

Vote Trotskyist, Dobbs Urges In Radio Address

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.—Urging New York workers to cast their votes for a workingclass program and genuine labor candidates, Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for mayor, tonight exposed the "friends of labor" claims of the three Wall Street mayoralty candidates, Tammany's O'Dwyer, the Republican Goldstein, and La Guardia's "No Deal" Morris.

Dobbs spoke for 15 minutes over municipal radio station WNYC in a slashing attack upon the real Big Business connections of the major party candidates. He refuted their claims of "sympathy for labor" by pointing to their record of failure to support, or open hostility to, every strike struggle of New York workers for higher wages and better conditions.

The Trotskyist candidate contrasted to this the record of fighting support that he and Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for city council, and the Socialist Workers Party have given to every strike action and demand of New York workers. He challenged the boss candidates to make known where they stand on labor's demand for a 30 per cent wage raise.

Dobbs told the vested interests of Wall Street that as mayor he would initiate a comprehensive program of public works, low-rent housing, decent schools, playgrounds, nurseries and everything else the workers need, by taxing "heavily" the rich, the profiteering corporations, the real estate interests, the parasitic bondholders and all the capitalist leeches who have been bleeding the city for decades. The following are extracts from Dobbs' fighting address:

Everybody loves labor—just before election time. We would never suspect from the speeches of the boss-controlled mayoralty candidates—O'Dwyer, Goldstein or Newbold Morris—that the power lines of their political machines stretch right down into Wall Street.

After decades of experience with Democratic, Republican, No-Deal, Raw Deal and Bum Deal administrations, the work-

ers of New York City are inclined to view with a skeptical eye the solemn promises of these pre-election lovers of labor. Nothing in the record or actions or political connections of these Wall Street candidates supports their vote-catching declarations.

Here in New York City we have witnessed such terribly exploited workers as the elevator

(Continued on Page 7)

Simpson On Radio Attacks Jim Crow

The following are excerpts from a speech delivered over radio station WMCA, on October 28, by Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for New York City Council.

By Louise Simpson

The Negro people are today receiving many promises from the politicians of the capitalist parties. And these promises—made to us so easily, so casually, at campaign time—are just as easily and casually forgotten after the election is over.

This year both the Republican and Democratic Parties are devoting much time and money and effort to swing the Negro vote into their camp. It is my purpose, in this speech, to examine their promises in the light of their record.

Today, I should like to discuss the Democratic Party and its campaign for Negro votes. I have selected the Democrats not because their real program is essentially different from the program of the Republicans, but rather because they have been more successful in camouflaging their real program, in creating an APPEARANCE of concern for the plight of the Negroes and the working class.

What are the issues in this election? I mean... what do the Democrats say the issues are? Senator Robert F. Wagner, in speaking for O'Dwyer, said, "A democratic victory in the City of New York will strengthen the Democratic party everywhere. And that is the first big issue in this municipal campaign."

DEMOCRATS AND JIM CROW All right, let's start from there. What we must do is to make up our minds whether or not we want to strengthen the Democratic Party. And to decide this, we must first make sure that we understand who controls the national Democratic Party, and what its program really is.

The Democrats have been in power in Washington for thirteen long years. During those 13 years, Jim Crow practices have spread—and have been intensified. Let anyone deny those two facts!

Colored men were segregated, persecuted, exploited in the armed forces. The national Democratic administration was directly responsible for this shameful Jim Crow practice in the army and navy.

Legislation prohibiting the poll (Continued on Page 7)

'Vote Labor,' SWP Says In Detroit

DETROIT, Oct. 27.—Arthur Burch, Detroit organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, today delivered the second of three radio addresses over station WXYZ on "Why the Trotskyists Support Detroit Labor's Candidates." His concluding talk will be broadcast Saturday, November 3, at 11:45 a.m. The following are extracts from today's talk.

Last week I discussed the question of jobs for all and showed how the election of Frankenstein would aid toward the solution of this pressing problem. Today I shall take up the urgent need of building an independent party of the working class and show how the election of the labor candidates on the 6th of November will mark a long stride in this direction.

Labor is quickly beginning to realize that its interests are separate and apart from, and in direct opposition to the interests of Big Business which completely controls the two capitalist parties, Republican and Democratic alike. Both in Michigan and in other states labor has already taken the first steps toward the formation of its own party but it wasn't until the

British Labor Party scored its landslide victory last summer that the American workers sensed that the time was now ripe for creating their own party of labor.

The Socialist Workers Party supports Detroit labor's candidates, Frankenstein for mayor, Doll, Hill and Edwards for Common Council, because it knows that their victory will serve to give greater impulsion to the movement for a labor party in this country.

LESSON OF THE PAST The workers in Detroit will recall how they were once duped into relying on Big Business in the economic field and how they unsuspectingly flocked into company unions. It did not take the workers long to have their eyes opened. When these company unions flagrantly violated the true interests of labor, the workers resorted to the simple device of walking out of the company-dominated unions and forming their own.

The workers could never have successfully struggled to improve their economic conditions had they remained shackled to these company unions. It is high time (Continued on Page 8)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. IX — No. 44

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1945

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Profiteering Auto And Steel Barons Arrogantly Reject Wage Demands

Allies Increase Armed Pressure On Indonesians

By Joseph Hansen

Open fighting has broken out between the Allied imperialists and the forces of the Republic of Indonesia. British troops occupied Soerabaya October 26. As they tightened their control and ordered the Indonesians to give up their arms, the Indonesians responded by throwing up street barricades. On October 28 the Allied press reported that Indonesians "opened fire on British Indian troops."

According to Aneta, the official Dutch news agency, Dr. Mustopo, leader of the Indonesian nationalists in the area said the situation was "like an unexploded bomb which is liable to go off at any moment."

The British continued to land troops at Soerabaya. At Batavia the British landed a light tank regiment. The Allied drive to crush the independence movement in Indonesia is thus reaching a new stage of violence. The Allied despots are following a sinister pattern in their moves against the Indonesians.

SINISTER PATTERN

On October 15 the Netherlands News, published by the Dutch government, declared: "The Japanese are still in control—under Allied orders of course—of most areas of Java. So few Allied troops have arrived that except for Batavia the occupation of Java is still in what might be called the unreal stage."

On October 16 International News Service reported "authoritative sources disclosed today that Great Britain has determined to lend its full support to (Continued on Page 3)

Toledo SWP Urges Voters To Elect Simmons

TOLEDO, Oct. 19.—Speaking before several hundred voters in the Onyx Club Ballroom, Malcolm Walker, organizer of the Toledo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, explained why the SWP supports James B. Simmons, independent Negro candidate for city council. A benefit dance sponsored by the Simmons campaign committee was in progress.

Urging everyone to cast their first choice vote for candidate Simmons, Comrade Walker told the assembled crowd that the Socialist Workers Party supports Simmons on the issue of minority representation in the city council.

"When we decided to support this candidate," said Walker, "we did not ask, is he a good man or a bad man for city council. We asked, what is the issue in the campaign? We found that the issue, one of great importance in a Negro community of 15,000 persons, was that of Negro representation in the city government. . . . For this reason, we consider this to be a very progressive move on the part of the Negro people and well worth our support."

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE

Comrade Walker went on to explain that Simmons is an independent candidate, not affiliated with either of the two capitalist political parties. He told the audience that the SWP considers independent working class political action and the formation of a Labor Party, to be the only solution for the burning problems of all workers.

He explained further how the Trotskyists have been in the (Continued on Page 8)

A Graduation Gift From Truman



Union Woman, Beaten By Thugs, Blames Attack On Corporations

Special To THE MILITANT

By Kay O'Brien

IN THE NEWS

Solves Housing Problem

Two days before 1,500 angry war veterans at a mass meeting protested the New York City housing shortage, retiring Mayor LaGuardia announced he won't go homeless. He has purchased a \$40,000 Tudor-style stone and stucco "shack" in the Bronx, 15 rooms, 5 baths.

Why He Qualified

Complaining about the recent desertion of Stalinist Daily Worker editor Louis Budenz to the Catholic Church, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist Party national committee member, wrote: "That such an unreliable and dishonest individual could operate in our party for 10 years is the tragedy, now that we are rid of him. We had in the instance of Budenz a dull writer, a prosaic speaker and an inadequate editor on our hands."

Jobs For All

"Help wanted—Male, Refined, Reliable gentleman to clean toilets. . . ." (Ad in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer.)

Heaven Can Wait

Commenting on the DAR's refusal to rent Washington's Constitution Hall to a Negro concert artist, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said: "The DAR is made up very largely of older people, and it is very much harder for older people to break with traditions they have lived in. . . . but I think perhaps we ought to have patience and hope that eventually they will see the light."

Let Freedom Ring!

William Kleitz, vice president of New York City Guarantee Trust Co., recently said: "I think depressions are inevitable under the free enterprise system. . . ." The New York State Chamber of Commerce adds: "Depressions are the price we pay for freedom."

DETROIT, Oct. 27.—Last week The Militant reported the shocking news that Genora Johnson Dollinger, a chief steward in Briggs Local 212, CIO United Automobile Workers, had been severely beaten by two unknown assailants who entered her home around 5:30 a.m. on October 16, while she and her husband Sol, and her two sons, Denny and Joddy, were asleep.

The entire Detroit labor movement has been aroused by this latest gangster attack against Briggs militants and by the cold-blooded and calculated brutality of labor's enemies in employing professional thugs against a completely defenseless and unsuspecting woman unionist and mother.

Following the posting of a \$500 reward by Local 212 and its urgent requests for action, the UAW-CIO International Executive Board on October 24 appointed a three-man committee to conduct a thorough investigation. A statement on the attack from Local 212 officials and its investigating committee points out that "only the interests of the corporation gain by such acts."

Today I visited and inter-

viewed Mrs. Genora Dollinger at the Receiving Hospital here. The physical effects of the attack were still evident 11 days after the beating. She lay propped up by pillows, with the upper part of her body in a cast because of a broken collar bone.

Her face is still cut and swollen and her head "one big ache." After flashing a light on her, her assailants had silently and methodically aimed blows with either iron pipes or heavy black-jacks at her face. This was the diabolic means used by the bosses to attack a pretty, popular and militant member of Briggs Local 212 and intimidate her fellow unionists.

Although it was still an effort for her to talk, Genora displayed undiminished the spirit and courage which has marked her as a participant in labor's struggle.

(Continued on Page 2)

NEW YORK LONGSHOREMEN FORCE MORE CONCESSIONS

By F. J. Lang

NEW YORK, Oct. 27.—The determined 18-day strike of AFL longshoremen which ended here October 18 has forced ILA-AFL Dictator - President Joseph P. Ryan, who opposed the strike, to renegotiate his proposed union contract. It has also brought in its wake general discredit to the Stalinists who diverted the original job-action of the longshore rank-and-file into an attempted CIO raid upon the ILA-AFL.

The demand of longshoremen for a safe load limit of 2,240 pounds has forced Ryan to renegotiate a proposed contract which made no mention of this demand and which he was ready to sign on October 1. Acceptance of the original contract was blocked on that date when

longshoremen throughout the harbor area, led by Chelsea Local 791 of the ILA, took job action by refusing to build loads exceeding the safe weight limit.

FORCE RENEGOTIATION

As a result of the militant stand of the workers and the sweeping rank-and-file revolt against his rule, Ryan has been forced to seek some more concessions from the employers. They have now agreed to 20-nan gangs, two shape-ups a day, and a compromise formula for penalty meal hours, which grants a longshoreman \$1 extra if he works a six-hour stretch without a meal period. On the workers' key demand for a limited safe sling-load, the employers have refused to budge.

These new proposals of the (Continued on Page 2)

GM, Chrysler Workers Vote Overwhelmingly For Strike

By Art Preis

OCT. 29.—American labor moved one step closer to a major showdown on its demand for a 30 per cent general wage increase as the General Motors and Chrysler workers last week voted overwhelmingly for strike action and the CIO

Steelworkers Union announced it was filing for a strike vote.

These were the key developments of the past few days in a looming historic labor struggle, as the giant auto and steel corporations, swollen with war profits and grown supremely arrogant, contemptuously dismissed the just wage demands of two of the most powerful industrial unions in America.

Both General Motors and U. S. Steel, multi-billion dollar trusts, are pouring out tens of millions from their union-busting slush funds in a flood of radio and press propaganda against the union demands. They are pleading "poverty" and threatening huge price rises if the union demands are met.

LIES EXPOSED Their lying propaganda was dramatically exposed through a "leak" from Washington last week. This was a report, intended to be secret and confidential, made to Truman by the Reconstruction Advisory Board and prepared by government economists. This report contained full data disclosing that wages in this country could be raised no less than 24 per cent without any additional price increases—and still permit the corporations higher profits than in the "normal" pre-war period.

With the drastic reduction in excess profits taxes, tax rebates and the elimination of much overtime pay, the corporations can easily pay 30 per cent higher hourly wages and still make profit (Continued on Page 2)

San Francisco Machinists Prepare For Major Battle

Special To THE MILITANT

By Bob Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 24.—Tense relations between San Francisco trade unions and the employers will come to a climax on Monday, October 29, the date set by AFL Machinists Lodge 68 and the CIO East Bay Machinists Local 1304 for joint strike action if their demands are not met. If these two key unions go out, all the other waterfront unions will be affected immediately.

The basic demands of most of the unions center around the slogan "48 hours pay for 40 hours work" and other demands such as vacations with pay, holiday pay, and a guaranteed weekly income. Negotiations between the employers and the union representatives have not yet achieved agreement on any major point, nor has there been any indication that the employers' association will permit their members to accede to the union's demands.

CONTINUATION OF FIGHT

Lodge 68 is conducting the test for whole sections of the well-organized Bay Area labor movement. It was this union which fought a magnificent struggle against the combined forces of the employers, the War Labor Board, and the Navy during the course of the war.

When the union's contract with the employers expired in April of 1944, these employers,

hiding behind government boards, refused to renew their agreements.

When the union struck to maintain their contracts, the WLB referred the case to President Roosevelt for government seizure, but the combined attack against the union shook neither the leadership nor the men. Thus, with the help of the government, the employers were able to avoid signing contracts.

However, Lodge 68, through the loyalty of its members, retained unofficial job control and union conditions in these shops during the entire war. Now the union is taking action to once again obtain signed contracts.

UNITED ACTION Working jointly, AFL Lodge 68 and CIO Local 1304 simultaneously presented the same demands on the employers and set the same deadline for strike action (Continued on Page 2)

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FARRELL DOBBS

For
Mayor



VOTE TROTSKYIST

in the

New York City Elections, Nov. 6

LOUISE SIMPSON

For
City Council



4,000 Glass Workers Go Out On Strike In Toledo After Two Years Of Fruitless Palaver With Bosses

By Ted Reading

TOLEDO, O., Oct. 22.—Three processing plants of the Libbey-Owens-Ford glass company were quiet today as some 4,000 striking workers remained away from work, their patience exhausted by two years of fruitless negotiations with the glass barons.

"We've conceded enough," stated William Akos, president of Local 9, Federation of Flat Glass Workers, CIO. "The 4,000 workers of Toledo together with some 15,000 other workers nationally will remain out until wage demands are met and a contract is signed."

In an interview with this representative of *The Militant*, Akos revealed a long story of the patient attempts of the workers to reach some settlement with the glass company, only to be met by stalling and evasive tactics and a lack of bargaining in good faith.

TWO YEAR STALL

"This is the sixth conference we have had with the company in a period of two years," the union official stated. "Our demands were referred to the WLB in February, 1944. The WLB settled none of the basic issues. They succeeded only in throwing the whole matter back in our laps."

"We met with the company again in April of this year in another attempt to solve our problems. The matter was again referred to the WLB only to have the same thing happen again. The WLB referred the whole thing back to us for re-negotiation. Further consultations again proved fruitless. We took a strike vote under the provisions of the Smith-Connally Act and 92 per cent of the workers voted in favor of strike. We stopped work in June and returned in 10 days only after the WLB had solemnly promised a settlement within three weeks. No settlement was forthcoming. We are out now till we reach an agreement."

FROZEN WAGES

Since 1942 the glass workers have received an increase in hourly rates of 2.3 cents an hour. Since January 1, 1941 they have received the grand total of 9.3

cents increase in hourly rates. All this while the cost of living skyrocketed some 47 per cent!

Akos explained that while the union had made concessions in an earnest attempt to reach a settlement, the company made no concessions from its original counter-proposals. The union asked originally for a flat 20-cent hourly increase together with a 4 cent adjustment for labor and maintenance classifications. The union is now asking for a 10.7-cent hourly increase and a 2-cent adjustment. The company is still holding to its original offer of 8 cents!

"The last conference began October 1," stated Akos. "The company politely met with us but we got nowhere. Finally in Ottawa, Illinois, when 365 men walked in on protest against a return to the pre-war incentive methods, the company broke off negotiations, using this episode as a pretext."

DRAWN-OUT FIGHT

In reply to a public statement by John D. Biggers, president of Libbey-Owens-Ford, that "this strike could have been avoided," Akos said, "That is absolutely correct. This strike could have been avoided if the company had bargained in good faith and made any reasonable counter-proposals. This they refused to do. Hence full blame for the present stoppage must fall upon the company."

The glass companies are not working on government orders at the present time, hence no legal pretext for government seizure exists, Akos said.

The union is preparing for a fight which may be long and drawn out. They intend to hold weekly meetings as morale builders and to inform members of latest developments. In the event that the strike is prolonged to the point where hardships are experienced by the members, a commissary will be set up to meet all emergency needs.

No picket line is being maintained at present, as none is necessary. Only maintenance men and caretakers are permitted in the plant at the present time, and these only after being duly authorized by the union.

Women Strikers On The March



A militant all-female picket line picketing the Whitman Candy firm, Philadelphia, in a recent strike. The marchers are members of Local 439, AFL Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union, who walked out demanding "We want a nickel" more an hour added to their miserable wages.

N. Y. Dock Workers Force Concessions

(Continued from Page 1)

employers were unsatisfactory to the I.L.A. negotiating committee, whose overwhelming vote reflected their certainty that even this revised contract would be rejected by the membership. Ryan pleaded last Wednesday that the employers "agree that both parties go to the Secretary of Labor for settlement."

ACTIONS CONTINUE

Meanwhile, working longshoremen continued to take sporadic job action to enforce safe load limits. Last week longshoremen were locked out by the employers on piers 1, 2 and 3 in Hoboken and Pier K at Weehawken for refusing to build unsafe loads running as high as three tons. Neither the employers nor Ryan dared to comment on the Hoboken stoppage from Wednesday through Friday for fear of another general walkout.

Since the revolt of longshoremen that threatened his position as head of the union, Ryan has been forced to submit any agreement reached with the employers to a referendum vote of the I.L.A. membership. This is a gain for the longshoremen, who are determined to exercise this right before any new contract becomes effective.

STALINIST ROLE

The Stalinists, who disrupted the strike by provoking a jurisdictional war, are now trying to

claim credit for shaking Ryan's grip upon the I.L.A. They secured an injunction last Thursday from Supreme Court Justice Carroll G. Walter, enjoining Ryan from signing a contract until it is voted on by the membership. Actually, this was won by the longshoremen themselves on the Chelsea docks October 1 when they turned down Ryan's proposed contract and limited loads to conform with their demand for a one-ton maximum.

The Stalinists are generally discredited among the longshoremen, who are aware of the Stalinist union-raiding aims. In pursuing their policy of back-door conniving with "friendly" government agencies, the Stalinists now find themselves outside the union and involved in court action against the union.

This crooked dealing has demoralized even the Stalinist ranks and those who worked with them in their hastily organized "rank and file committee." The very men the Stalinists tried to build up as leaders of the rank and file have repudiated the Stalinists in an attempt to escape the consequences of Stalinist adventurism. Thus, William E. Warren and Sol Barone, chief spokesmen for the Stalinist-controlled "rank and file committee," have publicly declared that they were used as "doves and front men" by the Stalinists.

SKF Strikers Hold Firm Against Police Assaults

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rushed to the hospital for head injuries. On Tuesday, Jeremiah Kennedy, Financial Secretary of Local 2898, CIO United Steel Workers, the SKF union, and Charles Riley, a recently discharged veteran with eighteen months of overseas service, were slashed by La Reau's goons. Both Kennedy and Riley had to have their heads stitched after a severe beating.

Old timers on the picket line say that they have rarely seen a more vicious collection of cops with itchy clubs. The other injured strikers were leading union militants from SKF Plant Two.

All of the injured returned to the picket line to the cheers of their striking fellow-unionists. To add insult to injury, Kennedy was arrested and charged with resisting arrest, inciting to riot and disorderly conduct. He was later released on a copy of the charge.

The union's action to stop executive and office help from entering the plant came after four weeks of vain attempts to persuade the would-be union-busting SKF international roller-bearing trust to negotiate settlement of the strike. Office workers, incensed at the company's refusal to negotiate, asked the union to completely shut down the plant. Only a misguided minority of the large staff permitted themselves to be utilized as strike-breakers and as the excuse for police to attack

the picket line in order to convey them into the plant.

The police attacks upon the SKF strikers have aroused the entire CIO movement in this area. There are growing demands for a general labor holiday in sympathy with the SKF strikers. A specially convened CIO Council Executive Board meeting yesterday heard requests from steel workers, shipyard and transport workers, and other CIO locals, for a labor holiday to protest police brutality and as a demonstration of labor solidarity against the SKF trust which coined profits from both sides of the battle-lines during the war. The Executive Board promised action in a couple of days.

A feature on the picket line has been the delegations from all sections of the CIO. Helmeted pickets from CIO Shipbuilding Workers Local 1 of Camden, N. J., and Cramp Shipyard Local 42 have been holding the line since yesterday, Wednesday, following the brutal clubbings on Tuesday. Daily reinforcements are on hand from CIO Steel Workers locals at General Steel Castings, Belmont Iron Works, and the Baldwin Locomotive works. Uniformed motormen and conductors of the Transport Workers Union, seamen from the National Maritime Union, CIO auto workers from Budd's, textile workers and members of Local 55, United Electrical Workers, have been manning the picket line.

Union Woman Slugged, Blames Corporations

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gles for many years. Her chief concern was for the welfare of the union and she expressed emphatically the conviction that the attack against her was aimed really at her union.

"COMPANY AGENTS"

"In my opinion," she told me, "it was more than just coincidence that the assault was made at a time when labor in Detroit is fighting on the economic front for a 30 per cent wage increase and on the political front to elect Frankenstein and other labor candidates to city office. No good union member would ever do such a thing. Whoever paid those thugs could have been acting only as agents for the company. The sooner such types are caught and exposed, the better it will be for all labor."

Genora stated that she welcomed the appointment of the three-man investigating committee by the UAW Executive Board. "This is just what our local investigating committee, to which I was elected, asked of the International last summer after the beatings of two of our leading members, Art Vega and Roy Snowden. I feel sure that if the International had made a thorough investigation then, and had offered a large reward, the assaults would have been caught and there would have been no further attacks."

FIRE LAST SPRING

Last spring, she related, she and six other Briggs local militants had been fired for their activities in defense of the union members. A spontaneous walkout of all Briggs workers followed, forcing a hearing at which five of the fired members, including Genora, were reinstated.

Since the layoffs last sum-

mer, she has devoted the major part of her time to union activity, including work on the Local 212 investigating committee and in the PAC campaign for Frankenstein.

She has been active in the union since the organization of the UAW - CIO. During the Flint General Motors strike of 1936 she organized the famous women's emergency brigade which played an important role in winning the strike. She spent six months in the hospital recovering from the effects of police tear gas used against the strikers.

Although busy raising her two small sons, she still found time to act as recording secretary of the Flint WPA and Unemployed Workers Local 12, organized by the UAW. In 1942, she took up residence in Detroit, where she became a member of Budd Local 306 for nearly two years and then went to work in Briggs in 1943.

LABOR'S REACTION

She is vice-chairman of the Briggs Local 212 stewards' body and chief shop steward, as well as having served in 1943 and 1944 as a member of the local's Educational Committee.

The result of this attack on an outstanding woman union militant, has had the reverse effect desired by the bosses. It has inspired the auto union ranks and their local leaders to greater unity and determination to fight the gangster methods of the corporations, whose press and police department had attempted to foster the impression that her beating was simply a part of an inter-union faction fight and that hoodlumism is an integral part of union politics. But the Detroit workers know from where such violence stems and are determined to put a stop to it at its Big Business source.

Profiteering Corporations Reject Wage Raise Demands

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its at the high 1936-39 level, the report indicated.

CORPORATIONS' ATTITUDE

However, the corporations are not interested in statistics. They take the attitude, as always, of grabbing all they can and grinding every penny of profits possible out of labor. Their contemptuous attitude is graphically illustrated by the conduct of the General Motors officials during their farcical negotiations with the CIO United Automobile Workers negotiating committee, headed by UAW Vice-President Walter Reuther.

At one point in the contract session on October 23 Reuther was forced to request Harry Coen, GM Labor Relations Director, to ask the GM representatives to discontinue their reading of newspapers and magazines and pointed ignoring of the arguments of the union spokesmen. Coen remarked: "This magazine is a hell of a lot more interesting than the kind of crap you are putting out here."

When the UAW spokesman challenged GM to open up its books and give a real accounting of its war profits to the workers to substantiate its claims that it can't raise wages, a company spokesman replied that the corporation's "profits were its own business."

TRUMAN'S POLICY

Confronted with the tremendous pressure of the workers and fearful of independent militant union action, the Truman administration is frantically seeking some formula and method to reestablish government control over the unions, limit wage gains to a minimum and put new fetters on the workers' right to strike.

The administration has inspired an elaborate campaign in an attempt to foist a wage "compromise" on labor, giving forth hints that it is considering a 10 or 15 per cent wage increase ruling. Such a miserly increase is nothing more than leading corporations, including the oil companies, have indicated they are ready to pay any-

way and far short of the minimum 30 per cent needed by the workers. This would become a new wage-freezing formula.

TWO-WAY ATTACK

At the same time, Washington is launching a two-way attack on labor's freedom of action in renewed threats of anti-strike legislation, combined with Truman's capital-labor-government conference, opening next week, to reestablish red-tape governmental control over union negotiations and regulation of labor organizations.

Meanwhile, the corporations are proceeding with elaborate preparations for strikebreaking. They are not asleep at the switch and are getting ready to fight the unions with every resource at their command.

GREATEST DANGER

But while the workers repeatedly demonstrate their desire for militant action, the union leaders are obviously hesitant to conduct an effective fight. They are all eagerness to find some "solution" at Truman's conference, the agenda of which is limited to establishing machinery for and securing the union leadership's commitment to "industrial peace."

There is no lack of militant talk from the union officials. But reports from the auto union, for instance, reveal that the top leaders are making no serious preparations for a strike battle. This fact is noted in a typical local UAW shop paper, the AC Sparkler, organ of Flint Local 651. Its October 18 issue states:

"When you prepare to strike you make all your plans in advance. If the Porkchoppers were serious why haven't they set up a strike headquarters? Why haven't they rented a warehouse and started collecting food for friendly farmers and grocery stores, so that we can feed the hungry workers and their families who will have to do picket duty? Why don't they take the lead in activating the Flying Squads?"

The workers know the corporations are leaving nothing to chance. They must be equally prepared.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Most Popular Strike

If a vote of the American workers were taken on what corporation they would most like to see brought to its knees by strike action, we are sure the overwhelmingly popular choice would be Montgomery Ward & Co., headed by notorious Sewell L. Avery.

The announcement last week by Samuel Wolchok, president of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees, that the union's executive board had unanimously authorized strike action at the "opportune" moment at 18 key units of Ward's can evoke from labor's ranks only the hearty exhortation, "Go To It!"

With typical arrogance the company has initiated an intensified union-busting campaign since the recent withdrawal of government control, instituted last December to break a strike. Union bulletin boards have been ripped down and five active union members, including the secretary-treasurer of Local 20, have been fired. Union bargaining rights and seniority provision have been ruthlessly abrogated.

Wolchok has stated that the union "will first exhaust the processes of negotiation and mediation," and is "willing to offer to submit all issues to arbitration." We don't know what there is to arbitrate—the WLB had issued directives to Avery two years ago which he still boldly flouts.

The only kind of "arbitration" that will get the Ward workers anything is mass picket lines around every Ward property and a national labor boycott—say just preceding and during the Christmas shopping season.

GM Strike Vote

Whenever workers go on strike, one of the usual claims of the bosses is that the action doesn't represent the "true sentiments" of the workers, who are being "forced" to stay off the job "against their will."

Of course, should a pre-strike vote be taken, even under government auspices, then the corporations would do all in their power to prevent any democratic expression of opinion by the workers.

General Motors, for instance, refused to permit an NLRB strike poll, October 24, on its properties. Thus the vote had to be held in various booths, empty stores, or what-have-you, scattered all over and difficult for the workers to reach. This naturally curtailed the volume of voting.

CIO United Automobile Workers Vice-President Walter Reuther, head of the union's GM division, correctly charged, before the vote, that the company is "afraid of the results of the vote. General Motors want to be able to say that the strike vote, when it is taken, is not a clear expression of all its employees."

The best way to prove the issue is when the auto workers "vote with their feet"—on the picket lines. That'll convince the GM profiteers plenty!

Detroit Elections

To say the Detroit Big Business interests and their political agents are scared to death by the prospects for election of UAW Vice-President Richard Frankenstein as mayor, is putting it mildly.

Characteristic of the unbrid-

ed and ferocious attacks on the capitalist press against Frankenstein's election is a full-page editorial in the Detroit (so-called) *Free Press*, October 19, entitled: "Must We Have Government by Violence Instead of by Law?"

This choice bit of hysteria, all in large type and with appropriate illustrations, wasn't dealing with the police massacre of scores of Negro workers in the fascist-inspired pogrom against the Negro community two years ago under Mayor Jeffries, nor the recent police clubbing of peaceful pickets protesting the meeting of Fascist G.L.K. Smith in a public school.

The *Free Press* horrendous picture of chaos and blood-running in the gutters was evoked by the simple prospect of a union man, spokesman of the auto workers who represent the overwhelming population of the city, occupying the mayor's seat instead of some crooked and corrupt agent of the big auto corporations.

Why Did Lewis Do It?

When John L. Lewis suspended the recent strike of 200,000 coal miners, called in support of the supervisory employees' demand for collective bargaining rights, the wisecracks of the capitalist press had a brief field-day telling the world that the United Mine Workers was "losing its grip."

More sober commentators, however, anxious that no illusions be spread in the boss class, emphasized Lewis' statement that "future efforts to abate this controversy will be resumed at a later and more appropriate date," and reminded that the coal-contacts came up for renegotiation next spring. They warned that the recent walkout was intended principally as a demonstration of strength by the union on the supervisory employees issue, an issue which will be settled either by negotiations now or by another general walkout involving all contract issues next spring.

One significant question raised during the coal strike was "why Truman didn't 'seize' the mines as he had the struck oil refineries." Fred W. Perkins, Scripps-Howard labor commentator, revealed that "in the coal fields its utility has been proved several times. Several widespread coal seizures were made during the war. The flag was run up over mines and tipplers and sight of the national banner was expected to ferment patriotic feelings among coal miners. But it didn't work that way. The miners thought the flag was being used to bring pressure against them for the benefit of the operators." And so it was!

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SAN FRANCISCO MACHINIST UNIONS FACE BIG BATTLE

(Continued from Page 1)

tion. Once they go out, much broader sections of organized labor are immediately involved. The AFL Bay Cities Metal Trades Council, with a membership of 60,000, will undoubtedly refuse to cross machinists' picket lines. The Metal Trades Council itself is demanding a general 40 per cent wage raise for its members. Sentiment of the men is overwhelmingly "as

long as we're going out in support of the machinists, we might as well get something for ourselves too."

Longshoremen may also be involved when their members are faced with the problem of crossing or not crossing picket lines. Meanwhile their demands for a basic weekly wage of \$52.50 for 30 hours is tied up in endless negotiations. The ILWU-CIO is now demanding a straight 25 cents per hour "interim increase" for the period of negotiation. Here too rank and file sentiment is "we should all try to get it at the same time."

PAST LESSONS

The capitalist daily press is exhibiting a new tone of watchfulness. They point to the fact that the strike deadlines all fall on the same date and echo the apprehensions of the employers. Workers on the waterfront, the economic heart of the area, are reviewing the lessons of the past as they face the solid ranks of the waterfront employers.

They recall that in the period of 1919-1921 isolated union actions led to a series of defeats, whereas the general strike of 1934 brought the employers to their knees and made San Francisco one of the best organized cities in the country.

Vote Trotskyist

In the Coming
New York Elections

Among other important issues, the Socialist Workers Party Election Platform advocates:

A SOCIALIST SOCIETY!

Only a planned world economy can end capitalist wars and depressions. Vote against postwar hunger and misery! Vote against the profit system! Vote against a Third World War!

Vote for revolutionary socialism! Vote for the Trotskyist candidates! Vote for Dobbs and Simpson!

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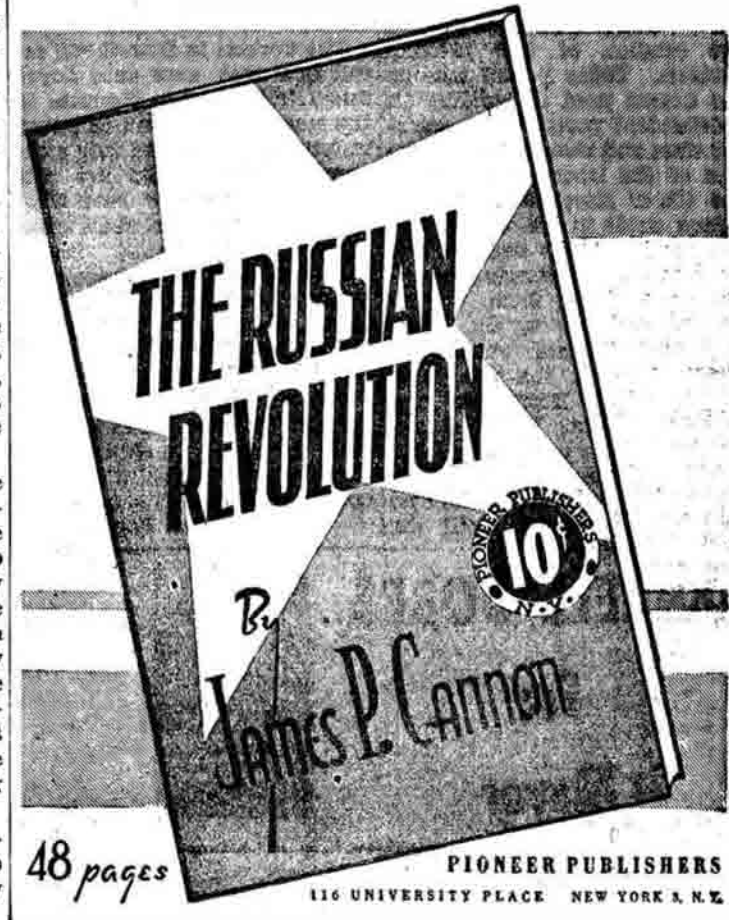
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Philippines

Rising unrest among the Philippine people is reported from Manila. Since the defeat of the Japanese armies, conditions have not improved, as many hoped, but on the contrary have tended to become worse.

Landlords who collaborated with the Japanese conquerors are again taking the reins in hand under the protection of American troops. Government officials who dealt with the Japanese imperialists remain in office. Meanwhile the partisans who fought the Japanese are feeling the iron hand of MacArthur. Many were imprisoned. Only a few have been released.

The September 30 Manila Post describes a demonstration of 40,000 persons against these conditions. Despite intermittent rain, the huge crowd paraded to the government buildings. "There were not enough MP's to post all the way from the plaza to Malacanang," reports the Post; "but from Azcaraga street armed MP's, with their rifles pointed at the paraders, lined the streets in ever shortening intervals as they neared the palace grounds."

The following slogans were conspicuous among the banners: "Arrest Roxas for Trial—He is a Collaborator!" "Give Us Homes!" "Give Us Clothes!" "Give Us Schools!" and "We demand Higher Wages!"

When the crowd had jammed into the palace grounds, a spokesman presented a 14-point demand to the government officials. These demands included "the weeding out of collaborators from the government; the improvement of the lot of the masses; agricultural help to the farmers; release . . . of Taruc and Alejandro."

Taruc and Alejandro, leaders of the Hukbalahap movement, as the partisans are known, have since been released from prison.

Italy

A demonstration of 100,000 persons was held in Rome October 14. Described by the capitalist press as "the most important meeting since the fall of fascism," the demonstrators demanded "Bread and Justice."

The crowd was composed principally of workers, although other classes were reported to have participated. "Countless women" were present, "many with babies in arms."

Uniformed Allied police were not as conspicuous as they were at a similar meeting last year. But carabinieri were stationed in readiness at strategic points, and all military police were called out for possible action against the demonstrators.

The demonstrators converged on the Hill of Palatino and "fully 30,000 crammed the ancient stadium where the Romans held their games." According to the N. Y. Post "red flags predominated, and there were a large number of Italian flags with the hammer and sickle replacing the crown of Savoy in the center bar."

The demonstration was organized by the Stalinists, the Socialist and Action Parties and the "left-wing Christian parties." The Catholic Christian Democratic Party, which did not participate, claimed it had not been invited. Principal Stalinist speaker was Luigi Longo, one of the former heads of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. "Longo demanded punish-

ment for profiteers and liquidation of the Fascist group about the throne which he called the architect of Italy's misery," reported the Post. "He proclaimed the right of the people to elect a constituent assembly without delay. Longo also said that while Italy was grateful to the Allies for all they have done, their departure from Italy would be the greatest gift they could confer on the Italian people."

The Socialist speaker, Attilio Di Napoli, urged the "early convening of the constituent assembly, with an Italian republic as its goal."

Greatest ovation at the demonstration occurred, according to the N. Y. Times, when Federico Comandini of the Action Party attacked King Victor Emmanuel as a "miserable little man" and a "habitual traitor." The purpose of the meeting, said the Times, was "to demand the prompt convening of a constituent assembly to resolve the monarchical question."

The Stalinist head, Palmiro Togliatti and the Socialist, Pietro Nenni were not present. They were speaking at Turin, where a demonstration of 80,000 people was staged.

Since these demagogues support the Allied conquerors, their declarations cannot be taken at face value. They are forced to say enough to retain leadership of the masses, but their real purpose is to restrain the people from taking revolutionary action. The size of the demonstrations in Rome and Turin attests the resentment of the Italian people against Allied rule. The Allies have protected former fascists, disarmed the partisans, and bolstered up the reactionary monarchy as a puppet regime. The terms of the armistice imposed on Italy are so shameful that they have not been published to this day.

Sweden

"Swedish political circles," according to N. Y. Times correspondent George Axelsson, feel "anxiety" over "reported United States plans to keep its Iceland bases." Iceland, Axelsson points out, happens to lie on "trade lanes to Murmansk and Archangel."

If the United States insists on retaining Iceland, "it is feared that Moscow may counter by demands not only for Kirkenes and other Norwegian territory, but also for increased control of the Baltic by keeping Danish Bornholm and asking Sweden to lease a base on Gotland Island."

Apparently the Swedish Social Democrats fear the outbreak of a Third World War between American imperialism and the Soviet Union. Aftonbladet, the Social Democratic paper, asks in an editorial: "If the Americans consider they need Iceland, the question arises: why and against whom?"

The editorial continues: "The answer appears easy, furnishing, perhaps, also the answer to why the Russians find it so difficult to leave Bornholm despite the fact there are no Germans there."

"The struggle for bases between the great powers is now so obvious they no longer take the trouble to hide it," Aftonbladet declares. "It is evident in central and southeast Europe and takes place also in the north. It is difficult to believe, for instance, that Americans are sending 600 airplanes to Copenhagen just to amuse the Danes."

Javanese Strike Ships Of Dutch In N. Y. Port

By Robert L. Birchman

Some 115 Indonesian merchant seamen are on strike in New York in support of the Republic of Indonesia. They are holding up five Dutch ships which were scheduled to sail with materials for use against the Indonesian independence movement.

"The Indonesian seamen are not organized," reports the Chicago Defender. "They serve on board the Dutch ships with white seamen. A few individual white seamen joined the strike . . . but the Indonesians went out solidly. Included among the strikers are eight men who spent four years in German concentration camps, a chief electrician and an engineer. The men told the Defender that they had been carrying munitions and other goods throughout the war in the fight against fascism, and that they now felt this cause was being abandoned—hence their independent action."

UNITED AGAINST DUTCH
"Among the seamen," continues the Defender, "are Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindu Indonesians, all solidly united not to aid their Dutch masters in smashing their Indonesian brothers and sisters."

In Singapore, 7,000 dock work-

ers went on strike October 21 in support of the struggle of the Indonesian nationalists for independence. The workers are also protesting inadequate wage scales, according to Associated Press dispatches.

The Singapore dockworkers refused to load ammunition destined for use against the Indonesians. When eight men and two women members of the union were arrested, 1,000 workers demonstrated outside the harbor police station. Police and a platoon of paratroopers broke up the demonstration.

British troops and Japanese prisoners are now being used to load and unload the ships at the Singapore docks.

SUPPORT FROM INDIA

In Ceylon, the Working Committee of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation adopted resolutions supporting the struggle of the Indonesians for independence and informed the authorities that the workers of Ceylon would oppose any attempts to use the island as a base for operations against freedom-loving peoples, according to an October 19 Netherlands News Agency dispatch from Colombo.

In India, an associate of Nehru, Dr. M. Atal, said the Indian

Indo-China Head Calls On Truman To End Warfare

Hu Chieh-ming, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Indo-Chinese government, addressed a radio appeal on October 22, to President Truman and other Allied leaders to cease military operations against Indo-China.

The appeal has gone unanswered. On October 9 the French and British imperialists reached a pact agreeing to utilize 24,000 British troops now in Indo-China and an undisclosed number of French and American troops to suppress the national movement and restore French despotism.

The French have moved their heaviest warships into Saigon harbor and have made a number of separate landings along the coast. Combining tanks, airplanes and automatic weapons they are moving ruthlessly against the ill-armed people fighting for the independence of Indo-China. The allies are burning down villages and executing those who resist. Officials of the Indo-Chinese government have been arrested by the French, and apparently face execution.

IMPERIALISTS UNITE

Japanese troops, operating under Allied command, are likewise attacking the Annamese. The Japanese troops are being coordinated with both French and British troops and have also been used to fight fires set by the nationalists in Saigon.

Lying Allied propaganda that the Indo-Chinese struggle for freedom is Japanese-inspired was effectively exploded by the admission of a "British authority" at Saigon. The Japanese Commander in Indo-China, said this source, according to an October 16 Associated Press dispatch, "was not to blame for native anti-imperialist rebellions in Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies."

The Annamese are putting up a heroic struggle against the imperialist rulers who are invading their land under the pretense of bringing them "freedom from fear" as promised in the Atlantic Charter. Against the tanks, airplanes and automatic weapons of the Allies, they are using what few small arms they can obtain and "bows and arrows." On October 25, United Press reported that French troops had captured "an Annamese bow and arrow factory at Mueoc and that area now is quiet."

IRON CENSORSHIP

The Allies have clamped down on iron censorship on the struggle. No interviews are permitted with officers or men of any nationality under Allied command. (This would include Japanese troops.) Exceptions are permitted only with the sanction of Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten.

A September 22 Paris dispatch which has just reached The Militant reveals the attitude of the 25,000 Indo-Chinese in France. Before his arrest by the de Gaulle regime, one of the leaders, Tran Duc Thao, gave an interview to the press. Speaking for the "General Delegation of the Indo-Chinese," he declared that any effort to compromise the sovereignty of the Indo-Chinese government would be met "by force of arms" if necessary. He hoped for a "friendly solution" but said the Indo-Chinese people were ready, if need be, for battle.

The Indo-Chinese in France have distributed 1,000,000 leaflets appealing to the "French People" to aid Indo-China in the struggle for freedom. So far, of the various political parties, only the French Trotskyists, have given them vigorous support.

SUPPORT BY TROTSKYISTS
In America the Socialist Workers Party is likewise defending the independence movement of Indo-China. On October 13, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, cabled a protest to the de Gaulle government on the arrest of Tran Duc Thao and demanded, "Let the people of the world hear the voice of Free Indo-China."

trade unions to organize strikes and demonstrations throughout the country to bring pressure on the allies for the withdrawal of Indian troops from the East Indies.

May Face Firing Squad



Annamese battlers for the freedom of Indo-China on the way to prison under French guard. The October 15 PM reports that the French "are summarily trying (and presumably executing) all captured Annamese."

Strike Of British Dockers Spreads To All Harbors

The British dock strike gained new strength last week when longshoremen joined the walk-out in the last two previously unstruck major ports, Bristol and Portsmouth. Some 50,000 are on strike. Their principal demand is \$5 a day in place of the present \$3.90.

The rank and file strike, now in its fifth week, is a remarkable demonstration of the will of the British workers to convert their election victory of last July into economic gains. Against the sabotage of the official trade union heads who have tried to start a back to work movement, and against the strikebreaking action of the government, the strikers have announced their determination to fight until their demands are met.

THOUSANDS MARCH

Thomas Powell, leader of the London rank and file committee, declared at a mass meeting October 22 that the strike would continue 6, 12 or 15 weeks if necessary. "I am warning the Government," he said, "that if they do not face up to this national dock crisis, within a few months there will be linked to it a great national crisis—and a worse strike than in 1926." Powell's reference is to the general strike of 1926 which swept England, shaking the government to its foundation.

Allied Troops Shoot Down Supporters Of Free Java

(Continued from Page 1)
suppression of the Nationalist uprising on Java . . . and to restore Dutch control. The British will send sufficient reinforcements to ensure restoration of law and order . . . After the disclosure of Britain's intent, the British press came out today with supporting editorials.

Associated Press reported the same day that "The first objective of the British forces will be to take over internment camps which are crowded with between 60,000 and 100,000 Dutch." Reuters reported that "British troops with fixed bayonets were halting motor vehicles driven by Indonesians and were searching them for arms."

HAIR TRIGGER

"Batavia is a hair-trigger waiting for a hair," said the N. Y. Post, October 17. "The explosion probably will come when Dutch reinforcements arrive and take a more active part in Allied control of strategic cities."

Heavy British reinforcements began arriving October 18. Mohamed Hatta, vice president of the Nationalist Indonesian Council declared: "The reported 40,000 Dutch troops to be used in Indonesia to spread love for the Dutch with sword and fire will definitely not succeed. Not for a moment will Indonesia countenance any form of colonial status, whatever new garb it assumes or whatever fancy name is given it. War and revolution raging fiercely for years will be the only result."

Meanwhile British troops spread swiftly over Java, and the projected invasion of Soerabaya was announced. Japanese troops, acting under Allied ord-

The great majority of the working people of France registered unmistakably in the general election October 21 that they want to finish with the capitalist system and organize a socialist society. This is the meaning of the landslide for the Socialist and Communist Parties and the overwhelming rejection of the traditional capitalist political parties.

Of 24,680,981 registered voters, 19,661,515 cast ballots, of which 19,152,876 were declared valid.

The Ministry of Interior for Metropolitan France gave the following tabulation for the 586 seats at stake in the Assembly:

Communist Party—152; Socialist Party—143; M.R.P. (Popular Republican Movement)—138; Moderate Rightist Party—71; Radical Socialists—20.

A total of 30 seats went to smaller parties. The distribution of the remaining 64 seats has not yet been announced.

The overall popular vote for the Communist Party was 5,004,121. For the Socialist Party it was 4,788,578. The MRP got 4,500,000.

OLD PARTY SHATTERED

These returns reveal that the Radical Socialists, who long dominated French politics, have been shattered. This party was neither radical nor socialist, but capitalist. It represented to the voters the capitalist class which plunged France into the Second World War. Along with the Radical Socialists the old rightist parties were obliterated as a political force.

The rapidity with which the Communist Party has gained in strength is revealed by the fact that for the first time in France their vote topped the Socialists and led the field. In the cantonal elections last month they still lagged behind.

By voting the Communist ticket, the French workers obviously did not vote for Stalinism, but for a planned economy such as that inaugurated by Lenin and Trotsky in the October 1917 revolution. The Soviet Union still retains for the French masses the aura of the great October revolution.

The MRP is de Gaulle's party. Predominantly petty-bourgeois in composition, it advocates state support for Catholic schools. Its demagogic platform calling for "reforms" received the support of a rainbow grouping extending to the most reactionary elements in France.

DE GAULLE'S REGIME

De Gaulle was characterized by the French Trotskyists as an "apprentice Bonaparte." By supporting de Gaulle, the Socialists were opening the road to this "Bonaparte," said the October 13 La Verite, organ of the French Trotskyists. A Bonapartist regime is one which enjoys no mandate from the people, but must balance itself precariously on the support of antagonistic groupings, attempting to play one against the other. It tends to become extremely arbitrary and dictatorial and to lean more and more heavily on the police and army as a source of independent power.

None of the parties gained a clear majority. This may open the road for a politician like de Gaulle to become "supreme arbiter," as the N. Y. Post puts it. Sharp struggle and profound political crises are indicated in the coming period in France.

They discussed with heads of the Greek independence movement too in order to gain time. When British troops were in position in Greece they proceeded with their calculated plan of violent suppression of the movement for freedom.

COMMANDOS LAND

Even while Soekarno and the Allied generals lunched together, a brigade of British commandos landed at Semarang. At the Luncheon Soekarno asked the British for a "clarification" of their aims and charged the British with "supporting and buttressing the Dutch."

As British troops moved toward Soerabaya the Allied command permitted Soekarno to use the British controlled radio to appeal to the United States to act as mediator in the struggle. And Dutch officials agreed to discuss "informally" with Soekarno.

Soekarno insisted the discussion should be begun with recognition of the right of self-determination. The Dutch are reported to have agreed.

As late as October 26, however, Adm. Lord Mountbatten's chief political adviser, Maberly Denning, told Soekarno that "Britain recognizes only Dutch sovereign authority in the East Indies."

Deeds Speak Eloquently For French Trotskyists

Returns on the vote cast for Trotskyist candidates in the French general election are not yet available. The Parti Communiste Internationaliste, French Section of the Fourth International, entered the election under severe handicaps. The exorbitant fee of 20,000 francs required for each candidate prevented the Trotskyists from running more than two lists of candidates. The persecution by the de Gaulle regime prevented them from making an early start in presenting their program on a wide scale before the electorate.

The two lists of Trotskyist candidates gives an interesting picture of the type of members in the French organization. They range from battle-scarred veterans of the class struggle to very youthful revolutionaries.

In the Isere district Jean-Pierre Raffin-Dugens headed the list. Born in 1861, he will be 84 in December. He joined the Socialist Party in 1898, was a Socialist deputy in parliament from 1910 to 1919. He knew Lenin at the Kienthal Conference, helped found the Communist Party in Isere in 1920. He joined the Trotskyists this year after being expelled from the Communist Party (Stalinists) for opposing its policy of class collaboration.

Charles Martel is 56. An old printing trades worker, he joined the Young Socialists in 1905. During the First World War he was condemned to hard labor for publishing internationalist papers. Joined the Communist Party in 1920. Founder and editor of La Voix Paysanne (The Peasant's Voice). After a trip to Moscow in 1931 he was expelled by the Stalinists for denouncing wage inequalities in the USSR. Joined the Trotskyists this year.

Laurent Schwartz, 30. Professor of mathematics. Hunted by the Vichy police and the Gestapo in 1942-43 for revolutionary activities. A Trotskyist since 1936, he is Secretary of the PCI in the Isere district.

Henri Fabre, 25. Joined the Communist Party in 1943. Fought the Nazi conquerors as a member of the medical staff of the Maquis. Joined the Trotskyists this year.

Maurice Laval, 25. Metallurgical worker. A Trotskyist since 1936, he was imprisoned during the war for 18 months at Mauthausen and then at the notorious concentration camp of Oranienburg.

Renee Momet, 25. Schoolmistress. Member of the District Bureau of the PCI.

SEINE DISTRICT

In the Seine District, the list is headed by Albert Demazieres, 31. Trade union official. A Trotskyist since 1936, he was arrested by the Daladier regime for participation in the strike of November 30, 1938. He was arrested by Vichy in 1942 and condemned to hard labor for life. Freed from prison by the Maquis, he helped lead the Trotskyists in the struggle against the Nazis. At present he is the General Secretary of the PCI.

Jacques Gallienne, 37. School teacher. Joined the Communist Party in 1931. For defending the Trotskyist position of a united front against fascism, he was suspended for six months and then expelled in 1933. Helped edit La Verite as an underground paper during the war. Member of the trade union council of the Seine section of the School Teachers Union.

Filastre. An electrical worker, he has had long experience in the class struggle. Joined the

Young Socialists in 1913. As a Socialist he supported the Zimmerwald conference. Participated in the founding of the Communist Party in 1933. Joined the Trotskyists in 1933. A prisoner of war in 1940, he escaped in 1942 to join the underground work against the Nazis. Helped Hic and Widelin carry on revolutionary propaganda among the ranks of the German army. Arrested in 1943 he was tortured by the Gestapo for 17 days and then sent to Buchenwald concentration camp.

Marcel Beaufreire, 31. Joined the Young Socialists in 1930 and the Trotskyists in 1936. Arrested in 1939 for "provoking disobedience in the army" and condemned by the Daladier courts. Organized underground activities in Paris, Bordeaux, and Brittany. Arrested for organizing Trotskyist groups in the ranks of the German army. After ten days of torture he was deported to Buchenwald.

Marguerite Usciat, 34. Schoolmistress. Joined the Trotskyists in 1939. For participating in the underground movement at Marseilles, she was arrested in 1942. Condemned to five years in prison by the Vichyites. Transferred to the Rennes prison in 1944 then turned over to the Gestapo. Interned at the Romainville concentration camp. Deported to Sarrebruck, then to Ravensbrück, and finally to the salt mine at Beerdorf.

Mathis Corvin, 32. Metallurgical worker. Joined the Socialist Party in 1930. Expelled for Trotskyism in 1935, he helped found the Revolutionary Socialist Youth. Arrested in 1942 for underground activities. Condemned by the Petain regime, he was handed over to the Gestapo and deported to Oranienburg, Mauthausen and then Buchenwald.

Jean-Pierre Chauvin, 27. Student. Former Secretary of Socialist Youth in the Gironde, he joined the Trotskyists in 1937. Condemned by the Daladier regime in 1939 for anti-militarist propaganda, he was expelled in 1940 from the Student Officers' School for "communist opinions." Arrested by the Vichyites for underground activities in 1942. Escaped. Arrested again in 1943 and turned over to the Gestapo. Deported to Mauthausen, then to Lobbi-Pas, Birkenau, Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Bergen, and Leitznitz.

Edith Saujiet, 25. Active in such young workers' organizations as the Red Pioneers. Joined the Trotskyists at the beginning of the war. Participated in underground activities without interruption. Head of the Housewives' Committee in the 13th ward of Paris from October 1944 to April 1945.

Pradale, 32. Clerk. Joined the Trotskyists in 1935. From 1940 to 1942 an official in the illegal trade unions. Arrested by the Gestapo in 1944 and deported to the extermination camp at Mauthausen. Later transferred to Melke and then to Ebensee. Jeanne Lapoumeroulle, 25. Schoolmistress. Joined the Trotskyists in 1941. Active trade unionist.

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Station WNEW, 1130 on dial. "People's Choice"
Monday, Nov. 5, 8:00 to 8:05 p.m.:
Station WNYC 830 on dial. Louise Simpson on "Know Your Candidates Program"

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the
Working People

Vol. IX—No. 44 Saturday, November 3, 1945

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
PARRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50¢ for 6 months.
Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months.
Single copies: 5 cents per copy in the United States;
4 cents per copy in all foreign countries.
Single copies: 5 cents.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."



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

—Leon Trotsky

Our Program

In this issue of The Militant we have introduced several important changes in "Our Program," printed on page five. These changes reflect profound developments since the end of the war which affect every worker's life.

We want to make clear from the start that our fundamental program is Marxism, today known as Trotskyism. It is embodied in the programmatic documents of the Fourth International and in the classic works of our great working-class teachers and leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

This fundamental program expresses the basic historic aims of the world working class to do away with the vicious capitalist system of war, unemployment, racial discrimination and want, and to replace it with a socialist order based on production for use, with a genuine and lasting world peace.

The will and capacity of the working class to achieve the goal of socialism is developed in the process of a constant, daily struggle against the forces of capitalist reaction, in the constant, daily struggle for improvement of the workers' standard of living. This class struggle is expressed in conflicts between labor and capital on all the burning economic, social and political issues of the day. It is in the struggle over these issues, which assume an ever broader and deeper character, that the workers develop revolutionary consciousness and become organized, trained and tempered for the final victorious battle.

These issues of the day become the focal points of the class struggle around which the slogans in "Our Program" are formulated. These issues do not necessarily have a permanent and fixed form. They frequently become modified and changed in the development of objective conditions and the shifts in the relationship of political forces.

We can best illustrate this by an explanation of the changes we now make in the slogans in "Our Program."

No Restriction On The Right To Strike:

We have introduced this slogan to replace our previous slogan of "Rescind the no-strike pledge!"

At the beginning of the war, the trade union officialdom, in collaboration with the capitalists and their government, imposed a no-strike policy on the American workers. This deprived the workers of their most powerful weapon. It served to shackle labor while Big Business raked in the greatest war profits of all history.

The workers resented this policy and resisted it as best they could under conditions of war time repression. Their increasing will to break the bonds of the no-strike policy was expressed most sharply and clearly in our slogan to rescind the no-strike pledge. By last spring our slogan began to take on flesh and blood on hundreds of picket lines throughout the country. It became fully realized in life at the close of the war when the last prop of the no-strike policy was washed out by a great flood of strikes.

But the right to strike faces new dangers. The capitalist Congress is preparing new vicious legislation to hog-tie labor by prohibiting or limiting the right to strike and by imposing compulsory arbitration. These are some of the main features of the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill. In addition, state and city laws and ordinances against picketing are being revitalized everywhere. And we already witness the increasing government use of armed intimidation and violence against peacefully picketing workers.

Consequently one of the focal points of the class struggle in America today is opposition to any and every restriction on the right to strike and picket.

Unemployment Insurance Equal To Trade Union Wages During The Entire Period Of Unemployment:

Throughout the war, The Militant warned that one of the immediate consequences of the Second World War would be mass unemployment. We foretold that the monopolies would seek to shut down or scrap plants built with public funds. We have called for continued operation of these plants under workers' control. With the shutdown of hundreds of plants and the firing of millions of workers at the end of the war, this part of our program has today attained burning urgency.

But the millions of unemployed now walking

the streets, together with the returning veterans, face an immediate critical emergency. Without jobs and without income, they face hunger and homelessness.

The most the capitalist government offers the unemployed is starvation rations under a red-tape system of "states rights" unemployment "compensation"—averaging less than \$12 weekly and doled out for an average of only 13 weeks.

Everyone knows that this country has the resources, the plants and the labor power to provide plenty for all. The tremendous volume of production achieved for war has reaffirmed this. If the workers are unemployed, it is only because the profit-bloated capitalists refuse to permit operation of the plants at full capacity. Therefore, the workers are entitled to unemployment insurance that will enable them to maintain a decent standard of living during the entire period of unemployment imposed on them by capitalism.

Solidarity With The Revolutionary Struggles Of The Workers In All Lands:

The Militant consistently characterized American participation in World War II as imperialist. We said that Wall Street was out to assure the domination of American Big Business over the entire world. From start to finish, we Trotskyists opposed this imperialist war. The leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, including the editor of The Militant, were imprisoned for their irreconcilable opposition to the war.

When the Italian people overthrew the fascist regime and began a revolutionary struggle to establish a form of government in accordance with their own interests, Anglo-American imperialism intervened with armed might and imposed a servile puppet regime on the Italian people. At that time The Militant raised the slogan, "Hands off the Italian revolution!"

As the Allied conquerors followed the same counter-revolutionary policy in Algeria, Greece, Belgium and other lands, our slogan was broadened to "Hands off the European and colonial peoples!" At the same time we implemented this slogan by calling for withdrawal of the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe.

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!

Today, the counter-revolutionary policies of the Allied conquerors are being applied throughout the world. The Allied conquerors are ruthlessly shooting down peoples wherever they are struggling for freedom and independence, particularly in the colonial countries. Thus, the same Wall Street plunderers whose agents club and shoot down American workers on the picket lines, are similarly attempting to put down and exploit the working people of the rest of the world.

The revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands, the fight of the colonial peoples for complete independence is today being conducted against the same Wall Street enemy that confronts the workers here in America. Thus, every blow struck against Wall Street imperialism abroad strengthens the hand of American labor against the Wall Street exploiters here at home.

Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Millions of American troops are being kept abroad for occupation forces. They are being forced to act as brutal imperialist police in the interests of Wall Street. These troops are the sons, brothers, husbands and loved ones of the American people, particularly the working class. The greatest immediate service the American workers can perform for world working class freedom and in their own interests is to compel the American imperialist government to withdraw all American troops from foreign soil.

Wall St. Militarism

As one of the results of the Second World War for "peace, freedom and democracy," Prussian-type militarism is now making America its home. Drill-ground, heel-clicking, Jim-Crow militarism has grown so powerful in America that President Truman could casually mention in his Navy Day address: "And just the other day, so that on short notice we could mobilize a powerful and well-equipped land, sea and air force, I asked the Congress to adopt universal military training."

Wall Street, quite evidently, is pulling every political wire in its hands to impose universal military training on the youth of America.

Brass Hats, Gold Braid and capitalist military experts were paraded before Congress, and their propaganda favoring such training was displayed on the front pages of the entire capitalist press.

Two weeks ago, the capitalist press gave sensational headline prominence to the Biennial Report of Gen. Marshall to the Secretary of War. This Report, which in reality was a blueprint for the Third World War, ended with a demand for universal military training.

Then, after having debated military training for a number of months, Congress met in a highly dramatized joint session October 23 to hear their former colleague, Truman, urge them to make universal military training—the long-hated, long-despised European system of universal military training—a basic law of America.

The Washington columnist, Drew Pearson, revealed October 27 under the heading, "Ghost-Writer General," that "The man who wrote most of Pres. Truman's able speech on peace-time conscription was the Chief of Staff, Gen. Marshall." Apparently the Wall Street militarists wanted Truman's speech to Congress tailored strictly in accordance with Brass Hat tastes. Truman was only too glad, it seems, to humbly oblige Wall Street's newly-fledged but politically powerful Prussian-type military caste. Thus it was the voice of pure unadulterated militarism which spoke through the lips of the Pendergast machine politician who fell heir to Presidential authority.



"Have you heard those awful Trotskyist candidates on the radio?—You'd think WE people didn't count at all!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,
by James P. Cannon. Pioneer Publishers, New York. 32 pp., 10 cents.

The Russian Revolution still stands today as the greatest testimony to the power of the working class and its ability to take its fate into its own hands. That is why today the European masses find inspiration and example in Red October. And that is why today James P. Cannon's pamphlet, "The Russian Revolution," is of such vital interest to every serious worker.

The pamphlet consists of two speeches. One was delivered by Comrade Cannon on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1923, after his trip to the Soviet Union and following his return from the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern. Comrade Cannon was a delegate to this congress from the Workers Party of America, which was then the legal form of the Communist Party.

The second speech was made in 1942 at a meeting of the Socialist Workers Party to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution.

All the capitalist political parties, as well as their petty bourgeois camp followers, squirm when confronted with what they said yesterday, if they haven't already openly repudiated it, for their expressions change to meet the diplomatic needs of Big Business. But, although an interval of 20 years elapsed between the two speeches contained in this pamphlet, every line has withstood the test of events and retains its validity today. That is because both of Comrade Cannon's speeches were solidly based upon the Marxist principle of working class internationalism and the revolutionary program consistent with it.

The dominant note in the speech delivered in 1923 is the spirit of proletarian internationalism pervading every phase of Soviet life. This speech gives a graphic first-hand account of life in the Soviet Union following the Civil War and the adoption of the New Economic Policy. Comrade Cannon quotes the speech of welcome of a young Red Army commander to a number of delegates to the Congress of the Communist International:

A WORKERS' ARMY
"Comrades, we greet you as comrades and brothers in the same army with us. We do not want you to think of us as soldiers of Russia, but as soldiers of the international proletariat. Our army is a working class army and the working class of the world is our country. We will be very glad when the workers of Europe rise in revolt and call on us for assistance; and when that day comes they will find us ready."

How different is this revolutionary spirit from the reactionary nationalist slogans of the Stalinized Red Army. But we can be sure that many Red Army fighters and Soviet workers are still animated by these traditions and ideas.

This same Marxist-Leninist spirit of working class solidarity is expressed by Comrade Cannon in his speech delivered 20 years later. By this time Stalin had usurped the power in the Soviet Union for many years; his crimes against the working class were many and monstrous; but he had not yet succeeded in destroying the fundamental conquests of the Russian Revolution made in October, 1917.

STILL LIVES
The Russian Revolution, which has shown that the proletariat can take power, and once in power can set up a system of planned economy which is superior to any economic system ever known to mankind—this revolution still lives.

"Never surrender a position before it is lost," said Comrade Cannon in 1942. "We know all the defects of the Soviet Union. We know all the crimes of the bureaucracy. But we know also all that mighty power of those conquests of the progressive revolution which remain still intact, and therefore, we continue to defend the Soviet Union."

We defend the Soviet Union despite its deepening degeneration under Stalin's regime, in the only way it can be defended—by calling upon the international working class, the true allies of the Soviet Union, to follow the example of the Russian proletariat and overthrow their capitalist oppressors, who today constitute the greatest menace to the workers' state.

Every worker who wants to know the Trotskyist position on the Russian Revolution and the workers' state that issued from it, should read this pamphlet.

Reviewed by
Miriam Carter

Congressmen At Work

Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts is a well meaning soul. She believes that American boys who participated in the Second World War should get the same breaks as those who fought in the First World War. And so she took the floor in the House of Representatives October 11 to present a brilliant suggestion that would guarantee equality of treatment in the tribute paid the Unknown Soldier:

"Mr. Speaker, I introduced last week House Joint Resolution 251, which provides for bringing back to the United States the bodies of two unknown Americans who were members of the American forces who served, one in the European theater of war and the other in the Pacific theater of war."

One might wonder why two bodies should be brought back in the Second World War as compared with one body in the First World War. Mr. Rogers explains:

"My thought was that the unknown hero brought back from the Pacific area would be either a marine or a sailor, because it is important to have both the Navy and the Army represented in the bringing back of the men. A soldier could be brought back from the European theater of war."

IMPORTANT REASON

A further important reason for doubling the number of bodies brought back was advanced by the thoughtful Mrs. Rogers:

"If we are fortunate enough to have this measure passed, it is my feeling that if we did not bring back two heroes of this



war to be buried in Arlington Cemetery the public would feel that this war was just a continuation of the First World War. In visiting the grave of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington they would think that it was all one war."

Mrs. Rogers believes that it is very important to show that something new has been added in the Second World War:

"My thought was that these two men should be buried on either side of the present memorial to the Unknown Soldier of World War I now in Arlington Cemetery. My thought also was that it would be a fine plan to have a big light over the three graves there in Arlington in order that the people in Washington and the surrounding country always see that light even from a great distance, and could see the white shape of those monuments in memory of these brave men."

SATISFYING VOTERS

The astute Mrs. Rogers is clearly concerned about satisfying all those voters who lost sons in the frightful conflict:

"While the monuments would

be dedicated to all the unidentified heroes, everyone who has a son missing or everyone who knows that a son has actually given his life in this war, and whose burial place is unknown, would feel that the son actually was buried there at Arlington and that the monument covered their son."

Congress has not yet debated the resolution submitted by Mrs. Rogers. But when Wall Street's representatives eventually get around to discussing this vital question, it might be well to decide what to do about the future World Wars that are inevitable so long as the capitalist system continues.

Should the number of bodies brought back be increased at a geometric ratio with each imperialist war? Or should a law be passed limiting to an arithmetical increase the number of bodies brought back? For instance, in World War III, which Wall Street is now preparing, shall the number of Unknown Soldiers permitted in Arlington Cemetery for that war be set at three or should it be set at four? In World War IV shall the number be four or eight? In World War V, shall it be five or sixteen?

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

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

What Happened To Job Promises?

Two questions are uppermost in the minds of returning servicemen: Where are the big-salaried jobs we've heard so much about at the battlefront? Where are the jobs in which we can utilize the skills we learned in the army and navy?

Propagandists insistently nurtured the false impression that high-salaried jobs were waiting for those who received technical training in the armed forces. In order to get servicemen to work hard in learning special techniques, brass hats argued that it would help them get better jobs and jobs they would like in civilian life.

Doubtless many soldiers were skeptical of these glowing assurances. Nonetheless, even the dubious were influenced enough to put in the additional effort required to become specialists just in case it might be useful when they had to make their living outside the armed forces.

Many were convinced of the opportunities. They wanted to believe that the long dull years of army or navy life would yield some personal compensation. They wanted to believe that they would not have to return to the insecure and monotonous jobs at low pay they had known as civilians.

Their association in the armed forces with men of varied experiences gave many servicemen a broader view of life. Many firmly decided not to return to the humdrum existence of their pre-service years. Most servicemen leave the armed forces determined to live a better, more interesting life than they had before.

But when veterans begin hunting for jobs the illusions they formed quickly evaporate. It doesn't take long after being demobilized for them to find out that the technical training they received in the army or navy either isn't acceptable to civilian bosses, or there is an over-supply of men skilled in the particular trades they learned. They find that they do not have the experience required for favored positions. Jobs requiring only the limited training veterans have are few and far between. None of the jobs they can get have much of a future, none of them pay well.

Instead of what they had hoped for and what they had been led to expect, many of them find themselves among the unemployed. Conservative economists estimate that by spring, 3,000,000 veterans will be jobless. The jobs veterans can get are generally miserable and under-paid. They won't willingly accept jobs such as those offered by a Wall Street brokerage firm which said it needed two runners, "two fine disciplined men, just the sort army trainings produces." Adding to the insult, these war-profit-bloated parasites said they would pay \$25 a week.

Young men matured rapidly in the armed forces, they became accustomed to thinking out their problems and taking action to obtain what they were after. These men know what they want now—better jobs at living wages. They feel that the government and employers have deceived them. Their attitude towards both is becoming belligerent.

Aware of this, politicians fear a recurrence of demonstrations such as the Bonus March of 1932 and know that this time they will extend much further. In an attempt to avert thoroughgoing economic and political action by veteran and non-veteran workers, so-called full-employment legislation has been introduced and discussed in Congress. The Militant has exposed the utter ineffectiveness of these proposals. Surely the veterans will recognize such panaceas for what they are: an extension of the false promises made while they were in the armed forces.

The employment problems of veterans can be solved only by a program which includes reducing the hours of work with no reduction in pay; the operation of government built plants under workers' control, and unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during any period of unemployment.

Big Electrical Trusts In Cartel Conspiracy

The third in a series of "trust-busting" suits against the gigantic U. S. electrical combine was begun on October 9 when the Department of Justice filed charges against the General Electric and Westinghouse companies, together with their international subsidiaries, for cartel activities in Asia, South America, Africa and Australia.

Through this huge cartel, the government reveals, the international partners exchanged patents, limited competition and fixed prices. All business was allocated by mutual agreement, and a "sum called compensation" paid to the members of the cartel not getting the business.

Working in great secrecy, these big business conspirators operated through the Electrical Apparatus Export Association. This organization was set up in 1931 after G. E. and Westinghouse made agreements with leading German, British and Swiss manufacturers. According to the Christian Science Monitor, the government charges that the trust is "cutting up the world into slices of pie... not available to others outside the combine."

But the electrical magnates are grieved by the suit brought against them, even though they know it will remain on paper. They protest that the EAEA was "lawfully" organized under the Webb-Pomerene Act and its activities reviewed by the Federal Trade Commission. (The Webb-Pomerene Act was endorsed by President Wilson and passed in 1919 to give the U. S. monopolists a freer hand in grabbing up world markets.) Thus G. E. and Westinghouse feel that they are now "being slapped by the left hand" of their government partner-in-crime "for doing precisely what the right hand had been urging them to do."

Nothing of course is mentioned about the super-cynical manner in which this cartel conspiracy cut across the battle lines of the Second World War "for democracy." While tens of millions of workers were slaughtered on both sides in the war, Axis and Allied industrialists jointly thrust their bloody paws into the fat profits. Only recently, the Mitsubishi Electrical Engineering Company in Japan cordially urged their U. S. cartel partners to "come and get their dividends," which, they pointed out, had been carefully protected and safely held for them during the war.

Now that the latest suit has been filed, it will probably follow the course of the two previous ones, covering the electrical trust's activities in Europe, Canada, Newfoundland, Soviet Union and the colonies of Spain and France. Nothing has since been heard of the first two suits.

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.

Misery Increases For Italian People

Enclosed is a letter which I recently received from my father in Italy. You may print it in The Militant.

"Dear Son
"Due to the scarcity of writing paper I have not written you sooner."

"Here they say the war is over even with Japan and I hope everything turns out all right."

"Here the political parties are testing a lot of propaganda and no one seems to know what the results are going to be."

"In the cities there are many murders being committed, in the villages not so much."

"You said in your last letter that you have sent me a package. I have not received it as yet, as soon as I do I will write to you and let you know. I wish you could send me a pair of overalls and thread. Here it costs a lira a yard. I would also like some needles, here they cost five liras apiece."

"This year the harvest is very bad, it has not rained since February and everything is dried up. We won't even reap a pound of corn, it didn't even come up; potatoes—there aren't any. I thought I would reap a pretty good grade crop but on the 25th of July we had a big hail storm."

"I am in a miserable condition. We have a little grain but the authorities say they are going to requisition it and ration it back to us at the rate of a pound of bread a day. I don't know how we can ever live on that, we go barefooted and in rags, but the stomach can not stay empty. The peasants say they are going to hide it from the Government."

"I hate to disturb you with all this misery but I have no one to turn to except you who are my son."

"Please answer soon and don't keep me in suspense."

"Best regards,
Your Father"

A Reader
Los Angeles

Exposing Lies Of Brass Hats

Editor:

During the recent longshore strike in New York, the men were accused of delaying the return of servicemen. But a very different story from that slander of the brass hats, was in a letter I received a few days ago from a sailor in the Pacific:

"I imagine I will get a leave some day—if I'm not discharged first. But who knows, after all, what may happen in the three years it will take me to accumulate 20 more points? When I left the States (last January), I had high hopes and a strong belief that we'd be back in time for Christmas. There was a war going on then."

"Now it's been over for almost

two months, and it looks worse all the time. There's a lot of talk about how fast the boys are getting home, but not much seems to be happening here. You hear a lot of crap about transportation difficulties—

"A merchant marine skipper, having an empty ship to take back, told the commodore in charge of Service Division 10 that he had room for 600 men. He was promptly told to mind his own business."

"Not only that—there are, I would estimate, about 500 assorted ships in this particular section of Okinawa. Why can't they send about nine-tenths of this outfit back to the States? Most of these ships are doing nothing here but taking up space, and the rest are here for the purpose of servicing the former. One repair dock alone could easily be converted into a floating barracks that could transport 1,000 men in reasonable comfort."

"I think the unemployment problem is playing a much bigger role than the transportation problem."

A Reader
New York

Reply to Hansen By Victor Howell

To Joseph Hansen:
I read your letter in The Militant in answer to my letter of the previous week "To The Negro Children."

I accept your letter with all its ideas, facts and advice in the best of spirit. It is not my desire or intention to instruct even "My Children" in the doctrines of religion as I am not an authority, but because I know and understand the Negro heart, I feel certain my letter was more acceptable to them than it could ever be to those well-schooled in socialism, which my people have yet to be.

As a Negro, I am a part of the most oppressed people in the world and because I am from that group I know the things that are dear to their hearts. I have read Lenin's "Religion" and accepted it in part and rejected it in part, not because I was or was not trained religiously, but because of experience.

Believe me, Mr. Hansen, I had no sooner become interested in socialism than I realized the attitude of the party towards it, but because I feel certain socialism is best for the majority of the people, I decided although socialism does conflict with religion, I must be guided by the dictates of my own mind, not by Catholic doctrine or by socialist atheism.

I feel certain you do not fully realize how important religion really is to the Negro people, because if you did I question if you would have written three columns in an attempt to destroy what is the only hope to many, the only source of strength that has prevented mass suicides un-

der the hardships my people have endured so bravely.

You see, Mr. Hansen, knowing you desire to bring socialism to my people just as much as I do, it is my firm desire to enlighten you to a few facts you must have overlooked. If you hope to bring socialism to the Negro people you cannot start with anti-religious teachings and my letter was to "The Negro Children." First we must interest the people with the part of socialism that appeals to them. Once they are interested they will read the literature approved by the party.

Again, I think my reader forgot the letter was to "The Negro Children," not to learned socialists. My sole purpose in writing the article was to touch the hearts of my people and all oppressed people by appealing to them along the channel that they think; that is the only way to bring the masses to socialism. Their hearts must be touched so as to bring them to socialism, not to drive them away from it.

In true comradeship let me say to every person in the Socialist Workers Party, if you hope to bring the masses of Negroes to socialism, leave religion to each individual, so long as it is not taught by your members. Even then I suggest you make it a private affair so as not to drive away many who would serve the cause faithfully. Remember, to be a true revolutionary party, you must bring the most oppressed people to you.

I agree wholeheartedly with the fact that the capitalists of the world have used religion as a tool and I am well aware of it and would pen much on the subject, but with respect for my reader's beliefs I shall not venture into the subject as it requires much time and a very delicate touch.

I assure you, I will continue to serve the socialist movement because I realize that under capitalism my people will always be crushed, and for that reason I must appeal to them not as a stranger but as one of them.

Victor Howell,
New York, N. Y.

Soldier in India Reports On Officers and Men

Editor:

I believe The Militant readers will be interested in this letter from a soldier in India:

"I was just thinking the life the officers of the army lead. It is a good life they have. Their word is the law. An EM (enlisted man) cannot disobey an order no matter how far fetched it is. He must always answer 'yes, sir,' 'no, sir.' An EM to an officer is so much..."

"One of the guys was driving a truck to work. He met an officer on the way who wanted him to drive him somewhere which was not on the way to work. This EM didn't feel like driving him there but the officer said, 'It's a direct order that you do.' You just cannot disobey a direct order. Anyway, he didn't drive him there. The officer took his name and reported him to our officer in charge. This guy was reprimanded by our OIC and our detachment had a meeting about it. He could have been court-martialed and put into the stocks. It was forgotten but 'don't let it happen again.'"

"You're tied like a dog. The officers have the best living conditions, have the best to eat, have neat clothes to wear, have all the women, put places out of bounds for EM so they can have it for themselves. Officers and EM are segregated. We eat at different mess halls. The officers get a liquor ration every month besides the beer. (One quart or so of liquor, Schenley's, etc., from the States)."

"An EM slapped an officer in the face. He got a couple of years in jail and a dishonorable discharge. In another case an officer slapped an EM in the puss and he got a \$75 fine."

"Was reading in YANK where water was rationed to EM, and officers were washing their jeeps and staff cars with it."

"They think of more things for you to do until you get blue in the face. They make you prepare for inspections which they sometimes don't show up for. The inspections are down to 'T.' Have your toothbrush out of line and they make you do extra details. They make you clean perfectly spotless floors and buildings. Oh, you get so mad, you go crazy. For parades, it all looks so nice to those who are watching it. There is an insane preparation for it. You must be miserably spotless. Then they make you wait in the hot sun—for hours, it seems—with ties on."

October "Fourth International" Exposes War Guilt In Pacific

What is the truth behind the "surprise" attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor—was it really as unexpected as Washington claims? Do the Japanese imperialists alone bear the guilt for the terrible war in the Pacific? In an informative article on "War Guilt in the Pacific," published in the October issue of the Fourth International, Li Fu-jen shows how the Roosevelt administration bears its share of responsibility for the outbreak of the war with Japan.

During the very period when Roosevelt was cynically proclaiming "I Hate War!" he knew that the conflict was inevitable, because "the imperialist brigands of Wall Street feared that the rich Far East would come under the permanent domination of their Japanese rivals." The main concern of the U. S. imperialist policy makers was to maneuver

Japan into committing the first overt act. Li Fu-jen shows step by step how this was accomplished.

ROOSEVELT STRATEGY

Roosevelt, he writes, "was obliged to pursue this strategy in order to be able to brand Japan as the 'aggressor' and stampede the people of the United States into a war to which the majority of the nation had been steadfastly opposed... This made it necessary that the United States should be 'attacked' so that the drive of American imperialism for mastery of the Pacific could be presented in the guise of a war for national defense and survival."

Li Fu-jen's conclusions are based upon the official documents of the U. S. Army, Navy and State Department. In these recently released reports, the high military officials involved

divulged some very damaging evidence that the State Department was anxious to conceal. They did so "in order to defend themselves against charges of incompetence and dereliction of duty" brought on by the inquiry into the Pearl Harbor disaster.

REPORTS SUPPRESSED

The reports were suppressed for almost a year—not for military reasons, but because of their "explosive political quality." In these reports Roosevelt, "out of the mouths of his own generals and admirals, was convicted as a war conspirator..." Without doubt, Roosevelt ordered these incriminating documents kept under cover, the author states, in order not to endanger his chances for re-election for the fourth term.

An interesting sidelight is the solidarity of both the Republican and Democratic political parties when their joint capitalist interests are involved. When Thomas E. Dewey was running in 1944 against Roosevelt he was informed about these facts, yet he joined the conspiracy of silence. Had he revealed the truth he might have been swept into office by an outraged American public. Instead he preferred to make a personal political sacrifice in the interest of U. S. imperialism as a whole.

RICH MATERIAL

In this illuminating article, Li Fu-jen not only gives a full political analysis of the Pearl Harbor reports, but also a summary of the unfolding conflict between American and Japanese imperialism over the past half century.

"War guilt? Yes! But it rests as heavily on the Wall Street brigands and their government in Washington as it does on the defeated imperialists of Japan," the author establishes.

The October Fourth International is rich in additional material on Japan and the Far East. "The Situation in the Far East," by E. R. Frank and an editorial on "American Rule of Japan" gives the reader a comprehensive picture of imperialism at work today across the Pacific.

THE SCARCITY PLAN

Subsidy paid and government planned
Pay the farmers for not cropping land
Kill little pigs; plow under cotton
The scarcity plan is not forgotten.

Tax everything all it can pay
Let widows weep and cowards pray
Use the army to cower workers
And protect the pious shirkers.

Let the prices upward soar
Tax the people more and more
Keep taxes high and wages low
To help a civil war to grow.

Davis Dusenbery,
Rochester, N. Y.

And in a few minutes it's all over. Just so some big shot general could view you on the stand!

"Then they tell you some general is coming through. They make you get for a week. Make you GI (scrub) the floor. I don't know how many times. Everything in the barracks must be just so or your name is mud. It's a gruelling affair."

"Discipline in the army is rough. We can't go to the mess hall in T-shirts for supper. We weren't allowed to wear T-shirts for a week here because a general was expected. To wear an army uniform here is torture. The heat is miserable."

"And when I was in the States the same thing held. In Scott Field there were beautiful homes for officers. They brought their families with them. The scum EM had a pass once a week. The officers got to town or their homes whenever they were off duty. But we were never sure to get that pass every week. Sometimes you had to wait in line for hours for your pass. They make you madder than all hell but you can't do a damn thing about it. That's why guys hate the army. Some guys have gone crazy over all this. Let me tell you some more."

"For punishment at some places, depending on how serious it was, they put you in a barrack with the rest of the 'delinquents.' They make you ask permission of a non-com to go to the latrine. You had to say 'yes, sir' and 'no, sir' to them, you had to scrub the floors and walls every day, and they made you do it sometimes with a TOOTHBRUSH!!! And they also made you dig holes with a SPOON!!! You never heard of that, did you? And in some places for punishment, you were to go to the front lines after your time was up at prison."

"You are caught in a giant revolving ball. The faster you run, the more your head spins, the crazier you get."

A Subscriber
Buffalo, N. Y.

New Horrors Facing World

Editor:

The atomic bomb fodder are being anxiously scrutinized by the bosses to determine just how much more they can stand. Trial balloons of various designs are floating aloft.

The world-old dialectic discussion method focused by the Marxists on the real problems of life is today distorted into idiotic chatter by pulp, press, radio.

The technique? Treacly side-swiping done in close-knit sophisticated, academic English—a most potent weapon with the kow-tow kids, who "never got a chance to go to college."

This obsequious before any nitwit jerk who "got a chance to go to college" is enough to make one despair of any Marxist Motion. The masses have been so trained to kow-tow that they smite the asphalt with their brows at the drop of the hat.

The past? We have always done all we could to spare "our betters" the embarrassment of realizing the results of their sadistic crimes, we have fought ferociously from the trundle bed to the mortician's parlors for everything the bosses wanted.

Mass suicide is normal: as science measures things. Today the Juggernaut car is streamlined; the carnage takes on livelier rhythms; that is all.

Across the years, wars, plagues,



Local New York comrades and friends are utilizing the election campaign not only to acquaint workers with the program of the Trotskyist Party (ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party) on which Farrell Dobbs is running for mayor, and Louise Simpson for city council, but also to sell subscriptions to The Militant.

Lou Cooper relates one experience at a street corner meeting: "When I got off the speakers' stand, a Negro worker having heard me explain how important

an Independent Labor Party was to the American worker, and also advocate reading The Militant, said: 'For 25 years I've been a Tammany Hall bell ringer. Nothing was ever achieved in Harlem where I live. Housing, juvenile delinquency are worse than ever. I'm switching my allegiance, and would like a subscription to The Militant to read more about what it represents.'"

Although new subscriptions are recorded in the campaign score-board, renewals are not. The branches are not neglecting this phase of activity. Here is a partial list of this week's renewals: Bayonne—10 six-month; Milwaukee—4 six-months, 2 one-year; San Francisco—2 six-month, 1 one-year; Chicago—1 six-month; Minneapolis—1 six-month.

Pioneer Notes

In the last report on the sale of the new Pioneer pamphlet JOBS FOR ALL! by Art Preis, labor editor of The Militant, we were unable to include all of the enthusiastic letters we have been receiving from the SWP branches. For instance, from Youngstown we hear:

"As I said before, both the Negro and white workers responded very well to our pamphlet sales and we're quite sure we can go back to them with more of our literature to acquaint them further with the program of our party for a Socialist society."

And from Chicago, where more than 500 of the pamphlets had been sold when the report was sent in: "Our reception with this pamphlet is very good. We have made a number of very fine contacts."

Los Angeles reports: "We found that, on the whole, the sale of the pamphlet was more successful in the Negro neighborhoods than in the white ones. We are also continuing to sell the pamphlet before the USES offices with good results."

Toledo writes: "We have tried selling door-to-door, at the USES offices and outside union meetings. Our most successful sales were at the USES offices although we have had very good results in the door-to-door work in areas where we have a large number of Militant subscribers."

An increase in sales of the pamphlet by Leon Trotsky, Fascism—What It Is—How To Fight It has been noted as the SWP branches prepare to combat native fascism. This pamphlet is a valuable weapon in the hands of militant workers and should be given the widest possible distribution.

JOBS FOR ALL!—A Fighting Program for Labor, by Art Preis, 10c.

Fascism—What It Is—How To Fight It, by Leon Trotsky, 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Pearl Spangler, pace-setter from Connecticut, summarizes her first week's subscription selling experiences: "We sold a large number of subscriptions to returned war veterans. They are a disillusioned group; glorious promises that were made to them never materialized, and they've come back to poor paying jobs—provided they can find a job—and bad housing."

"One veteran pointed out to me, 'Out in the fox holes we had some pipe dreams about the G. I. Bill of Rights. I wanted to open a tavern with one of my buddies. Boy, we learned quickly enough that the G. I. Bill of Rights doesn't apply to workers!' His wife added: 'The homes the Government promises to soldier's families. Sure they have a few homes to offer, but we'd have to pay \$65 a month rent. That's quite a joke, so we're remaining in our \$23 a month hotel.'"

"I pointed out Charles Carsten's 'Problems Facing War Veterans' column, and have no doubt that these veterans will read it avidly."

A Los Angeles reader sends in this plea: "My moving may be the reason for my not receiving The Militant. I do not read the local newspapers as their dissemination of news never coincided with my idea of the truth, and The Militant's. You can visualize what a loss I've had in the past few weeks by not receiving the only paper worth reading. In addition I haven't received the Fourth International. Without these periodicals I'm living in the darkness, so please note my correct address."

Detroit Readers!

Hear
Arthur Burch SWP Organizer
"Why Trotskyist Support Detroit's Labor Candidate?"
SATURDAY AT 11:45 A.M.
Station WXYZ—1270 kc
November 3

Our Program:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!
A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!
A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!
Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
No restriction on the right to strike!
Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!
3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!
4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!
5. Working class political action!
Establish the workers' and farmers' government! Build the independent labor party!
6. Tax the rich, not the poor!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!
8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

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

Name _____ (Please Print)

Address _____

City _____ Postal Zone _____ State _____

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

ALBANY—Visit The Militant Club, 405-4 Everett Bldg., 35 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.

ALBANY—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m. at Militant Labor Forum, 3 E. 3rd St. and Hamilton Street, Albany.

BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St., open evenings (except Sundays) until 8:30; also Monday and Saturday afternoons. Come in and get acquainted. Complete stock of literature.

BUFFALO—Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor.

CHICAGO—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters to obtain The Militant, Fourth International, Marxist books and pamphlets, as well as information about the SWP. 150 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m., every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7662.

Detroit—All Militant readers invited to the SWP Open House held every Saturday evening, from 8 p.m. on. Music, dancing, cards, refreshments. Admission free. Room 21, 3513 Woodward.

Los Angeles—Buy The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 300-03, 213 E. Hill St., VA-9236. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 E. Pacific, Room 214.

MILWAUKEE—Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 526 Franklin Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p.m.

MINNEAPOLIS—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., daily. Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p.m.

Hear a Marxist analysis of the "News Behind the Headlines."

NEWARK—Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30 p.m.

NEW YORK—Sun., Nov. 4, 10:30 a.m., meet at 116 University Place to sell subscriptions in The Militant Campaign for ten thousand readers.

Harlem Discussion Group meets every Wednesday night 8 p.m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggle," at 103 West 110 St., Room 23. Office open day and evening 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. also 7 to 9 p.m. Books and pamphlets on sale.

Trotskyist Youth Forum, Friday, Nov. 2, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. All Marxist books and pamphlets on sale at the bookshop, second floor, 116 University Place.

PHILADELPHIA—SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics. Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m. All young people invited.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Visit SWP headquarters, 290 S. W. Alder St., Room 509, open 10 to 4 p.m., daily except Sunday, 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO—Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science 308 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

Celebrate the 28th Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, Sunday, Nov. 4, 8 p.m. Speakers: F. Ricco, R. Chester.

ST. LOUIS—Visit our headquarters and The Militant Labor Forum at Peoples Bldg., Room 218, cor. Jefferson Ave. and Market Place. Open every evening, 8 to 10 p.m.

TOLEDO—Forums held every Sunday evening at 905 Jefferson Ave., Room 304, 8 p.m.

Open House every Saturday night; dancing, refreshments.

YOUNGSTOWN—Youngstown School of Social Science, 229 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoons from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday.

New York BRYANT PARK NEWSSTAND

46 West 42nd Street
(Opposite Stern's)
Carries THE MILITANT and full stock of Pioneer Publishers Marxist Literature

Score Of 2,162 New Readers Reached In 2nd Week Of 'Militant' Sub Campaign

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

A large increase over last week's total of new subscriptions is recorded in reports for the second week of *The Militant's* subscription campaign. To date, 2,162 new subscriptions have been sold, representing 22 percent of our goal of 10,000 new readers.

A careful analysis of our score-board reveals among other things the very interesting fact that the newest branches of the Socialist Workers Party are among the top scorers. Special commendation is accorded these branches for the excellent work they are doing in procuring new

readers to our ever growing *Militant* Army.

Cincinnati which had led the other branches for two consecutive weeks now is replaced by St. Louis, the latter branch having sent in 43 subs thereby completing 86 percent of its quota.

Pittsburgh, which was in eighth place last week with 16 subs, more than doubled the number of subs sent in previously, and climbed to fifth place.

And Toledo, which had a bad start, climbs out of the zero class by sending in 16 subs, and "promising that next week will reveal a far better story." Similarly, Rochester is no longer in the zero category and is on its way to fulfilling its quota.

Theresa Stone, top pace-setter nationally, and a new recruit of the Philadelphia branch, sent in this interesting letter: "Besides door-to-door canvassing, I never fail to stop likely subscribers on the street. Initial negative responses don't necessarily mean 'no sale' to me. I met one Negro family who felt very discouraged about existing Jim Crow conditions, and thought nothing could be done to fight it, that things would always continue as they were. After a brief discussion in which I pointed out Charles Jackson's 'The Negro Struggle' column, they took a sub, and bought 'The Struggle for Negro Equality' pamphlet, as well as 'A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow' in addition to Art Preis' 'Jobs for All'."

periences of a similar nature, but want to conclude by saying that I intend to get *The Militant* into as many workers' hands as I possibly can."

A. Field of Minneapolis writes: "I believe we can claim a national pace-setter in A. Ference, who has 27 subs. In addition we have set up two teams in our branch, one by the name of 'Materialists', the other 'Dialecticians.'"

"Regarding the challenge of the Philadelphia branch, of course we will accept it. Even though they are doing so well, we have very strong hopes of beating them."

SOCIALIST COMPETITION

"We are planning a mobilization for this Sunday and are planning on going to two small working class suburbs, and I expect we'll have a great many subs to send in by the end of the week."

"I would like to add that in addition to selling subs we've been quite successful in selling the 'Jobs for All' pamphlet and the several fighting Jim Crow pamphlets."

With the acceptance of Phila-

GOING TO FLORIDA

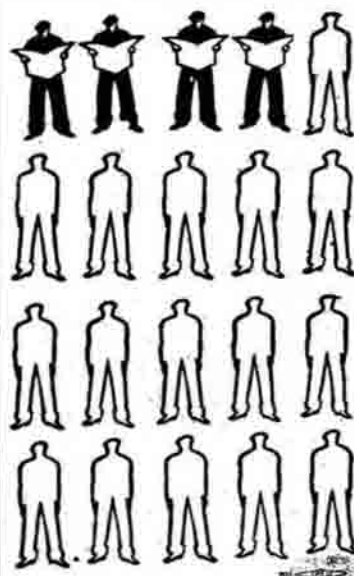
"Another family was just getting ready to migrate to Florida for the fruit picking season. The paper is going to follow them to the south and they told me they were going to pass it along to the agricultural workers. I am sure that will result in many subs from Florida."

"I can relate many more ex-

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

The twenty who have sold the highest number of subs.

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Theresa Stone	Philadelphia	53
Mike Warren	Seattle	51
A. Ference	Minneapolis	27
Al Hamid	Harlem, New York	22
Ida Brandt	East Side, New York	22
Jerry Kirk	Flint	22
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	19
A. Jones	Seattle	18
Bill Gray	Buffalo	17
Ernest Drake	Detroit	16
Rose Young	West Side, New York	15
Sympathizer	Philadelphia	15
C. Corli	Detroit	14
Andy Drelo	Buffalo	14
Max Garber	Philadelphia	13
Ruth Laurie	Newark	13
L. Lewis	Detroit	13
Ruth Brady	San Francisco	13
Johnny Eager	West Side, New York	12
Marvin Smith	West Side, New York	12



Each figure reading "The Militant" represents 500 subscriptions sold. Each blank figure represents 500 subscriptions not yet sold.

delphia's challenge by Minneapolis, a bit of socialist competition has been injected into the campaign. Philadelphia as can be noted from the score-board is in third place and has maintained this top position for a couple of weeks. However, Minneapolis has climbed from nineteenth place last week to twelfth this week, and it will be interesting to watch the progress each branch will make in the next few weeks.

Surely there must be other branches that would like to issue a similar challenge. Pittsburgh and Connecticut are branches with similar quotas; they have sent in the same number of subs to date—would either of the respective campaign directors care to undertake challenging the other?

The 20 pace-setters this week represent branches from coast to coast. Led by Theresa Stone of Philadelphia who has 53 subs to her credit, Mike Warren of Seattle is close on her heels with two subs less. Mike Warren, it will be remembered, was the na-

Timken Bearing Strikers Battle To Defend Their Union Conditions

CANTON, O., Oct. 18. — Nine thousand CIO steelworkers here are giving full support to their union in a strike against the anti-union policies of the huge roller bearing monopoly, Timken Roller Bearing Company of Canton. The workers are fighting to prevent the corporation from destroying working conditions won by the union over a period of years.

A leading union official told the *Militant* reporter that "the company violated the contract by arbitrarily and unilaterally instituting work schedules for maintenance workers. By so doing the company also violated the exclusive bargaining certificate of the NLRB won by the union in an election in 1942. The company violated the certificate by refusing to negotiate satisfactory schedules with the union."

VIOLATES WLB RULING

"The other issue is with respect to discrimination in the steel mill. The company suspended an entire crew in the 10-inch mill for striking in protest against the company's attempt to force them to operate the mill with a shortage of five men on the crew. The company definitely violated the contract in penalizing the mill crew as it

national pace-setter of the Spring campaign, winding up with 859 subs.

Local New York is well represented with six national pace-setters; Philadelphia and Detroit are represented by three pace-setters each.

SPECIAL AWARDS

As in the last campaign, our pace-setters will be given special awards for extra efforts. The first ten national pace-setters will receive a copy of Leon Trotsky's new book, "The First Five Years of the Communist International," and the second ten will be given "The Revolution Betrayed" by Leon Trotsky. The latter book, long unavailable, is now being reprinted by Pioneer Publishers.

provides for joint action between the parties with respect to the penalties against employees who strike. This clause of the contract was inserted by the NWLB, so the Timken Roller Bearing Company has not only violated the contract but has also violated the National Labor Relations Act and the directive of the NWLB."

It was also learned from another union official that "in a previous dispute concerning the same 10-inch mill whereby the Company attempted to force the crews to operate short-handed

and from which a strike developed, arbitrator Professor Herman A. Gray, of New York University Law School, ordered the reinstatement with \$600 pay of three employees who were discharged by the company."

The union members are all resolved to show the Timken Roller Bearing Company that they will not be enslaved further. As one of the pickets said, "We are determined to force the company to discontinue the reign of terror which it has directed against the union since V-J Day."

125 Detroit Workers Hear Wright On British Labor

By Frank Brown

DETROIT, Oct. 23.—An audience of over 125 friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party attended the meeting tonight addressed by John G. Wright on the "British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers" at the Twelve Horsemen's Civic Center.

The audience followed with keen interest comrade Wright's brief historical sketch of the roots of the British Labor Party and the reasons for its rise to power. The greatest interest, however, was shown in his presentation of the similarity of the development of the class struggle in England and the United States.

In the course of the discussion, the speaker stressed the support of the Socialist Workers Party for Richard Frankenstein for Mayor and Tracy Doll, Charles Hill and George Edwards for Common Council in the coming Detroit municipal elections, be-

cause they are labor's candidates and therefore are independent of the two old-line capitalist parties.

It was clearly brought out that Frankenstein's election could be the first action of American labor in starting the drive toward the formation of an independent Labor Party.

Those present contributed a sizeable amount of money to help finance the Socialist Workers Party's support of Frankenstein. The meeting adjourned after an open forum which followed the main speech of the evening.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
MILWAUKEE	Thursday, Friday, Nov. 1-3
TWIN CITIES	Monday to Friday, Nov. 5-9
SEATTLE	Mon., Nov. 12 to Sat., Nov. 17
PORTLAND	Sun., Nov. 18 to Wed., Nov. 21
SAN FRANCISCO	Friday to Monday, Nov. 23-26
LOS ANGELES, SAN DIEGO	Thurs., Nov. 29 to Wed., Dec. 5
KANSAS CITY	Monday, Tuesday, Dec. 10-11
ST. LOUIS	Thursday, Friday, Dec. 13-14
CINCINNATI	Sun., Dec. 16 to Tues., Dec. 18
PITTSBURGH	Thurs., Dec. 20 to Mon., Dec. 24

VOTE FOR DOBBS & SIMPSON TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES IN THE COMING NEW YORK ELECTIONS

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

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

They threw us into the guardhouse and kept two or three of these nervous rookies watching us with their hands on their bayonets all the time. Albert Goldman came down, threatening legal action. The militia chiefs seemed to be anxious to get us off their hands and avoid any trouble with this lawyer from Chicago. On our side, we did not care to make a test case of our detention. We wanted, above all, to get out of jail. We decided to accept the offer they made. They said, if you agree to leave town you can go. So we said, all right. We moved across the river to St. Paul. There every night we had meetings of the steering committee as long as any of the leading comrades were out of jail. The steering committee of the strike, sometimes with Bill Brown, sometimes without him, would get into a car, drive over there, talk over the day's experiences and plan the next day. There was never a serious move made during the whole strike that was not planned and prepared for in advance.

Then came the raid on the strike headquarters. One morning the troops of the militia surrounded the headquarters at 4:00 A.M. and arrested hundreds of pickets and all of the strike leaders they could lay their hands on. They arrested Mick Dunne, Vincent Dunne, Bill Brown. They "missed" some of the leaders in their hurry. Farrell Dobbs, Grant Dunne and some others slipped through their fingers. These simply set up another committee, and substituted headquarters in several friendly garages; the picketing, organized underground, went on with great vigor. The fight continued and the mediators continued their finagling.

A man named Dunnigan was the first one sent into the situation. He was an impressive looking fellow who wore pince-nez glasses, suspended on a black ribbon and smoked expensive cigars, but he didn't know very much. After trying vainly for a while to push the strike leaders around, he worked out a proposal for a compromise providing for substantial wage increases for the workers without granting their full demands. In the meantime, one of Washington's ace negotiators, a Catholic priest named Father Haas, was sent in. He associated himself with Dunnigan's proposal and it became known as the "Haas-Dunnigan Plan." The strikers immediately accepted it. The bosses stalled, and were put in the position of opposing a government proposal, but that didn't seem to bother them. The strikers exploited the situation effectively in mobilizing public opinion in their favor. Then, after a few weeks had gone by, Father Haas found out that he couldn't put any pressure on the bosses, so he decided to put the pressure on the strikers. He put the issue baldly to the union's negotiating committee: "The bosses won't give in so you must give in. The strike must be settled; Washington insists."

Fight Against Attempt To Wreck Union

The strike leaders answered: "No, you can't do that. A bargain's a bargain. We accepted the Haas-Dunnigan plan. We are fighting for your plan. Your honor is involved here." Whereupon Father Haas said—this is another threat they always hold over strike leaders: "We will appeal to the rank and file of the union in the name of the United States government." That threat usually scares the pants off inexperienced labor leaders.

But the Minneapolis strike leaders were not scared. They said: "All right, come on." So they arranged a meeting for him. Oh, he got a meeting that he never bargained for. That meeting, like every other important action taken in the strike, was planned and prepared in advance. Father Haas had no sooner ended his speech than the storm broke over his head. One by one, the rank-and-file strikers got up and showed how well they had memorized the speeches that had been outlined in caucus. They almost drove him out of the meeting. They made him physically sick. He threw up his hands and left town. The strikers voted unanimously to condemn his treacherous attempt to wreck their strike and thereby their union.

Dunnigan was finished, Father Haas was finished. Then they sent in a third federal mediator. He had obviously learned from the sad experiences of the others not to try any shenanigans. Mr. Donaghue, I think that was his name, got right down to business and in a few days worked out a settlement which was a substantial victory for the union.

HOW TROTSKYISTS WORKED FOR LEFT-WING UNITY

The names of a new galaxy of labor leaders flashed in the northwestern sky: William S. Brown; the Dunne brothers—Vincent, Miles and Grant; Karl Skoglund; Farrell Dobbs; Kelly Postall; Harry DeBoer; Ray Rainbolt; George Frois.

The great strike came to an end after five weeks of bitter struggle during which there hadn't been an hour free from tension and danger. Two workers were killed in that strike, scores injured, shot, beaten on the picket line in the battle to keep the trucks from running without union drivers. A great deal of hardship, a great deal of pressure of every kind was endured, but the union finally came out victorious, firmly established, built on solid rock as a result of those fights. We thought, and we wrote later, that it was a glorious vindication of Trotskyism in the mass movement.

Minneapolis was the highest point of the second strike wave under the NRA. The second wave surged higher than the first, as the third wave was destined to transcend the second and reach the peak of the CIO sit-down strikes. The giant of the American proletariat was beginning to feel its power in those years, was beginning to show what tremendous potentialities, what resources of strength, ingenuity and courage reside in the American working class.

In July of that year, 1934, I wrote an article about these strikes and the strike waves for the first issue of our magazine, the *New Internationalist*. I said:

"The second strike wave under the NRA rises higher than the first and marks a big forward stride of the American working class. The enormous potentialities of future developments are clearly written in this advance . . .

"In these great struggles the American workers in all parts of the country are displaying the unrestrained militancy of a class that is just beginning to awaken. This is a new generation of a class that has not been defeated. On the contrary, it is only now beginning to find itself and to feel its strength, and in these first tentative conflicts the proletarian giant gives a glorious promise for the future. The present generation remains true to the tradition of American labor; it is boldly aggressive and violent from the start. The American worker is no Quaker. Further developments of the class struggle will bring plenty of fighting in the U.S.A."

The third wave, culminating in the sit-down strikes, confirmed that prediction and gave us ground to look forward with the greatest optimism to still greater, more grandiose demonstrations of the power and militancy of the American workers. In Minneapolis we saw the native militancy of the workers fused with a politically conscious leadership. Minneapolis showed how great can be the role of such leadership. It gave great promise for the party founded on correct political principles and fused and united with the mass of American workers. In that combination one can see the power that will conquer the whole world.

During that strike, tied up as we were from day to day with innumerable details and under the constant pressure of daily events, we didn't forget the political side of the movement. In the steering committee, on occasion, we discussed not only the day's immediate problem of the strike; as best we could, we kept alive and alert to what was going on in the world outside Minneapolis. At that time Trotsky was elaborating one of his boldest tactical moves. He proposed that the Trotskyists of France should make their way into the revived left-wing section of the French Social Democracy and work there as a Bolshevik faction. This was the famous "French turn."

Minneapolis and Toledo Symbols of Militancy

We discussed this proposal in the heat of the strike at Minneapolis. We translated it for America as an injunction to hasten the amalgamation with the American Workers Party. The AWP was obviously the political group closest to us and moving toward the left. We decided to recommend to the national leadership of our League that it take decisive steps to speed up the unification and to accomplish it before the end of the year. The Muskettes had led a great strike in Toledo. The Trotskyists had distinguished themselves in Minneapolis. Toledo and Minneapolis had become linked as twin symbols of the two highest points of proletarian militancy and conscious leadership. These two strikes tended to bring the militants in each battle closer together; to make them

more sympathetic to each other, more desirous of close collaboration.

It was obvious, by all the circumstances, that it was time to give the signal for the unification of these two forces. We returned from Minneapolis with this goal in view and moved decisively to the fusion of the Trotskyists and the American Workers Party, to the launching of a new party—the American section of the Fourth International.

At the end of the last lecture we left Minneapolis and were on our way back to New York, looking for new worlds to conquer. The great strike wave of 1934, the second under the Roosevelt administration, had not yet spent its force. In the numbers of workers involved—but in no other respect it reached its crest in September with the general strike of the textile workers. 750,000 cotton mill workers went on strike September 1, 1934. The *Militant* reported the strike with full editorial suggestions as to what the strikers should do in order to make the most of their situation. Riding on the wave of the workers mass movement, our political organization was moving forward. Our march of progress, however, at that time was interrupted for a moment by a slight obstacle, namely financial embarrassment. The same issue of *The Militant* which reported the strike of 750,000 textile workers, with a few articles on the aftermath of the Minneapolis strike, carried the following notice on the front page. I copied it today so as to give you the flavor of the situation as it appeared to us at that moment:

"We are in a crisis . . . Our activities in Minneapolis have drained our resources to the very bottom . . . Here are the facts: It is only a matter of days when the marshal will appear at our shop and move our printing equipment into the street. A dispossession notice has already been served. And even if the landlord should be merciful for a few days, then we probably will be forced to stop operating anyway. An electric bill is long overdue; the lights and power will be turned off. The gas company, the paper company and a host of other bill collectors are on our necks demanding payments. Send contributions—Act Now!"

For Unity With American Workers Party

Thus equipped and accoutred, we addressed the American Workers Party with another proposal for unity. We called on them to unite with us to form a new party to conquer the world. We reopened negotiations with a letter of September 7, requesting the AWP to take a positive stand in favor of unification and appoint a committee to discuss with us the program and the organization details. This time we received a prompt reply from the American Workers Party. It was a two-sided letter. On the one hand, under the influence of the rank and file activists at the Pittsburgh conference, who had spoken rather emphatically in favor of unity, the letter of the AWP, signed by Muste, the National Secretary, was conciliatory in tone and spoke in favor of unity if we could come to an agreement. This expressed the sentiments of the honest, active elements, the field workers of the AWP. I believe Muste himself was of the same disposition at that time. The same letter, however, had another side containing a provocative reference to the Soviet Union. This represented the influence of Salutsky and Budenz, who were bitterly hostile to unity with the Trotskyists.

The AWP was not a homogeneous organization. Its progressive character was determined by two factors: (1) Through its energetic activities in the mass movement, in the trade unions and in the unemployed field, it had attracted some rank and file militant workers who were in dead earnest about fighting capitalism; (2) the general direction in which the American Workers Party was moving at the time was clearly to the left, toward a revolutionary position. These two factors determined the progressive character of the Muste movement as a whole and attracted us toward it. At the same time, as I have said, we realized that it was not a homogeneous organization. In fact, it could be properly described as a political menagerie which had within it every type of political species. Put another way, the membership of the AWP included everything from proletarian revolutionists to reactionary scoundrels and fakirs.

The outstanding personality in the American Workers Party was A. J. Muste, a remarkable man who was always extremely in-

teresting to me and for whom I always had the most friendly feelings. He was an able and energetic man, obviously sincere and devoted to the cause, to his work. His handicap was his background. Muste had started out in life as a preacher. That put two strikes on him to start with. Because it is very hard to make anything out of a preacher. I say this not in jest, and more in sorrow than in anger. I have seen it tried many times, but never successfully. Muste was, you may say, the last chance and the best chance; and even he, the best prospect of all, couldn't come through in the end because of that terrible background of the church, which had marred him in his formative years.

To take the opium of religion is very bad in itself—Marx correctly defined it as opium. But to peddle the opium of religion as preachers do—that is far worse. It is an occupation that deforms the human mind. Not a single preacher, of the many who have come to the radical labor movement of America, throughout its history—not a single one of them turned out good and became a genuine revolutionist in the end. Not one. But despite the handicap of this background, Muste gave promise because of his exceptional personal qualities, and because of the great influence he had over the people associated with him; his prestige and his good reputation. Muste gave promise of becoming a real force as a leader in the new party.

Muste wasn't the only leader of the AWP. There was, one might say, the one in the middle, the moderator, the central leader who balanced everything between the contending sides.

The Leadership of the A.W.P.

There was another extremely able man in the National Committee of the American Workers Party. I mentioned him in a previous lecture: his name was Salutsky. That is the name we knew him by in the Socialist Party and the first years of American Communism. He goes now by the name of J. B. S. Hardman, the editor of *Advance*, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and has held this post for the past twenty years. Salutsky was a half-and-half man. Intellectually he was a socialist. His background was in the Russian socialist movement, the Jewish Bund. He had been the outstanding leader of the Jewish Socialist Federation of the American Socialist Party. For years he was the editor of the organ of the Jewish Federation and by far its most capable man, standing head and shoulders above such people as Olgin and others also prominent in the movement.

Morally, Salutsky was a weakling, an opportunist waverer who could never quite make up his mind to go the whole way. He wanted to and he didn't want to. Salutsky was always divided in his allegiance, and every move he made in one direction was arrested by that contradiction within himself, that double personality, that pulled him in another direction. He lived a double life. On Sundays he wanted to belong to a party, give lectures, discuss theory, associate with people of ideas. But on weekdays he was J. B. S. Hardman, flunkie editor of the "Advance," intellectual sharpshooter who did all kinds of dirty work for that ignorant boor and trickster who was the boss of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Sidney Hillman.

I knew Salutsky personally quite well. When I encountered him in 1934, in the course of the negotiations with the American Workers Party, it was for the second time in a similar relationship. Thirteen years before, in 1921, he and I—on opposite sides—participated in the joint negotiating committee of the "Workers Council" and the underground Communist Party. The "Workers Council" was the name of a short-lived grouping of Left Socialists who split in 1921 from the Socialist Party; that is, two years after the big, decisive split of 1919, and sought unity with us on the basis of a legal Communist Party.

His position then was characteristic of the man. In 1919, when the main split took place, when the whole movement was divided into Communists on one side and Social Democrats on the other, Salutsky rejected the Communists and remained with the Socialist Party. But his leftist tendencies and his knowledge of socialism were such that he could not reconcile himself entirely to the right wing, and he began to play with the organization of a new left group in the Socialist Party. This was a group of second line, second-grade Communists. By 1921 Salutsky, his friends and similars had gone through a new split from the Socialist Party and formed another organization, the "Workers Council."

(To Be Continued)

1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution Pointed The Way For All Workers

By Larissa Reed

Twenty-eight years ago, out of the slaughter and agony of the first imperialist world war, the Russian Revolution triumphed and blazed its message of hope throughout the world. The first victorious workers' revolution, led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, stirred all of enslaved humanity to its very depths. For the first time in history the workers of the whole world could see in action the only way out of the slaughter house of capitalist rule.

The Czarist Empire, most reactionary government which had existed up to that time in Europe, appeared to be all powerful. But Czarism was thoroughly rotted at its foundations. It needed only the mighty blow of the organized masses to hurl it into oblivion, where it belonged. This historic blow was delivered by a young Russian proletariat in alliance with the many millions of peasantry, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

NEW EPOCH

The Russian Revolution opened up a new epoch in history. It was the first step of a section of the world working class to deliver itself from tyrannical oppression and enslavement.

The Russian Revolution proved to telling humanity everywhere that the working class can create out of its own ranks a revolutionary party that is capable of leading the workers to victory. It proved that only the working masses can establish the foundations of a new socialist society. And all over the world the workers, peasants, colonial slaves were inspired with tremendous enthusiasm, new hope, new courage.

The Russian workers achieved this colossal victory because, under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party, they were taught to depend upon their own program—the program elaborated by Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. They were taught to build their own organizations, to rely upon their own strength. But such a Bolshevik leadership was lacking in other and more advanced countries in Europe. Even though revolutions took place in Germany and other countries they went down to de-

feat, and a period of reaction set in. The capitalist class had a breathing spell in which to stabilize its power. And in the young Soviet Union the beginnings of the monstrous growth of bureaucracy took shape.

As Stalin consolidated the power of this bureaucracy, he destroyed the great Bolshevik Party built through 30 years of sacrifice and uncompromising struggle. He murdered a whole generation of Bolsheviks, including the leadership which, with Lenin, had led the Russian masses to victory.

STALINIST BUREAUCRACY

Stalin, the betrayer of the Russian Revolution is today the most treacherous enemy of the workers within their own ranks, committing his foul crimes in the name of the working class. The workers of the world paid for the degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin through the rise of fascism and the second imperialist world slaughter.

And yet so tremendous were the conquests of the October Revolution that, despite the crimes of Stalin and his betrayal of the world revolution, the Soviet Union was able to repel the German armies which penetrated as far as the gates of Moscow. For the nationalized property created by the October Revolution still exists, despite the Stalinist degeneration. The Russian masses had something to fight for — this remaining basic conquest of the revolution.

TROTSKYISM SURVIVES

Today the Trotskyist movement alone throughout the world holds high the banner of the October Revolution. The Trotskyist movement despite a long list of martyrs, has survived the blows of reaction, fascism and war. It is active and growing. In the United States the Socialist Workers Party, despite persecutions and imprisonments, is stronger than ever.

Today, despite their seeming power, the imperialist "victors" are no more impregnable than were the Czarist tyrants in 1917. The whole bankrupt capitalist system is rotting and putrid; its burial is long overdue.

Today, as in 1917 a mighty blow from a united and organized working class, inspired by the program of the October Revolution, can rid the world forever of this bloody and barbarous system. Armed with the methods of Lenin and Trotsky, the working masses can today go forward to the building of a workers' society under a socialist system.

Louise Simpson Interviewed



Louise Simpson (right), Trotskyist candidate for New York City Council, is interviewed by Grace Carlson, for "The Militant." The interview was published in last week's issue.

Farrell Dobbs Urges "Vote Trotskyist!"

(Continued from Page 1) operators, the news deliverymen and the dock workers on strike for better wages, decent hours, safe working conditions—fighting for a tiny measure of security.

How does it happen that in not one single case did either O'Dwyer or Goldstein or Morris come out openly and squarely and say: the fight of these strikers is just, their demands are reasonable, give them your support. The capitalist candidates were either silent, or they openly supported the strikebreaking campaigns of the employers.

What is the real attitude of the Big Business candidates to labor's demands? Let us take the case of O'Dwyer, the Democratic candidate. This week he gave us a broad hint as to how he might treat striking workers and their just demands, if he were elected mayor.

At a meeting on October 23, O'Dwyer promised that if he were mayor, he would increase the police force in this city from the present 14,000 to 25,000. O'Dwyer proposes to almost double the police force.

What for? Is it to clean up

the gangsters and hoodlums and racketeers with whom both he and Goldstein mutually accuse each other of consorting? Is it to protect the Jewish people, the peaceful Negro citizens who are being increasingly molested by fascist-inspired hoodlums? No, O'Dwyer has no such splendid motives.

But there is every likelihood that this tremendous increase in the police force is aimed directly at the workers who dare to exercise their legal rights to strike and peacefully picket. Police swarmed the water front during the recent strike of the longshoremen. Only yesterday, police banned peaceful mass picketing at LaGuardia airfield and arrested five CIO strikers.

And we well recall how a huge mobilization of Mayor LaGuardia's police in February, 1939, rode down and clubbed the anti-fascist workers—led by the Socialist Workers Party—who demonstrated against the Nazi Bund meeting at Madison Square Garden.

For my part—as a working class mayor—I would use my powers of office to the hilt, not to protect the profiteering employers, not to defend gangsters and strikebreakers, but to uphold the right of the workers to strike and picket.

A working class administration—and that is what we Trotskyists advocate—would certainly not permit the employers to use the government machinery against the working people. We would not permit the corporations to hide their greed for profits behind pleas for what they call "law and order."

In a strike, I would say to such an employer: "You say you want to settle this strike peacefully? Good! But you say you can't pay higher wages? We'll see about that. While the strike remains unsettled, you are forbidden to operate with scabs or strikebreakers. Meanwhile, we will appoint a commission, including representatives of the strikers, to examine your books and records. We will publish a report of your profits. We will expose every fraud you may have committed. We demand that your employees receive just treatment." That's what a labor mayor would say to an employer in a strike.

Furthermore, as a labor mayor, I would immediately grant the wage demands of the transportation workers and all the other workers who perform the useful civic tasks of the community.

I would inaugurate a comprehensive program of public works, low-rent housing, decent schools, playgrounds, nurseries and every other benefit the workers need.

Who would pay for this? The rich, not the poor. The war profiteers, the Wall Street controlled realty interests and all other Big Business interests would be taxed—and taxed heavily—to pay for this program.

At the same time I would halt the outrageous practice of paying out public funds to the rapacious banks and rich bondholders in the form of so-called interest payments on tricky bond issues.

That's what a labor government in City Hall could do. That's the program you can help advance by voting for Farrell

SWP Candidate Dobbs Has Militant Record

By Grace Carlson

The 1945 New York City election campaign takes place during a strike wave that is reaching tremendous proportions. Thousands of New York's trade union militants are demonstrating on the picket line that they know how to fight for their just, economic demands. But the strikers are met at every turn by government strikebreaking. Working class representatives are needed in the City administration—union men who will give their whole-hearted support to the workers in these labor disputes.

Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York is a tested working class representative. The greater part of his adult life has been devoted to the organization of workers into the trade unions and the revolutionary socialist movement. Among wide circles of trade unionists, the thirty-eight year old Trotskyist candidate is known as a tried and trusted workers' leader.

Born in Queen City, Missouri, on July 25, 1907, Farrell was taken to Minneapolis when he was six years old. He graduated from North High School there in 1926 and a year later married Marvel Erickson, one of his classmates. Starting out as a wire man for the Western Electric Company, he was promoted rapidly to more skilled jobs. But the crash of 1929 and the long depression which followed, ended his employment—and also ended his dream of becoming a planning engineer.

ORGANIZING WORKERS

Through his father, who worked for the same company, Farrell got a job as a coal yard worker in the Pittsburgh Coal Company's Minneapolis yards. In the early 1930's, Minneapolis was an open shop town. All around him, Farrell saw poverty, misery, insecurity.

When Vincent Dunne, Karl Skoglund and others began an organization drive among Minneapolis coal yard workers in 1933, he joined them. Farrell Dobbs' mind was made up—his life was to be dedicated to building the trade union movement and fighting for better conditions for the working class.

In the historic miners' strikes of 1934, which made Minneapolis a union town, Farrell Dobbs was in the center of action. Here is the way Farrell's strike activities are described by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in "The History of American Trotskyism":

"The 'dispatcher' in the May strike was a young man named Farrell Dobbs. He came out of a coal yard in Minneapolis into the union and the strike and then into the party. He first became known to us as a dispatcher who shot out the squad cars and the pickets. At first the pickets went out barehanded but they came back with broken heads and injuries of various kinds. Then they equipped themselves with shillalals for the next trips. A shillalah, as any Irishman can tell you, is a blackthorn stick you lean on in case you suddenly go lame. Of course, it is handy for other purposes, too."

UNION LEADER

From 1934 to 1939, the membership of Teamsters' Union Local 544 repeatedly elected him to the position of Secretary-Treasurer. In 1937, he was elected Secretary of the newly formed North Central District Drivers' Council. Out of this Council, in which Farrell Dobbs played an outstanding role, grew the Eleven State Area Committee, of which he became the Secretary. As spokesman for this Committee, he negotiated a contract which won better wages and working conditions for 250,000 over-the-road drivers.

Farrell joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934. Five years later, he resigned his post with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and became National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

When the struggle between Daniel Tobin, the bureaucratic head of the Teamsters Union

Dobbs, mayorality candidate of the Trotskyist Party. Pull the first lever on the bottom row of the voting machine. Mark your paper ballot "No. 1" for Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council.

and Local 544 broke out in the spring of 1941, he returned to Minneapolis to aid his union brothers. With 17 other 554-CIO and Socialist Workers Party leaders, Farrell Dobbs was railroaded to prison on December 31, 1943, for his devotion to the principles of trade union democracy and revolutionary socialism.

Released from the Federal Penitentiary in Sandstone, Minnesota, in January of this year, Farrell immediately returned to his party work. He is now the editor of *The Militant*, the American Trotskyist weekly.

Some men excuse themselves



FARRELL DOBBS

from taking part in the strikes and struggles of the working class because they have families to support. Not so, with Farrell Dobbs! His wife and three children, Carole, age 17; Mary Lou, 15; Sharon, 12 are all active in the Trotskyist movement.

As the Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of New York, Farrell Dobbs summed up his whole life's record in the closing words of his October 28 speech over Station WNYC:

"At all times and under all conditions, I and the Socialist Workers Party which I represent stand on the side of the workers AGAINST the profiteering employers. My record stands 100 per cent on the side of the exploited—let my Wall Street opponents make the most of it!"

Louise Simpson Attacks Jim Crow In Radio Talk

(Continued from Page 1)

tax has never been able to pass the Congress controlled by the Democratic Party.

During these past 13 years, as always, the Negro has been last to be hired and first to be fired in the factories and shops of America. A recent FEPC report discloses that colored workers in New York City have lost their jobs at a rate double that of white workers since V-J day. This is true all over the country. And despite the shameful record, legislation against discrimination has been unable to get past the Democratic Congress!

During these 13 democratic years, men and women in all parts of the country have been prevented from entering hotels and restaurants and theatres... simply because of their color. Hazel Scott was prevented from playing in a Washington auditorium because she was brown instead of white. And mind you, the Daughters of the American Revolution who controlled that auditorium, used as the excuse that they were following prevailing customs in Washington, D. C.

THE PARTY OF BILBO

Washington, as you know, is governed by a committee selected by the Democratic Party. Bilbo was made chairman of this committee and by virtue of this fact became the Mayor of Washington, D. C. The nation's capital is governed by one of the nation's outstanding Jim Crow practitioners!

Lynchings of Negroes are a common occurrence at the hands of white democrats below the Mason-Dixon line. Yet, no anti-lynch bill has been able to get by the Jim Crow Democratic bloc in Congress.

That is the program of the Democrats, as far as the Negroes are concerned. To strengthen the Democratic Party, as the supporters of O'Dwyer now ask us to do, is to strengthen the instrument by which the Rankins

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

Hear Ye, Harlem

There is no doubt about the Negro's willingness to fight against Jim Crow. He is ready and anxious to register his protest against this intolerable system at every opportunity. However, outside of activity in the revolutionary socialist party, we seldom have a genuine chance to show how we feel about capitalism and the second-class citizenship to which it condemns us.

That is why the voters of New York City have a golden opportunity in the present election. The voters of New York have a chance to go to the voting booths and show the whole world just what they think about capitalist-fostered discrimination. In New York the Trotskyists are running Farrell Dobbs for mayor and Louise Simpson for City Council.

These two candidates and ONLY these two candidates have a program that really strikes at the roots of discrimination. They are not only FOR NEGRO RIGHTS—as probably all the other candidates would have you believe—but they are also AGAINST CAPITALISM, the system which is the basic cause of discrimination and the only benefactor from its revulsive practice.

SUPPORT TROTSKYIST CANDIDATES

I am devoting my column this week to a recent broadcast which was made over station WNEW in behalf of these two candidates. This broadcast speaks for itself. I want to sincerely urge every reader of *The Militant* to act now in getting as many friends as possible out to the polls on November 6 to vote for Dobbs and Simpson. Here's your chance to prove that you mean what you say.

In this way, Negroes can show the ruling class where we stand on this business of discrimination and segregation and, what's more, we can show that we really understand who is behind racial prejudice and what type of action it will take to change the set-up.

The text of this important broadcast is as follows:

In the Trotskyist election platform, a prominent place is given to the problems of New York City's Negro citizens. Farrell Dobbs, the Party candidate for Mayor and Louise Simpson, its Councilmanic candidate, are campaigning on a platform which calls for full equality for Negroes and national minorities.

The Trotskyist candidates are completely different from these candidates. They mean what they say. Their election promises are consistent with their records. Unlike the capitalist politicians who try to divide white and colored workers, Farrell Dobbs and Louise Simpson have spent all of their time and energy promoting the idea of working class solidarity. As active trade unionists and as revolutionary socialists, they are opposed to anything that divides the working class.

The Trotskyist candidates in office will do everything in their power to establish full social, political and economic equality for the Negroes and other racial minority groups. A vote for Farrell Dobbs, a militant white defender of the rights of all minority peoples and for Louise Simpson, a militant Negro proponent of working-class solidarity, will be a vote for a genuine struggle to kill Jim Crow!

Vote Trotskyist! Vote for Farrell Dobbs for Mayor and Louise Simpson for City Council and drive Jim Crow out of his nest in City Hall!

THE ONLY ROAD

The Negro people can achieve their just demand for full economic, political and social equality only by breaking decisively with the capitalist political parties responsible for upholding the Jim Crow system and by taking the road of independent political action.

Politics is doomed to remain the monopoly of corrupt machine bosses until the workers organize their own independent labor party, based on the trade unions and embracing the militant Negro organizations. Only a firmly knit political alliance of the exploited working people and the oppressed and persecuted national and racial minorities can achieve economic and political equality.

The Trotskyist Party, ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party, is in the forefront of the movement for labor's own independent party, running independent candidates on a labor program.

A vote for the Trotskyist candidates, Farrell Dobbs for Mayor and Louise Simpson for City Council, is a vote for independent working class political action! A vote for independent working class political action is a vote to smash Jim Crow!

Of course, at election time all candidates SAY that they stand for racial equality. But the test of a politician is not what he SAYS but what he DOES! What is the record of the Republican and Democratic politicians in New York City? Any sincere person who makes an honest examination of the record can quickly find the answer.

Republican and Democratic politicians have controlled New York City for decades. This long record of capitalist rule is littered with the wreckage of broken election promises! It was the Republican and Democratic agents of the capitalist class who made Harlem into one of the worst slum areas in the country. During all these years Jim Crow has been warm and comfortable in the nest built for him in City Hall!

Harlem's Negro citizens are forced to pay outrageously high rents for dingy flats in unsafe tenement buildings. Republican

For Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities See Page 5

and Democratic political machines protect the profiteering landlords. Harlem's citizens are forced to buy inferior grades of clothing at jacked-up prices. Republican and Democratic politicians are always found on the side of these gouging merchants.

The latest report of the FEPC points out that since V-J Day Negro workers in the New York City area have lost jobs more than twice as fast as other workers. Without exception, the employers who fire these Negro workers support Republican and Democratic candidates in this election campaign.

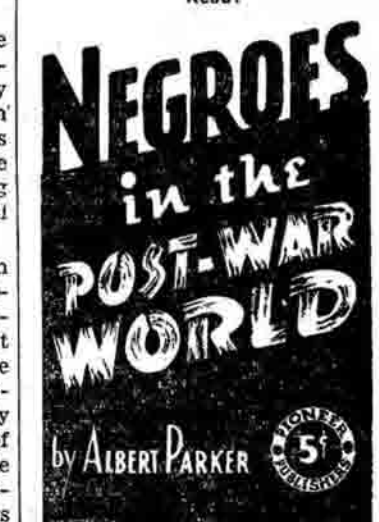
VOTE FOR DOBBS AND SIMPSON

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Celebrate With The Trotskyists! 28th Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

New York Anniversary Meeting and Election Rally Hear the Program of the Trotskyist Candidates in the Municipal Elections!

SUNDAY, NOV. 4

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON, National Secretary, SWP
FARRELL DOBBS, Trotskyist Mayoralty Candidate
LOUISE SIMPSON, Trotskyist Councilmanic Candidate

HOTEL DIPLOMAT

108 West 43rd Street . . . 8 P. M.

SAN FRANCISCO

Sunday, November 4

Hear:

F. Ricco and R. Chester speak on

The Russian Revolution
SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL of SOCIAL SCIENCE

305 Grant Ave. 4th floor 8 P. M.

LOS ANGELES

See

'Ten Days That Shook the World' Documentary Film of the October Revolution

Saturday, November 10

Followed by Dancing and Social
617 Venice Blvd., nr. Figueroa, 8 P. M.

CHICAGO

Russian Revolution Anniversary Meeting

Sunday, November 11

Hear:

JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, SWP
BUCKINGHAM HALL

59 E. Van Buren St. 8 P. M.

BOSTON

Russian Revolution Anniversary Social

Saturday, November 10

Brief Talks by:

Antoinette Konikow • Fred Mauer

Followed by

Dancing and Refreshments
30 Stuart St. 8:15 P. M.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

It's queer the way we get used to being dirty. At first it comes sort of hard, but then, somehow or other, we just seem to fall into it naturally.

I remember one of the first jobs I had when I was a kid. I was working in a little machine shop, running a drill press. In the same shop there was a grubby little guy named Adam, who always used to work on cast iron. Every day at lunch time I used to run over to the corner of the shop and wash my hands with some sort of scouring powder they had there. The stuff almost took the skin off, and it smelled terrible, but I never ate without trying to get my hands clean.

But every day I used to see Adam munching apples that he held in hands that looked as though they were wearing black rubber gloves. The carbon of the iron he machined was all over his hands, his face, and his lunch. Adam never bothered to take time out to wash.

As the years went by and I worked in different shops, I learned to wipe my hands on a rag before eating instead of washing them. In the first place there wasn't much time set aside for eating. "You get paid to work, not to eat," the foreman used to say. And then, too, you get used to the oil, metal, and other forms of dirt that you get all over you.

Here in the steel plant you probably won't have any place to wash before you eat, unless you want to try the drinking fountain... and the rest of the gang might have something to say about that. So when it's time to eat, you take off your gloves and wipe your hands together to get rid of the sweat and then dig into your lunch. If you work on the furnaces your sandwiches probably get a little gray where your fingers touch them. If you work in the stockhouse, your food takes on a reddish color from the iron ore on your hands. But you eat it... and you never think about it any more.

In the summertime, the clothes you put on at the beginning of every shift are still wet with the sweat of your last shift. When you slip them on over your head you hold your breath because of the smell. Your socks are clammy and filthy. But you wear them. You're used to them. You can't have them washed every day, and wearing them one day in the heat makes them ready for the laundry. In fact, after you've been working one hour in a set of clean clothing, you've sweated so much and gotten so much other dirt on yourself that you might as well have been wearing your things for a month.

Another Thing To Put Up With

Well, so what? Does all this prove that we're a bunch of slobs because we're used to it? Or does it mean that our life is intolerable because we have to get dirty on the job?

No. It doesn't prove much of anything. Only, it's just another of the little things that we have to put up with. We don't like to be dirty. On our day off we get dressed up like anybody else. And if we get a dirty fork by accident at the dinner table we have something to say about it to the little woman.

It's just, as I said, another of those things that you have to put up with if you're a worker; and it's not all necessary either. Very few jobs have to be as dirty as they are, but it would cost the companies a few extra pennies to clean them up... but the clean people who own the companies and look down on us for our grime, aren't willing to spend those extra pennies.

It won't be until we, the working people, own the factories that we'll be able to control our working conditions. And then we'll be able to go about our jobs like men instead of pigs.

Auto Workers In Baltimore Resist Union-Busting Move

Special To THE MILITANT
By Dorothy Lessing

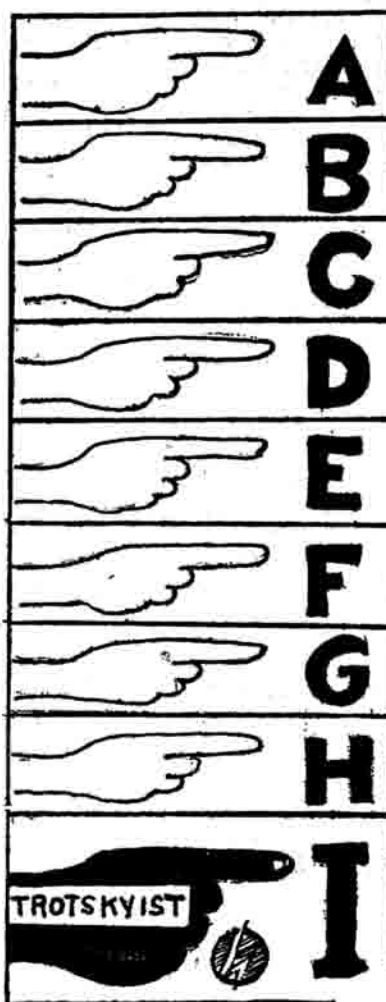
BALTIMORE, Oct. 26.—CIO United Automobile Workers Local 239 (Fisher Body) and Local 678 (Chevrolet) voted overwhelmingly in favor of strike action against General Motors in the national NLRB poll on October 24. In addition to national demands for a 30 per cent wage increase, Local 239 is demanding that the rehiring at Fisher Body take place on the basis of the seniority accrued at Eastern Aircraft.

Before the war the Fisher Body plant had 800 workers. When the plant converted to war production it changed its name to Eastern Aircraft and hired an

additional 2,200 workers. Now management, which has remained the same through conversion and reconversion, states that it will need 1,600 workers to start production again at Fisher Body and is willing to take back 800 men who worked there before the war, but refuses to rehire the rest on the basis of seniority at Eastern Aircraft.

UNION-BUSTING MOVE

The officers of Local 239 see this as an attempt to weaken the union and intend to see that this demand is won. As the financial secretary of the local expressed it, "These new men and women who came into the union were good union members and we are going to fight for them."



VOTE
TROTSKYIST
FARRELL
DOBBS
FOR
MAYOR
PRESS
THIS
LEVER

DOBBS

How American Stalinists Support Capitalist Reaction Under Foster

By Felix Morrow

The Communist Party has come out against Truman's universal military training plan, and indeed it could scarcely do otherwise today, when even the AFL executive council is opposing the peacetime conscription proposal.

The working class has sound CLASS arguments against Truman's plan. But the Communist Party line being what it is, comes forward with the most cockeyed argument against the President's big Army and Navy plan, as follows:

"The American people didn't vote for that kind of foreign policy. They voted for the Roosevelt foreign policy—which President Truman has been scrapping ever since he entered the White House." (Oct. 25 Daily Worker, p. 2.)

FALSE ARGUMENT

If that were the kind of argument on which the workers' case against Truman had to rest, we would be licked right now, because Roosevelt was the pioneer of peacetime conscription: as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, 1917-1920; as Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1920 when, as the historian Ferdinand Lundberg says in "America's Sixty Families," his "campaign speeches were notable chiefly for their callow militaristic bias. He advocated, among other things, universal military training in the schools. Early in his presidential career he revived some of these sentiments in a saber-rattling speech before the American Legion in Chicago."

Truman follows in Roosevelt's footsteps. That's the first thing to understand if one really wants to fight the imperialist policy that Truman represents.

Just to make sure everybody understood the connection between Truman and O'Dwyer, Truman invited the New York Mayor's candidate aboard his special train when it arrived in the big city Saturday morning a few hours before Truman's Navy speech. The night before, underlining the fact that a vote cast for him is a vote for Truman's policy, O'Dwyer said in a speech: "We on our side are firmly lined up behind the political philosophy set forth by Roosevelt and now being put into practice by Truman."

The Communist Party and its Daily Worker have likewise been insisting on the fact that a vote for O'Dwyer is more than a mere municipal issue. Except that—held tight to your hat now—they say that a vote for O'Dwyer is a vote against Truman's political philosophy! As for us, we'll take the candidate's word for it that he stands for what Truman stands for.

James A. Farley, campaigning for O'Dwyer, "spent a great part of his speech denouncing Communism. Communists and the Communist Party," reports the October 26 Daily Worker. "Farley lauded O'Dwyer's earlier announcement that he did not want support of Communists."

Therefore? Therefore vote for O'Dwyer, says the Daily Worker. Why? Hold on to your hat, we're going through a tunnel: "Farley is said to believe," the Daily Worker goes on, "that a low labor vote for O'Dwyer would open the doors again for Farley's return to leadership in the Democratic Party and, therefore, a sharp swing to reaction on the part of the party."

What would Farley's return to leadership add to what Truman is already doing, which for months has been characterized by the Daily Worker as a swing to reaction? Don't ask such embarrassing questions, just vote for Farley's and Truman's candidate if you're a loyal follower of the Fosterline.

Many a Communist Party member and sympathizer, disgusted with support of O'Dwyer, looks upon the electoral gains of the French Communist Party as something very different which he would like the American party to follow.

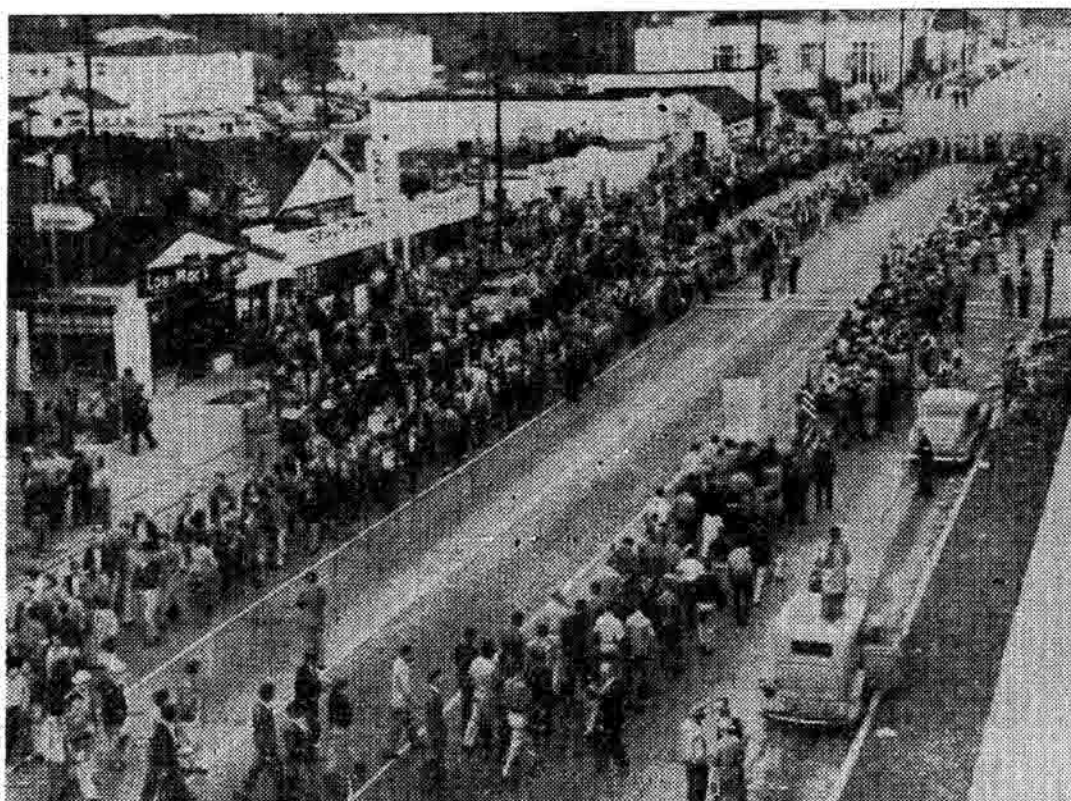
Already, however, the Daily Worker is preparing this type of fellow for the next shock.

An editorial in the October 23 Daily Worker declares:

"French reaction, now centered most clearly around de Gaulle and seeking support from the U. S. and Britain, will try to maneuver the Socialist and Catholic deputies for anti-Communist and anti-Soviet purposes. To thwart such plans is now the major problem of the French Left. And this is especially true because de Gaulle has seven months of dictatorial powers as a result of his two-to-one victory on the second part of the constitutional referendum."

And how do you think the Communist Party is going to fight against "French reaction,

Labor Solidarity In Movie Strike



A magnificent demonstration of labor solidarity is shown by these car loads of Lockheed workers, members of Local 728, AFL Machinists, speeding to bolster the picket lines of the movie strikers at Warner Bros. studio in Burbank, California, after hundreds of strikers were beaten and arrested by a huge mobilization of city police.

"Vote For Labor's Candidates," Burch Urges Workers In Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

for the workers to learn from this experience and put an end to company unionism in the political field. The British workers have shown the way. Are American workers less capable and alert than the English workers? Of course not.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The claim is advanced, most often by official labor leaders, that if labor forms its own party, Big Business will rally the middle class to its banner and thereby isolate the workers. Nothing is further from the truth. Actually the middle class hates and fears the monopoly capitalists. Big Business grabs for itself the lion's share of the profits, pressing the small business men more and more to the wall. Next only to the workers, taxation presses hardest on the middle class. They are only too anxious to break with Big Business and turn to labor. But how can they possibly do so when labor itself remains tied to the

apron strings of the two capitalist parties?

Big Business is aware of this even if some labor leaders are not. The monopolists dread the idea of labor's entering the political field in order to fight for its own interests and those of the middle class. How the capitalist newspapers fume and rant against Frankenstein. They don't object to him personally or even to what he says. In the words of the Free Press editorial of October 2: "It is not Frankenstein the individual but Frankenstein the symbol." For the very reason Big Business opposes Frankenstein, namely, as the symbol of labor, we Trotskyists support him.

Frankenstein's candidacy on the one hand has inspired confidence among the workers and, on the other, has plunged Big Business into a thick cloud of gloom. It has given new hope to the middle class who until now have hesitated to back labor because they felt that labor

could not battle for the interests of the middle class if labor did not have the gumption to fight for its own interests.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The role of the Democratic Party in this campaign is very instructive. How eagerly and hurriedly did this moth-eaten Democratic donkey jump on Frankenstein's band wagon. The capitalist press attributes this support to an alleged fear that labor's candidates could not possibly win without such support. This is a deliberate piece of deception. Actually the reverse is true. Big Business, which dominates the Democratic Party, fears that labor is strong enough to win without this support; and under no circumstances does Big Business want labor to realize that it can stand on its own feet.

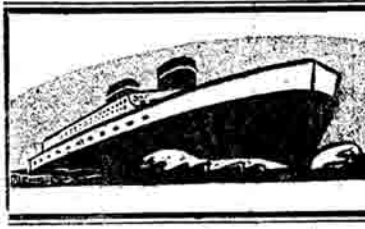
What a world of difference between this mayoralty election and that of two years ago. At that time it was labor that held on to the coattails of the Democratic politician Fitzgerald. The Socialist Workers Party was the only tendency in the labor movement at that time which did not support Fitzgerald. We are proud of our record. The correctness of our position was confirmed when in the course of the campaign Fitzgerald vied with Jeffries in anti-labor and anti-Negro attacks. Our stand was further confirmed by the fact that the workers stayed away from the polls on election day.

Today the situation is different. In this election we have the gratifying example of labor choosing one of its own union leaders to run for mayor. And now we see the laughable spectacle of the Democratic machine, an empty shell without labor support, clutching with might and main at the coattails of labor.

CRITICAL SUPPORT

It is common knowledge that we Trotskyists are the principal opponents of Frankenstein and his fellow officers inside the CIO United Automobile Workers. We have consistently opposed his wrong policies inside that union and we shall continue to oppose such policies. Nor do we endorse his political program in this campaign. We support him for mayor because he is labor's choice; and against the candidate of Big Business, labor must close its ranks.

This is one election where no worker dare stay away from the polls. We all know that every agent of Big Business, every member of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the Detroit Automotive Council, every follower of Reverend G. L. K. Smith, Father Coughlin and the Ku Klux Klan will not stay at home on November 6th. The Socialist Workers Party calls upon the people of Detroit to support labor and for the first time in this city's history elect a labor mayor to office. Labor's victory in Detroit will be an inspiring example for other cities to follow and the building of a labor party will then be much nearer to fulfillment.



Postwar Notes for Seamen

The American ship operators, their banker-sponsors and their stooges in high government posts were all present at the nineteenth annual convention of their Propeller Club in New York City, October 17, 18 and 19. They praised each other for their "great wartime achievements," and in order to get set for the period ahead, they held what they called "The American Merchant Marine Conference." Everyone made a speech. The following are some excerpts from their speeches.

"In our two great disastrous experiences fortune smiled on us"—L. Lewis Luckenbach, head of Luckenbach Steamship Co. and chairman of the conference.

"I cannot conceive of the American people who, in the 12 months ended June 30, 1945, spent \$40 billion plus for the construction of vessels, other than naval vessels, and who through the War Shipping Administration, on August 1, 1945, had 4,270 vessels of which 3,538 of a total deadweight of 34,772,000 tons were dry cargo carriers, 732 vessels with a deadweight of 10,841,000 tons were tankers, six special ore carriers with a deadweight of 82,000 tons and colliers or other bulk carriers numbering 59 with a deadweight of 549,000 tons—practically all engaged in

now centered most clearly around de Gaulle?"

The editorial doesn't say—not yet—but, being experts at deciphering this kind of double-talk, we'll make a safe prediction:

The French Stalinists are going to "stop" de Gaulle by... entering de Gaulle's next cabinet, just as they are now in his cabinet.

the war effort—accepting any discrimination on the part of foreign governments which militates against the carriage by American ships of a substantial volume of American cargo, without adopting retaliatory measures"—John J. McAuliffe, president of Isthmian Steamship Co.

"The chief barrier to the expansion of America's foreign trade will not be lack of demand on the part of foreigners for our goods but rather their inability to obtain dollars they need to buy our goods"—Frank J. Taylor, president American Merchant Marine Institute.

"There is no incompatibility of ideas in fighting for business in a peaceful world"—R. Earle Anderson, Director of Finance, U. S. Maritime Commission.

"We must not lose sight, however, of the fact that our Government at the present time is probably going to be the principal financier of the United States tonnage and this situation will prevail for some considerable period of time"—J. A. W. Richardson, assistant vice president, Chemical Bank and Trust Co.

"Jealously watch the factors that basically are going to effect the industry which supports you."—Advise to the shipowners by Admiral Howard L. Vickory, vice chairman, U. S. Maritime Commission.

"In the broadest sense, peace is a normal condition in a world where all the peoples have prosperity and security to a degree in keeping with their respective standards of living"—Lewis D. Parmelee, executive vice president, AGWY Lines.

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

"Everybody talks about the weather, but nobody ever does anything. This socialism stuff is all right but it's just a lot of talk after all..."

It's true that we revolutionary socialists talk. We talk morning, noon and night to spread the ideas of socialism. And we act. At every point where we can advance these ideas even one inch along the pavement of reality, we act. This we do in union activity, anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, etc.

But mainly we talk. Even in the middle of the biggest actions, we talk. Even while strikers are learning for themselves that the capitalist cop is their enemy, we drive home the lesson and explain why the club is descending on us, the strikers, instead of the strikebreakers.

There is a big difference between straight talk and hot air. Everybody knows the fellow who's always yelling at the boss (under his breath)—and making dark predictions of what he'll do if he catches the blank, blank louse in so and so's saloon. Only the boss never goes to so and so's saloon. And the guy just gets drunk and shoots his mouth off to whoever is hanging around.

The fellow who won't sign a grievance, the fellow who's so loud in the locker-room and so quiet at the union meeting—that's the kind of a guy you have in mind when you talk about "hot air." But remember how just a couple of fellows worked so hard giving out leaflets to get the place organized?—how Slim and Pop talked so much at the plant gate they both had to whisper at work the next day? Why some of us thought they were crazy. But what they said wasn't hot air. Not by a long shot.

Most of the fellows joined the union during the first strike. They had gone on strike because they were fed up with the company's dirty tricks. But it was lucky that Slim and Pop had got a few of us guys into the union before that strike—because we had talked together for quite a bit about how to run a strike and how to win it. When the rest of the fellows saw that we knew what we were doing and knew how to organize a picket line to fight the company, they joined the union and followed our lead. And we made out pretty well.

It Takes Action to Convince People

It's the same way with preparing the socialist revolution. It's considerably bigger than a strike. So you have to do considerably more talking for it. You won't convince everybody. Not all at once. Not before the revolution itself, any more than we convinced everybody before the strike.

It takes action to convince most people. And the funny part of it is that their own actions convince them the best—like when we went out on that strike, the men felt the union was strong because they were striking. So they joined it.

But right now every real socialist, everyone who reads The Militant, is in the same boat as Slim and Pop were at first. They've got to talk and talk to every friend and fellow worker. If they can't talk to him, they sell him a sub to The Militant and let it do the talking. And The Militant's kind of talking is preparing the stewards and picket captains for the Socialist Revolution.

Toledo SWP Asks Labor To Vote For J. Simmons

(Continued from Page 1)

forefront of the struggle against racial discrimination and segregation in this country and how they fight for the rights of all oppressed national and racial minorities.

Following the address, Simmons expressed his appreciation of the support of the Socialist Workers Party and stated that he had known the party to be an outstanding fighter for racial equality.

Simmons is the director of the Mass Movement League, the most militant mass Negro organization in Toledo. The Mass Movement League has conducted an active fight for job opportunities for Negroes in Toledo plants and was directly responsible for securing jobs for Negro bus drivers with the Community Traction Co. Simmons is further supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

MEANING OF SUPPORT
The Socialist Workers Party supports Simmons on one issue only, that of minority representation in city council. He has not expressed himself on any of the fundamental economic and political problems facing the Negro people and the labor movement as a whole.

The movement of the Negro people in Toledo toward representation in the city government is very important. This is a mass attempt to secure Negro political representation as a means of fighting the discriminatory policies of the lily-white city council, an august body which, time and again, has trampled on the rights and crushed the aspirations of the Negro population of Toledo.

For this reason, the Toledo branch of the SWP is giving critical support to Simmons in local efforts in the Frankenstein campaign and has given and will continue to give us all possible aid in our efforts to get Frankenstein elected.

"However, we Trotskyists wish to state that our national organization is fully behind the local efforts in the Frankenstein campaign and has given and will continue to give us all possible aid in our efforts to get Frankenstein elected."

NEW YORK CITY	
VOTE THE TROTSKYIST TICKET ON MACHINE BALLOT	
FARRELL DOBBS... LAST ROW	
MARK YOUR PAPER BALLOT	
1	Louise Simpson, Trotskyist Party
2	Benj. J. Davis, Communist Party