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29th Anniversary Of Russian Revolution

Speech by J. P. Cannon

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VOL. X — No. 46

MIDDLE CLASS VOTE SHIFTS TO GOP

Minnesota SWP Gains In Vote

Returns From 18 Of 87 Counties Indicate Carlson Will Top '40 Vote

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 9—Early returns in the Minnesota elections indicate that the Socialist Workers Party will reach a new high in votes here. Incomplete returns from 18 of Minnesota's 87 counties give Grace Carlson, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator, 5,963 votes. Partial returns from the section of Hennepin County (Minneapolis) and the other four counties which make up the Third Congressional District, give Warren Creel 1,194 votes. In the Fourth Congressional District, which is made up of St. Paul and suburban areas in Ramsey County, Dorothy Schultz received 1,141 votes.

Because of Minnesota election regulations, the SWP candidates could not appear on the ballot under the party's own name. Revolutionary Workers Party was the ballot designation.

A comparison of the 1946 SWP vote with that received in the same areas in 1940 registers gains all along the line. When she ran as the party's senatorial candidate in 1940, Grace Carlson received 8,761 votes.

In terms of the percentage of the total vote cast in the election, the SWP gain this year is even more impressive. Present returns indicate that the 1946 vote in Minnesota will be a half million less than that of 1940. In fact, one must go back 16 years in Minnesota history to find a lower vote in the final elections.

The 1946 election saw the defeat of Democratic-Farmer-Laborite Congressman, Frank



GRACE CARLSON

Starkey of the Fourth Congressional District, and Roy Wier, D-F-L candidate for Third District Congressman.

Both Starkey and Wier have long records in the Minnesota labor movement and in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. Both went over to the Democratic Party when the FLP was liquidated in 1944. Both went down to defeat this year along with the big majority of Democratic candidates in Minnesota and across the country.

But the gain in the Socialist Workers Party vote underlines the fact that Minnesota workers and farmers are willing to support a militant working class program when they find one. The SWP vote was highest in districts where the Minnesota election edition of *The Militant* had been distributed.

This could be noted in the vote in working class neighborhoods in St. Paul and Minneapolis, but it was even more marked in Duluth and the mining towns on the Iron Range. There was very little SWP election literature distributed in this area in 1940.

Approximately two thousand Militants were distributed in Duluth and the Range towns in St. Louis County this year. With still incomplete returns, the 1946 SWP vote is 170 per cent higher in St. Louis County than the 1940 vote.

In the small industrial towns of Winona and Stillwater, which received their first distribution of SWP election material in this campaign, the SWP votes increased 40 per cent and 110 per cent over 1940.

Official election returns from all Minnesota counties will not be available until the State Canvassing Board meets on Nov. 19.

Election Results In N. Y. Disclose Bankruptcy Of Stalinist Policies

Votes On ALP's Line Remain At '44 Level

By Joseph Hansen

"What opened the gates to the Hooverite victory?" asks the Nov. 7 *Daily Worker* with an assumed air of surprised innocence. The official Stalinist answer to this question, signed by Foster and Dennis for the National Board of the Communist Party, is "Truman's betrayal of the Roosevelt program."

The Stalinists had freely predicted a smashing victory for the Democratic Party, had denounced as a GOP plot all the straw polls that indicated the real trend, and thumped the tub loudest of all for red-baiters Mead and Lehman and the reactionary party of Bilbo, Byrnes, Truman and Rankin.

However, Dewey took New York State by more than 675,000 votes, sweeping into office virtually the entire Republican ticket. The total vote was over 5,000,000.

As in the rest of the country, the New York voters were voting for a change. They did not vote for the Republicans so much as against the Democrats.

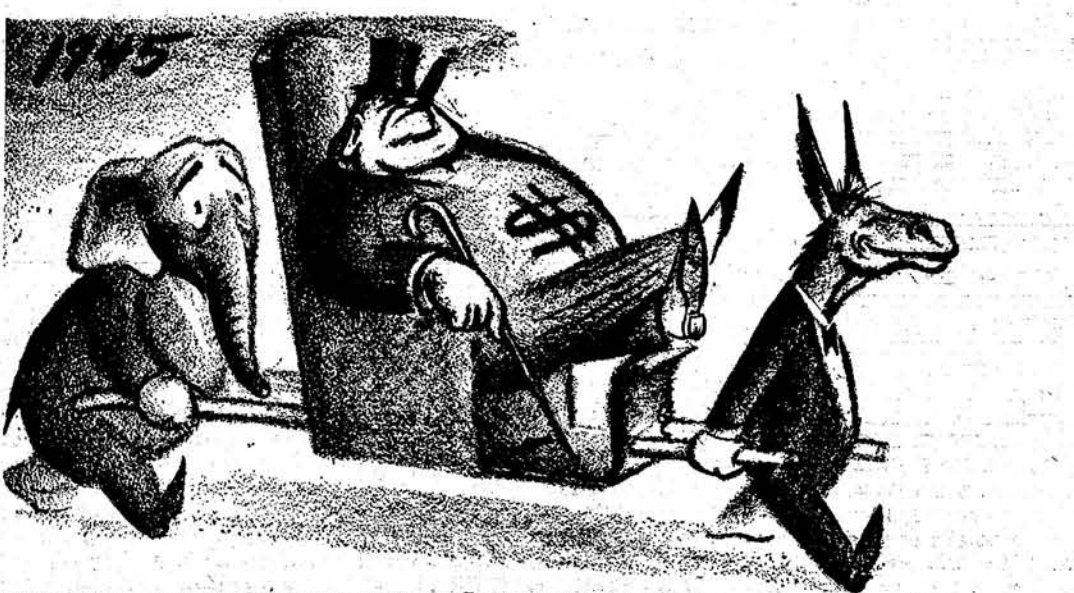
BIGGEST SHIFT

Analysis of the vote proves that the biggest shift occurred in the rural areas and among the middle classes. In upper New York, Dewey won a majority of more than 865,000. But he lost the metropolitan area of New York City by some 189,000 votes. By and large, the working class districts did not vote for Dewey, although the Democrats carried in addition to New York County only Albany, Bronx and Kings Counties.

The outstanding conclusion to be drawn from the election is the utter inability of the Democratic Party to attract the support of the farmers and the urban middle class. The Republicans made deep inroads even in New York's petty bourgeois areas, winning 5 Congressional seats and chalking up Queens in their column. And they swung the balance in Buffalo.

Besides the governorship, the Republicans captured the important United States Senate seat. They won six seats in the House of Representatives. In the 80th Congress, Republicans will have from New York 28 representatives, the Democrats 16 and the American Labor Party 1.

The Republicans likewise gained in the State Legislature. They won 16 seats in the State (Continued on Page 2)



United Mass Action Can Defeat New Congress Threat To Labor

What does the election of a Republican-controlled Congress mean for the future of the labor movement? Will it or can it wipe out the gains of the labor movement during the last decade? Does it mean that the unions cannot protect and even advance their interests and that they will be driven back to the status they had under Hoover? These are questions being asked by workers everywhere.

The first thing to be noted is that it will not be necessary for the 80th Congress to begin a drive against the labor movement. The anti-labor drive has been going on for some time now, and it has been speeded up since the end of the war — under the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Since the end of the war, as a matter of fact, it had been impossible to distinguish between the Democrats and Republicans

they used to be. "After all," he said, "the Republican Party is a lot different now than it was ten years ago. It supports a great many things now that it once opposed."

Nothing could be more misleading. The Republicans are not more friendly to labor than they were ten years ago. The difference is not in the Republicans, but in the labor movement. Under Hoover the unions were weak and very small. Today they count 15 million members and the basic industries have been organized.

If the Republicans go more slowly than expected in pushing anti-labor bills, it won't be from liberalism, but from fear of the resistance of organized labor which has grown so greatly in size and power.

Only those who had illusions about the Democrats as "friends of labor" will be demoralized into feeling that the Republican victory necessarily means a loss of labor's gains. The truth is that labor was never stronger than it is today. The truth is that under Republican as under Democratic rule, what Congress does to labor will depend on the kind of fight labor puts up.

The threat of anti-labor laws is greater today only because the weak-kneed policies of the union leaders, their past failures to lead a militant fight against Democratic-sponsored laws, has emboldened the capitalist politicians to push their anti-labor drive in a more unrestrained fashion.

If the labor leaders oppose anti-labor laws only by words, as in the past, harsher measures will be passed. If the unions resist by united mass action, Congress will be forced to retreat.

Final returns on the SWP vote in New Jersey, Minnesota and Washington, where the party was on the ballot, and in New York, Ohio and California, where the vote had to be written in, will be printed in *The Militant* when received.

PAC-CIO Loses Support In Working Class Areas

By George Breitman

The Nov. 5 election which gave the Republican Party control of both houses of Congress and most state governments, was more than a protest vote repudiating the Democratic candidates. It was a defeat for the CIO Political Action Committee's policy of backing so-called progressives of the discredited Democratic Party.

This defeat and the election itself can be understood only by studying how the different classes in the population voted, particularly the middle class and

the working class. It is plain that the biggest shift took place in the ranks of the middle class.

The farmers, who have been moving away from the Democrats in recent years, went over to the Republicans in great numbers. Similarly, the middle class in the urban areas — the shopkeepers, professional workers and small business men who always constituted an important prop for the Roosevelt regime — voiced their dissatisfaction with unstable economic conditions by voting against the party that was in.

A study of the voting in the key industrial cities discloses, however, that while there were Republican gains even in working class neighborhoods, the majority of the workers and their families continued to support the Democratic Party.

The Republicans picked up votes everywhere, even where they did not win. In Detroit and Michigan they gained enough to tip the scales in their favor for the first time in many years. But by and large, Republican majorities in working class areas were the exception and not the rule on Nov. 5.

There was no evidence of any enthusiasm in the ranks of the organized workers for the Democratic candidates or platform. The PAC did relatively better in New York where it asked the workers to vote on the line of the American Labor Party, even though its major candidates were all Democrats.

Even while they could not become enthusiastic about the Democrats, the great bulk of the organized workers did not turn to the Republicans who appear in the non-Southern States as the more openly anti-labor and reactionary of the two capitalist parties.

Henry Wallace, Senator Claude Pepper, the labor leaders, the Stalinists and Social Democrats all tried their hardest to revive the ghost of the New Deal and to paint up the Democratic Party in the colors of progressive

(Continued on Page 2)

CIO Convention Is Faced With Crucial Issues

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), representing more than 5,000,000 workers in America's basic industries, begins its annual national convention on Nov. 18 in Atlantic City, N. J.

Meeting during one of the most crucial periods in the country's history, the convention will have the task of adopting policies and a program on the basic issues confronting the American people today.

Foremost in the deliberations will be the question of a program of action to implement the demands of the CIO unions for substantial pay increases to compensate for big price rises that have wiped out the wage gains won last spring in the great CIO-led strike wave.

Another key issue will be the growing red-baiting drive inside the unions that is being inspired by Big Business to divide and weaken the labor movement and to line up the workers for war against the Soviet Union.

The convention follows on the heels of the national elections which saw the voters turn in disgust from the Democratic Party and reluctantly vote for the Republicans because they had no mass party of labor to support. The question of the CIO's political course will be a paramount convention issue.

(More on CIO convention, Page 6.)

Youngstown Stalinists Attack Distributors Of SWP Leaflets

(Special to *The Militant*)

YOUNGSTOWN, O., Nov. 5—Stalinist hoodlums last night attempted to beat up a young girl and man distributing election literature of the Socialist Workers Party to Republic Steel workers. Be-

cause the attackers were distributors of Political Action Committee literature, a letter exposing the assault was sent to the Mahoning County CIO Council by Youngstown SWP organizer Harry Braverman, a victim of the attack.

"Naturally," the letter reads, "we do not hold the Political Action Committee or the CIO Council responsible for this attack. But we do request that you investigate this matter and condemn the perpetrators of this anti-labor outrage."

Shortly after the SWP distributors began to give out their election folders, the letter says, "three distributors who carried PAC literature arrived . . . As they distributed, they attempted to push and shoulder us out of the way, concentrating their attacks on a cowardly manner primarily upon the young girl."

The hoodlums "lyingly shouted that we were company stooges and made other typically Stalinist remarks about the Trotskyists." They were temporarily restrained by the appearance of a police car, but when the police drove off, one hoodlum said: "There they go, O.K. Eric, do your stuff!"

At this, Braverman continues, "the leader of the group jumped me and was joined by the other two. They tore the remaining election folders from my hands and attempted to beat me to the ground and beat me up. They seized the suitcase in which we had carried our election literature and attempted to bring it down on my head. Only the most determined resistance on my part and the approach of some workers who were leaving the mill prevented a worse outcome."

This type of Stalinist assault is not new. Braverman said, pointing to recent Stalinist attacks on Militant distributors at CIO National Maritime Union meetings in New York where one man was beaten into unconsciousness and four girls injured. The Youngstown SWP has issued its letter in leaflet form to unionists throughout the city, urging them to condemn gangster tactics, and defend the right of free speech in the labor movement.

POST-ELECTION POLICY OF PAC
What lesson do PAC leaders draw from the defeat of PAC policies in the 1946 elections?
What are the prospects for the launching of a labor party before the 1948 elections?
Read the Analysis On Page 2

Documents Show Red Army Heads Were Innocent

On Nov. 3 the columnist Walter Winchell, broadcast a most important bit of news along with his usual assortment of trivial and morsels of scandal.

Confiscated documents from the archives of the German government, said Winchell, prove that Tukhachevsky and the other Red Army generals shot by Stalin were completely innocent of the charge of plotting with the Nazis.

Winchell did not reveal his source of information. But it is reasonable to assume that the documents are in the possession of the State Department and that the "leak" might be John O. Rogge who was recently fired from the Department of Justice for publicizing Nazi efforts to intervene in American politics.

The world-famous General Tukhachevsky, it will be recalled, was summarily executed along with the entire leading staff of the Red Army, Navy and Air Corps, in June 1937.

SECRET "TRIAL"

Stalin issued an official communique claiming that they had been court-martialed. They were, according to Stalin's claim, tried behind closed doors on the accusation of "connections with leading military circles of one of the foreign countries which is carrying on an unfriendly policy toward the USSR." On June 12, according to Stalin's claim, they were found "guilty" and sentenced to be shot as "traitors."

Winchell's revelation discloses one more powerful reason why the Stalinist prosecutor failed to question the Nazis at Nuremberg on the alleged plots "confessed" by Stalin's victims in the Moscow Frame-Up Trials.

Likewise explained is the silence of the Nuremberg jurists over Natalia Trotsky's demand that her legal representative be permitted to cross-examine the Nazis at Nuremberg.

The representatives of Anglo-American imperialism made an unholy deal with the Stalinist representatives at Nuremberg to suppress all evidence that would have once more confirmed the innocence of Leon Trotsky and the other slandered victims of the Kremlin butcher.

CP Leaders Expel 11 More

For the first time the Stalinist *Daily Worker* has reported one of the group purges of the rank and file that have been convulsing the American Communist Party.

"The Prospect Section Committee," the Nov. 5 *Daily Worker* declares, ". . . unanimously expelled Sylvia Price, her two sisters, Eileen Rechtman and Bea Rechtman, Jerry Schwartz and seven others for organizing and maintaining a faction within the P. R. club and carrying on disruptive anti-party activities of a left-wing sectarian, semi-Trotskyist nature in opposition to the line of the Communist Party."

The notice of expulsion, issued by the Bronx County Committee, claimed the group was headed by Earl Price, who was expelled some months ago as a "petty bourgeois individualist who propagated semi-Trotskyist views and maintained connections with an outside anti-party group."

Up to now the *Daily Worker* had announced only the expulsion of such leading Stalinist fig-

uration as virtually a fascist government."

The group likewise attacked "the Mead-Lehman Democrats as the chief feature of its activities." The Stalinist Party, as is well known, was the most ardent champion of the red-baiting Democratic machine in the elections.

The expelled group also attacked the failure of the Stalinist Party to conduct a militant fight against the reactionary Case Bill.

The statement of the Bronx County Committee declares that "It is obvious that the party must carry on the fight on two fronts against these 'left' opportunists as well as the right influences and remnants of Brownism."

The *Daily Worker's* admission of these expulsions gives additional confirmation to the declaration of *The Militant* last week which pointed out that a "profound internal crisis is convulsing" the Stalinist Party.

CIO-PAC Leaders Draw False Lesson From Defeat, But Pressure For Labor Party Is Bound To Grow

By Art Preis

Defeat of the Democratic Party at the polls has also meant defeat for the policies of the CIO Political Action Committee, whose program consisted of little more than drumming up votes for Democratic candidates.

Will this defeat lead to a decisive change in PAC policies, and, in particular, in the PAC leaders' attitude toward the formation of a third party?

An indication of the CIO leaders' intentions was given on Nov. 9 when 30 top leaders of the PAC-sponsored "Conference of Progressives" met in Washington to consider future policy.

Their goal, they claimed, is "mobilizing the most effective liberal-progressive coalition ever brought together in the history of our country."

What the PAC leaders have in mind, it is apparent, is to dilute still further the labor character of CIO political action with middle-class influence and leadership, especially from the rapidly dwindling "New Deal" wing of the Democratic Party.

The Conference of Progressives argued that "a small shift in Tuesday's vote would have changed the results" and it concluded that its chief task consists of better organization to get out votes for "progressive" Democrats in the next elections.

This "small shift" of votes, however, represented the climax to a big consistent trend over the past six years. It is the major shift of the lower middle class away from the Democratic Party and the beginning of the shift of the workers.

That break in the middle class does not at all reflect failure of PAC campaign methods. It has nothing to do with better door-bell ringing.

The middle class had become thoroughly disgusted with the Democrats. PAC failed to give them something different and better. And simply stacking up a lot of middle-class liberals and out-of-work "New Dealers" as a front for PAC won't win back middle-class support for PAC policies.

It is not PAC's labor character that has driven the middle class into the arms of the Republicans. It is the fact that organized labor has failed to take the lead in building an independent political party to put up a real fight against both the Democratic and Republican parties of Big Business.

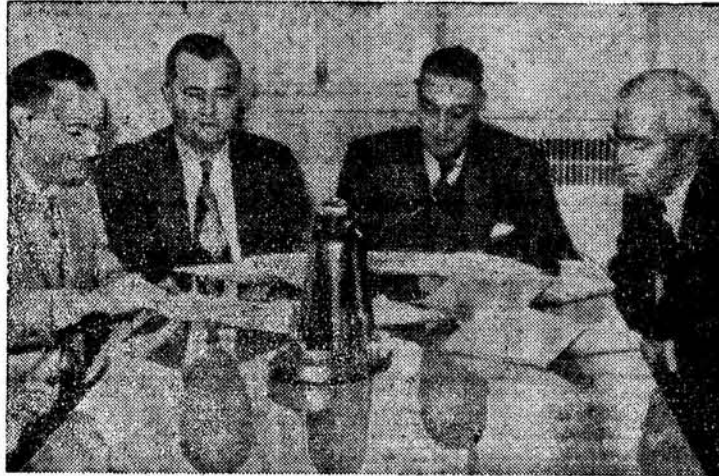
Whatever the present intentions of the CIO leaders to continue their bankrupt political policy of supporting capitalist party candidates, the decisive factor is the reaction of the workers.

Sentiment for the formation of a labor party was already widespread in the union ranks

before the elections. It will grow rapidly stronger in the coming period. The workers' loyalty to CIO-PAC and their recognition that the Republicans offered no better choice than the Democrats still held them in line, to a large extent, in the 1946 elections.

But the results of this election are bound to further discredit the policy of backing capitalist party candidates. Further inevitable blows of political reaction will increase the workers' desire for a labor party. The pressure that the union militants exert on the union leaders will determine whether or not a labor party will be formed before 1948. That pressure is bound to grow enormously in the next period.

UAW Meets With Chrysler



Negotiations for wage increases to compensate for the soaring cost of living begin in Detroit as CIO United Auto Workers representatives meet with Chrysler Corp. representatives. Left to right, Joseph W. Rubin and Norman Matthews of UAW Chrysler division; Robert Conder, company industrial relation head and his assistant, George Huth. Federated Pictures

Middle Class Vote Shifts To The GOP

(Continued from Page 1)

reform. As a whole they were unsuccessful; there was a widespread feeling that there was little difference between the programs of the two parties.

Most workers under these conditions voted for the Democrats as the lesser of two evils; a minority voted for the Republicans because they felt there was no difference at all and because they wanted to express a protest against the party in power.

The shift in the middle class vote which brought the Republicans into control of Congress is a damning refutation of the PAC's chief arguments against

formation of a labor party. PAC and labor leaders had contended in the name of "realism" that creation of a labor party would isolate the middle class from the workers and make possible the election of the Republicans.

What actually happened was that the middle class, discontented and offered no independent leadership by the labor movement, expressed its protest against existing conditions in the only way it understood — by voting for the one other national party, the Republicans.

Far from gaining the support of the middle class by hanging out the coattails of the Democrats, the PAC leaders drove the middle class into the arms of the Republicans. More than that, the PAC leaders even lost some ground among the workers as a result of their cowardly policy.

James Reston of the N. Y. Times and other political reporters noted shortly before the election that the swing to the Republicans was not so much due to support for the Republicans as it was due to discontent with the Democrats. Reston even declared:

"One feels, frankly, that if the people voted their true feelings and had two votes, they would cast one against the Democrats and one against the Republicans."

Under such conditions a new party—a labor party—which took the field against both capitalist parties and presented a fighting program to answer the problems facing the masses, could have rallied not only the workers but also great sections of the discontented middle classes.

Such a party could have won votes not only from the Democrats, but also from the Republicans. Even in its first try this year, such a party could have won many seats in Congress and the state governments, perhaps even enough to hold the balance of power in Washington. It certainly could have laid the ground for a successful presidential campaign in 1948.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1946 election is this: Continued postponement of a labor party will further strengthen the chances of victory for the Republicans in 1948.

New York School Schedules Four Marxist Classes

NEW YORK—The Marxist Labor School, sponsored by the N. Y. Local of the Socialist Workers Party, will open its winter sessions this year on Monday, Dec. 2 with a series of four courses, each to run for six weeks.

William F. Warde, National Educational Director of the SWP, will teach a class in "The First American Revolution."

John G. Wright, Associate Editor of Fourth International and translator and editor of Trotsky's writings, will conduct a class on "Historical Materialism," the scientific interpretation of history.

George Clarke, City Organizer of the New York Local of the SWP, will be the instructor in a class "From the Third International to the Fourth."

David L. Weiss, City Educational Director of the N. Y. Local of the SWP, will teach a class on "Democracy, Fascism and Socialism."

All workers regardless of race, color or sex are invited to attend.

Conscientious Objectors Demand End Of Wall Street Persecution

By Evelyn Atwood

For the past six years since 1940, almost 15,000 objectors to war on religious, moral or political grounds have been the victims of savage political persecution by U. S. imperialism. Wall Street thus carried out its determination to terrorize and subjugate all who, for any reason whatever, opposed its plans for war and world domination.

The war ended over a year ago, yet today there are still 1,000 conscientious objectors locked behind prison bars. Since V-J Day, 19 and 20-year-old boys have been sentenced to prison. Some 5,000 who are out on parole or have served their sentences, are still deprived of their civil liberties. Only a Presidential amnesty can free the men in prison and restore civil rights to all.

The Committee for Amnesty, 5 Beekman Street, N. Y., formed in December 1945, is now conducting a campaign for presidential amnesty by Christmas. According to Albon Man, secretary of the Committee, the trade union movement will be called upon to back this campaign.

Among the COs, he pointed out, are many active trade unionists. Some of them were organizers for the CIO. During the war, these forced labor camps were cited in the Senate as ample precedent for a labor draft of all workers.

Hundreds of COs were sent to prison because they refused the alternative of working in Civilian Public Service camps, which are virtual concentration camps. Hundreds of others were sent to prison because they walk-

ed out of the camps in protest against the unbearable and tyrannical conditions. Only a few were imprisoned for refusing to register for the draft.

Almost 9,000 COs were herded in over 100 "locations" throughout the country and assigned to forestry work, road building, soil erosion and conservation work. Of these, 1,385 still remain.

Not only were they given no wages for a 51-hour work week, but they were forced to pay \$30 to \$35 a month for their "board." No compensation was paid for injuries sustained in the line of duty. No dependency allowances were given to men with families. Food was bad. They were regimented under army control and could not leave the camps without permission.

Many of the men conducted strikes and slowdowns in these slave camps, notably in Big Flats, N. Y., and Glendora, Calif.,

where today 53 men are awaiting trial in federal court for striking. In many camps the men refused to compete with free labor and be utilized to depress low wage standards.

They protested against being treated as criminals, against regimentation, against conscription, against Truman's threat to draft workers as strikebreakers. Hundreds walked out of the camps and were sent to prison where they continued their struggle, not only against participation in the war, but in defense of labor's rights.

Among the 6,000 men sentenced to prison were Negroes who refused to serve in the Jim Crow army. There were also advocates of Puerto Rican independence, Asiatic anti-imperialists and Hopi Indians. Some Orientals refused to serve in the army because they were denied citizenship. A number of American-born Japanese refused because their families were held in concentration camps during the war.

But the great majority of the prisoners were objectors on religious grounds. Three-fourths

N. Y. Election Results Show Stalinist Policy Bankrupt

(Continued from Page 1)

Assembly and 6 in the State Senate. They now control the Assembly 110 to 39 and the Senate by 42 to 13.

As "consolation," the Stalinists point to the victories of Congressional Representatives Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell. What is remarkable about these successes, however, is not the magic power of shouting for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his war program, but the capacity to survive even the millstone of Democratic Party support.

The Stalinists likewise try to cushion the pounding their Democratic candidates took at the polls by pointing to the victory of ALP candidates, Kenneth Sherbell and Samuel Kaplan, who ran for State Senator and for State Assembly. However, the Stalinist-dominated ALP had made a deal with the Republicans in their districts and both these candidates were supported by the GOP.

Kaplan's victory is especially hollow, since Leo Isacson, ALP spokesman in the Assembly, lost to a Republican in the Bronx's

13th A. D. Isacson came in third, polling 16,430 votes. The Democratic candidate pulled ahead of him by 133 votes. In the Bronx the Flynn Democratic machine had turned down the ALP's proffered deal.

A total of 61 candidates running independently on the ALP line and 31 Liberal Party candidates in various districts went down to defeat. Despite their independence they were tarred by the capitalist coalition brush.

Despite the terrific handicap of a state-wide Democratic slate on its line, the American Labor Party got some 424,000 votes. In 1944 the ALP registered 496,405 votes. Since the total votes cast in the 1946 election is about 79 per cent of the total 1944 vote, the ALP remained at substantially the same level.

The Liberal Party vote declined from its 1944 total of 329,235 for Roosevelt to a 1946 total of an odd 175,000 for Mead and 179,000 for Lehman—a decline to about 57 per cent of 1944. The Liberal Party paid a stiff price for supporting these two red-baiting Wall Street candidates.

The Communist (Stalinist) Party candidate for Attorney General, Benjamin Davis, got more than 90,000 votes. The CP withdrew its major candidates in order to support Mead and Lehman. Comparison with the 1944 vote is impossible, since the CP was dissolved at that time in accordance with Stalin's line.

In 1945, running for City Council, Davis got 56,129 ballots on the first count in Manhattan. In the present election he got only 27,193 votes in Manhattan.

Had the Stalinist-dominated ALP run independent candidates in the election, the results would undoubtedly have been quite different in New York. But the ALP leaders committed the political crime of supporting the discredited and thoroughly despised Democratic machine candidates. Voters wanting a change thus turned away from the ALP line on the ballot. It was this political crime that "opened the gates to the Hooverite victory."

Wages, Prices and Profits

How Monopolies Compete For Sales

By Warren Creel

When all the basic industries have been organized into monopolies the period of easy monopoly profit ends. The monopolies no longer can get super-profits by draining surplus value from production in competitive industry.

The monopolies stand pitted against each other in the contest for markets. This contest between monopolies brings new forms of competition.

The manufacturers who are organized together into a monopoly set prices by agreement, so they don't compete for markets by cutting prices. But the various industries compete for the customers' dollars by trying to outdo each other in sales pressure. This is sales competition instead of price competition.

Advertising expense is only a small part of sales competition. The main item is retail margin. This needs careful examination, because retail margin doesn't seem to come out of the manufacturer's surplus value, yet in fact it does.

To illustrate: We have seen that the manufacturer's total cost of production on an electric refrigerator is about \$58. Of this, direct labor cost is about \$17 and the rest is cost of material, plus the cost of machinery and so on. The cost of material is partly surplus value because the suppliers who sold it to the manufacturer made a profit. However, to keep our figures simple we will ignore that surplus value and consider the whole \$58 for labor and material etc., as necessary cost.

Fight For Markets

They sell these \$58 refrigerators to the consumer for \$200; the spread between production cost and retail price amounts to the difference, or \$142. Part of this spread represents real costs of distribution, such as freight and delivery to the consumer. We'll be generous and allow \$12 as real distribution cost. Then the total real cost of production is \$58 plus \$12, or \$70. They sell it for \$200, so they get surplus value amounting to \$130 on each.

The real situation would be easy to see if the corporation handled its own retail selling. We can imagine it renting stores in every neighborhood in the land to make sure there was a Gadget Company Refrigerator Store handy to catch every customer before he had a chance to buy anything else.

In that case we would say: "The Gadget corporation makes \$130 surplus value on every box, and only part of it is kept as profit. They waste the rest in unnecessary sales outlets. And all the while the Super-Gleam Refrigerator Company is wasting just as much surplus value by renting stores all across the country right next to the Gadget stores to catch the same customers for its own refrigerators. And three auto companies keep sales agencies open across the street from each of them, lying in wait for the same customers."

Under such conditions it would be clear that the manufacturers were spending part of their own surplus value in the fight for markets. We could see that, having a big surplus, they thought they would be farther ahead to spend some of it in the fight for sales than to take it all as profits.

In fact the manufacturers generally don't own their own retail stores. But they do something else that amounts to the same thing. When efficiency goes up and production cost goes down they don't take all the gain as profit, and they certainly don't cut retail prices. Instead, they cut their wholesale price to the retailer, and this gives him a bigger margin on each item. That is, the manufacturers put more of their surplus value into margin for the retailer.

Waste of Competition

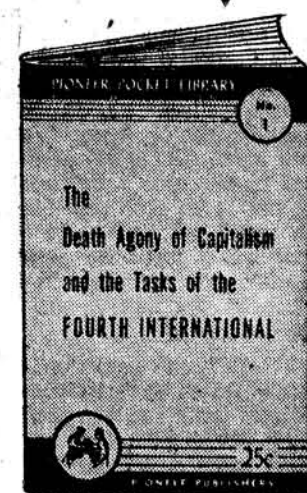
Retail margins have grown so big that manufacturers sell goods to stores at half the price to the consumer, on the average. Applying this general average to refrigerators would mean that the manufacturer sells the \$58 refrigerator to the retailer for \$100, and he then sells it to the consumer for \$200. This gives the same result as the case we imagined. Retail stores in every neighborhood can afford to show and sell Gadgets at this big margin, even if they sell very few. Plenty of them can afford to sell Super-Gleams, too. The manufacturers sell their products to the retailers at a price below their full value. By doing this they allot part of the surplus value to support the sales work which the retailers carry on for them. Thus more and more workers are shifted to "sandwich man" work, the overhead waste of competition. And this happens most of all in the age of monopoly.

It hides the real source of surplus value. The manufacturers will tell the union "I can't raise wages. These refrigerators cost me \$70 apiece to make and ship. The interest to the bank takes \$25 apiece. That's \$95 and I only sell them for \$100 wholesale. I'm almost losing money."

The union should answer, "You're getting \$200 in labor-value out of our work for each refrigerator. The \$25 to the bank is profit. They own your company and they fix it so their cut is big and comes first. And the \$100 margin you leave for the retail middlemen is surplus value too. You give them a lot because you can spare it, and you'll cut that sales margin down before you lose money. Your deal with the middlemen is your own affair; don't ask us to pay it out of our wages."

Next week: How Monopolies Compete, Continued.

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29th Anniversary Of Russian Revolution

Speech by James P. Cannon, SWP National Secretary, at N. Y. Mass Meeting, Nov. 1

Comrade Chairman, Comrades:

Tonight we are celebrating together the 29th anniversary of the great Russian Revolution and the wind-up of the New York election campaign of the SWP. But this does not represent the combination of two occasions into one, as might appear. It is rather a single celebration devoted to two sides, to two phases, of one and the same thing. The Russian Revolution was the beginning of the social transformation of the world. The New York election campaign of our party, which we are winding up tonight, is a continuation of the struggle that was started by the Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, 29 years ago.



JAMES P. CANNON

The world labor movement contributed to it from its beginning in 1917, and even from its earliest preparation years before that. On the other hand, the world labor movement has lived on the Russian Revolution for 29 years. The sympathy and support of the workers in the capitalist countries saved the Soviet Union in its darkest hours. And nothing has inspired and lifted and strengthened the working class movement of the entire capitalist world so much as the victory of the Russian workers in 1917.

I said the international labor movement contributed to the Russian Revolution. The guiding theory of the revolution in Russia was first formulated in the middle of the 19th century by a German Jew who did his great work in England, the most advanced capitalist country of the time. And this same revolution which began in backward Russia, guided by a theory formulated in England, will be brought to its final consummation in America, the most advanced country of the present time. Truly a panoramic international phenomenon—in its founding theory, in its preparation, in its victory, in its defense, and in what is to follow—is the great Russian Revolution.

The Russian Revolution was the beginning of the world revolution—that is the only way to understand it. And that is the sense in which we celebrate it once again tonight. That is also the sense in which we combine it with the wind-up of our election campaign, not only in New York, but in five other states as well this year. In New Jersey, Ohio, Minnesota, California and the State of Washington, the Socialist Workers Party has been conducting just as active and aggressive and in general just as successful election campaigns this year as in the State of New York. It is correct, therefore, for us to combine the wind-up of our greatest effort in the American elections with the celebration of the revolution in Russia, for our election campaign is a contribution, and a very important one, to the development of the Russian Revolution into the World Revolution which will liberate all humanity from capitalist darkness and poverty and oppression and war.

Greatest Revolution In History

The Russian Revolution was and is the greatest revolution in all history. Its conquests are the greatest ever achieved by man in all the centuries of his existence and struggle upward. The human race has traveled a long way from its origins, which are lost in time. The human race existed for centuries and for millenniums, how many no one knows, before learning to understand the dark powers of nature which had terrified and oppressed and enslaved it. With the triumph of the Russian Revolution 29 years ago, man for the first time in his entire existence on this planet, demonstrated the capacity to understand and to conquer his own social system. On November 7, 1917 the people, the workers, first began to free themselves from helpless subservience to the anarchy of capitalist production with all its frightful disproportions and uncertainties, and began for the first time to subject economy to conscious organization and plan. To be sure, it was only a beginning—and in a backward country at that. But what a magnificent beginning!

The experiences of the Soviet Union have already demonstrated for all time to come that the expropriation of the capitalists, the abolition of private property in the means of production, followed by the nationalization of industry and the organization of planned economy, could raise human productivity to an unprecedented height and at an unprecedented rate; and could do it, moreover, in a backward and isolated country strangled by a retrograde bureaucracy at home and menaced by a hostile capitalist world on every side. Despite all those unfavorable factors and circumstances, the Soviet Union, created by a revolution, demonstrated its capacity to raise the productivity of human labor, and did it at a time when capitalist economy on a world scale was plunging down lower and lower in times of peace and then exploding into wholesale destruction in a Second World War.

This demonstration, in the field of economy which is the foundation for all human progress, points the way to the future and is itself the materialistic pledge of a better future for all the people of the world. And if the Russian experience proved that a proletarian revolution—and only a proletarian revolution—can do away with private property in the means of production and clear the road for planned economy, it also proved that the workers are capable of building a party fit to organize and lead such a revolution.

Who The Betrayers Are

These two demonstrations, that the workers can find the capacity within themselves to organize their forces and create a combat party fit to lead them through to a victorious revolution; and that by means of the revolution, private ownership and its paralysis can be broken and economy reorganized, planned, developed and improved—these demonstrations are before us, clear for all to see. We have only to understand them and to follow the example of the Russian Bolsheviks. That way, and that way only, lies the salvation of tortured humanity.

Like every revolution in history, the Russian Revolution has had its betrayers. They are of two main varieties—the Social Democrats and the Stalinists. They fight each other bitterly over special clique interests, but they are fundamentally much more alike than they realize. They are both agencies of world imperialism in the labor movement. They both serve imperialism against the workers and the workers' revolution. They both put their personal aristocratic and bureaucratic privileges and inter-



In the above drawing Thal, a talented young Trotskyist artist, depicts the great conquests of the Russian Revolution. On the upper right we find represented the nationalization of industry through the expropriation of the capitalists. On the upper left are figures symbolizing the equal status of women. Directly below the heads of Lenin and Trotsky,

co-leaders of the Revolution, is portrayed the brotherhood of all races and nationalities. On the middle right—the creation of the Red Army, with the abolition of the officer caste system. Bottom center—struggle against war through the fraternization between workers of all countries regardless of the soldier uniforms they may wear.

ests, as lackeys of imperialism, above the interests of the proletariat as a class.

They quarrel with the capitalist masters over the crumbs of bribery they receive and they fight among themselves over the distribution of the crumbs. But against the revolutionary workers, the Social Democrats, the Stalinists and all variants of these breeds, are all banded together like thieves at a fair. That was shown during the war when they all beat on the same drum to herd the people into the imperialist slaughter. It is shown today in postwar Europe where Social Democrats and Stalinists combine to hold back the revolutionary wave of the workers of Europe. It is shown—and again most strikingly—in the election campaign in New York.

What an obscene spectacle these two so-called working-class movements present in the New York election campaign. The Stalinists and the Social Democrats are furiously competing with each other to serve the same cause. They are printing tons of literature, ringing doorbells, howling on the street corners, bawling over the radio, spending money like water—to see which gang of betrayers can drag on the most workers' votes for the Democratic Party of Wall Street, Tammany Hall and the poll-tax crackers of the South!

We Carry The Banner

Only the Socialist Workers Party carries the banner of the workers, which is the banner of the Russian Revolution, in the New York election campaign. They ruled the Russian Revolution off the ballot in New York when they ruled off the SWP. But it came back on the picket-line at Madison Square Garden last night. The Russian Revolution is here in this room tonight. We, the Socialist Workers Party, will carry it into the great labor battles on the agenda for tomorrow in the United States. And we, like the revolutionary workers the world over, will carry the banner of the Russian Revolution in the next war which they are now preparing, as we carried it in the one they just concluded, if the workers' revolution doesn't come and intervene and prevent another, a Third World War.

During the Soviet-Nazi war when the fate of the Soviet Union and all that had been achieved in it hung in the balance, counsels of defeatism were offered to the Russian workers, as well as to the workers in the capitalist countries, by all kinds of traitors, cowards and skeptics; as well as by people who were simply demoralized by difficulties and complexities and defeats and who wanted to communicate their demoralization to others. But the revolutionary workers of the whole world, and the Russian workers in the first place, contemptuously rejected that perfidious advice. The revolutionary workers also strive for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and they strive for that goal more earnestly and more consistently than any others do. But the Russian workers, and the revolutionary workers in the capitalist countries, refused to farm out the overthrow of the Kremlin gang to the imperialists of Germany. And I say they will likewise refuse tomorrow to farm out the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy to the Anglo-American imperialists.

The overthrow of Stalinism is a historical necessity and it will be accomplished, but by the workers and not by their worst class enemies. A defeat of the Soviet Union in a war by the imperialists or by means of economic pressure and blockade would mean—we must understand what it would mean—not simply the removal of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the transformation of a section of it into compradors of American and British imperialism. It would mean much more than that. It would mean the destruction of the nationalized industry and planned economy that were made possible by the revolution. It would mean the dismemberment of the country and its conversion into a number of colonies and spheres of influence for imperialist exploitation. That is what the victory of imperialism over the Soviet Union would mean. That would give a new lease on life to decaying world capitalism. At

after the revolution the problems of economy, of production and of abundance for all can be almost automatically solved. The resources, the technique, the skilled and trained labor force are all here for us.

In addition, we have the most powerful working class in the world in America, 50 million strong; a working class that is no longer dispersed and atomized as it was in the twenties and as it faced the crisis that broke out in 1929. It is now an organized working class. There are 15 million in the great unions, in the mass production industries. And these 15 million organized workers can easily lead all the rest of the proletariat when the time comes for action. This working class in the United States is well educated, and militant, and resourceful. It has never known great defeats and has great confidence in itself, as was demonstrated once again in the strike waves of 1946. For the American revolution nothing is lacking in the material sense. All the material prerequisites for socialism are already established by the development of the great productive plant and the natural resources at our disposal. The power of the working class in America is incalculable. It is strong enough to make ten revolutions.

What Is Needed

All the American workers need to carry through a successful revolution, and to reorganize production on a socialist basis and begin the forward march at a rate never dreamed of before, is a theory to guide their action, the class theory which guided the Russian Revolution, which is the theory of Marxism. Once the American workers acquire the guiding theory of the Russian Revolution and utilize it in the organization and direction of their struggles, their victory will be absolutely assured. Nothing could stop them. And the victorious American workers, in turn, having borrowed from the Russians the theory and experiences of revolution and put them into practice, will supply all the needed additional power to come to the aid of the Russian Revolution, to save it from further bureaucratic degeneration, to revitalize it, and to extend it throughout the world.

That is the grandiose perspective opened up before those who have the good fortune to live, to see clearly, and to battle in this great, rich, wonderful country which needs only a revolution for us to be able to call it truly our own country.

In the 1920's when American capitalism was in its heyday, when it was rising to new heights of productive achievement, while the rest of the world was declining, and before it had squandered its resources and strength in later years, a theory developed that American business genius had solved the problem of permanent employment, of permanent prosperity; that the theory of Marx had been refuted in life by the extremely clever business men in America whose genius consists in making two dollars grow where one dollar grew before.

But that idyl, which was so widely believed and which deceived, I must admit, even the great mass of American workers, was exploded in the crisis of 1929. And then for more than ten years America was in the grip of the most destructive crisis it had ever known. The living standards of the American workers were cut in half. Unemployment mounted until at one time there were 20 million workers without jobs. Hoovervilles flourished, and the illusions that had been nurtured in the period of the twenties were dissipated. Capitalism in America, with all the genius of its money sharks, was not able to solve that crisis. After a partial upturn in the period of the first term of Roosevelt, a new depression set in—1937. Unemployment again rose to ten million.

There seemed to be, and there was, no way out for American capitalism on the old road. Nothing restored a temporary fullness of employment and a pseudo-prosperity but the expenditure of hundreds of millions and billions of dollars for war and war preparations. That is, for destruction. This became the basis of a new prosperity, but this "prosperity" had the flush of fever on its cheek from the very beginning. This artificial prosperity will run its course in a very short time, and then it will head for a crisis as in 1929. But the crash this time will come much sooner, it will dive much deeper and it will find a different working class to confront it than the atomized and disorganized working class of 1929. This time the crisis will be a social crisis leading to revolutionary explosions in this country, which is presumed to be immune from "foreign" ideas. Under the conditions of the next crisis these ideas will be transplanted to the United States and will take root and flourish here better than anywhere else.

The New Age

The prospects for capitalist prosperity and stability in the United States are very dark. But the prospects for the party which represents the theory and practice of the Russian Revolution are very bright. The Russian Revolution of November 7, 1917, was the great dividing line in history, the line between the death of the social system of capitalism and the birth of a new social system destined to conquer the world, which we call socialism. Between the dying society of capitalism and the society of socialism being born, there have been years and decades now of struggle and agony and conflict between the two. But the dividing line will be marked in history as November 7, 1917.

All the previous history of man, all his experience in class society, as Engels once said, is really pre-history. The real history of man began in 1917 with the triumph of the Russian Revolution. That is the Year One of The New Age. This Age will flower into unimaginable developments of universal culture and material well-being with the extension of the Russian Revolution throughout the world, and the organization of the world-wide socialist society that will follow from the triumph of the world revolution.

In the federal courtroom at Minneapolis we were accused, as you know—and not only accused, but tried and convicted—of advocating the principles of the Russian Revolution and of intending to apply those principles in the United States. Indeed, we were guilty of that intention, and said so frankly in the courtroom in Minneapolis. And we were convicted, and we served our sentence in prison, and we are still guilty. And here on this festive occasion tonight, honoring and celebrating the great revolution, we once again plead guilty to advocating its principles and of intending to apply them in the liberating revolution of the workers in the United States. And we add: we earnestly hope to live long enough to carry out that intention in practice.

Our Defense Of USSR

We counsel the Russian workers to preserve and defend what has been achieved by the great revolution and what still remains in spite of all the devastation that has been wrought by the bureaucracy at home and by the imperialists abroad. And in the future as in the past, we will help them to defend and preserve it and to extend it. But our defense of the Russian Revolution, and thereby of the conquests of the revolution that still remain, is not the defense of platonic sympathizers. It is not the defense of bystanders giving advice from afar about a task to be carried out by others. That is not our conception of internationalism. We honor and support the Russian Revolution most effectively by actively participating in the struggle at home; not by passively recording the achievements of other people in some other country, but by resolute struggle in our own country. We fight not only against Stalinism and its evil power in the American labor movement. We were the first to fight Stalinism. We have been the most consistent, the most militant and the most enduring in our fight against Stalinism. But we fight above all and first of all against the greatest enemy of humanity—American imperialism.

Tonight we hail and celebrate once again the great Russian Revolution, the inspiration and guide of all our work and struggle. At the same time, in the same meeting, we hail and celebrate the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party as the greatest contribution we have yet made in all our experience to the continuation and extension of the Russian Revolution, and the springboard to the projected campaign of the party in the 1948 presidential elections.

This election campaign has brought inspiring successes and results, despite the fact that we were thrown off the ballot. This was not so much of a defeat as they thought because we weren't running for the ballot or for the decision of the court. We conducted the campaign as revolutionists always conduct parliamentary activities, to utilize the interests aroused in election time to appeal to a wider circle of workers and carry to them the message of the revolution. Therefore, our election campaign—despite the decision of the judges to the contrary—was a success. It marks the emergence of American bolshevism from an isolated propaganda circle, in which we were confined so long against our will, into a political party in the full sense of the word—a party which is confident of itself and sure of its destiny to organize the working class millions of America to storm and conquer the fortress of American capitalism.

If you stop to think of the revolution of Russia in its true meaning, not as simply a Russian affair but as a beginning in one part of the world of a social process that cannot be completed until it embraces the whole world; if you think of the Russian Revolution that way, as we celebrate it tonight in connection with our revolutionary work in America, you have to realize what an attractive prospect is opened up before us.

Perspectives For America

For America is the ideal country for the social revolution and for the organization of the socialist society. It has the highest development of industrial technique in the world. It has the greatest resources, the richest country, the greatest productivity of labor—all of which is the assurance that here in America on the morning

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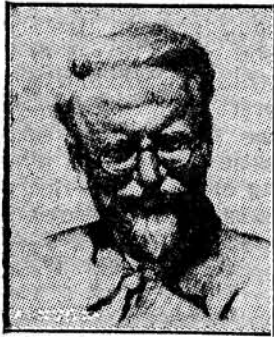
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"Reinforced agitation against imperialism and militarism must proceed not from abstract formulas but from concrete facts which strike the masses. It is necessary painstakingly to expose not only the open military budget, but also all the masked forms of militarism, not leaving without a protest war maneuvers, military furnishings, orders, etc."

—Leon Trotsky

Where Politics Begins

In a radio address on the eve of the elections, Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York Governor, stated an idea that has especial significance now that the elections are over. He said:

"On the day after the present election, the Democrats and Republicans and their agents will fold up their tents. They will put their political circus away in moth balls until the following elections.

"But the Socialist Workers Party will continue to fight. For us politics is not just a question of a few weeks in the election season, but a struggle that goes on three hundred and sixty-five days of the year."

The capitalist politicians try to make politics, so far as the workers are concerned, entirely a matter of pre-election campaigning. For a few weeks, while the drive is on for votes, the Republican and Democratic politicians are forced to go before the workers and put on a pretense of discussing issues. They even graciously permit the workers to push door-bells, peddle campaign literature and drop a ballot in the box.

But once the capitalist candidates are safely in the seats of office again, they want the workers to stay away from politics. Then politics becomes the business exclusively of the big-shot party leaders, who in turn carry out the orders of their Wall Street masters.

For the Socialist Workers Party, however, the workers' participation in politics just begins at the point where the boss parties would like it to end.

We Trotskyists view politics as a life and death matter for the working class. It is not a question merely of voting and campaigning for candidates. It is a question of a struggle to determine which of the two main classes of modern society, the owners or the workers, are going to control society.

Our goal isn't just to change the faces in the legislative halls and governmental executive offices, or to put through some petty reforms. We aim at a revolutionary transformation of the world, to abolish capitalism and the class rule of the tiny plutocratic minority, and to establish socialism under the rule of the overwhelming majority, the toiling workers and farmers.

This is a titanic task. It is a task that can be accomplished only by the political organization of the workers and oppressed on a gigantic scale and by unremitting struggle. That is why the Socialist Workers Party, unlike the boss parties, urges the workers to make politics an important part of their daily life.

The Socialist Workers Party doesn't tell the workers to sit home until 1948. We say: Join the Socialist Workers Party now! Get in the political struggle today—after the elections—and work ceaselessly to build a new world.

Pacific Islands

The real meaning of the "trusteeship clause" in the United Nations Charter is being quickly clarified in action. We have in mind Washington's official proposal in relation to the hundreds of tiny islands in the Pacific which comprise the groups known as the Marianas, the Marshalls and the Carolines.

These sparsely populated bits of land cover the vast expanse of the Pacific and their primary importance lies in the fact that they dominate the approaches to the Asiatic mainland. They have long been the bone of contention among the imperialists precisely because of their strategic importance. Before 1914 Germany succeeded in grabbing them. After the First World War they passed into the hands of Japan. This act of annexation was masked under the formula of "mandates" used by the defunct League of Nations.

Washington has now proposed that the UN establish a trusteeship over them assigning the U. S. as the sole administrator. To remove all doubts as to what is involved, the text of Washington's proposal specifies that these territories shall be "administered" as an "integral part of the United States." In other words, it is free to do whatever it pleases there. The formula of "trusteeship" it thus turns out is even more barefaced than the formula of "mandates" employed by the League of Nations, which ostensibly prohibited fortifica-

tion, in the mandated areas and placed other verbal restrictions on the powers of the state holding the mandate.

"Trusteeship," like the mandate, is clearly only another fancy label for the traditional policy of imperialist aggrandizement, seizures of territories, colonial expansion, and so on.

The American imperialists have hypocritically disclaimed all aspirations to a colonial empire. All they want, you see, is to act as trustees. Implicit in Washington's proposals for the Marianas, the Marshalls and the Carolines is the establishment of a similar "trusteeship" for other Japanese islands, particularly Okinawa, Oshima and Iwo. These will trench Wall Street in the Pacific, assure its hold on Japan, which has been reduced to the status of an American colony, and pave the way for further "trusteeships" on the continent of Asia.

Against Wall Street's program of colonial despotism under the humanitarian cloak of "trusteeship" the American workers must raise the demand that all the peoples of Asia be left free to determine their own fate.

Warning Signal

An organized gang of hoodlums invaded a meeting of the Communist Party (Stalinist) in New Orleans on Nov. 7, the 29th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and broke it up with a barrage of eggs, tomatoes and stench bombs. This provided the police with the pretext to arrest and hold on bond 16 CP members who were victims of the gangster attack.

The Nov. 9 Daily Worker alleges that among the gang that broke up the meeting were "AFL Seamen's Union's goon leaders." We do not vouch for the correctness of this charge. But we do know that reactionary red-baiting and anti-red witch-hunts are being incited by the AFL top leaders and that this was the keynote of the recent AFL convention.

This assault on a Communist Party meeting in the South comes at the very time that the Ku Klux Klan, Columbians, Inc., and other fascist groups are engaged in a terrorist drive against Negroes, Jews and union organizers. This growing wave of murders, stabbings, beatings and arson coincides with the bitter attempts of Southern employers to stem the organization campaigns of both the AFL and CIO in the South.

It is true that the Stalinist leaders themselves are guilty of physical assaults by their organized goons against their working-class opponents in the labor movement. Recently, Stalinist strong-arm squads beat up several Militant distributors outside two meetings of the CIO National Maritime Union in New York City. The Stalinists themselves have set an example for the fascist hoodlums.

However, we recognize that the attack on a CP meeting is a blow not just at the Stalinists, but all labor. It is an assault on the rights of a political minority in the labor movement and is part of the growing nationwide red-baiting drive of Big Business against all labor.

Let organized labor take warning from this attack on the CP meeting in New Orleans in the midst of the spreading fascist movement directed at the total destruction of the labor movement. It is the bounden duty of the labor movement, for its own protection, to take the most vigorous steps to defend freedom of speech and assembly for all working-class groups and to take the necessary firm measures to halt any further fascist-like terrorist assaults upon minority groups.

Decontrol Order

By his Nov. 9 executive order President Truman has officially buried government price control. The temporary retention of ceilings on three items—sugar, rice and rents—is all that now remains of the elaborate pretense that a capitalist government in Washington could and would repudiate prices for the benefit of the mass of the people.

That government price control is nothing but a deliberate piece of deception should now be clear even to the most gullible. The primary purpose of Roosevelt's Stabilization Act of 1942, with its OPA and other government bureaus, was to clamp down on prices but on wages. And it must be acknowledged that this purpose was indeed achieved.

Throughout the war, the prices kept steadily rising, the wages remained frozen. With the cessation of hostilities, according to official estimates, the workers' purchasing power has dropped so low, because of the soaring prices, that only one-third of the American workers are now able to live at pre-war levels. Precisely at this stage, with the prices sky-high, all restrictions on the profiteers have been lifted.

The workers who have already been squeezed to the wall on food and clothing now face in addition a super-squeeze on shelter. Truman's latest promise to maintain control of rents is worth as little as his previous pledges to keep down the price of meat and other necessities. As a matter of fact, Truman's decontrol order acknowledges that "some adjustment of rents will be necessary." This means that the rents will first be hiked "legally" and then all bars will be let down for the rent-gougers and the real estate sharks.

However, the situation is by no means hopeless. There is an effective way to maintain the rent ceilings—not through reliance on Washington but through the organization of the tenants themselves. Their strength lies in their great numbers; their weakness lies in the lack of awareness of their real power.

The effective answer to the profiteering landlords is to organize tenants' leagues in the neighborhoods, on a house to house basis and block by block. Mass opposition to evictions, rent-strikes, and similar determined actions will quickly force the rent-gougers to sing a different tune.



"Don't be silly—your sore throat can't be THAT bad—you're just letting your imagination run away with you!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS, by Herbert Aptheker, Columbia University Press, 1943, 409 pages. \$4.50.

This is a piece of sound scholarship and a genuine contribution to American and Negro history. Its purpose, as the author notes at the end, is "to meet the need, which has become increasingly evident in recent years, of depicting in realistic terms the response of the American Negro to his bondage."

The data herein presented make necessary the revision of the generally accepted notion that his response was one of passivity and docility. The evidence, on the contrary, points to the conclusion that discontent and rebelliousness were not only exceedingly common, but, indeed, characteristic of American Negro slaves."

And no one who reads the book can deny that Aptheker has presented that evidence—fully, in relation to the great social events of the period he covers, and in an extremely readable fashion.

Even those who already know a good deal about American Negro history will find a lot here that is nowhere else available within the covers of a single book. Every general reader will be struck, for instance, with the author's citations showing the universal feeling of fear of slave revolt that gripped the slaveholding class from the beginning of slavery to the end of the Civil War. It can very well be

compared to the feelings that the Nazi rulers must have had as their occupation of Europe came to its end.

This book also gives a good account of the political and economic factors precipitating the slave rebellions, and the numerous ways other than open revolt by which the Negroes showed their resistance to the institution of slavery.

This book makes it abundantly clear that the Negro militant who fights against wage slavery today is acting in the best tradition of his American ancestors who, despite countless great difficulties, never gave up the struggle for freedom, and did not hesitate to die for it.

—George Breitman

THE CASTLE, by Franz Kafka, Knopf, 1930, 356 pp., \$2.50.

This is a novel about the bewilderment of the little man in present-day society. It is written like a dream, but so must life seem a nightmare to those who try to make sense out of our so-called civilization.

K, the hero, has one desire only—to work at his job. He tries to get permission to start working from the higher authorities who live in the castle. The author presents him as a reasonable man, who takes the "common-sense" path to solve a problem.

But so insane, so choked in red tape, so divorced from all reality are the petty bureaucrats, the higher-ups, and all

those whose lives are controlled by the state, that K gets into deeper confusion and contradictions. Even his love for the barmaid is ludicrously unavailing. She loves him, but alas! the past is too deeply ingrained, and her mind has been made neurotic by an affair with one of the mighty.

Whole families are ruined and disgraced by what seems at first comic-strip tragedies. But the reader's impulse to laugh is checked by a strange familiarity in the extremely detailed and realistic description of their plight.

Is it any more absurd that a family is ruined because the daughter refused a rendezvous with an official than that a family is disgraced by eviction and unemployment? Both presume that those in power are in the right—that the poor must jump through the hoops when it is so ordained.

Of the many intellectuals who have raved in ecstasy over Kafka's works, none has put his finger on the materialist factor which guides history and individual behavior. All admit the strange power of Kafka's writing.

That Kafka himself was a mystic and religious is beside the point. The artist depicts life as it appears to him. Only the Marxists can explain that contemporary man's confusion springs from the death-contortions of a dying, outworn capitalist system trying to pull all of humanity with it into the abyss.

—Constance Locke

Our Program:

- 1. Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!**
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeat the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. 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!
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

U. S. Foreign Policy Remains Unchanged

By William F. Warde

The most "reassuring" feature of the elections, declared the N. Y. Times on the morning after the Republican sweep, was the fact that the shift from Democratic to Republican control of Congress would bring about no change in foreign policy. This was immediately confirmed by Republican Senator Vandenberg himself, who is slated to head the Foreign Affairs Committee in the Senate. He interpreted his own re-election as "unmistakable indorsement of the united, bipartisan foreign policy" he helped develop, and added that "this policy will continue."

At one time Democratic and Republican leaders claimed to have different views on foreign policy. In recent years all pretense has been dropped. Their essential agreement was first openly exhibited when Roosevelt, preparing for entry into World War II, appointed the Republicans Stimson and Knox Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments. Throughout the war members of both parties voted unanimously on almost all military and diplomatic measures. In the 1944 presidential campaign Dewey and Roosevelt pledged themselves to keep foreign policy outside the arena of political debate.

This bipartisan policy has been continued since. The Republican Senators Vandenberg and Austin have worked hand in glove with the Democrats Byrnes and Connally in all the UN conferences and meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Austin is head of the U.S. delegation and speaks for it in the Assembly and Security Councils of the UN.

Nothing so plainly exposes the fact that these two parties are utterly subservient to Wall Street as their absolutely identical foreign policy and their intimate partnership in promoting it. The monopolists who rule the United States have ambitious plans of world conquest. They require obedient political agents in Washington to help them carry out their imperialist program. They find them in the Republican and Democratic parties.

Because they are committed to Wall Street's program of world domination, both parties vote for the unprecedented peacetime military budget of 18 billion dollars, for the construction of the biggest peacetime army and navy, for the production of hundreds of atom bombs. Both keep American troops in occupied lands as tools to tyrannize over other peoples. Both support the U.S. diplomatic and military preparations for atomic warfare against the Soviet Union. Both oppose a referendum of the people to decide on the question of peace or war.

This imperialist program is so over-riding that the capitalist rulers will not permit even minor differences to exist amongst their political servants. They fear any debate on questions of foreign policy because public discussions might enable opposition voices to expose and imperil their conspiracy. This was dramatically demonstrated when Truman fired Wallace simply because this capitalist politician cautioned the administration against the recklessness of its war drive.

The government's foreign policy affects the everyday lives of all American people. For example, the enormous military expenditures saddle intolerable taxes upon the workers and reduce their incomes and living standards. Preparations for war abroad go hand in hand with the strengthening of reaction, red-baiting and the offensive against labor at home.

The Republican victory means the continuation and intensification of these conditions. After the elections as before, the two capitalist parties stand united on a common platform, working for Wall Street and the war-mongers against the welfare of the American people.

MARC DAUBER 1922-1944

Two years ago, on November 18, 1944, the Socialist Workers Party lost one of its most talented young members—Marc Dauber, killed in action in Germany. Badly wounded, he had continued to shout in order to draw fire away from his platoon. He was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, second highest medal, for heroism.



MARC DAUBER

But Marc's heroism was more than valor on the battlefield. He was a soldier of the revolution to which he dedicated his life at the age of 17, when he joined the Trotskyist movement. From that day on, he lived and studied and worked to win a socialist society of peace and security for all.

By 1941, when he was only 19 years old, Marc had become an outstanding Marxist writer on military questions. His articles, which appeared in *Fourth International* under the pen-name of James Cadman, were written with astounding maturity. Almost as much at home in German as in English, he also helped to translate an important article by Walter Held on "Why the German Revolution Failed." While carefully following the German officers' organ, *Wehrmacht*, he discovered in 1941 a report that Italian prisoners of war were singing the revolutionary song, *Bandiera Rossa*. This news was published in *The Militant* and reprinted in revolutionary and labor papers throughout the world, as an important signal of what was to come in Italy.

Marc was still a student, a senior at Brooklyn College, when he was drafted and sent overseas. Wounded on the Normandy Beach, he recovered but was soon back at the front. There he wrote to a friend, shortly before his death:

"I was just 22 the other day . . . These last two years have marked almost a qualitative growth in my entire outlook—how could I help but grow? It took a war to tear me from the classroom; maybe it's better thus—the events of the future, the rumbling and tremors of which can be felt in every chancellery, will not be decided in the schoolroom but in the streets and on the barricades. I think I'm amply prepared for that now in every sense."

Death in the imperialist war robbed Marc of his chance to participate in the revolutionary struggles for which he was still devotedly preparing. But throughout the world other young men and women are taking their places in the ranks he was forced to leave. His comrades will carry to victory the cause for which he fought.

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.

Veteran Describes Cross-Country Trip

Lately I've had a chance to travel through some of the mining and industrial areas of the east. I am from a small town near Los Angeles, and I was really shocked to learn that such a large portion of our population live in such large, filthy slum districts.

Some of the cities I saw are composed of at least half of rabbit-hutch-like buildings, as dirty as I've ever seen. There are few playgrounds and parks, so the old and young alike have the choice of the sidewalks and streets for rest and play.

A heavy blanket of smoke covers most of the industrial cities and the sun is a rarity in many of them. The very atmosphere is gloomy, and the people have a sort of tired, hopeless look.

It seems to me like maybe most of the articles in your paper might not just be radical "hollering" but that there really is need for some immediate changes.

As a combat veteran who has seen plenty of service, I cannot see why we must continue with the present system which has proven itself unable to provide for the needs of the great majority of people. So good luck, Militant. I hope you have a daily next year.

Al. S.
Los Angeles, Cal.



BUILD THE LABOR PARTY

Tired Of Both Capitalist Parties

Speeches, Democratic and Republican, day and night, over the air and around the corner! I wish election day was yesterday because I'm so tired of those speeches. It wouldn't be so bad if either side said anything useful or new, but they just go on and on about less and less.

The jackass brays and the elephant trumpets and meanwhile the people go without. There's shortages of everything and whatever side gets in, things will be the same. If the working people don't build a real political organization soon they must be pretty hard to convince.

Please print more of your papers and see that they get around, and the sooner the better. Here's a dollar to help out.

L. S.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Vets Lose Votes

At least 50 veterans in New York who are homeless because the state and federal government won't provide decent housing, were robbed of their chance to vote against the administration in the election Nov. 5. According to PM, these vets all lived in a dormitory, and were told by the Assistant District Attorney that a dormitory isn't a "legal residence."

Neither, of course, are parks, refuges under elevated lines, and so forth. Pretty shrewd, isn't it? Deprive enough people of homes, and you can have votes cast only by the rich and satisfied capitalists who will never vote against their own tools, the Republican and Democratic twins.

Subscriber
New York, N. Y.



WALLACE

Answer To Wallace

Henry Wallace was complaining, at the last campaign luncheon held by the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, about the sad state of the liberals. He says "The feeling of frustration among progressives must be stopped."

But how can it be stopped as long as they keep on propping up capitalist candidates, who all turn out to be against labor when the election's over?

There's only one way to get any hope of improving Congress: that's to get busy and build a Labor Party right now, so that the next elections won't be a choice between outright reactionaries and hypocritical "friends" of labor, who are just as bad.

A. C.
Chicago, Ill.

Election Night In Times Square

They got ready for a big whoop-do-do on Times Square on election night. That is, they had plenty of police on hand to push and shove people around who are in a mood to celebrate. But this election day, the police had nothing to do. They had nothing to do because the workers had nothing to celebrate. Times Square was like a ghost town. Here's how the World Telegram described it:

"Police were on hand (that always comes first!) the bars were open, newsboys were screaming headlines and lights were flashing. Only the crowd stayed home."

Mounted policemen "pranced up and down Broadway and Seventh Ave. in the fall's first real wind. They looked in vain for a bit of boisterousness, a tippler or even a traffic jam. . . . The probationary policemen, still in khaki uniforms and shivering in field jackets, compared the night to a war alert that didn't come off. . . . not a horn was tooted, not a button sold. It was just another Tuesday night in Times Square."

The workers had nothing to celebrate. They just stayed at home where they could turn the radio off after they heard all they wanted to of the empty sound and fury that goes with one gang of political cutthroats ousting another gang of same.

But I'll tell you when there will be a real celebration in Times Square—and that's when independent labor candidates, speaking for labor and elected by labor, begin to crowd out the capitalist politicians and fill the halls of Congress with the real sound and fury of Labor to Power.

L. R.
New York

BUFFALO
Militant Forum
Russian Revolution
Celebration
Saturday, Nov. 23
Followed by Social
629 Main St. 8:30
Admission Free

A Handy Way to Help The Militant

To The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, New York.

I like The Militant because it tells the truth. I want to help because I know it depends upon workers like me for support.

Here is my contribution of \$.....

Name
Address
City
Postal Zone State

Hits Slander Of Eloise Gordon By House Committee

I have just read Joseph Hansen's report on the hearing imposed on Eloise Gordon by the "Un-American Activities" Committee at Washington. As a matter of course, I have also read the Pittsburgh papers reporting on the same case.

There is one point brought out by Hansen which deserves special attention at this time, namely that the investigators, Adamson, Wood, and the others of the committee broadly insinuated that, to use Hansen's terms, "Eloise was a woman of loose morals."

By this fact, it becomes perfectly clear why these Hooded Psychopaths from Georgia, first looked and barred the doors before they dared to open the hearing. It is quite obvious that they did not dare meet Eloise Gordon on the plains of intellectual culture, there to test their capacities against hers in the white light of reason in the fields of social science. But, on the contrary, having no other weapons than the filthy material of character assassination at their disposal, they first locked the doors and, incidentally, shut out the press who, on any other occasion, would howl to high heaven for "Freedom of the Press."

As to the morals of Eloise Gordon; she is the well known and loved friend and comrade of a hundred thousand workers from the water fronts of San Francisco to the blast furnaces of Pittsburgh, and it is (and will be) to these that the Messrs. Terrorists at Washington will have to answer.

A. C. Booth
Branscomb, Calif.

Regrets Cut In 'Militant' Size

I was really sorry to read your announcement that The Militant will be only six pages now because it's so expensive to print it. I will send you some money when I can, and I think other Militant readers will too. We need a paper like yours even more than I like these, when prices are going up so fast and it's so hard to get along on our pay.

I have learned a lot from the articles you print that other papers don't tell. Your idea about a sliding scale of wages to keep up with the cost of living is the best way I've come across, to make ends meet.

R. F.
New York, N. Y.

Youth Activities

LOS ANGELES.— Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educational affairs after every meeting. Refreshments served.

NEW YORK.— For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments.

Sundays, 3 p.m.—"What Is Socialism?" 116 University Pl.

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Announcements of youth activities will appear in this column weekly.

Have You --

An Extra Toaster?
Costume Jewelry?
Radio?

Or Anything That Can Be Used It's Needed For EUROPEAN RELIEF BAZAAR to be held Dec. 7 in N. Y.

Entire proceeds to American Committee for European Workers Relief. Send or bring articles to:

ACEWR
197 Second Ave.
New York 3, N. Y.
or call
ORchard 4-5629

Fontana Arson-Murder Is Theme Of New Play

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 2.—Trial by Fire, currently showing in Los Angeles with a mixed Negro and white cast, is a dramatization of the tragic burning to death of four Negroes shortly after they were warned to move out of their home or face the consequences. The threats were delivered by law enforcement officers and by emissaries of vigilantes. The Negro family lived on the "wrong" side of town.

The play is in large part a literal transcription of the events that occurred in Fontana last December when O'Day H. Short, his wife Helen, and their two small children died in agony as their modest, still unfinished home flared up and trapped them in a mass of flames.

Much of the dialogue of the play was taken verbatim from the stenographic report of the whitewash proceedings that passed as a coroner's inquest into the deaths. The drama opens with witnesses being interrogated at the hearing, and the story is developed through a series of flashbacks showing the events about which the witnesses testified.

The known facts in the case pointed strongly to arson and murder. Yet the authorities refused to admit testimony about the vigilante threats, virtually ignored the findings of an arson expert, and returned a verdict of death by fire of unknown origin.

In the play, the cynicism and race hatred of the officials are well portrayed, as is also the sneering, insulting brutality of the vigilantes. Because of its grim recounting of an actual incident, Trial by Fire is powerful propaganda against race hatred. It shows in forceful manner the Negro's vain quest for freedom from persecution in democratic America, and the ruthless determination of the white supremacists, including law enforcement officers, to beat him back into submissive slavery.

The events of the Fontana case were recounted in The Militant at the time they occurred, and in a pamphlet, Vigilante Terror in Fontana, written by Myra Tanner Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

This pamphlet was sold outside the theater where Trial by Fire was staged. Although the facts in both the pamphlet and play were practically identical, and although both drew the lesson of the need to smash all types of discrimination, Father Dunne, author of the play, made a special point in a curtain speech of denouncing the pamphlet as "inflammatory."

It could hardly have been otherwise. In writing and staging the play, Father Dunne, and the Catholic church he represents, had no intention of pointing to the obvious conclusion, namely, that it is capitalist society which breeds, nourishes and protects discrimination, vigilantism and terror.

This conclusion was drawn in the pamphlet, as was the companion conclusion that the only fundamental solution to race discrimination is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. But such conclusions, of course, are unpalatable to the reverse father and to his church.

The members of the Short family were Catholics. This fact was stressed and over-stressed in the play, measurably detracting from its dramatic quality. The play also, by a too literal recounting of events in chronological order, lost considerable of the powerful impact it could otherwise have imparted.

Despite these defects, however, the play as it stands clearly and persuasively gives an authentic glimpse of the sordid, ugly end results of race prejudice. It is well that white America should be given this view of reality.

It was winter in Berlin when this picture was taken last year, but the children were barefoot, clad in thin dresses, and only the "luckiest" wore even a jacket. The American Committee for European Relief sends food, clothing and medicine to these young war victims and their suffering parents, but the extent of the work depends on your donations.

Workers In Europe Thank American Committee For Food

Workers abroad who have already received aid from the American Committee for European Workers Relief, have written letters of thanks that tell eloquently how necessary it is to continue and extend relief work. The two letters quoted below are typical of those which come to the ACEWR offices.

A letter from Berlin acknowledging receipt of a food package states: "The greatest joy that was given me in this sad time came from you. I did not think there are still people who think of the need of their fellow humans. The joy of the children is beyond description, for there are things which they never saw or ate. Accept my most sincere thanks in this regard. Words are too poor to describe all my feelings and thoughts."

And from Vienna, a worker writes acknowledging the receipts of four packages. He says in part: "Time and again the receipt of the packages creates great joy for our children. For our little ones lack especially those delicious, sweet things which are abundant in the packages. . . . At the present state of rationing, our rations are still 1200 calories and less per day. . . ."

In order to maintain the flow of food and clothing packages to these two workers and to hundreds like them in Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Greece and to Spanish refugees, the ACEWR must receive financial contributions. Make a donation today. Remember, \$10 puts 29 pounds of food on a European worker's table. And \$1.54 pays the postage to Europe on an 11-pound package.

In response to the appeal made by the American Committee for

European Workers Relief, we have already received aid from the American Committee for European Workers Relief, have written letters of thanks that tell eloquently how necessary it is to continue and extend relief work. The two letters quoted below are typical of those which come to the ACEWR offices.

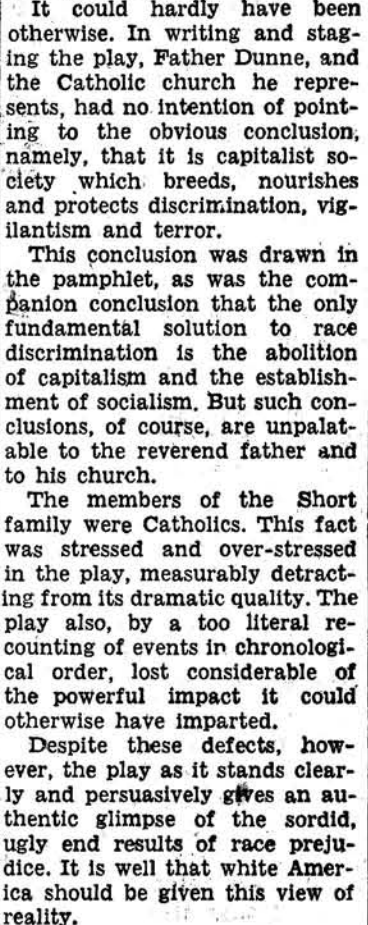
European Workers Relief for toys to be sent to children of workers in Europe, the Boston ACEWR Committee has shipped in three boxes containing beautiful hand-made dolls and teddy bears, as well as a carton of rubber balls and yo-yo tops.

Other friends of the ACEWR have also sent in toys, including a package from as far away as Texas. This package contained toy trucks, games, and Christmas stockings filled with all sorts of gifts that will bring immeasurable joy to these unhappy children. Many of these children have never had a toy in their lives—having been born during the war—and some only learned what life looked like on the other side of the barbed wire when the end of the war relieved their parents and them from the concentration camps.

Any toys which are to be sent to Europe must arrive at the ACEWR within two weeks if they are to get to European children by Christmas.

The New York ACEWR is running a bazaar and social at Irving Plaza on Dec. 7. If you have costume jewelry, household utensils, curios, knitted articles, electrical equipment, books, prints, etc., in fact, anything that can be sold, it will be most gratefully received by the bazaar. Make all checks and money orders payable to the ACEWR and mail them and all donations of clothing, bazaar gifts, etc., to 197 Second Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

Why Aid Is Needed For Workers Abroad



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Chicago Has Ordered Copies Of Various Back Issues Of The Militant

"Chicago has ordered copies of various back issues of The Militant. The comrades," explains J. Connor, "have been distributing with such ardor that we have no copies of any of these issues left at all!"

Almeda Kingsley sent in another subscription for Cleveland, stating: "Our renewal campaign has been slowed up by our Mac Walker for Governor election campaign, but watch our speed later on!"

Militant Director El Snyder of Flint writes: "I am submitting four more subs that you may credit to Flint Branch."

This note from Yetta Fine accompanied five subs from San Pedro: "Our October 'Handicap' is drawing to a close. Comrade Eugene is leading with 12 subs. This is the second 'Handicap'.

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BUFFALO — Open every afternoon except Sunday. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960.

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CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. off Wade Park Ave.)

CONNECTICUT — Write to the Militant, P.O. Box 841, New Haven.

DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6267.

FLINT — Visit SWP and Militant headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich.

INDIANAPOLIS — Open Monday through Friday, 5 p.m. to 9 p.m. Wednesday Evening Class in parliamentary procedure.

LOS ANGELES — Visit Militant

THE MILITANT ARMY

Boston Sub Campaign Smashes All Records



Boston's subscription campaign to get new readers to The Militant smashed all records. S. Brooks, Literature Agent, reports: "This winds up our sub campaign with a grand total of 366 new working-class readers to The Militant. We got 116 more subs than our quota of 250, and the comrades, one and all, did a noble job in our eight Sunday mobilizations. We are all more than pleased with this response to our door-to-door work in the working-class areas of Boston and vicinity."

"Josie Hall won the prize as leading sub-getter in the campaign with 43 to her credit," continues Comrade Brooks. "Belle Montague was a close runner-up, with 40. Right behind Belle were Sally Conti, Mary Stanley, Hilda Webster, and Dawn Conti. Ben Franklin was high scorer for the male comrades. Incidentally, Josie Hall is an expectant mother, and the girls are selecting an appropriate prize. Belle Montague is getting a prize, too, as runner-up."

Milwaukee sent 11 subs with the following comment by Fred Martin, Militant Manager: "Our branch is planning tentatively to start a three-month sub campaign in December."

L. Morris tells us of an idea being tried in Connecticut to increase subscriptions: "Here is a little innovation we are trying, to get subscriptions. When we go out, we carry envelopes containing a letter and postage-paid self-addressed envelope. We leave all that if the person is not home. However, we suspect that people find it too much trouble to send money easily by mail. So we have bought 50-cent postage coin holders and enclose one of these too. We think that if all a person has to do is enclose everything in the envelope already addressed and stamped, then simply drop it into a mailbox, we should see good results."

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that he is winning. . . . Most of the subs we have sent in this month are from the shops where comrades work."

Eight subscriptions were sent in by James Kersey for Minneapolis — without comment.

Six subscriptions were mailed to us by Paul Carrol for Toledo — no comment.

Pauline Lerner of Westside Branch, Los Angeles, sent a sub that "Manny Sunshine got from a student who attends the University of Los Angeles."

May Manning, Los Angeles Section Literature Director, reports the result of distributing The Militant at a mass meeting of the Conference of Studio Unions. "Six comrades participated. About 600 Militants were distributed. The reception was good. One comrade established good contact with a picket captain who plays a leading role in his union. This picket captain said that he subscribes to The Militant and likes the paper very much. In the course of conversing with him, the comrade suggested an interview and an article in The Militant."

Below are listed the subscriptions sent in by each branch of the Socialist Workers Party during October.

OCTOBER SUBS

Boston	259
New York	85
Philadelphia	73
Cleveland	42
Chicago	37
Allentown	31
Milwaukee	28
Los Angeles	25
Minneapolis	21
Connecticut State	20
St. Louis	20
San Pedro	20
Flint	18
Newark	17
Portland	10
Akron	9
Detroit	9
Seattle	9
San Francisco	8
Toledo	8
Youngstown	8
Buffalo	6
St. Paul	5
Oakland	4
Pittsburgh	3
San Diego	3
Reading	1
Tacoma	1
General	19

799

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CHICAGO — Visit SWP, 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore. Sat. night, open house.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. off Wade Park Ave.)

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INDIANAP

There Are No Pure Races

By Grace Carlson

In the October issue of that poisonous periodical, *The Cross and the Flag*, Gerald L. K. Smith gets off what are supposed to be some scientific remarks about inter-racial mixing. He starts out with an attack on Father Divine for marrying a white girl and goes on to say:

"I have made many enemies among the so-called liberals because of my opposition to the mongrelization of the races. I am opposed to inter-marriage of black and white. I believe that it tends towards degeneration and destruction of the race."

Like all others who preach in favor of race purity (in reality, race hatred) Gerald L. K. Smith is a fascist. Also, like all other race purists, Smith is 18,000 years too late. There are no longer any pure races to be kept pure! Anthropologists tell us that there were no pure races left after the great human migrations and general mixing of the races that occurred at the time of the last glacial period, 18,000 years ago.

Evidence for the truth of this statement lies in the fact that there are no clean-cut scientific differentiations between the so-called races. Racial classification is a very confused and arbitrary business. Some anthropologists classify the peoples of the world on the basis of skin color and come out with three, five or seven "distinct" races. Others use hair texture or skull structure and in this way derive any-

where from two to seventeen main races. The most widely-accepted system of classification speaks of three main races; the Negro or "black"; the Mongoloid or "yellow-brown"; the Caucasian or "white." But there is tremendous overlapping between the races on all physical characteristics. For example, the African Hottentot, a member of the "black" race, is far lighter than many swarthy Spanish or Italian "whites."

All three races have both long-headed and round-headed types. So, likewise, one will find straight-haired, woolly-haired and wavy-haired members in each of the three main races.

"Race" is, in fact, a political concept which has no precise scientific definition. But even though it is completely unscientific, the doctrine of "white supremacy" has been a very useful weapon in the hands of the American ruling class. That is why the Bilbos, Rankins, Talmadges and Gerald L. K. Smiths work overtime to get out their vicious propaganda about the danger of the "mongrelization of the races."

People should have the right to marry whom ever they choose. They don't have that right today—not in the United States. But in the Socialist Society of the future, there will be no thought of the "superiority" or "inferiority" of one race or another. There will be full equality for the members of all races. Then, people will have a free choice in marrying—with no legal or social restrictions against inter-racial marriages. Nobody will be agitated about "pure races" then—only about the human race and the brotherhood of man!

The Negro Struggle

January And The GOP

By William E. Bohannon

Within the next few months we are going to get a good example of how little a capitalist politician's promise is worth and how little difference there is between the two capitalist parties. I am referring to the session of the new Congress which will begin in January.

The Republicans were able to pick up a great many votes because people were dissatisfied with the Democrats. This was true among the Negroes as well as the rest of the population. As this is written, it does not appear that the so-called Negro vote as a whole made a big shift, but it is plain that more Negroes voted Republican this year than at any time since 1932.

Some Negroes voted Republican because they were part of the general trend to kick out the rascals who were in office. Some Negro voters fell for the hypocritical campaigning of the Republicans, which went something like this:

"We Republicans are the real friends of the Negro people. We favor an anti-lynch bill, an FEPC, a bill to end the poll tax, etc. But we have been a minority in Congress for many years, and we could do nothing so long as the Democrats, especially the Southern Democrats, were running things in Washington." And so on.

It was very easy for them to talk like this, because it did not really commit them to anything. The record of Congress could always be placed at the doorstep of the Democrats. Dewey and all the other Republicans delivered speeches against Bilboism—it was cheap, and it might bring them some extra votes.

But now the Republicans no longer have their campaign excuses. If they want to, they can enact the legislation demanded by the Negro people during the first month of next year. They made the promises, they have the votes—

now what are they going to do?

Predictions are generally a risky thing, but one can safely predict that they are going to break their promises as brazenly as Roosevelt broke his promises about driving out the money changers and keeping the country out of war.

First, a little history is in order. Before 1930 the Republicans had complete control of both houses of Congress for a full ten years. In all that time they did not lift a finger on behalf of any of the legislation they now pretend to favor, including the anti-lynch bill. What reason is there to believe they will act differently now?

None at all, in our opinion. The Republicans don't have to worry about appeasing Southern prejudice the way that the Democrats do, so they won't be so obviously anti-Negro in their activities and they may even make a few concessions. But beyond that they won't go because they don't want to go beyond that.

The reason for this is that the Republican Party, like the Democratic Party, is a servant of Big Business. And Big Business is interested in keeping the workers divided, not in eliminating inequalities; it is interested in maintaining the myth of "white supremacy," not in giving recognition by law to the right of equal opportunity for Negroes.

Why should we expect that Republican politicians will pass a law aimed against discrimination in industry when the employers (including the Republican employers) are the chief instigators of industrial Jim Crow? And why should we think the Republican politicians will pass any measures aimed against segregation in the armed forces when the generals and admirals (including the Republican generals and admirals) are the chief exponents of military Jim Crow?

If anyone has any illusions on this score, he won't have them for long. Next January will tell the tale.

A Conspiracy Against The Youth

By Ruth Benson

Dr. Henry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, has just uncovered a dire "conspiracy against the youth." He described the youth of today as being in the position "of a bird pecking at a beautiful fruit through a plate glass window." The fruit is the decent living standard that is kept out of their reach by the barrier of capitalism, with its poverty, depressions and wars.

But Gideonse isn't paid for finding solutions. Like a good Wall Street stooge, he's just thinking up ways of blaming other people for Wall Street's crimes. So he concludes that the "conspirators" are all the people who tell the youth that someday they can have that fruit which is now kept behind glass.

He lashes out at the unions which fight for higher wages and more security for their members. He takes a noisy whack at the veterans, who think they're entitled to some of the comforts and security that they were promised during the war. He sneaks in a warning to teachers who want higher pay so they can meet the soaring cost of living. He even chides parents and pastors for instilling hope in the boys and girls under their care. He doesn't

miss anybody except the real conspirators!

For instance, he never speaks of the way young people are barred from colleges by high tuition fees. He ignores the even more flagrant plot by which Negroes and Jews are refused admittance to most of the colleges and universities because of race or religion. The colleges are endowed by Wall Street, they follow Wall Street's policies, and Gideonse's pay depends upon the capitalists' approval.

There's a plot afoot to dragoon the youth into the army by military conscription, in preparation for a Third World War. But Gideonse has no objection to that scheme!

There's a conspiracy of real estate interests to prevent the building of low-cost housing. That condemns the youth to remain in fire-traps and rat-infested hovels, and to give up their "fancy ideas" of having a home or apartment of their own. Gideonse can't see anything wrong in that!

In fact, Gideonse can't see anything wrong with the world except the "discontent" with all these crimes of capitalism. That's mentally "unhealthy."

It will lead to the fusion of the youth with the unions and the veterans, and together they will be strong enough to remove the glass barrier, and enjoy all the fruits of the world!

Veterans' Problems

Wall St. Vs. The Veterans

By Alvin Royce

Wall Street's drive against the conditions of the veterans is continuing at a rapid tempo. The Veterans Administration is not satisfied with the "starvation ceiling" clamped upon the veterans just a few weeks ago. These fat-salaried bureaucrats want to drive the living standards of the veterans even lower.

A United Press dispatch from Washington, D. C. early this month plainly shows where the VA stands. "No matter how high the cost of living goes," the dispatch states, "the Veterans Administration does not plan to ask Congress to increase GI tuition and employment training subsistence allowances."

This revealing item was stuck in an obscure corner of the inside pages of some of the paid press and omitted completely by most papers. This journalistic hide-and-seek is no accident. There is a consistent campaign to divert the veterans' attention in every direction but his own standard of living.

If the workers generally are trapped in the nightmarish inflationary spiral, there are hardly words that can describe the plight of the vet-

erans. A recent survey showed that the average wage of the veteran in New York State, where wages are relatively high, is under \$40 a week. No veteran has to be told that \$40 a week can hardly pay for food and rent, let alone shoes and clothing for the children or a movie once in awhile.

To add to the problem of low wages and large scale unemployment, most veterans have all sorts of debts piled on their shoulders. Upon their discharge they were forced to pay fabulous prices for every one of the necessities of life. As home seekers they were victims of the most scandalous swindles perpetrated by greedy landlords.

Enough money was spent in one week of World War II to give every veteran a bonus of \$5,000. Surely, since decent jobs are lacking the vets deserve and need an adequate bonus, now! In answer to rising cost of living, veterans everywhere must demand that the GI Bill of Rights be amended to include a sliding scale of benefits. Many veterans' "leaders" have given lip service to these demands and then dropped them. But these demands will not be met without the united pressure of the unions and the veterans.

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THE MILITANT

Wage Fight, Red Baiting Among Key CIO Issues

Stock Market Drops Despite GOP Victory

The Republican ballyhoo in the election campaign centered around the boast that a Republican victory would assure this country's moving at full speed toward unprecedented prosperity. They got their victory. But there will be no prosperity, fabulous or otherwise. At all events, that is the opinion of the stock market and the commodity exchanges.

On the day after the Republican successes, Wall Street, instead of greeting the election results with its customary enthusiasm, took another nosedive, recording the worst break in two months. The commodity exchanges followed suit. Cotton, which had been "stabilized" on the eve of the elections, dropped again \$10 a bale; wheat and corn sagged. On the next day, the stock market went through the motions of a feeble rally, but cotton kept sliding down the chute.

The explanation is not hard to find. The capitalists are only too well aware that there is no political solution for their economic problems. Moreover, the Republicans in power will not pursue a policy essentially different from that of the Democrats. Politically the Democrats had already swung so far to the right as to become indistinguishable from their Republican colleagues.

The removal of all government "controls"—the pretended bugbear of the Republicans—has been virtually accomplished by Truman. Yet there has been no change in economic trends. Signs that the post-war boom is drawing to its close are multiplying and not diminishing. The inventories of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers keep growing larger and larger. The masses are able to buy less and less of the increasing output of industry at inflated prices.

It is these economic trends that determine the pessimistic outlook among the top circles of the American ruling class. That is why they have "discounted" the Republican victory and are taking what the N. Y. Times calls a "realistic attitude."

Open Shop Laws Hit Labor In 3 More States

Anti-union, open-shop interests struck three new blows at organized labor when they swung majority votes in referendums on Nov. 5 for amendments to state constitutions banning closed shop contracts in Nebraska, South Dakota and Arizona.

This raises to 11 the number of states that have adopted such so-called "right to work" laws since 1943. None of these "right to work" laws protects the workers from being fired by the bosses. They all protect the bosses who want to hire anti-union elements in order to undermine organized labor and destroy union security.

Union leaders in all three states have declared they will fight the application of these laws. John Gunther, president of the Nebraska state AFL, said: "The battle has been joined; they have asked for it and that's what they are going to get."

PROVISIONS
The Nebraska amendment prohibits "written or oral" contracts between unions and employers that provide for employment of only union members.

In Massachusetts, an amendment advocated by reactionary Attorney General Clarence A. Barnes was adopted to compel unions to make public financial reports. Such requirements are designed to make confidential union records available to the

hating employers.

The passage of these laws on Nov. 5 reveals the dangerous trend of state legislation against unions. These laws are mounting in number and already constitute a sizable body of measures to legally harass unions. Employers in other states have been encouraged to push for similar laws.

Chicago Vets Seize Homes



More than 60 veterans and their families seized apartments in the unfinished Airport Homes Project in Chicago on Nov. 6. After waiting a year for admittance to the project while the city administration gave them the run-around, they took possession themselves. Warrants for the arrest of six on grounds of "trespassing" were issued by the Mayor Kelly's Democratic administration. Federated Pictures

PAC Fails To Rally Vote For Boss Hague

NEWARK, N. J., Nov. 9 — The coalition of Boss Hague and the PAC-CIO leaders failed to win sufficient support to halt the Republican sweep in the November 5 elections in New Jersey. Gubernatorial candidate Driscoll led a Republican State Legislature ticket into office with a 220,000 plurality, and U.S. Senator Smith was easily re-elected over his Democratic candidate by more than 245,000 votes.

New Jersey has traditionally been a Republican stronghold except when the Democrats could arouse wide enthusiasm among the masses, as in the case of the early Roosevelt campaigns.

But despite all of Boss Hague's efforts, and despite the PAC endorsements, no enthusiasm could be worked up for the Democratic campaign this year, and the Republicans increased their hold on the Legislature and kept all 12 of the state's 14 seats in the House of Representatives.

DECIDED SHIFT

While most of the big cities voted for the Democrats, it was by smaller majorities than in previous years. There was a decided shift to the Republicans among the middle class elements who were discontented with existing conditions and could not be won to support of Hague's ward-healers by a hackneyed, mud-slinging campaign, big spending and torchlight fanfare.

The PAC-CIO leaders came out of the campaign badly discredited. Afraid to put forward independent labor candidates, they tailed behind Hague, and suffered defeat with him. This setback is certain to bring increased demands for a labor party at the coming state CIO convention.

The AFL leaders played a limited and contradictory role. They declared that the Republicans would do nothing for labor, but this did not prevent one of their leading spokesmen, Lewis Herrmann, from running on the Republican ticket for Assembly and campaigning for its candidates.

The Stalinists put up a sorry pretense of an independent campaign. They ran Mahon for Governor, but his chief campaign theme song was election of the Democratic candidate for Senator. He kept moaning that the Democrats had chosen the "wrong" candidate for Governor, thus explaining his own "candidacy."

PRESS JEERS

The capitalist press was able to jeer at the Stalinists because of the Moscow broadcast urging support of the PAC candidates (who included the Democratic gubernatorial candidate). The *Star Ledger* cynically pointed out the Kremlin was knifing the Stalinist candidates.

Opposed to the capitalist machines and the opportunism

Convention Will Face Question Of Political Action In Light Of National Election Results

What the coming CIO national convention decides on the crucial problems facing the American workers today is expected to have a profound influence on the course of the labor movement during the critical period ahead.

This convention meets at the terrible consequences of the most ruinous war in history are beginning to be felt most acutely. Inflation is slashing the workers' standard of living and the menace of a depression looms in the not too distant future.

Big Business is pushing a renewed offensive against organized labor. It is demanding more work and less pay at a time when the workers are having increasing difficulty securing the bare necessities while goods are withheld from the market for speculative price rises.

Wall Street's anti-labor drive is being camouflaged with a red-scare designed to conceal labor's real enemies and create confusion in the unions. This red-baiting is also intended to arouse a lynch-spirit against radicals and labor militants generally as part of the preparations for eventual imperialist war to destroy the Soviet Union.

The most pressing problem before the CIO delegates is the defense of the workers' living standards. The CIO leaders' policy of independence upon the capitalist government to halt the inflationary tide has proved futile. Most of the big CIO unions have been forced to call for reopening of wage contracts and the campaign is growing for substantial wage increases.

Will fixed hourly wage increases suffice if prices continue to mount? That is the first question the CIO delegates must ask. The answer is obviously no. Wage gains must be fortified against rising living costs by means of escalator clauses in union contracts that provide for automatic wage increases for all rises in the cost of living after the contract is signed.

The CIO can play a great progressive role by including in its wage policy the demand for the

sliding scale of wages, as advocated by the Akron rubber workers, or the cost-of-living bonus as introduced by the CIO Packinghouse Workers.

No demands, however excellent, will be worth anything unless there is a program of militant union action to enforce them. Last winter and spring saw millions of CIO workers on strike without any unified policy or strategy. This convention must lay the basis for a militant program of united action to win the CIO's demands.

It is especially vital that the CIO delegates brush aside the insidious counsels of the corporations and their political agents to direct the CIO's energies into a witch-hunt against "reds." Unfortunately, there is a growing effort of reactionary elements inside the CIO to divert it from a fight for the needs of the workers to a red-baiting drive. These elements must be halted in their attempts to inject the bosses' poison into the CIO. They must be decisively repudiated.

Over this convention will hang the menace of capitalist political reaction. The elections just past have given one more irrefutable proof of the bankruptcy of the CIO's political policy of giving support to candidates of Wall Street's Democratic or Republican parties.

This policy has served only to keep the workers on the treadmill between Democratic reaction and Republican reaction.

The time is already rotten ripe for the CIO to give the lead to the workers in the political field that it has given in the past decade on the economic field. This convention can herald a giant step forward for the American working class by initiating a call for the immediate formation of an independent labor party.

Californians Demonstrated No Confidence In Democrats

By J. Blake

(Special to The Militant)

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 7 — California voters this week demonstrated their complete lack of confidence in the Democratic Party and its ally, the Political Action Committee, to save their falling standard of living or solve any of the other major problems facing them.

With no leadership by the labor movement for independent political action, and no alternative on the ballot, the vote was Republican by a huge majority. William F. Knowland, anti-labor member of the U. S. Senate was reelected; 10 of the 13 Republican candidates in contested districts were elected to Congress; and the Republicans received their largest majority in the State Assembly in more than a decade. Republican Governor Warren had already been guaranteed re-election when he won the primary nomination of both capitalist parties.

The most important issue on the ballot, Proposition No. 11, the Fair Employment Practices initiative measure, was defeated. Acting openly against it was the expensive high pressure campaign of slander, lies and confusion of the Merchants and Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Associated Farmers. The official Democratic and Republican Parties played "soft cop" on the issue.

PAC DEFEAT

Defeat of all PAC and Stalinist-supported Democrats except Helen Gahagan Douglas produced gloom, depression and demoralization in the ranks of the PAC and the Communist Party. The policy they had considered so much more realistic than the independent political action by labor advocated by the Socialist Workers' Party, had again been proven bankrupt.

While there has been no accurate count of the votes for Steve Roberts, Robert Chester, and Cynthia Rogalin, SWP write-in candidates for Governor, Assemblyman, and State Senator respectively, scattered reports indicate a favorable reaction by the workers reached by the first state-wide election

casts of the SWP. As a result of hearing one of them, a machinist in San Diego contacted the party and arranged for Steve Roberts to address his local union meeting "so that they could hear a real working class candidate." Roberts was given a good reception at this meeting.

Army Concedes New Trial For Lemas Woods

The War Department has been forced to recommend a new trial for Pvt. Lemas Woods Jr., whose death sentence was recently exposed by the CIO United Auto Workers as the deliberate conviction of an innocent man.

The 23-year-old Negro soldier, a member of UAW Detroit, Local 208, was court-martialed on a murder charge in the Philippines several months ago, after the death of a fellow-soldier.

It is now known that Army officers extorted a "confession" from Woods by beating and intimidation, then appointed as "defense counsel" a man who knew nothing about law. Woods later repudiated the "confession" and declared that the shooting was accidental. He said that bullet holes in the mosquito netting which had covered the dead man, would prove his innocence.

But Army Intelligence men told his inexperienced "counsel" that the holes "didn't mean anything." The net was never introduced as evidence. The conviction was so brazen that the prosecutor himself later pointed out the weakness of the case and declared that Woods "had acted like an innocent man!" His statement, like the evidence of the net, was suppressed.

Intervention by the UAW has now won a new trial, to be held when Truman signs the required papers. It has also served to expose once more the frame-up character of the courts-martial.



CYNTHIA ROGALIN Endorsed by Negro paper.

campaign of the Socialist Workers' Party.

At an enthusiastic post-election meeting in Los Angeles Wednesday night, workers reported numerous instances of pledges of votes and support for SWP candidates on election day from rank and filers in the shops, local union officials, and even among Communist Party members.

Particularly effective, it was felt, was the campaign for Cynthia Rogalin, the only candidate running against Senator Jack "Little Dies" Tenney, who had received the nomination of both capitalist parties in the primaries.

ENDORSED BY 'SENTINEL'

Since Tenney was openly opposed to FEPC Proposition 11 and said so publicly in a tirade the week before election, Comrade Rogalin was the only candidate for State Senate from Los Angeles County who was for FEPC. Partially because of this, she was endorsed in the recommended ballot published by the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, largest Negro newspaper on the West Coast, the day before election.

Very favorable responses were also received to the radio broad-