.m. at Chelsea Branch, 130 W. 23 St., second floor on Principles of Marxism. Also every Monday 8 p.m. at 116 University Pl. on Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure. Harlem Discussion Group meets every Wednesday night 8 p.m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggles," at 103 West 110 St., Room 21. Office open day and evening 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. also 7 to 9 p.m. Trotskyist Youth Forum Fridays, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place.
- PHILADELPHIA**—SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics. Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m.
- PORTLAND, Ore.**—Visit SWP headquarters, 134 S. W. Washington, 3rd floor. Tel. ATwater 5-3929. Open 10 to 4 p.m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science 306 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.
- SEATTLE**—Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p.m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1919 Second Ave.; 1. Imperialism; 2. Introduction to Socialism, 8 to 10 p.m.
- ST. LOUIS**—Visit our headquarters and The Militant Labor Forum at Peoples Bldg., Room 318, cor. Jefferson Ave. and Market Place. Open every evening, 8 to 10 p.m.
- TOLEDO**—Forums every Tuesday, 8:45 p.m.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; 8:30 to 10:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday.

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

November the Eleventh, 1918... remember? Cold-eyed generals and military courtesy, a piece of paper signed in a railroad car; cold-eyed diplomats in well-tailored clothes signing a paper in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles... the end of the war, the "Great War," as they called it then, before it became merely "World War I."



They quit singing "Johnny get your gun get your gun get your gun... They stopped bawling "Madamzelle from Armentiers" and "Over There." The bands played "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again" instead of "Tipperary" and "My Man." And Johnny came marching home, up Broadway in New York with rolls of ticker tape snaking down at him, tangling up his feet and legs (god, how the barbed wire got tangled up in the mud, tangled up around the bodies, twined around the wounded hanging there moaning in the light of the Very pistols... the ticker tape broke when you walked through it, it didn't twine around you and hold you there...).

Johnny Came Marching Home

And Johnny came marching home again through the loop in Chicago, and the crowds clogged Michigan Avenue all night long; and Johnny woke up next morning with a terrible hangover... but the war was over, and what was a hangover when plenty of his buddies would never wake up again in their muddy graves over in "sunny France?"

Johnny came marching home again up Main Street in Fleetwood's Junction, and the town band was out with shiny brass trumpets blaring and shiny big horns going "oom-pah" and drums exploding like anti-aircraft shells... "bump-bump" and everybody wanted to shake Johnny's hand and say, "It's sure good to see you, boy!"... and Ma's home cooking again... The world was made safe for democracy. The Kaiser's Kultur was defeated. A new era, the Fourteen Points, no more wars, democracy... Remember how everybody said there'd be no more wars, the people wouldn't stand for it? Remember how Hollywood gave us "What Price Glory?" "All Quiet on the Western Front," and everybody said, oh, no, there'd be no more wars? And then, remember the great stink that arose? It was discovered that it hadn't been a war for democracy. Wilson had said it was a

"traders' war." It was found that J. P. Morgan had a lot to do with sending the boys over to France. It was called an economic war. Why, Debs and the Wobblies had been telling the truth!

Muffled thunder in the distance. Jagged clouds of war gathering on the horizon, smoke from the humming munitions plants. The war drums beat again. The dry tinder cracked, burst into flame... and Johnny went marching away again.

Only, Johnny wasn't the same. Johnny had aged. He didn't march away smiling and singing. Johnny didn't want to go. Maybe he wondered, "What price glory?" He grinned wryly at his pals, said, "You lucky—I'm 1-A. Going on the twentieth. Sure, I quit my job. Going to have a little fun while I still can."

What happened to the democracy that the world was made safe for?

The Great War became just World War I so you could tell it from World War II, the greater war. Where thousands died from 1914 to 1918, millions were murdered from 1939 to 1945.

Civilization had progressed. One atomic bomb could wipe out a third of a million people. Incendiary raids burnt and charred whole cities and their inhabitants at one blow.

And Johnny came marching home again to shacks and tenements with cardboard signs in their windows, "Welcome home, Johnny!" But how many of his buddies had he left behind this time?

Before the blood was dry on the bayonets, before the smoke had cleared over the bomb craters, before the flames were dead in the ravaged villages, the generals began to prepare for the "next world war."

Think It Over, Johnny

So what do you think about that, Johnny? Ready to do it again? Ready for World War III? Or... remember Debs and the Wobblies last time? (Eighteen Trotskyists went to jail in this war—said it was a capitalist war!) Remember J. P. Morgan, the "traders' war," the Bonus Marchers—"Heroes of 1918, bums of 1932?"

Think it over, Johnny. There's a place for you here with us in the Socialist Workers Party, where we're really fighting for freedom, fighting to end wars.

What do you say?

Decline In American Labor Party' Vote Due To Its Support Of Boss Candidates

Workers' Barricade - - - 1945 Model



Part of the giant barricade of autos, trucks and busses which the workers of Windsor, Ontario, established last week to successfully block use of police forces to smash mass picket lines which the 10,000 striking Local 200, CIO United Automobile Workers, members have maintained for more than 2 months around the Ford plants. This blockade on Riverside Ave. is over a mile long.

Auto Blockade Protects Pickets In Windsor From Police Assault

(Continued From Page 1)

a mile, pouring over into side streets, and ending at the grounds of the East Windsor Hospital, which the pickets had been careful not to block. Smaller blockades likewise barred entrance to Ford feeder plants in nearby parts of the city.

Over 6,000 pickets, including reinforcements from Local 195, Women's Auxiliary Local 264, servicemen, and war veterans, were massed before the entrances to Plant 1 and dispatched to 25 strategic locations. Flying squadrons maintained contact between picket lines, and a sound truck issued directives and delivered messages. A shore patrol, made up of former navy men, picketed the river front in boats lest an attempt be made to land strikebreakers at the docks.

JOYOUS CELEBRATION

As the day wore on it became apparent that the "outside" police would not dare move against such a mobilization of strength. The tension of the early morning hours, when pickets poised themselves to meet an attack, gave way to a joyful holiday spirit.

While the pickets remained at their appointed posts, thousands of workers gathered at the empty parking lot across from the main gate, where a circular picket line, nine abreast, marched slowly around the edge. In the center stood the sound truck and a band composed of musicians from all the striking plants.

A piper in kilts played Scotch tunes, accompanied by the band, while overhead in the sun, planes circled slowly, taking pictures of the crowds and of the traffic blockade. From the sound truck a request went out for someone to lead a square dance. "Let's have some fun out of this," called the announcer, and the band struck up a lively dance.

NO MODEL-T CONTRACT

While scores of men and women gaily "swung their partners" in the center of the circle, the pickets continued their slow march, carrying signs which read: "A UNION SHOP MEANS HOME SECURITY" — "UNION SECURITY NOW" — "SOLIDIER-WORKER RALLY FOR ACTION ON JOBS, DECENT HOMES, WAGES" — "LET'S BUILD A UNION CAR NOW" — "YESTERDAY'S HEROES WILL NOT BE TOMORROW'S BUMS" — "DECENT HOMES FOR WAR VETERANS" — "WOMEN'S AUXILIARY 264 SUPPORTS OUR MEN" — a "FORD WORKERS WON'T ACCEPT A MODEL-T CONTRACT."

All afternoon the impromptu entertainment at the parking lot kept up. But the main attraction for the holiday crowds was the blockade. From morning to night, thousands of workers and their families walked slowly down Sandwich Street, proudly inspecting this hastily assembled barrier which stretched before the deserted Ford property.

A half dozen Greyhound buses, scores of local busses, and hundreds of delivery trucks were strategically placed among the passenger cars, mute testimony to the willingness of workers throughout the city to come to the aid of the Ford strikers. Near

BULLETIN

WINDSOR, Ontario, Nov. 10—A Dominion-wide 24-hour strike of 330,000 members of the Canadian Congress of Labor, with all other unions also urged to participate, is impending in an effort to force the Ford Motor Company here to sign a union security contract with striking Local 200, CIO United Automobile Workers. Intervention by the Minister of Labor and threat of government armed strike-breaking have failed dismally to crush the 60-day old strike.

committee in charge of the kitchen, reported that they had been feeding an average of 3,000 pickets a day, although yesterday the number had doubled.

She said that most of the cooking utensils as well as the containers for transporting food to the picket lines had been loaned by restaurants and the management of union organized dairies. In addition to the soup, sandwiches, milk and coffee dispensed in the kitchen, pickets receive food vouchers which local merchants are honoring, of \$5 per week for each man and wife, and \$2 for each child in the family.

BOSS MOVES

Thwarted in their plans to break the picket lines, and with their "outside" police immobilized in the barracks, industrialists attempted today to rouse a lynch spirit against the strikers. A few "irate citizens" were organized to protest to the police and give statements to the press that their cars were caught in the blockade, and they demanded to know "what rights an individual had." Attorney-General Blackwell called the strike an "insurrection" and threatened to bring in troops. But in the face of these protests, the police stated truthfully that they could do nothing about the situation, and the blockade remains unbroken.

Union members are angered by these threats of violence, but not intimidated, for they have vast reserves on which they can call. The AFL and the Canadian Congress of Labor, not only in Windsor but throughout all of Canada, are standing by to call out their members if "outside" police or troops are moved. Co-operative Commonwealth Federation members in Parliament are lending their encouragement to the strikers and urging them not to back down. In the face of the aroused and organized might of the entire labor movement, even Blackwell has had to retreat, and now tries to deny that he ever mentioned the use of troops.

The union, down to the last man in the ranks, is determined to win this battle, for it knows that more than just a contract with Ford is at stake. On their strike bulletin, Local 200 has printed the slogan, "As Ford Goes, So Goes the Nation."

This strike has international repercussions as well. Across the river in Detroit, auto workers now fighting for a 30 per cent wage increase, recognize that Ford for the present is concentrating its union-busting tactics on the weakest link in the Ford system. A victory for the Canadian auto workers will inspire not only Ford workers but all other UAW members in Detroit and all over the U. S. to fight to the finish for their union demands.

Stalinist Goons Rip Up 'Militants'

By Laura Falk

NEW YORK, Nov. 9—Although the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant are in full accord with the slogan "Take American Soldiers Out of China," eight Militant distributors and SWP members were accosted by Stalinist goons at the Union Square rally called here to night by the Communist Party to protest American intervention in China.

As the first distributors crossed 17th Street, organized Stalinist goon-squads tore the papers from our hands, they attacked a girl comrade who was guarding bundles of Militants, and then turned upon a male comrade who came to her aid. Bundles of Militants were ripped apart.

Although we were thus forced to end our distribution, much had been gained. Many spectators, including some Stalinists, were angered by the hoodlum attack. They clearly felt that The Militant, which supports the slogan of Hands Off China, had a right to be distributed at the meeting.

By Felix Morrow

We looked in vain in the pages of the Daily Worker for a serious analysis of the performance of the American Labor Party in the New York mayoralty elections. In vain, for the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which dictated the ALP's support of Tammany's O'Dwyer, was determined to cover up the real meaning of the final figures.

The Stalinist DAILY WORKER had a good time chortling over the fiasco suffered by Dubinsky's Liberal Party, which polled only 123,218 votes for the Republican Goldstein. The DAILY WORKER triumphantly pointed out that this was only a little better than six per cent of the total vote, as compared with over 11 per cent garnered by the Liberal Party last year.

Strangely enough, however, the DAILY WORKER has yet to get down to telling its readers what per cent of the vote the ALP got this year and how it compares with ALP votes in previous years. We shall have to do it ourselves.

In the last mayoralty election in 1941, the ALP polled 433,534 votes for LaGuardia. That was over 18 per cent of the total vote.

ALP LOSES VOTES

Much more significant, however, was the vote the next year, 1942, because it was for an ALP candidate for governor who was running independently. He was a nobody named Alfange, and the election was marked by extreme apathy with votes for all parties dropping far below previous years.

Nevertheless, in 1942 in New York City the independent ALP candidate polled 346,557 votes, which was over 18 per cent of the total vote.

Now compare these figures with the present election. The ALP polled 259,268 for O'Dwyer. This is 174,000 less than the ALP polled in the last mayoralty campaign.

Even more important, it is 87,000 votes less than the ALP polled in 1942 for its independent candidate, Alfange. As against the 18 per cent of the total vote polled for Alfange, this year the ALP polled 13 per cent of the total vote.

No alibi can explain away the meaning of these figures. In the first election held after the war, at a time when the whole labor movement is beginning to stir and struggle, the ALP polled far fewer votes than in the paralyzing years of war.

The nearest the DAILY WORKER gets to explaining

what has happened is to write in an editorial (November 8) that "If the vote for mayor represents a slight relative decline from last year, it is because the ALP, in a complex situation resulting from the weaknesses of O'Dwyer, did not succeed in making entirely clear to the voters the significance of the independent labor vote."

In reality, there was nothing complex about the situation. It was very clear. The ALP, under the leadership of the Stalinists, insisted on supporting Tammany's candidate. The ALP didn't succeed in getting out hundreds of thousands who had previously voted ALP for the simple reason that the ugly reality made it impossible to sell these voters the idea that a vote for O'Dwyer was a vote for labor.

The lesson ought to be clear. There are hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers in New York who refuse to have anything to do with the capitalist parties and who want labor's own party, with labor's own candidates. Were these class-conscious workers mobilized by the ALP, they would in turn be able to arouse hundreds of thousands of other workers to understand the need for an independent labor party.

STALINISTS "EXPLAIN"

That is the plain lesson of the figures we have cited. Instead, however, the DAILY WORKER dares to say: "The lesson is clear. If the Democrats want to remain in power in New York they have to give the people a candidate, a program and an administration that will win the backing of progressives." In plain English, this means: "Please, brother Democrats, put up a little better candidate for governor than you did for mayor, so we can get you more votes on the ALP line."

Every worker with a shred of class-consciousness should say to the Stalinist Party and the ALP: To hell with that kind of company-union politics. It serves only the bosses. The time is ripe, and rotten-ripe, for independent labor political action, for labor's own party and its own candidates independent of the capitalist parties.

Boss Press Lies About 'Gay' Harlem

By Jerry Baker

Harlem, the most advertised Negro section in the world, is always characterized by the capitalist press as "colorful" and "gay." It is said that on Lenox avenue, the center of Harlem, "carefree Negroes dance in the streets" and "night life is a daytime life as well."

According to the boss press, Harlem is an area where poverty is picturesque and the oppressed make pretty pictures for the capitalist "art" magazines.

Nevertheless, the ruling class uses the New York police department to try to set up ghetto restrictions to segregate the Negro people, and to keep the white workers out of Harlem. This, of course, does not apply to the high top hats and white ties getting out of fancy cars in front of Harlem's night clubs.

TRUE CONDITIONS

The true conditions of Harlem are seen by the large crew of Militant subscription salesmen as they go from house to house and talk with those who live there.

Usually we trudge up six and seven flights of rickety stairs. Cracked paint is peeling off the walls of the dimly lit, narrow hallways. The grim and decrepitude mean money in the pockets of the rapacious real estate sharks. Negroes pay double and triple the rent whites have to pay for similar housing. Of course, repairs are seldom made. The average apartment is four

or five small rooms, in the same condition as the halls, only kept cleaner or as clean as possible by those who live there. Ten and twelve people are crowded into one apartment, two and three persons for each room, with one kitchen and one bathroom for all. Many times there are no bathrooms.

A comrade rings the bell. As she stands waiting, she hears President Truman's voice clearly over the radio with his message of conscription in order to "... discharge the fundamental mission laid upon them by the Constitution of the United States..."

The end of his sentence is unheard as a woman opens the door, shrugs her shoulders and says, "My boy is coming home from the Navy next week. I'm glad. He was even more discriminated against in the Navy than he was here."

"TRY TO CONFUSE"

The woman tells our comrade that the rents are so high and the vacancies so few that several families have to live together in an apartment meant only for one family. "It seems that the rich people want the poor people to be ashamed of themselves. And they try to confuse us so that we will not know who to blame and what to blame them for."

She buys a subscription. The Militant will show her why the slums of Harlem and Jim Crow in the armed forces are one and the same—all part of the vicious capitalist system.

House after house, block after block—"higher rents," "higher cost for foods," "only the left-overs to buy in the stores," "the first to be fired, the last to be hired." These are only a few of the injustices.

Harlem, "happy"? Harlem, "carefree"? They lie. Harlem is bitter and angry. It is asking, WHY? That is why The Militant is the fastest growing paper today in Harlem.

Shoptalks On Socialism

By V. Grey

"There are too many stick-in-the-muds in the world. Look at these guys. They'll never even change the way they part their hair. They're sure as hell not going to change into socialists."



Yes, at first sight you'd say that people don't change. You see the same fellows at work day after day—the same grease on their faces and the same look in their eyes.

Mopey Mike has the same dripping on the end of his nose and Fred carries his hammer in the loop in the back of his overalls exactly the same sloppy way, winter and summer.

And yet if you look a little further you see that the fellows do change. They're changing all the time. You just have to look at things in a bigger way to see the change. If you keep your eyes glued on Mopey Mike you'll never notice it.

When you work nights in the winter, it's black dark when you go in at eleven. And it still is when you come out at seven. But the morning is ready to break all the same. If you didn't know that by experience, you'd still be able to tell by the changed position of the moon and stars. You could watch the stars all night and see the progress of the world towards the next day.

Just looking at the darkness alone, you'd certainly say it doesn't change. To understand the change you have to look at things on a big scale.

You could go twenty five thousand miles straight north or south, for instance, without ever noticing the earth was curved. But for all that you'd come right back where you started from. You have to get pretty far away from the earth to see its curvature.

Too Close To Them

It's the same with watching the fellows. Sometimes you can be way wrong because you're too close to them. You get so used to them, you see them so much, you think you know all about them. But you don't. "Look at these guys," you say. "They're not even 100 per cent union men. So how will they ever get to be revolutionary socialists? Oh sure, they'll go out on strike if the union officially calls them out."

Oh sure! It just seems like fate now, doesn't it? But Mike and Joe and Breezy and Pop weren't born that way. Today it seems just like the flatness of the earth you stand on, that they're that way. It's so long since the fellows

were against the union, it's hard to believe they ever were. But they were—just as sure as the earth is round.

If you want to look ahead and see where the fellows are going to and what fights they're going to have, and what revolutionary heroes some of them are going to be, you've got to take your eyes out of the department and look around. Take your eyes out of the plant and out of the whole Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Watch what's going on all over the country and all over the world.

Just think: a man could have lived out the whole prime of his life in the steel plants between 1920 and 1936. He could have married, raised children and grown bald in that time. And he never would have seen a union button, nor heard a union word. Unionism was dead, and the steel workers were too scared of the company ever to organize. That's what he would have thought. If he looked at his plant and his department alone, he never could believe that in 1937 steel workers would fight to the very death on picket lines.

Bigger Struggles Ahead

But during all those sixteen years when that man was living out his life with his eyes to the ground—there were revolutions in China, Austria, Hungary, Spain. There were general strikes in France and England. There were riots—hunger marches—a bonus march and sit-downs in the United States. That man could have learned, if he had lifted up his head, that things were changing, people were changing and in some cases very rapidly. He could have smelled the big steel strikes in the wind.

Well, you can raise your head in the wind today. You can smell bigger struggles ahead. Strikes are going to get bigger. The companies will get still more vicious. The men will get more desperate. The fight will grow wider. It will go from strike to general strike; from general strike to revolution.

Maybe Mopey Mike will become a revolutionary hero and maybe he won't. But there will be no lack of such heroes among the fellows, never fear. They may part their hair the same—smoke or chew the same brand, and cuss with the same polite phrases. But their minds are changing—right now—slow as the swing of the stars at night—but just as sure and steady.

So keep your eye on the stars and watch the politics of the whole world. Read the world news in The Militant each week—and you'll understand the fellows a lot better.

Postwar Notes For Seamen By F. J. Lang

If you go to the St. Johns River Shipbuilding Co. at Jacksonville, Florida, you will find a big "for sale" sign there. This was the first such notice posted on government-owned shipyards by the Maritime Commission. This particular yard consists of 165 acres of land, structures, improvements and equipment, and some ship construction materials. During the war it built 82 Liberty ships and 12 tankers. At present there is no prospect for continued operations. Soon this yard will be a large junk heap—another monument to capitalist "free enterprise."



In order to compete with U. S. subsidized shipping in the Caribbean, the British are now considering whether "His Majesty's Government should not offer a subsidy for the maintenance of a regular British passenger service to some of the West Indian Colonies," in accordance with a recommendation of the West India Royal Commission which surveyed economic conditions in the islands in 1938 and 1939.

The State Department is re-writing the Ship Sales Bill now before Congress so as to allow for

charter of surplus American ships to foreign operators who lost heavily during the war while U. S. tonnage was increased. According to State Department representatives, this country is "morally obligated" to help the Allied maritime nations get back on their feet.

Actually, what is behind these "moral" considerations is the desire of American industry to secure cheaper shipping services and at the same time to build up dollar credits abroad for the purchase of American exports.

Present plans in Washington provide for 50 per cent of American export-import trade to be carried in American-flag ships operated by private companies but subsidized by the government so as to guarantee profits. A report by the Postwar Planning Committee which has been referred to the Maritime Commission estimates that 396 dry cargo and passenger ships operating in 33 foreign trade routes will fill the bill.

Thus, U. S. imperialism sees a need for less than 400 off-shore ships, exclusive of tankers, in the "postwar era of world prosperity," whereas it used around 4,000 of the same type ships during the war to carry its machines of destruction to all corners of the world.

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