

Stalinists Forget Murder of Panto

— See Page 8 —

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AUTO BARONS SMEAR LABOR

3,000 Picket Meeting Of Fascist In Oakland

Special To THE MILITANT

By Robert Chester and Della Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 28.—Over 3,000 marching, singing, chanting, booing anti-fascist workers and youth last night picketed "Fuehrer" Gerald L. K. Smith's meeting across the bay in Oakland's Technical High School. Chanting "Who Pays Smith?", "Down with Fascism!", "Drive Smith out of California!" the united front of unions, fraternal organizations, workers' political parties and students gave Smith, No. 1 American Fascist, a hot reception similar to those he recently received in Detroit and Los Angeles.

The picket line, called at 24 hours notice, filled the whole block before the school and encircled the wide center area leading to the school steps. With high spirit the marchers kept up an almost continuous chant that reached its climax of boos, catcalls, and derisive cries of "Hell Smith" when America's most notorious fascist, escorted by his bodyguards and police, skirted the line and hurried up the school steps.

This same treatment was given to the 75 or so Smith followers who ventured through the lines. The meeting inside, which, after the entrance of many hecklers, reached a possible maximum of 150, was often drowned out by the noise of the pickets.

LABOR SOLIDARITY

Represented on the line were the placards of Pile Drivers Local 34, Office Employees Locals 29 and 207744, Marine Firemen, Marine Cooks and Stewards, NA—

(Continued on Page 7)

William Patterson Ends Prison Term

Special To THE MILITANT

By Eloise Gordon

DAISTOWN, Pa., Nov. 1.—William Patterson, Pennsylvania coal miner imprisoned in June under the notorious Smith-Connally anti-strike law, was released from the Fayette County Jail at Uniontown at six o'clock this morning. I had the privilege of being in the welcoming group that greeted him at his release.

As we drove later into the

(Continued on Page 2)

BRITISH DOCK STRIKERS AGREE TO MONTH TRUCE

The brutal strikebreaking policy of the Attlee Government has compelled the national strike committee of the rank and file British dock workers to recommend a "30-day truce" in the strike which has paralyzed British shipping for some seven weeks.

The longshoremen agreed to go back to work on November 5 to "give the Government a chance to adjust differences, but declared they would go out again and carry with them all dock workers, if negotiations failed."

The vicious attitude of the Attlee Government was revealed, however, in the declaration of Minister of Labor, George Isaacs that the strikers' decisions would not change the Government policy of dealing only with the recognized union, the Transport and General Workers Union.

USING SOLDIERS

The heads of the TGWU opposed the strike from the beginning and unsuccessfully attempted a number of times to start a back to work movement.

The strikers were forced to bow to superior power, when the Attlee Government increased the number of soldiers ordered to act as strikebreakers to 20,000 and announced this number would presently be doubled.

Previously, spokesmen of the Attlee Government had tried to defend the use of the armed

Civil War Flares In Northern China

American forces are directly involved in the civil war which broke out last week in north China. On October 27 soldiers of the Fourth Army, which is commanded by the Stalinist Yanan regime, fired on the barge of an American Admiral. The fire was returned by the barge. This exchange symbolized what may now occur on a wide scale.

The extent of the war between Chiang Kai-shek and Yanan became known October 28. Stalinist sources, quoted by the United Press, said "undeclared civil war was raging in at least 11 provinces of North China." The Chiang Kai-shek government "has concentrated 800,000 troops in the area to wipe out communist forces."

The Chiang Kai-shek government admitted that in one two-week battle alone, 15,000 government troops were killed.

In North Shansi 50,000 Yanan troops were attacking the Tatum rail junction. In Suiyuan province another 100,000 Yanan troops opened a general offensive.

According to Marshal Yen, one of Chiang Kai-shek's henchmen, who gave a press interview recently, "the Communists massed 64 regiments against Changchi and took the town in fighting that started September 21 and October 8." Marshal Yen declared that "there are records of from 40 to 50 engagements in a single day."

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S STRATEGY

The New China Daily, organ of the Stalinists, said that Governor Fu Tso-Yi of Suiyuan province, was the "starter of civil war."

The paper declared that Chi-

ang Kai-shek's strategy was to occupy the strategic points, obtain control of the railway lines and then move out into the surrounding areas.

What is particularly ominous about the developing civil war is the participation of United States armed forces. At least 60,000 American troops are stationed in the area. It is only a question of time until they become directly involved. By October 30 U. S. Marines at Tientsin were "alerted," and a high American Army officer at Shanghai admitted that American marines "cannot continue without serious trouble."

Gravest of all is the fact that American planes and American troop ships are being used to rush Chiang Kai-shek's troops into these areas. This constitutes the clearest possible evidence that Wall Street is backing Chiang Kai-shek.

U. S. IMPERIALISTS INTERVIEW

A Yanan official, asked what could be done to avert the civil war, declared: "Among other things it depends on the attitude

(Continued on Page 7)

Huge Picket Line Against Fascist Meeting In L.A.

Bulletin To THE MILITANT

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 3.—Between 25,000 and 30,000 workers, youth and members of minority groups formed a mass picket line around Polytechnic High School here where Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith was speaking tonight. In addition many hundreds entered the hall, booing the speakers, applauding lustily at the wrong places, and finally making a demonstrative exit as Smith himself took the microphone.

Police were everywhere in evidence, armed even to helmets and gas masks. Some 500 of them forced the picket line to form into two sections, leaving the entrance clear for Smith's followers. They also prohibited picketing on the school grounds and the use of sound trucks.

Inside the meeting, police were standing shoulder to shoulder, lining the walls of the auditorium and filling every aisle both downstairs and in the balcony. Anyone who booed or made any remark against the speakers was promptly yanked out by hulking policemen. Many were shoved and pushed so that they could scarcely keep from falling downstairs.

In the early summer, Smith was able to attract an audience here of more than 5,000. At his meeting tonight there were scarcely a thousand and there was a demonstrative exit of hundreds when Smith began to speak.

Anti-Smith leaders arranged for a meeting at the nearby Olympic auditorium, following termination of the picketing at 9:00 p.m. Approximately 7,000 people gathered in the hall, giving further expression to their anger over Smith's appearance, and protesting the action of the school board in permitting him use of the auditorium.

A resolution, passed unanimously, commended the school

(Continued on Page 8)

Forging New Chains



Truman Says Labor Must Accept Reduction Of Take-Home Wages

President Truman's October 31 radio speech and directive on administration wage-price policy has spread more confusion than light. Anyone can interpret it the way he sees fit and everyone is doing so.

To the main question before labor, what is the attitude of the administration on labor's demand for the maintenance of wartime take-home pay, Truman answered:

"We must understand that we cannot hope with a reduced work-week, to maintain now the same take-home pay for labor generally that it has had during the war. There will have to be a drop."

Truman failed to state how much of a drop. He merely added: "But the Nation cannot afford to have that drop too drastic." He did admit that the total wage and salary bill now faces a \$20-billion slash.

Truman made his speech in the midst of a tremendous strike wave that has swept this country ever since V-J Day. All efforts of the administration to halt this upsurge of labor struggle have proved fruitless. The workers are determined to maintain their standards of living—even at the expense of the accumulated titanic war profits of the corporations.

EVASIVE STATEMENTS

Truman's speech was therefore calculated to give some reassurance to labor that its demands for higher wages would receive some consideration. That the workers are in a position and mood to enforce their demands

was a factor Truman had to take amply into account.

Thus, while telling the workers they would have to accept slashes in take-home pay, Truman at the same time stated that "there is room in the existing price structure for business as a whole to grant increases in wage rates." How much room, Truman didn't say.

But he significantly refrained from any reference to the report submitted to him the week before by the Reconversion Advisory Board revealing that the corporations will be in a position in 1946 to raise wage rates 24 per cent without raising prices and still make more than double their profit after taxes in 1936-39.

Instead, Secretary of Commerce Wallace issued a report in which he stated that the corporations could pay a 10 per cent increase generally and 15 per cent in the auto industry. Without taking official responsibility for fixing a limit on wage increases, the administration is clearly attempting to establish a maximum bargaining point for the unions at a half to two-thirds below the 30 per cent increase the unions generally are demanding. In this fashion, the administration is attempting to force labor to accept such wage increases as the capitalists themselves are prepared to grant un-

(Continued on Page 2)

ENEMIES OF LABOR INCITE GARY STUDENT RACE-HATE

Special To THE MILITANT

By Robert L. Birchman

GARY, Ind., Nov. 2.—Race hatred burst into the open here this week as white pupils at Froebel High School for the second time refused to attend school because they must share school facilities with Negro students. Their anti-Negro action is being supported by a parents' committee of 13.

The present truancy has been termed a "boycott" against Principal R. A. Nuzum, who had been exonerated of previous charges of "maladministration" preferred by students and parents. Negro student activities have been segregated at Froebel, Negroes were not allowed to take part in the school band, orchestra and dramatic club. Nuzum has attempted to end this segregation gradually in re-

cent years. His attempt to develop student activities on a non-segregated basis is back of the charges against Nuzum.

In the first mass truancy, from September 18 to October 1, the anti-Negro students demanded the removal of Negro students from the school, dismissal of Principal Nuzum and the end of interracial experiments.

On the first day of the present race-hate action, led by the same elements as in the September action, each white student was handed a mimeographed announcement of a meeting that night of white parents of Froebel school children and property owners at Spanish Hall. The 400 parents in attendance at the meeting were urged to pay \$1 to join the association

(Continued on Page 6)

Use Race-Hate, Red-Baiting Against Detroit Workers

DETROIT, Nov. 3.—Class war more bitter and on a scale greater than even this industrial battleground has ever seen before is developing here in the center of the huge multi-billion dollar, war-profits gorged automotive industry.

The opposing battle lines of the working class and Big Business are being swiftly massed. In the foreground of the aroused Detroit workers are the CIO auto unionists pressing forward for a 30 per cent wage increase in their showdown struggle against the arrogant, power-drunk auto barons.

Veterans Lead Picket Line In Timken Walkout

Special To THE MILITANT

CANTON, O., Oct. 26.—Led by some 40 veterans of World War II, 800 pickets today successfully halted the attempt of company flunks, disguised as office workers, to break the picket line in the strike involving 8,000 CIO Steelworkers Union members at the Timken Roller Bearing plant here.

This unity in action between the returned veterans and the rest of the striking workers gave a fitting answer to the attempts of the company to pit the ex-servicemen against the union. The veterans carried banners of their own announcing their support of the strike.

The strike against Timken, a corporation, linked with international cartel interests which did business with the Nazis, is entering its third week. The company has refused for over two weeks to meet with the union committee and settle the grievances leading to the strike. Main issues in the walkout are the company's contract violations, including arbitrary changes in work schedules and attempting to work crews short-handed.

Until today, the strikers had been permitting office workers to enter the plant in order to make out pay checks, etc. But the company, which issues a pink badge to the office employees and a green one to production workers

(Continued on Page 8)

This week the contending class forces were moving to a climactic engagement on the political field, with all the forces of capitalist reaction, united behind the auto corporations, making an unprecedentedly vicious and scurrilous assault upon labor's campaign to elect CIO United Automobile Workers Vice-President Richard T. Frankenstein as mayor in next Tuesday's elections.

HUGE CAMPAIGNS

The financial and industrial overlords have thrown all their vast wealth and resources into the drive to defeat Frankenstein and labor's candidates for Common Council, Doll, Hill and Edwards. Their kept press, their radio stations, their political agents who have ruled this city for decades, have unleashed a campaign of anti-labor incitation of stupendous proportions.

This campaign is being conducted not only through the regular propaganda channels. Big Business is spreading its labor-hate, race-hate incitations through a thousand hidden channels and a multitude of concealed or disguised mouthpieces.

The underworld scum of professional strikebreakers and hoodlums, the fascist rats being mobilized by such elements

(Continued on Page 7)

Machinists Strike In San Francisco

Special To THE MILITANT

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 31.—A joint AFL and CIO machinists strike, begun October 29, has closed approximately 200 plants here, put 12,000 workers on the picket lines and broken the labor "truce" in the Bay Area. The striking unions' appeal to the Bay Area labor movement and 55,000 other workers affected by the strike to respect their picket lines has been complied with in all but a few minor instances.

AFL Machinists Lodge 68 and CIO Steelworkers East Bay Machinists Local 1304 are demanding a 30 per cent wage increase. When the employers refused anything above a 10 per cent raise, the militant machinists voted to strike, ignoring the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act provision for a 30-day "cooling-off" period.

INDUSTRIES AFFECTED

The industries affected range from 15 shipyards, including five major yards here and seven in the East Bay area, to at least 185 foundries, machine shops, marine engine, rubber, oil and other plants and some warehouses.

Of the "uptown" machine shops approximately 45 employers signed up with the union immediately. This returned some 2,000 machinists to work, but did not visibly affect the wide scope of the strike.

IAM-AFL Lodge 68 has a tradition of militancy that the government, the California Metal Trades Council (employers' association), the AFL bureaucrats, and the Stalinists have been unable to stifle. During the war Lodge 68 refused to surrender any of the hard-won terms of its agreement. It was necessary

for the government and employers to place the shops under Navy control in order to break the strike. From early 1944 to the present, the members of Lodge 68 have been working without a written agreement. Only the complete unity of the rank and file behind their business agents, E. F. Dillon and Harry Hook, has preserved the union.

WORKERS' DEMANDS

Machinists are now demanding signed agreements which include two weeks' vacation with full straight-time pay, nine paid holidays, straight-time pay for the first five days of lost time due to industrial accidents, and a guaranteed weekly income for permanent employees after 60 days on the payroll. The wage demands are 48 hours pay for 40 hours work, to raise base pay from \$1.28 per hour to \$1.65 per hour, and double-time for all overtime and Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

The Bay City Metal Trades Council, representing some 270,000 AFL workers in affiliated unions, has in the past negotiated master agreements with the shipbuilders and the WPB's Wage Stabilization Board. The Council's conservative lead-

(Continued on Page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

SKF Strike 2
Allies Betray Jewish Masses 3
Why Treason Case Lags 7
Stalinist Line in Elections 8
COLUMNS AND FEATURES
Trade Union Notes 2
International Notes 3
Veterans Problems 4
Workers Forum 5
The Negro Struggle 7
Diary of Steelworker 8
Snoptalks on Socialism 8

SKF Strikers In Philadelphia Continue Militant Battle Against Police Terror, Injunction Threat

Special to THE MILITANT
By Max Goldman

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 1. — The militant CIO Steelworkers strike here against the SKF international roller-bearing trust is now 31 days old. Day by day this key strike in the Philadelphia area is teaching workers the fundamental lessons of labor solidarity against police brutality and the union-busting tactics of Big Business.

This week Presiding Judge Frank Smith of Common Pleas Court No. 5 intervened in an effort to effect a settlement. Judge Smith endeavoring to reach an agreement before court hearings were started, laid aside SKF's suit for two million dollars damages against the union and the injunction proceedings to prevent mass picketing. It seemed as if a working agreement was about to be reached whereby SKF would agree to negotiate if the union withdrew its mass picket lines to allow office and executive personnel to enter the plant.

SKF TACTICS

However, the vicious tactics of Walter Gordon Merritt, SKF's New York counsel, split the negotiations wide open. He insisted that no judges be present at coming mediations and no representatives from the Philadelphia Mediation Tribunal be permitted to sit in. He further maintained that the company had the right to take "disciplinary" measures against any strikers. Thus the "good faith" of the SKF Trust was established—union-busting pure and simple.

The appearance of Merritt in the strike illustrates the extreme anti-unionism of the SKF management. He was the company attorney in the famous damage suit against the Danbury haters 40 years ago when the Supreme Court handed down a ruling (later reversed) that strikers could be sued under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. He faced the LaFollette Senate Investigating Committee as the corporation mouthpiece when the Pennsylvania mine owners purchased \$17,000 worth of tear gas in 1936.

PICKET LINES SOLID

While court proceedings continued, each day saw demonstrations of solidarity from shipyard workers, auto workers, transport workers, steel workers and others. Daily parades of workers from different unions have been features of the picket lines.

Last Wednesday, October 31, saw one of the largest demonstrations. Over 1,000 workers from General Electric, whose strike was just settled yesterday, and from the Tobacco Workers, CIO, who themselves are on strike, circled the main SKF plant in a convoy of automobiles and then joined the picket line. GE Local 119, UERMWA-CIO, members carried their own banners, one of which read: "GE has 262 million reserve; how much have you?" A veteran who had been drafted into the army practically from a picket line, kept repeating: "Here I am right back where I started from."

INJUNCTION THREATENS

Since the mediation has been unsuccessful, hearings for the company's two-million dollar anti-union suit and for the injunction against picketing will start this Monday, November 5. The workers in the meantime are holding their picket lines tenaciously and intend to keep the SKF plants closed until their union is recognized and negotiations begin.

Support for the strike is coming from all sections of the labor movement, both AFL and CIO. A district convention of the CIO Steelworkers last Sunday voted to give full moral and financial

Patterson Released From Uniontown Jail

(Continued from Page 1)

streets of Daisytown here where the Patterson family has its home, heartwarming greetings hailed the return of Bill Patterson. From all directions the working men who know him best, gave vent to their joy at his release.

For the past five months this union fighter for the rights of his fellowmen, has been locked behind prison bars like a petty criminal. Yet, his only "crime" was his refusal to cross the picket line of his union brothers.

Indicted and convicted in 1943 under the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, along with a score of other coal miners, Bill Patterson was placed on probation by the Federal Court. Their prosecution arose out of the strikes of the miners during the spring and summer of 1943.

LABOR-HATERS BEHIND IMPRISONMENT

In May, 1945, the labor-hating coal operators and their court agents set the machinery of the law into motion against Bill Patterson when a technicality provided the pretext for a charge of probation violation. Bill Patterson's record of 18 years of uncompromising struggle in defense of the miners' interests had won him the bitter enmity of the coal operators. They were out to "make an example" of a man of his caliber.

The "hearing" on the suspension of his probation was a complete farce. Although 20 union brothers from the Vesta 4 mine of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation where Bill Patterson had worked since 1927, appeared in court to testify in his defense, not one was permitted to present evidence.

The labor-haters succeeded in jailing Bill Patterson. But if they hoped such persecution would weaken this miner's determination to carry on the struggle for labor's rights, they misjudged the man. This reporter had the opportunity to visit the imprisoned miner on several occasions during the past few months and it was clearly evident during each visit that Bill Patterson's greatest concern is for the economic and political

struggles of the working class. He was anxious that organized labor should launch a serious effort to smash the vicious anti-strike law, which, having victimized one worker, could more easily be used against others.

Not only did Bill Patterson maintain a lively interest in the problems of labor throughout his imprisonment, when he followed its affairs in the daily press and in *The Militant*, but in the first few hours after his release from jail, his conversation continually revolved around the same interests.

CONTINUES FIGHT FOR LABOR

Of the coming struggle between the Detroit workers and the auto barons, he remarked, "Well, the auto workers had that no-strike pledge hung on them by their 'leaders' during the war. Now when they go after a wage raise, I hope they get it!"

He was interested in the current plotting of the corporation-minded politicians around the Smith-Connally Act, observing shrewdly, "They will make a few amendments to it and make it a permanent law to use for their advantage, to restrain individuals and progressive groups from interfering with their rotten system."

He told of numerous letters he had received while in jail from union brothers overseas in the armed forces, in which they expressed solidarity with him and indignation at his imprisonment. He pointed out that these servicemen's communications reported that the press in Europe gave considerable attention to his case, while the newspapers in this country shrouded it in silence.

Listening to this miner as he talks of the problems of the working people, one cannot but be impressed by his deep honesty and calm assurance in labor's cause. His dignity and selflessness under persecution are marks of a true son of labor. Bill Patterson's imprisonment, far from curbing his spirited concern with the labor movement, has fortified his determination to continue the fight that was interrupted.

Slashes In Take-Home Pay Upheld By Truman Speech

(Continued from Page 1)

der sufficient pressure from the workers.

For the profit-fat corporations, which under any circumstances are guaranteed "normal" profits through the operation of the tax laws in the next two years, Truman indicated a way to rob the workers of any wage increases through price increases.

"Industry," he promised, "will

support to this important struggle.

AFL unions continue to cooperate and augment the CIO solidarity with their own contributions of food and money. In addition, the AFL unions are providing refreshments and entertainment at union rallies. Friends of *The Militant* are assisting the union committee to raise supplies and money for the commissary. The entire labor movement of Philadelphia feels that this strike must and will be won, and that it will be won where it started—on the picket line.

not be asked by the Government to take an unreasonable chance in absorbing such wage increases." Where wage increases are granted, "after a reasonable test period which, save in exceptional cases, will be six months, if the industry has been unable to produce at a fair profit the entire wage increase will be taken into account in passing upon applications for price ceiling increases."

The capitalists know what the administration means by a "fair profit." They know how readily their government poured scores of billions in war profits into their pockets. They know what a fraud "price control" proved to be during the war. Truman's assurance of price rises to provide "fair profits" is good enough for them, even though they howl about his vague admission that the workers should get some more—but not much more—wages.

STOCK MARKET UP

Wall Street's real interpretation of Truman's wage-price policy was immediately indicated in the stock market. "The stock market responded yesterday to President Truman's wage-price policy statement with the most bullish show of enthusiasm in a month," reports the financial page of the N. Y. Times, November 1. "Followers of the stock market placed an inflationary interpretation on his address. . . . Financial circles felt that notwithstanding the plea to hold the price line, the plan for wage increases must eventually result in higher prices."

What Truman in his speech really told Wall Street was: "We'll have to give the workers something—as little as possible, of course. But don't worry. Six months from now you'll get it all back and more through price increases. Right now we've got to appear to make a concession in order to get the workers back off the picket lines."

It is significant to note that the administration during the war froze wages by decree. Not

Mack Truck Workers Flock To Strike Poll



ALLENTOWN, Pa., Oct. 31.—A typical scene today are these workers lined up for a strike vote. Here hundreds of Mack Truck workers, members of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 677, are crowding into an empty store, transformed into a polling place, to vote overwhelmingly for strike action to back their contract demands. The union is demanding 23 improvements in the contract, including a 30 per cent wage increase, the union shop, union dues check-off and vacations with pay.

AFL And CIO Machinists Unite In Big San Francisco Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

ership and conciliatory policy during the war compelled Lodge 68 to withdraw from it. Now the Metal Trades Council is negotiating for a 40 per cent wage increase, double-time for overtime, and vacation pay.

SUPPORT VOTED

At a meeting of the Council when the question of supporting the machinists' strike was raised, one rank-and-file delegate after another urged support, declaring that "now is the time" to join the machinists and take action. The only opposition was voiced by an International vice-president who complained that the machinists had not observed the 30-day "cooling off" period. The meeting concluded with general support of the strike, and voted to set up a strategy committee to prepare for strike action themselves if their demands are not met by November 15.

The AFL Central Labor Council to which Lodge 68 is affiliated has not as yet given its approval to the strike, nor has the International Association of Machinists taken a position although Lodge 68 has requested it. The East Bay CIO machinists have received the sanction of James Thimmes, California director of the Steel Workers and President of the State CIO Council.

Despite the solidarity of the rank and file of both the AFL and CIO, the Stalinist union leaders have combined with the AFL bureaucracy and the boss press in an attempt to undermine the strike. They have tried to minimize the machinists' demands, denigrate their leaders and arouse sentiment against the picket lines, so far without success.

Stalinist strongholds are chiefly only does Truman deliberately fail to say how much wages should be raised, but he indicates no way for the workers to get such increases except by "fair and free collective bargaining." The capitalist government, which assumed the power to freeze wages, claims it has no power to raise them.

STALL WORKERS

What Truman means by "fair and free collective bargaining," of course, is locking a union negotiating committee up in a room with a bunch of company lawyers and government "mediators" and stalling the workers' demands or talking the union officials out of them.

So far as Truman's talk means anything, it means as one observer put it, that the workers can get increases if they can get them. The auto workers must still battle General Motors, Chrysler and Ford. The steel workers must still battle U. S. Steel and Bethlehem.

But the only "fair and free collective bargaining" these labor-hating corporations recognize and submit to is a mass picket line.

ly in the maritime unions. Under the lead of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, dominated by Stalinist Harry Bridges, the other maritime unions were enjoined to support a treacherous "6-point program." The AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific alone has come out in full support of the strike and against this "6-point program."

This "program" contains two main proposals: (1) The establishment of a "joint strategy committee" comprising representatives of unions directly or indirectly affected by the strike; and (2) Guarantees that there would be no interference with

For a Rising Scale Of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

the movement of troop ships and troop supply ships. In return the Stalinists agreed to "support" the strike.

THE JOKER

One joker in this "program" is that ALL ships can be classified as troop ships or troop supply ships. An attempt on the part of the machinists to prevent the repair of ANY vessel could be construed as a violation of this program, thus providing the Stalinist union leaders a pretext for ordering their members to work on ships with scab machinists.

The proposal for a "joint strategy committee" is a scheme of the Stalinists to take control of the strike out of the hands of the striking unions and scuttle it, because Bridges and his pals are fearful that the unions they control may be swept into militant action despite the Stalinist agreement with the employers for "peace."

When the Stalinists' proposals were turned down by a machinists' meeting, the kept press went into action to smear the machinists. One of the plants struck is the American Can Co., which makes wax paper milk containers. The press raised a clamor of a "milk shortage" and followed it up with misleading headlines designed to whip up sentiment against the strike.

Mayor Lapham, former president of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Co., even called a meeting to resolve the "milk crisis," although officials from the veterans' hospitals and other institutions admitted they could obtain milk in bulk containers.

On the second day of the strike members of AFL Machinists Lodge 115 in the East Bay area struck 14 plants and promised to close other plants progressively if the companies failed to sign proposed agreements. Today the total has gone up to 27 plants with a complete East Bay tie-up looming.

BRIDGES COMPLAINS

Bridges' ILWU members the complaint that its members are being hit hard by the strike. "Including Fort Lauderdale."

one case," it wails, "125 machinists are keeping 2,000 warehousemen idle." However, pickets have been avoiding loading-docks and ships where machinists are not employed.

On the third day of the strike, the U. S. Conciliation Service was called in and both striking machinists unions agreed to submit their grievances.

The general fear among the labor bureaucrats and Stalinists is that the present walkout will spread into a general strike of all industries where workers' grievances and wage demands are being either negotiated or arbitrated. The rank and file of all unions, AFL and CIO, are expressing their full support and hopes that the machinists will win out.

Defeat for the highly skilled machinists would mean an offensive against all the craft unions by the waterfront employers and then a movement against the other maritime workers. Victory for the machinists will mean a tremendous drive of the rank and file in all unions to achieve their present demands for a 30 per cent wage increase, better working conditions and unemployment benefits.

Police Invade Anti-Jim Crow Church Service

FORT LAUDERDALE Fla.—Local police broke up an interracial service at the New Mount Olive Baptist Church October 7, on the grounds that it is "illegal and dangerous" for white people to be in the Negro section after dark. The five policemen, driving up in two squad cars, ordered white Rev. Edward P. Downey to get his 32 young parishioners out of the church where Negro and white youth were holding a joint service.

This vicious and high-handed enforcement of Jim Crow was exposed by the Workers Defense League after Rev. Downey lodged a protest against the flagrant violation of religious freedom, "guaranteed" under the Bill of Rights.

Rev. Harrington, spokesman for the WDL action committee, pointed out that the police action was also "an attack on the Negro and white people of Fort Lauderdale, who are getting friendlier and whose amity is a threat to the politicians and employers who keep in power by playing working people against each other through encouragement of race prejudice."

Refuting the police slander that Negro areas are "unsafe," Rev. Harrington continued: "The attempt to convince white people that Negro sections of the city are unsafe is belied by the continued experience of interracial WDL branches and other groups in southern cities, including Fort Lauderdale."

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Where Liberalism Stops

We have searched diligently but in vain through several issues of the New York newspaper PM for some account of the strike which began November 1 at the huge Marshall Field & Co. department store in Chicago. Surely, we thought, this would be right up PM's alley. PM has made quite a noisy and profitable racket out of the profession of liberalism.

This strike, moreover, has all the elements for that type of "bleeding heart" treatment in which PM specializes. The strike involves some 800 service employees, among the worst paid workers in a notoriously low-pay industry. Their demands include a 65-cent hourly minimum wage (PM has printed reams about raising the minimum wage in this country). They want a 15 per cent general wage raise (PM has sold a lot of copies because it supports the claim that wages can be raised substantially in this country). They want a union shop (PM has deplored the moves to pass open-shop legislation).

We also recall all the scathing words PM has published about Montgomery Ward and Sewell L. Avery, competitors of Marshall Field. And we hear an echo of Avery, which PM hasn't seen fit to report, let alone comment upon, in the words of William S. Street, Marshall Field's vice-president and general manager, that the issue is "not wages but the closed shop" and "the question of joining or not joining a union is one for the individual to decide."

PM can't claim it doesn't have access to information about this strike. As a matter of fact, this is one story it should find an easy scoop. For, after all, the president of PM, Inc., is Marshall Field III himself, multimillionaire merchant prince, whose fortune comes from Marshall Field & Co. as well as Southern sweat-shop textile mills about which *The Militant* has previously written.

Fruits Of Oil "Seizure"

The CIO oil workers, whose strike in 15 states several weeks ago, sparked the national CIO drive for the 40-hour week with no reduction in wartime take-home pay, are learning firsthand the true purpose of plant "seizures" by the capitalist government since the Navy, under Truman's orders, took over the struck refineries and broke the strike.

CIO Oil Workers President O. A. Knight, who ordered the strikers to return to work, now complains that Navy control of properties of 26 companies "makes it possible for the managements to stall collective bargaining indefinitely."

"Under Navy seizure the status quo prevails," charged Knight. "The 48-hour week has not been reduced to 40 hours, thus preventing the rehiring of thousands of returning veterans. Further, there has been no assurance that there will be no reduction in take-home pay when the hours are reduced."

While the government, in taking over the oil plants and breaking the strike, ruled that the companies should bargain only on the question of the difference between the 15 per cent increase they said they were willing to grant and the 30 per cent demanded by the union, the

corporations are simply sitting tight. Their agents continue the actual running of the "seized" plants, their fat profits continue unabated. And the government does them the service of preventing the workers from taking any action under the penalties of the Smith-Connally anti-strike act.

30 Hour Week

Reflecting the increasing pressure from the AFL ranks, AFL President William Green has been talking "radical" in the past few weeks. In Chicago on October 25, Green spoke up for the six-hour day, 30-hour week as an "economic necessity" or "we will be faced with a serious unemployment problem."

The demand for the 30-hour week had been endorsed by all sections of the labor movement before the war. But, as with every other demand which the labor leaders endorsed in principle, they made no effort to mobilize a powerful, united militant drive of the organized workers to win the 30-hour week. The entry of America into this war, was the signal for Green and the rest to shove all of labor's demands into the cupboard "for the duration."

It is also interesting to note that Green recently announced that the AFL delegates to Truman's tri-partite conference, starting November 5, will be "unalterably opposed" to any "no-strike pledge and compulsory arbitration." But that's no guarantee the AFL leaders, along with the CIO, won't agree to the usual "voluntary" commitments to some new form of government "mediation" and "arbitration" machinery which will serve to stall labor action and tie the union demands in red tape.

Afterthoughts On WLB

Now that the War Labor Board with the participation of the union leaders, has fulfilled its function of clamping the wartime wage freeze on labor, the AFL Executive Council comes out in opposition to it. The Council adopted a wage policy statement at its recent meeting in Cincinnati stating that "those who desire prolongation of the National War Labor Board have no confidence in themselves nor in the operation of the free enterprise system. They are ready to admit that the American way of life is a failure."

It doesn't take much courage to beat a dead dog. But it is symptomatic of the kind of "courage" evidence by these union leaders that they are still members of the WLB. If they wanted to make sure that the WLB is not "prolonged," or revived in some new form under a new label, all they have to do is get off it.

Agencies for curbing the unions and binding them to government arbitration, such as the WLB, could not exist for a minute if the union leaders refused to serve on them and give them a "labor" cover. As moribund and discredited as the WLB is, the union officials, CIO and AFL, still cling to it.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Trotskyists Forge Ahead

Germany

We have just received news that a number of German Trotskyists exiled in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Holland recently held a conference at which the German Section of the Fourth International was officially constituted. The European Executive Committee of the Fourth International recognized the new party and gave it representation on the Committee.

The German party is now elaborating its program for the socialist revolution in Germany.

The German Trotskyists have suffered terrible persecution. They did their utmost to warn the working class of the danger of Hitler long before he seized power. The Trotskyists worked incessantly to convince the Social Democratic and Stalinist Parties that they should unite to combat the danger. Their warnings went unheeded.

But Hitler recognized that the Trotskyists, the representatives of the program of revolutionary socialism, constituted his most mortal political foe. When he seized power, the Gestapo persistently tracked down the Trotskyists, pursuing them even in exile. The Stalinists and the Imperialists in other lands joined the Gestapo in this foul work, dealing terrible blows to the Trotskyists. But not even this powerful combination of reactionary forces could stamp out the revolutionary ideas of Trotskyism.

The re-emergence of Trotskyism as an organized force on the German political scene is one of the most hopeful augurs for the success of the working class revolution in Germany.

Switzerland

Despite a series of arrests, in 1941, the Swiss Trotskyist organization survived the war and is now in position to make rapid headway.

Our Paris correspondent reports that the Stalinists played a despicable role in these arrests. Agents of Stalin's secret service, the hated GPU, made a list of all people whom they thought might have any connection with Trotskyism. A person overheard so much as mentioning the name of Trotsky was written down on this list. When it had been completed, the GPU sent it to Russia. En route, however, the Swiss Intelligence through a "lucky" break caught this particular agent on this particular trip.

The list was then used to track down all those suspected of Trotskyism.

Holland

De Rode October (Red October), official organ of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists, Dutch Section of the Fourth International, is now reaching us regularly.

De Rode October is a well-printed, four-page weekly which reflects the growth of the Dutch Trotskyist organization. During the Nazi occupation of Holland, the Trotskyists printed 46 issues of their paper in the underground despite ferocious reprisals by the Gestapo.

The latest issues of "De Rode October" defend the struggle of the Indonesian people for freedom. The Dutch Trotskyists attack the Imperialists of Holland for attempting to reestablish their yoke on the former colonies. "De Rode October" solidarizes with the colonial peoples who want to choose their own form of government.

Belgium

The Militant reported recently that the newspaper put out by the Belgian Trotskyists, La Lutte Ouvrière (Workers' Struggle), was in danger of suspension. The September 22 issue, which has just been received here, reports the status of the paper as follows:

The government suspended La Voie de Lening, central organ of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire, for solidarizing with the German working people. The Trotskyists have campaigned for the removal of this ban. Meanwhile they published La Lutte Ouvrière without an official government permit.

M. Mundelet, Minister of National Defense, promised "more or less" to have the suspension lifted. However, the Trotskyists received instead an official warning that "measures would

be taken" against La Lutte Ouvrière if it continued to appear without authorization. While the Trotskyists followed up on all the steps necessary to secure this authorization, they ceased printing La Lutte Ouvrière and put out instead a special bulletin on the Fifth Anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

But the government failed to authorize the publication of La Lutte Ouvrière. Unable to wait any longer, the Trotskyists began publishing the paper once more. Freedom of the press is recognized by the Belgian government in theory. In practice, however, this puppet government has proved exceedingly responsive to the pressure of the Stalinists who are conducting a tremendous campaign of slander against the Trotskyists.

France

The French Trotskyists are defending the Indo-Chinese people from French imperialism. The October 4 La Verite (Truth) calls for "Complete Solidarity" with the Indo-Chinese. "Long Live Free and Independent Indo-China!" declares the main headline.

The major part of La Verite is devoted to the Indo-Chinese struggle. This fact alone shows how important the French Trotskyists believe it to be to struggle against their own capitalist class in support of the oppressed colonial peoples, for the ration on paper so limits space that La Verite must seriously limit its consideration of other vital issues.

Greece

The June 3 issue of Epsatikh Rahn (Workers' Struggle), organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' International Party of Greece, Greek Section of the Fourth International, carries the following informative article on the activity of the Trotskyists:

"On May 20 a general meeting of the Typographical Union took place in the Athens Labor Center. For the first time since the Metaxas dictatorship the hall was filled to overflowing. The president of the union reported the failure of the union's committee to reach an agreement with the bosses' association.

"We hoped," said the president, "that the employers' philanthropic sentiments would prevail and make them yield to some of our demands, but nothing happened after 25 days of discussion. Finally the president asked the members of the union to decide by secret ballot whether they should strike or not.

"One of our comrades then took the floor. He told the members that the union officials by prolonging the conversations with the employers did nothing but help them exploit the workers for 25 extra days, paying us starvation wages in the meantime. He said that 'all the workers who have no faith in the humanitarian sentiments of the bosses—in spite of what the leaders of our union think—have the courage to take upon themselves the responsibility of the strike and therefore it is not necessary to vote secretly on the question.'

"The words of our comrade were received with deafening applause. The whole assembly then and there decided unanimously by voice and a rising vote to go on strike without further discussions with the bosses.

"A strike committee was elected at once. The strike lasted for 10 days with unabated militancy and enthusiasm. But finally the union heads compromised with the bosses and instead of 1200 drachmas daily wages demanded by the strikers, they accepted the bosses' offer of 960 drachmas a day and ordered the workers back to work."

Mexico

The Mexican Trotskyists have exposed a political combination that will prove interesting to all those following the devious turns and twists of the Stalinists.

Miguel Aleman is the presidential candidate of the capitalists of Mexico. He is likewise supported by the Gold Shirts, the fascist movement in this country.

And who is found side by side with the fascists in supporting Aleman? None other than the Stalinists.

"The Stalinists have had to make a united front with the 'Gold Shirts' of the ARM, the most rabid enemies of the working class," declares Lucha Obrera, organ of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International. "Certainly it is a moving spectacle: at Aleman's election table Gold Shirts and Stalinists are eating out of the same plate."

Indonesian People Fight Heroically Against Brutal Imperialist Assault

Misery In Germany



Two boys haul a cartload of coffins through a Berlin street. Since this picture was taken, fuel has become so scarce that, according to one report, use of wood in making coffins has now been banned. Winter is expected to take a heavy death toll in ruined Germany.

Allied Rule Savage In Ruined Germany

By Eugene Varlin

American soldiers are paid in occupation currency. These are "marks" issued by the American government. American government purchases in Germany are made with these same "marks."

In terms of what Germany gets in return, these marks are worth no more than the paper they are printed on.

By decree of General Eisenhower, the German people must accept these "marks" as equal in value to their own. Hitler won the universal hatred of occupied Europe by following the same financial policy.

What is more, Washington fixed the value of the German mark at 10 cents. Its pre-war value was 20 cents. When our troops, the hapless writer among them, entered Germany, we found that we could purchase goods for one mark that would cost as much as one dollar in the States. I bought a roll of 35-millimeter film for one mark and 20 pennings (or 12 cents). An inferior roll of film in the States now sells for a little more than \$1. Legal robbery is a simple matter in Germany, especially for the "brass," since they have freedom of movement.

PROFITTEERING OFFICERS

I know of one Major who bought a Leica camera for 350 marks (\$35) and sold it for the equivalent of \$600 in France. France, you see, is undergoing inflation and this officer, like so many others, used this little opportunity to full advantage. Had he wanted to, though, he could have brought the Leica home with him and sold it for \$200.

In addition, there is the "right of the conqueror" to help himself. Strictly speaking, looting is punishable by courts-martial. However, when the "brass" set the example and go unpunished, the G. I. simply follows suit. Moreover, he has been taught that Germans are not fit to live. Taking a few of their belongings seems to him a lesser crime than

killing them. And the "brass" lead the way. One colonel I knew made it his first task to locate all the available liquor supplies in a town for his officers and then assigned enlisted men to guard these supplies from their buddies.

All Germans must register with the labor exchanges of the Allied Military Government. Among the first essential tasks are—making the conquerors comfortable—waiting on them, cooking for them, cleaning their quarters. German prisoners of war were still doing this work when I left Germany, but they were being replaced by civilian labor. To tell the truth, the starved Germans were glad to work because they were at least assured of a noonday meal in the barracks areas.

Production, even production vital for the existence of the nation, is almost at a standstill. Although not using German machinery, the AMG is effectively preventing the German workers from using it. The United States wants, not merely to destroy German war potential, but also to destroy future German competition on the world market. However, the same steel needed for bridges and railroads.

The partition of Germany into four spheres is an additional factor in the disruption of German economy. Allied domination of Germany is contributing to the certain prospects of widespread famine this winter.

The American military authorities fear the consequences of their policies. That is why Germany's transportation system is being partially restored and the farmer encouraged to raise crops. However, the Allies are not motivated by humanitarian considerations. They are accustomed to inflict suffering upon "their own" American troops. What they fear is a German working class in revolt, a German working class that will arouse the sympathy and solidarity of their American class brothers.

Trotskyists Lead Fight Against French Fascists

Translated from La Verite, organ of the French Trotskyists.

QUIMPER, Sept. 22 — The fascist Nader, reactionary former deputy from Concarneau, who voted full powers to Petain on July 10, 1940, organized an election rally yesterday. Labor organizations warned the workers, and some 3,000 people jammed into the hall.

Nader's followers, impressed by the workers' demonstration, did not dare take the stand. A Stalinist official of the French Communist Party took the floor and proposed as speakers a member of the Socialist Party and a member of the Popular Republican Movement.

Members of the Trotskyist Party (Parti Communiste Internationaliste) intervened. Pointing out that they had been the first to warn the workers of Nader's maneuvers, they demanded a speaker too.

Three speakers were finally agreed upon, a Trotskyist, a Socialist and a Stalinist. Another speaker was then added, a former inmate of the Mauthausen

concentration camp, whose son, the Trotskyist, Marc Bourhis, was shot at Chateaubriant.

NADER EXPOSED

Nader tried to gain sympathy from a group of unemployed, recalling that he had been likewise deported. But an inmate of the same camp reported the shameful conduct of Nader among the prisoners.

Pierre Gueguen, the Trotskyist speaker, revealed Nader's responsibility in the arrests of Gueguen and Bourhis. After the representatives of the Socialists and Stalinists had spoken, Comrade Alice Bourhis revealed additional facts about Nader.

In conclusion another Trotskyist explained the position of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste in the elections and (since the Trotskyists were unable to run candidates in Quimper) urged everyone to vote for the Communist Party.

La Verite (official organ of the French Trotskyists) and pamphlets of the party were received with sympathy.

By Joseph Hansen

The struggle of the Indonesian people for freedom from imperialist rule reached new pitches of violence during the past week as British troops inched forward against the population. In the camp of the nationalists, differences of opinion on policy in fighting the imperialist bandits seemed to be sharpening. Some of the Nationalist leaders appeared to be calling for appeasement of the imperialist plunderers. The armed people on the other hand appeared insistent on acting before the armed forces of British imperialism reach overwhelming strength.

A sketch of the week's events follows:

October 28: British Indian troops who invaded Soerabaja Friday found themselves under bitter attack when Indonesians refused to surrender their arms as ordered by the Allied Commander.

British and Americans, following the troops in Java, were doing their utmost to get the rich raw products of the East Indies, such as oil and rubber, flowing again to British and American industry.

Nehru, one of the leaders of the Nationalist movement in India, denounced the use of Indian troops by the British against Indonesia and declared the "people of India will stand by the Indonesian demand for independence and will give all the help they can."

A rally of 3,000 people in Cape Town, South Africa, supported the Indonesians and called a protest to the British Government, demanding cessation of "British intervention on behalf of the Dutch Government."

BRITISH DESPERATE

October 29: The Indonesian fighters revealed such strength that the British commander in Soerabaja appealed for help, saying his garrison of 1,600 was in a "desperate plight." British headquarters in Batavia asked Soekarno, president of the Republic of Indonesia, to intervene.

He agreed. Via British plane and British truck and under cover of the Indonesian flag, he reached the headquarters of the Indonesian forces. "He persuaded the young radio leaders to call off the attack," said Associated Press. An Indonesian school teacher taken captive by the British said "the young rebels were Communists, and when told to lay down their arms, had defied Meostopa's orders and decided to fight."

After negotiating the truce, Soekarno flew back to Batavia. His plane was fired upon as he took off. "The fire we experienced on landing was nothing to what we received on taking off," said Ralph Morton, AP reporter who accompanied Soekarno.

DEFY DUTCH

October 30: Hasa, the Indonesian Governor of Sumatra warned "that any attempt to take over the administration will be at their own risk." He added: "The former Dutch colonial economic system moved too slowly. We intend to open up the country to the fullest extent, and improve the living standard. We have passed the birth stage, and now the struggle for recognition of our individuality envelops us. Other free peoples of the world have encountered and won through these same experiences—so will we."

Brigadier Mallaby, commander of British troops in Soerabaja was killed. The Indonesian Government later said he was caught in a crossfire between British and Indian troops and "it is not clear whether he died from shots of British Indian troops or Indonesians."

October 31: Cristison, commander of Allied forces in Java, ordered warplanes into action against the Indonesians and announced that unless the Indonesians cease their "extremist actions" he "intends to bring the whole weight of sea, land and air forces under my command and all weapons of modern war against them until they are crushed."

The British Broadcasting Corporation said Soekarno had ordered "cessation of all opposition to the Allies" and declared "The Allies are not the enemies of the Indonesians, although the Indonesians regard the Netherlands East Indies civilian administration as their enemy." The British Exchange Telegraph said Soekarno is now acting under British orders and that the script of his radio speech was "dictated by the British."

"REPRISALS" THREATENED British officials in London said the killing of General Mallaby may necessitate "reprisals." A wireless to the N. Y. Times said: "From the beginning the British have insisted that their role was simply to restore law and order and then turn the area over to the Netherlands."

How Allies Betrayed The Jewish Refugees

By Dan Shelton

(The first of two articles)

More than 200,000 angry and embittered Jews crowded into Madison Square Park Wednesday, October 24, in the largest protest meeting against Britain's White Paper ever held in this city. Bitterly assailing Britain's continued refusal to open Palestine's gates to homeless Jewish refugees from Europe, the huge crowd showed its temper by wildly acclaiming the more militant speakers on the platform.

With countless factories and stores closing at 4 p.m. to permit employes to attend, the tremendous demonstration had the full support of the AFL and CIO, many of whose unions participated. Louis Hollander, chairman of the N. Y. State Industrial Union Council, CIO, and Thomas Murray, president of the N. Y. State Federation of Labor, joined in pledging that the labor movement would not "stand idly by" while the British labor government continues the Tories' colonial policy of preventing immigration of Jews into Palestine.

The grief-laden survivors of Hitler's horrors and of the Allies' refusal to help European Jewry, have only one thought, according to recent surveys made among them: Emigration from Europe and Immigration to Palestine.

Yet even at this late date there has been no help and no lifting of immigration restrictions by the Allies. It is this general pattern of "Jewish liberation" by the Allies—long ago predicted and analyzed by THE MILITANT—that these masses came to protest against. It is this rapid deterioration of the situation following Allied victory that prompted some of the more "militant" Jewish protest rallies recently held, at which the pressure of the masses forced the leaders to "declare war" against "imperialist treachery."

With almost eight million Jews wiped out by Hitler, the true meaning of Jewish "liberation" by the victorious Allies is becoming clearer every day. The several hundred thousand Jews left in Europe live in utter destitution and misery, even worse than that suffered by all the peoples of Europe, because most of the Jews are in concentration camps maintained by the Allies. Conditions in these camps are "shocking" and "reminiscent of Hitler's regime," according to a recent official report to Pres-

ident Truman. Anti-Semitic outrages—not Hitler's "invention," but one of the vile outgrowths of capitalism in its decay—are still being perpetrated, according to recent reports from Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries.

The real meaning of this demonstration consisted of something more than a rally for Palestine. Confronted by its Zionist sponsors to a protest against the White Paper and for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the meeting in reality represented a cry of anguish of a tormented people at the treatment accorded to it by its own "Allies."

The Export-Import Bank at Washington, D. C. announced a second \$50,000,000 credit had been granted the Netherlands Government.

November 3: A second division of British troops landed in Java. Indonesian troops, concentrating in central Java, were reported by British pilots to number about 100,000.

Soeardjo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that the policy of the Soekarno government is "full cooperation with Allied landing forces." Referring to clashes between British troops and the Indonesian people, Soeardjo said Soekarno had visited Jogjakarta, nationalist military base in southern Java. "To work out measures with the Indonesian army for putting a stop to such incidents."

Some 50 Indonesians seamen picketed the Dutch Consulate in New York City.

U. S. AIDS DUTCH November 4: Liberty ships at Batavia were unloading great quantities of uniforms, medical supplies, food and trucks sold to the Dutch by the U. S. Army, according to an AP dispatch.

Approximately 1,000 youths at a rally in Tokyo supported the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese independence movements.

November 5: The British poured reinforcements into central Java. In Batavia they fought off Indonesians, killing them with Bren guns, rifles and hand grenades. At Soerabaja the British were reported to have inflicted 3,000 casualties in the fighting which led to the death of a British general.

During the election the Trotskyists distributed La Verite in the streets. It was avidly received by the workers. The police did not bother the distributors, apparently not wishing a scandal during the election that would expose the fraudulent character of capitalist "democracy."

The number of voters who supported the Trotskyist candidates furnishes an additional argument for the legalization of the Parti Communiste Internationaliste. "But we have no illusions," say the Trotskyists. "The Stalinists will not hesitate now to organize an offensive against us, especially in the event they get the Ministry of the Interior."

The French Trotskyists are now setting out to educate the new recruits gained as a result of their election activity. They are looking forward to the next electoral campaign of May, 1946, "and most of all to our role in the days of social struggle which inevitably will come when the French workers understand the treachery of Socialist and Stalinist participation in the government."

(To be continued)



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

—Leon Trotsky

Detroit Election

Even the limited step forward on the road to independent labor political action being made by the Detroit workers in their campaign to elect UAW Vice-President Frankenstein as mayor, has evoked the most frenzied resistance of the corporations and their agents.

The smallest effort of the workers to enter as a class upon the political arena signifies a deadly threat to their political monopoly and rule.

No means are too vile for the capitalists to employ against the efforts of the working class to assert itself as an independent political force in behalf of its own interests.

Thus, in Detroit, the bankers and industrialists and their political agents have not hesitated to use the vilest and most notorious propaganda methods of the fascists to frustrate the political aspirations of the workers.

While their official press and political spokesmen conduct a labor-baiting campaign in a more "dignified" tone, they are conducting a simultaneous and related campaign of the most virulent and unrestrained red-baiting, anti-Negro, anti-Semitic propaganda through "unofficial" channels.

The capitalists of Detroit, and of the entire country are conducting a frantic and fearful drive to smother the developing movement for independent labor political action as expressed in the campaign for Frankenstein. They understand its implications fully.

Just so must the workers understand, from the standpoint of their interests, the significance of the Detroit elections. The campaign to elect Frankenstein is a limited and hesitant step in the direction of independent labor political action. But it provides a powerful springboard for labor to leap with both feet into full independent political action through a genuine labor party.

A labor party would provide a powerful political instrument for the working class. That the bosses know. That is why they resist with such fury the smallest step in this direction. The workers, for their part, must boldly travel this road to its very end.

They must not limit themselves to running an occasional candidate like Frankenstein from labor's ranks. They must build their own powerful political organization, a party, based on the trade unions independent of all capitalist ties, a party which every hour and every day will challenge the political rule of Big Business and drive to establish the political power of labor.

Two Sliding Scales

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that the only "solution" capitalism really offers for the problem of mass unemployment is recurrent imperialist war and mass slaughter.

That this is a factor of which the ruling class is fully conscious is demonstrated by a proposal recently advanced by the N. Y. Daily News, a paper with over 2,000,000 circulation. An editorial entitled the "Jobless Problem Coming Back" was published in the Daily News, October 19. "What to do about it?" asks the Daily News. It supplies the answer: Introduce a "Sliding Scale for Military Training."

"Why not put the yearly military training quotas on a sliding scale? Up to now, the general idea has been to call up a fixed number of men for training each year. Why not modify that plan, by calling up a large number in years when jobs are scarce, and a smaller number in years when jobs are plentiful?" asks the News.

In short, the capitalist "solution" for unemployment, as proposed by this powerful mouthpiece of Wall Street, is to wall off the unemployed, particularly the youth, in barracks and prepare them to serve as cannon-fodder in World War III.

The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party have for years advanced the slogan of a SLIDING SCALE of wages and hours to eliminate unemployment. Our slogan is the polar opposite of that advanced by the Daily News.

We call for a program of the universal 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. We call for the utilization of the labor of every worker in the production of

goods for the needs of the people and for wages that will provide a full measure of decency and comfort to the workingclass.

Our "sliding scale" answer for unemployment is to reduce the hours of work to a point where every worker will have a useful, productive job and to raise wages to a point where every worker will have sufficient income to secure, in the form of the necessities and comforts of life, the fruits of his labor.

In these two contrasting slogans based on the concept of the "sliding scale" are embodied the two mortally contending programs of Trotskyism and Monopoly Capitalism. Our slogan of the sliding scale of wages and hours is the way to life. The Daily News slogan for a sliding scale of military training is the road to barbarism, destruction and death.

Ship "Bottleneck"

The hypocrisy of the Wall Street militarists and their supporters is nowhere more evident than in the excuses they cook up for their slowness in bringing the troops back home.

The big "bottleneck," they claim, is transportation. There are not enough ships—"available." There are not enough planes—"available." When a strike breaks out, the Wall Street militarists move heaven and earth in an attempt to "prove" that the strike cuts down the "available" transportation.

But the truth is, hundreds of ships are now being laid up by these same Wall Street militarists. Drew Pearson has revealed that transport planes are being used by the Brass Hats for personal pleasure and for hauling blooded cavalry horses to the United States from Germany. The press reports that hundreds of ships are returning from overseas in sand ballast instead of bringing troops back home. In the Far East additional hundreds of ships are riding idle at anchor.

Most outrageous of all, however, is the use of regular transport ships and transport planes to haul the troops of Chiang Kai-shek to northern China. While the Wall Street militarists lied to the public about the transportation "bottleneck" and blamed strikes for tightening transportation, they themselves earmarked an undisclosed number of transports and planes for the use of Chiang Kai-shek in the civil war in China.

Strong protest is in order against Wall Street's plan for a long "duration" and a snail's-pace demobilization. Demand the withdrawal of all American troops from foreign soil! Demand the full utilization of all transport facilities to bring them back as rapidly as possible!

"Ready For Self-Rule"

The imperialists attempt to justify their oppression of colonial peoples with arguments that bear the dust of centuries. One of the most common of these arguments alleges that the colonial peoples are not "ready" to assume the "responsibilities and functions of a free and independent nation." The imperialists promise "eventual" freedom when the people become "ready." Meanwhile, of course, the imperialists will govern. The "burden" of rule naturally is not assumed by the imperialists simply out of charity. They squeeze fabulous profits and taxes out of their colonial subjects—undoubtedly to spur them on to the road of self-rule.

But what happens when a colonial people demonstrate beyond all question their "readiness" for self-rule? In Indo-China, for instance, the Annamese people organized a widespread nationalist movement called the Viet Minh. They set up a republic which they named Viet Namh. The government of the Annamese people began administering affairs of the nation. Imperialist investments were threatened.

Did the French, the British or American imperialists recognize this government? By no means. Instead, they rushed tens of thousands of troops to Indo-China by warship and airplane. With tanks and bombs and artillery and Japanese auxiliaries, they moved against the Indo-Chinese people—to reduce them once again to the status so beloved by imperialists of not yet being "ready" for self-rule.

The same thing happened in Java where the Indonesian people organized a tremendous nationalist movement. They set up the Republic of Indonesia and prepared to move forward as an independent and free nation. Imperialist investments were threatened.

Did the Dutch, British or American imperialists recognize this Republic? As in Indo-China, the British and Dutch, utilizing American lend-lease arms and Japanese auxiliaries, opened warfare on the Republic of Indonesia and right now are slaughtering the Indonesians—to reduce them to their former status of not yet being "ready" for self-rule.

In strange contrast to the attitude of the Allies toward these great revolutionary movements of the Indonesians and Annamese, which involve millions of people, is the attitude of the Allies toward "revolutions" in South America. Here a government can be toppled overnight by a tiny clique of officers. The latest instances are Venezuela and Brazil. Within a few days the new government is recognized by the imperialists. The question of the representative character of the new government does not even come up for consideration. The only question that arises is the intactness of imperialist investments and imperialist control over the country's economy.

As interpreted by the imperialists, it is thus clear that "readiness" of a subject people for self-rule really means the "readiness and ability" of native agents to guarantee the domination of foreign despots. But if imperialist investments are threatened, then, no matter how democratic or widespread the movement for independence may be, fire and sword are administered to teach the subject people they are not yet "ready for self-rule."



"Isn't it wonderful—now you don't have to worry about sending your son to college!"

MOVIE REVIEW

One of the compensations of a study of Marxism is the insight it gives into the superstructure of society. Science, philosophy and art gain rich new facets for the person who masters Marxism. Even in the movies, meanings become apparent that are completely hidden to those ignorant of Marxism.

Take the current movie *Blood On The Sun*. A person unacquainted with Marxist literature might consider the picture to be nothing but a routine Hollywood adventure picture. Such a person might even enjoy watching James Cagney out-jitsu the past masters of jitsu in Japan.

A cynic, however, on seeing Hollywood's modern version of the old 15 Episode Thriller would probably remark that there is nothing new under the sun—not even in Hollywood.

The older generation watching *Blood On The Sun* clank and clatter from one perilous situation to the next might recall that the German Kaiser once ran over the "yellow peril." They might wonder whether Hollywood's propaganda is more convincing than the Kaiser's, even with the added attraction of James Cagney making love to Sylvia Sydney.

Of course, super-patriots will wax enthusiastic over the way Hollywood proves that intelligent, acrobatic American newspaper reporters are superior to stupid, wooden-muscled Japanese police and detectives. The super-patriot will glow with pride at Hollywood's subtlety in depicting Japanese character through the device of phony jutting teeth on Chinese extras.

A Marxist, however, would be interested not so much in these

aspects of Hollywood's mass-production, belt-line propaganda as in the use of the Tanaka Memorial. For the 1927 Memorial of Baron Tanaka to the Japanese Mikado is an historic document. Why was it necessary for Hollywood to lie about the origin of the Tanaka Memorial? The true story is far more exciting than the pot-boiler *Blood On The Sun* version cooked up by Hollywood.

Here is where Marxist analysis enters in. Hollywood could not tell the truth about the Tanaka Memorial without embarrassing the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and perhaps Wall Street. Hollywood is a propaganda agency controlled by Wall Street; consequently the movies will not be used to reveal embarrassing truths.

The real story of the Tanaka Memorial is briefly this: Baron Tanaka wrote an outline of the plans of Japanese imperialism to conquer the Far East and eventually gain a preeminent position in the world capitalist system. Because it was a secret government document it was more frank and outspoken than similar documents envisaging global domination by Wall Street published in such American magazines as *Fortune*.

Agents of the Soviet Union photographed the document in 1925 or earlier and forwarded the undeveloped film to Moscow. Trotsky and other leaders of the Soviet Union discussed the sensational document. They decided to make it public, but did not wish to uncover the channels through which it was obtained or strain relations with Japan. Trotsky suggested publishing it in the United States. His suggestion was carried out. (Thus the Tanaka Memorial was not obtained by an American reporter of the James Cagney type nor published first in Japan as claimed by Hollywood.) Naturally the Japanese Government claimed it a forgery.

But in 1940 Leon Trotsky wrote an article revealing the truth about the origin of the Tanaka Memorial. He was still negotiating for its publication when he was struck down by a Stalinist assassin. The manuscript was among the unfinished documents on his desk. It was complete enough, however, to publish and *Fourth International*, monthly magazine of the American Trotskyists, printed it in June 1941, six months before Pearl Harbor. All the published facts about the Tanaka Memorial are contained in that one article.

Thus to tell the true story about the Tanaka Memorial, it would have been necessary to bring in the Soviet Union and Leon Trotsky and his murder by a Stalinist assassin. It would have been necessary to explain why Wall Street discouraged publication of the Memorial while sending scrap iron and oil to Japan. Likewise it would have been necessary to explain Stalin's pact with Japan until the last weeks of the Second World War and his silence to this day about the Tanaka Memorial. And those are delicate subjects for both Stalin and Wall Street.

Better to have James Cagney and Sylvia Sydney get the Tanaka Memorial by matching wits and jitsu with keeling buck-toothed Hollywood menaces! Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Why Demobilization Is Lagging

G.I.'s in every part of the world are burning with resentment because of the snail's pace of demobilization. Newspapers and columnists are being flooded with their bitter denunciations of Brass Hat and Gold Brail attempts to keep enlisted men in service. Congressmen have been deluged with protests from G.I.'s and their families.

In a manner typical of almost every Washington politician, Senator David I. Walsh, after reading excerpts from "thousands" of letters he has received, told the Senate that he "dared not" read aloud many of the others. Why? Although he didn't say so, because they would present a thorough denunciation of demobilization policy.

In spite of a lot of ballyhoo to the contrary, the army and navy are doing nothing to speed up demobilization. Officers of the army and navy offer as an excuse the claim that there is a shortage of shipping space. But actually the government has ships to burn. Some 300 merchant ships, which could be converted to troop carriers in about 40 days, have already been laid up and others are in the same process.

When it was a question of moving millions of men to the battlefronts, GHQ quickly solved the shipping problem. And it did so at a time when ships were in far greater demand. Now GHQ has a completely different attitude toward the movement of troops.

Congressmen may be deluded by the "explanations" of Brass Hats, but G.I.'s are not. A letter from a soldier on Okinawa, relayed to *The Militant*, is typical of thousands: "We know that the army and navy have the ships and planes," he says, "but we also know of the usual custom of having them lying at anchor for weeks and even months at a time. On this island only a few of the high point men have left so far. They have hardly touched the 80 and 85 pointers, much less the 40 and 38 year olds. As for me and the rest 35 years and over, we haven't even filled out forms yet."

What are the real reasons for the slowness of demobilization? Hansen Baldwin, military analyst for the N. Y. Times and authoritative spokesman for Wall Street, enunciated the actual policy of Washington in the N. Y. Times, October 17. He cautioned against haste in demobilization and said that "the United States still needs strength and perhaps our greatest need of strength in the foreseeable future will be in the dangerous interim period—between war and peace—that has now started. The lethal tendency toward division into two political blocs—already too far advanced—must be checked if there is to be any hope of international peace, but it cannot be checked by American diplomatic or military weakness."

In other words American imperialists want the army and navy kept at wartime strength as long as possible. Fearing public reaction to the open declaration of such a policy, the army and navy chiefs hypocritically assert that the "reason" for slow demobilization is a lack of facilities. In reality they are making no attempt to speed it up.

That is why G.I.'s have seen merchant ships, which were good enough to carry men on invasions, sail for the United States without passengers. That is why naval vessels remain tied up in ports for weeks instead of being used to transport weary men home from godforsaken islands.

Men who were drafted to fight against the "totalitarian countries," are now—after the complete defeat and devastation of these countries—being kept in the armed forces so that American imperialism can use a mighty army and navy to force its will on the rest of the world.

Navy Officers Accused Of Huge Meat Theft

Approximately \$1,000,000 worth of government purchased meat intended for the armed forces, was stolen during the war and sold on the black market by high-ranking Navy officers in Hawaii, including an unnamed Admiral, according to charges lodged with the Senate War Investigating Committee on October 25. This scandalous thievery was going on "undetected" and unpunished while the American workers were being urged to tighten their belts.

Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan said he had evidence that officers disposed of sides of beef to local hot dog stands and taverns and that a total of \$500,000 worth of ships' stores had been lifted from one submarine base alone. He asserted that the unnamed admiral himself sold \$9,578 worth of Navy meat since August 1942.

This scandal broke out as an aftermath of charges brought last summer against Commander Laurence Blodgett by Colonel Ivan Stickney, whose duty in part was the policing of food supplies. Blodgett was charged with "misappropriating" 1,441 pounds of Navy meat and 520 pounds of Navy butter. In the court-martial which followed, Blodgett claimed that part of this meat and butter, which was segregated in the Naval Depot as his personal property, was condemned and he wanted to use it as bait for deep sea fishing. He said part he had killed on hunting trips and part he bought from native sources.

Just before the trial, Blodgett threw a little "luau" beach party with attractive hula girls for entertainment, and roast pig to feast upon. To this party he invited the legal counsel appointed to prosecute him. Thereafter the court whitewashed him of the crime. Colonel Stickney, who preferred the charges, was transferred to another command by Capt. J. S. Dowell on the ground that he was "beyond the age limit for the strenuous physical requirements of the present war."

In the Senate War Investigating Committee hearings, Senator Ferguson pointed out "there was something awry in a system under which officers brazenly kept private stocks of meat at a naval station, while an enlisted man in the same territory recently was disciplined by a deck court for having a 25-cent can of meat and noodles."

But what chiefly occupied the Committee in its three hours of hearings, was the question of "who stole the pig" that the officers and hula girls ate at the "luau" party. At the end of the hearings, it was decided that "possibly the roast pig was a private one . . . inasmuch as it had no Government stamp or insignia on it."

As for the vast black market operations in which high ranking Navy officers are incriminated, that is dismissed with the assurance that "the Navy is thinking of revising its inspection and judicial system."

Congressmen At Work

The other day someone sent Rankin of Mississippi a circular letter signed by Dr. Albert Einstein, the world-renowned mathematician. The circular called for a break in diplomatic relations with fascist Spain. Rankin, whose cultural background goes straight back to the heyday of the old slave-holding aristocracy, rose to the occasion:

"Here is this man, Dr. Albert Einstein," he orated, "urging us to break relations, which would likely mean war with Spain, and probably war with the entire Spanish-speaking world."

Why did Einstein sign a letter against Spanish fascism? Because, explains the cultured Rankin, Einstein is trying "to further the spread of communism throughout the world . . . It is about time the American people got wise to Einstein. In my opinion he is violating the law and ought to be prosecuted . . . Here is a man using the mail to propagandize us into breaking relations with Spain . . . and yet these Communists and their fellow travelers are attacking us for maintaining a Committee on Un-American Activities. I call upon the Department of Justice to stop this man Einstein . . ."

Cox of Georgia likewise recently demonstrated in action how cultured the Southern Bourbons are. When Celler of New York denounced America's native fascists, Cox responded: "I



was reminded that pretexts are never wanting when hypocrisy wishes to add malice to falsehood or cowardice to stab a foe who cannot defend himself. I thought I detected beneath the hem of the lion's skin that the gentleman wore the tail of a calf."

Cellers demanded that Cox's "words be taken down."

Rankin cut in with a slick "point of order" that necessitated a roll call of the House. When the roll of 435 members had finally been called, Cellers repeated his demand. The clerk read back Cox's declaration, but hesitated when he came to the literary gem contained in the final sentence. The Congressional Record continues:

"Mr. Cox: Mr. Speaker, that is not all of it."

"Mr. Rankin: Mr. Speaker, there was more than that."

"The Speaker: There is one more sentence. It is on another

page. The Clerk will read. The Clerk read as follows: 'I thought I detected in the lion's skin that the gentleman wore the tail of a calf.'

"Mr. Cox: Mr. Speaker, that is inaccurate. That is not an accurate transcript. I said: 'I thought I detected beneath the hem of the lion's skin which the gentleman wore the tail of a calf.'

"The Speaker: The language here is: 'I thought I detected in the lion's skin that the gentleman wore—'

"Mr. Cox: No; I said 'beneath the hem of the lion's skin.'

"Mr. Celler: In any event, Mr. Speaker—"

"The Speaker: The Chair is ready to rule. It is not necessary to repeat all that the gentleman from Georgia said. The Chair reads these words: 'I was reminded that pretexts are never wanting when hypocrisy wishes to add malice to falsehood or cowardice to stab a foe who cannot defend himself.' The gentleman from Georgia specifically referred to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Celler). The Chair is compelled to hold that those remarks are not parliamentary."

With that, Mr. Cox was satisfied. "Thank you, Mr. Speaker." He had proved his point. Maybe the poll-tax Congressmen are too ignorant to be parliamentary but you can't say they aren't "cultured."

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.

Letter to SKF - - Refused Publication By Boss Press

Editor:
I am sending to you the enclosed "Open Letter To The Management of SKF" which I unsuccessfully tried to get published in the Philadelphia daily papers.

SKF Worker
Philadelphia, Pa.
(Editor's Note: The following is the letter which the Philadelphia papers refused to print. The SKF workers have been in a bitter strike for more than four weeks.)

On April 2 and August 28 last, I forwarded to you (SKF) letters referring to your dealings with your employees and their Union.

Because you and the National Association of Manufacturers are in conspiracy to destroy unionism, you failed to heed the plea not to enter into the path of Union-Baiting Activities and you turned a deaf ear to the warning of the consequences which would result from such activities on your part.

I tried to publish my previous letter in the only liberal paper Philadelphia boasts. But even there your evil influence and the advertising space you so generously buy to throw sand into the eyes of the public, caused my original copy to be conveniently "lost" and a second copy was marked "too long for our limited space."

But all this will avail you nothing. For while you need bold gift-edged type to put across your attacks, we may accomplish our end, revealing the truth to the people through our Workers' Press or even by a blurred mimeographed leaflet.

You think you can starve us into submission. Again you are wrong. Workers are used to hunger. Even in the prosperous days we are only half-fed. Our homes are mortgaged to your banker friends and quite often we are evicted in default of rent, interest or taxes.

But did it occur to you that we could starve you out sooner than you can us? Just suppose that the Union milkman and breadman refuse to leave their wares at your door, or the Union grocery clerk refuses to sell to your maid or to your wife? How long would you last—you, who cannot even dress without the aid of a valet (also a worker)?

We live to work; are proud and eager to work. For we are creating for mankind, even though you manage to retain for yourself the greater share of our products. But you live only to waste, to destroy, to ravage, and to contaminate all that is beautiful in life. You would destroy life itself, if it profited you!

You may resort to court suits and injunctions. Even these will gain you nothing, since no court can force a worker to

work against his own will. Because we are united, we are powerful and strong. It is you who walk alone and whistle in the dark. Whistle you must because your courage is sinking, your knees are buckling, your hunger-pains for profit and gold are even sharper than our hunger-pains for bread.

You and your little selfish world are doomed to destruction. Your golden-roofed temple is too top-heavy for the crumbling and decomposing pillars of your class. You may succeed in cutting the working-class Samson's hair, but he will finally gather his full strength, level your temple and crush you beneath it. Since you shall not then be around for me to tell you "I told you so," I am telling you now: "I TOLD YOU SO!"

An Answer To 'Christian Front'

Editor:
I saw in your newspaper an expose of the vicious propaganda about "Jewish barbarism"—presumably shown in "Kosher slaughter"—which is being put out by the "Christian Fronters." The old-new "Black Hundred" Nazi beast is again raising his head.

As in the old times, the newly organized "Christian Fronters" combine pogromist actions with literary propaganda.

The main cause of all mankind's troubles are, of course, the Jews. The proof: "Jewish barbarism" shown in "Kosher Slaughter."

Despite all the "progress" of the world, the Jew still exists. The sentimental "Christian Fronters" want to put a stop to his barbarism.

Jewish barbarism is, at least, organized on an ethical basis. Among us Jews, not everybody is a killer. Only professional slaughterers, selected by each community, can slay animals for food. Even a backward farmer, if he is the least bit religious, would not cut off a chicken's head by himself.

The whole theory and method of kosher slaughter was developed to reduce the suffering of the animal. Only a razor-keen knife could be used. Maybe the method is a little old-fashioned, but the old Jewish tradition did not produce a Hitler or a Goebbels.

The "Christian Fronters" are so soft-hearted that they are inventing an easy death for the Jewish "barbarians." Perhaps, they will take as their model Hitler's up-to-date gas chambers. In an emergency, however, they wouldn't hesitate to use a dull knife.

When the religious Jewish "barbarian" is depressed, he prays to God. But the "Christian Fronters" throw everything at the Jew.

Do they really represent the Gentiles? Their Nazi friends

satisfied themselves also with Polish blood; with Russian blood; they had a little respect for American blood; but Jewish blood was a veritable gift from the gods.

And Hitler was a vegetarian! Theirs are the false teachings of demagogues who are afraid to show their real faces. They should stop this pretense of humanitarianism! They should come out with the real goods and show us their claws and fangs!

Morris Zucker
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Woman's Interest Inspires Comrades

Editor:
Today we sold a Militant sub to a housewife whose views on the class struggle were an inspiration to Comrade McGowan and to me in our house to house canvassing.

Most of the housewives we have visited in this and past subscription campaigns have thought that because they weren't working, they weren't affected by any of the struggles their husbands, brothers, or sons were encountering in their effort to bring home a decent paycheck.

We had talked to the man of the house, who was home at the time because of the present Libbey-Owens-Ford strike. After we had pointed out all the logical reasons why he should subscribe to The Militant, he said he wasn't interested.

As we were about to leave, his wife called to us and invited us in. She said she had read the paper and was impressed with it. "My husband doesn't take any interest in the labor movement, but I do and I realize the necessity for wives to take an active part in what's going on today," she said.

Not only did she subscribe, but she assured us she would try to sell some subscriptions to her friends, many of whom are employed in the factories today.

This woman, near sixty in years, but young in spirit, has set a ringing example for the other housewives of Toledo.

A Reader
Toledo, O.

New Subscriber Scores Rankin

Editor:
One of the men who bought a Militant subscription from me, gave me the following letter which he had written to Representative Rankin:

"I have just read your very disgusting letter to the Daily News regarding the case of artist Hazel Scott Powell vs. the gallant un-American leaders of the D.A.R.

"Just how long do you suppose that an intelligent public, both white and colored, must listen to your ignorant ravings and rantings of white supremacy at a time like this, with so many colored veterans returning to this country in disabled conditions acquired while fighting for the security of the likes of you and Eastland and Bilbo and the D.A.R.?"

"You were humble enough to beg Negroes for their services when you were scared to death of losing the war, and now that your sacred south is secure again, you have the gall to start making hillbilly 1910 wisecracks again."

"America would do well to rid itself of your elements."

"Scornfully yours - A Citizen."

R. Johnson
New York

San Francisco
JOHN G. WRIGHT
will speak on
"The British Labor
Victory—Its Meaning
for American Workers"
Sunday, Nov. 25, 8 p.m.
JENNY LIND HALL
2229 Telegraph Ave.
At 22nd St. Oakland

Three Stalinists Buy The Militant

Editor:
Last Sunday a group of comrades went to Hopkins, Minn., where the Moline plant is located. After two hours' work we wound up with 18 subs to The Militant, which in itself is excellent.

One of the people I ran into was a Stalinist who hurried to tell me, when he came to the door, that he was a Communist and opposed to the Trotskyists. I simply asked him, "Why?"

He said Trotsky was opposed to the Soviet Union and always fought against it. I asked him if he read any of Trotsky's works. He said he did. So I called him bluff. I pulled out my billfold and told him I would bet my \$10 against his penny that he couldn't show me any place in Trotsky's writings which would show that Trotsky considered himself an enemy of the Soviet Union.

I told him that we Trotskyists have always been for the defense of the Soviet Union from its enemies within as well as from the capitalist enemies without.

I traced the Stalinist policy from the basic fight between Stalin and Trotsky through the Stalin-Hitler pact—the French government's capitulation to Hitler and Stalin's role there—through the Stalinist support of the imperialist war. After a lengthy discussion I handed the Stalinist The Militant and defied him to show me one sentence in the paper that would show that this was an anti-labor paper.

Well, I didn't sell the Stalinist sub, but I sold him the Labor Party and the Jobs for All pamphlets.

Before I left he told me who was who in the neighborhood. He told me to see one fellow who, he said, "was a militant trade unionist." I went to see this worker. He was a subscriber to the Daily Worker. I sold him a sub—not for six months—but for one year. Also, I sold two subs to the Stalinist's immediate neighbors.

Jake Cooper
Minneapolis, Minn.

Workers Defend Trotskyist Speakers

Editor:
I would like to relate an incident that I participated in at an election street rally for the Trotskyist candidates in the Bedford Stuyvesant area in Brooklyn, Friday evening, October 26.

While I was distributing The Militant there was a disturbance by the platform. A bunch of hecklers tried to disturb the street rally. As far as I can gather one heckler was a union veteran. He talked about unions being all rackets and resented the fact that the Trotskyists were allowed to speak on the street. I couldn't get the complete details of what he said because

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to The Militant

I was distributing The Militant. The speaker answered his every question.

In the course of the meeting this heckler kept on disturbing it. At first this drew a curious crowd. But after a half hour of heckling, we thought we would run into serious trouble; this heckler went up to the platform and demanded the right to speak from it. At a moment's notice we all gathered around to defend the platform and we proudly stood in defiance. The speaker was ably answering the heckler and convinced many in the crowd of our program.

In the course of this disturbance there were many protests in the audience who protested this heckling and came to the defense of the Trotskyists. There were many expressions of sympathy from the crowd and they admired the Trotskyist defense of their platform.

We concluded the meeting triumphantly. As the result of this defense, we got names at this meeting of people wanting to know more about The Militant and the party. One man was a Union Organizer.

I would like to see more letters in the Workers' Forum of interesting incidents occurring during the election campaign.

A. Davis
Brooklyn

"THERE IS NO PEACE," SAYS ALLENTOWN WORKER

Editor:

This is an open letter to the workers of Allentown. Although the "War to End All Wars" and to destroy European fascism has ended, in just two short months we see in America once again the seeds of fascism spreading through the country. We see again the working class forced to fight at home against this dread cancer.

After four long years of war which have exhausted the spirit and warped millions of the flower of our youth, after being told that "peace would be a lasting one," the working class is now faced with a war at home! A class war! The capitalist class told us "you fight our war, and we will all have Utopia"; they told us that capital and labor alike would sleep in a bed of roses; that our world, yours and mine, would be a different place to live in.

Yes, it's a different place all right for us in the working class in America and throughout the world. Too soon we were to find for ourselves the truth. We saw it in our newspapers; and we heard it on our radios. We saw this "different world"—we saw so-called Democracy at Work!

Our headlines read like this:

REV. GERALD L. K. SMITH (America's No. 1 Fascist) HOLDS MASS MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Our answer, the workers' answer is: Workers, trade unionists, veterans! Picket fascist meetings, register your protests.

Headline:

HARLEM GHETTO FORCED UPON NEGRO WORKERS: WHITE WORKERS INTIMIDATED AND THREATENED IF SEEN IN HARLEM.

The workers' answer: Two thousand copies of a pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow," sold by Negro and white workers in Harlem.

Headline:

WORKERS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY DEMAND SHORTER HOURS WITH SAME TAKE-HOME PAY. BOSSES CLAIM THEY CANNOT MEET DEMANDS. THEY CRY ABOUT HIGH TAXES, SAY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE.

Workers' answer:

A mass wave of strikes.

On the European scene we see another picture, although it is the same class war; the strike of the dock workers in England. The Labor Party government of England refuses immigration of Jews to Palestine, and rouses the Arabs to massacre the Jews in the land that was to be their sanctuary and home.

Hundreds of Greek Trotskyists are massacred by Stalinist henchmen of the boss class, because the Trotskyists are Marxists and revolutionists.

This is the general picture of the "world of peace." Our Goddess of Peace sits high upon her throne. But still we have no peace. We have never had peace nor can we be fooled into thinking we will have peace as long as the capitalist class reigns.

The whole history of this despicable class proves this to the working class.

Let us not be fooled. Let's find out the truth: the real reasons for the class war. A great percentage of you read The Militant and have subscribed to it because you thought the paper was a good one which told the truth. Now let us all prepare ourselves and fight that infamous and degraded individual who has the gall to call himself a reverend—Gerald L. K. Smith.

Let us be on our toes and prepare to fight like the workers have done in other cities.

By the time this is printed I hope we workers in Allentown will have heard Harry Robinson, Socialist Workers Party organizer of Newark, a leading anti-fascist fighter, speak at our Labor Forum. You and I must take seriously the threat of fascism in America.

J. Doyle
Allentown, Pa.

San Francisco Comrade Writes To Grace Carlson

Dear Grace Carlson:

Since the shipyards are closing their gates in the faces of thousands of workers, I've been shoved into a Negro's usual position. Yes, capitalist society has slapped the kitchen or else in my face—so now I'm a bus boy. However, I have a more powerful weapon to fight with than all the Allies have put together.

No weapon is greater than truth. And Trotskyism is that truth. It is my weapon against all of capitalism's agents. And some day it will be in the hands and control of all the workers. How I desire to see them cringe before the militant masses. Yes, I live for the revolution.

Grace, if you only knew of the hate and bitterness that seethes within me against the so-called big-shot who deceive the masses into utter submission. Comrade Jackson hit the nail on the head. This is no democracy, but a lousy mockery of democracy. (The lousy is my own.)

I feel I must congratulate you on the wonderful accomplishments you've made on your tour. On behalf of the workers, I say, thanks for a job well done. I am indeed glad to be a comrade of yours and the others in a movement that some day will be paramount in the minds of freedom-loving men and women of the world over.

It would do your heart good to see the progress our branch is making in the education of our individual members and new comrades. We've really had some rousing good educational lately. We intend to start a youth group as soon as we can buy that which with two discussion groups, selling Militant subs, working in the unions, organizing a new branch in the East Bay, etc. Grace, I've just about decided our branch may some day lead the field—excluding New York!

Long Live Trotskyism!

M. S.

San Francisco, Calif.

For Quotations
From The Past

Editor:

I regard The Militant as the foremost champion of the wage slave in America. However, as the wage slaves in general are far lacking in understanding as regards their status, I would suggest that The Militant inter-



Our comrades and friends are reporting many interesting experiences as they obtain new readers for the ever growing Militant Army. We quote from this week's mail:

Harry Robinson of Newark: "Four people were on their way to Paterson to try out some territory there prior to a full branch mobilization. While driving out they had a blow-out in Clifton, a working class suburb of Paterson. While the driver was changing the tire, the three girls with him decided to sell some subscriptions. In less than a half hour, six subs. were sold. The reception of The Militant was so

warm that we are now going to canvass the entire suburb."

Clara Kay of Chicago: "After selling seven subs in about an hour, I had only one sub blank left and decided to summon all my eloquence in order to sell it quickly. I knocked on the door, arranged my papers and took a deep breath.

"A worker opened the door, and before I could speak said: 'So you're selling The Militant. Damn good paper. I've gotten several copies at plant distributions. I'm a militant man myself, and I really know what's going on in the world, and The Militant tells it the same way. I'll take it for a year.' I had actually not said a word, but had obtained a one-year subscription."

A new subscriber, R. Wehle of Milwaukee, sent us a sub blank with this terse comment: "Good paper. I found a copy on the Lake Front and would like a one year subscription."

A new York City subscriber who requests a change of address, writes: "I am entering a school of Industrial and Labor Relations, and thus will greatly depend on your paper for the facts and information that the daily papers dare not print."

An enthusiastic reader of The Militant sent on this paragraph from a letter received by her: "The paper is wonderful. I never realized before what a wealth of information it carried. I often used to feel it unnecessary to read an article because I felt familiar with its contents. Sometimes I was irritated by what seemed needless repetition. Now I reach for it eagerly to see what we have to say about China, etc. Evelyn Atwood's interviews and sketches are particularly good. I wish some of them were offered as prizes."

Cleveland
Russian Revolution
Anniversary Meeting
SUNDAY, NOV. 11

Speaker:
T. Grant, SWP Organizer
PECK'S HALL
1446 E. 82 St. 8 p.m.

Newark
Russian Revolution
Anniversary Meeting
FRIDAY, NOV. 9

Speaker:
Richard Kirk
Progressive Workers School
423 Springfield Ave. 8 p.m.

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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!

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8. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!

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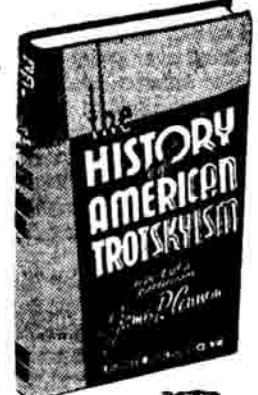
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3,666 New Readers Gained As "Militant" Subscription Drive Gathers Momentum

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

The close of the third week of the subscription campaign records a total of 3,666 new readers to *The Militant*, 37 per cent of the 10,000 quota.

Although our comrades and friends are active in the trade union movement; are fighting fascism in the person of G. L. K. Smith in the large centers of Detroit, Los Angeles and elsewhere; and are running two candidates in the municipal elections of New York, nevertheless week by week the subscription campaign has gained

momentum. In the third week of the campaign, 1,503 new subscriptions were sent in representing the largest weekly total to date.

An examination of the score-board reveals that at this early stage of the campaign two branches, St. Louis and Philadelphia, have gone "over the top." Philadelphia writes: "We have over-subscribed our original quota and are heading for 200 per cent—maybe more."

In addition to these top scorers, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Connecticut and New York are above the half way mark, and undoubtedly will over-

subscribe their original quotas before the campaign is completed.

A new city, Baltimore, appears on the scoreboard, with a quota of 100. Dorothy Lessing, a national pace-setter in our spring subscription campaign now working in the area writes: "Will accept a quota of 100 new subscribers for Baltimore. The 20 subs I am enclosing represent a warm response by the workers to *The Militant* and I am sure there will be many more."

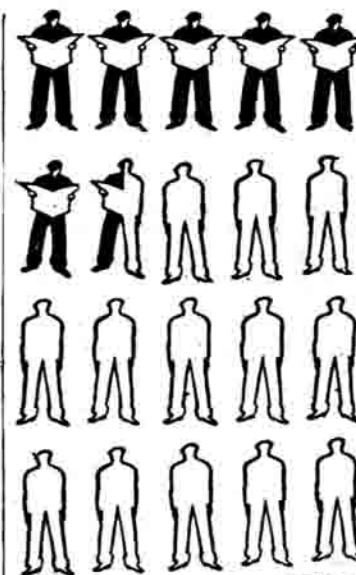
Local New York with the largest quota to fill, 2,000, has completed one-half of its goal. Harry Gold, campaign director explains this excellent achievement as follows: "Local New York reached the half way mark of 1,000 new readers in the first two and a half weeks of the campaign."

"The system of allocating specially mapped out territories of the city to each branch, with smaller area subdivisions for each captain, helped materially to this success."

"The branch directors togeth-

er with the captains and city campaign director comprise 28 comrades. The cooperation between these comrades in planning and directing the campaign, and in addition fully participate in the work of obtaining subs. A number of captains and directors are high scorers, and even pace-setters—Ida Brandt, Al Hamid, Rose Young, to mention just a few.

"At the very start of the campaign these comrades realized that since Local New York was engaged in an election campaign and is carrying on other necessary and important activities, the success of the subscription would rest entirely on them, on the seriousness with which they would apply themselves to their tasks. Now in the third week of the campaign, it can truthfully be said that New York comrades under the leadership of their captains and branch directors have been fully up to the mark in discharging their obligations. There is no doubt but that we'll successfully



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

meet, if not over-subscribe our quota of 2,000 new readers."

BRANCH CHALLENGES

Last week's column recommended that branches with similar quotas challenge one another, thereby injecting some socialist competition into the campaign. Philadelphia has challenged Minneapolis at the start of the campaign, and although the former branch now leads, Minneapolis has climbed steadily from nineteenth place at the beginning of the campaign to ninth place this week.

Pittsburgh wired a challenge: "66 SUBS TO DATE. CHALLENGE CONNECTICUT TO OBTAIN MORE SUBS. CONFIDENT WE WILL WIN."

Sandy Robertson of the New York Trotskyist Youth Group advises: "With 70 subs already sold we are well on our way to achieving our quota of 200 new readers in this campaign. We have heard quite a little bragging from the Los Angeles Youth Group which also has a

Gary Labor-Haters Incite Student Anti-Negro Action

(Continued from Page 1)
of the 11th Avenue district white property owners now being organized.

ANTI-LABOR PURPOSE

John Jadrnak, chairman of the meeting, revealed its underlying anti-labor purpose when he asked: "Who's putting the kindling on the fire? Why the Civil Liberties League and the CIO? Whose welfare are they interested in?"

The Gary Civil Liberties Committee condemned the first mass

truncy in September as "inspired by pro-fascist anti-democratic adults," and named Julius Danch, City Hall Custodian, who is "known for his leadership in promoting racial dissension." They asked that Danch "be dismissed from his job paid for by the taxes of all citizens."

Danch was the head of an all-white Parent-Teachers organization which was disbanded last year after the CIO Steelworkers exposed it as anti-Negro, and the National Parent-Teachers

Association refused to grant it a charter.

"In Gary not only the former known Bundists are active, but also followers of Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith and members of the Ku Klux Klan. All have a stake in this Froebel School strike and they are acting accordingly," said Norma Jensen, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in a report on the situation.

The Gary Citizens' Committee, including representatives of the Steelworkers, the CIO anti-discrimination committee, churches, etc. charged that certain public officials openly encouraged the action. They stated that the police department "has publicly commended the strikers by praising their conduct . . . it has supplied the strikers with the counsel of one of the officers (Captain Billick) whose attitude toward them was favorable."

The Mayor and the school board have been passing the ball back and forth and have taken no positive action to solve the problem. Gary's Democratic city administration is controlled by U. S. Steel. The present anti-racial tension started at the same time that the United Steelworkers demanded a \$2 a day increase in wages, and launched a membership drive.

Joseph Goins, sub-regional director of the Steelworkers, a member of the Gary Citizens' Committee, declared: "This disturbance is meant to break the unity of Negro and white workers and defeat their efforts to improve their standards of living."

The CIO, although on record against the Jim Crow forces, has as yet taken no decisive action. In a letter to the Chicago CIO Council, M. Bartell, organizer of the Chicago local of the Socialist Workers Party, pointed to the tremendous stake which organized labor has in the fight to preserve and strengthen the unity of white and Negro workers. He called upon the CIO council to initiate a united front demonstration in the form of a huge mass meeting to give a powerful answer to the anti-labor, Jim Crow forces in this area.

Flint Workers Appreciate Lecture by J. G. Wright

By John Quinn

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 24 — John G. Wright spoke tonight to an extremely interested and sympathetic audience on "The British Labor Victory — Its Meaning to American Workers."

The meeting in this "General Motors town" was attended by 35 workers, most of them active

trade union militants from UAW-CIO locals in General Motors, Chevrolet, Buick and Fisher Body. For the first time these workers had the opportunity to hear a leading Socialist Workers Party speaker. They listened closely as he made a complete and scientific analysis of the British labor victory.

It was one of the best gatherings we have had in Flint. Many members of the audience remained after the lecture to discuss many questions with Comrade Wright and other party members. When they finally departed it was with great reluctance, after expressing their interest and enthusiasm.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	DATE
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. 6
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. 29

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Per Cent
St. Louis	50	66	132
Philadelphia	300	328	109
Cincinnati	50	34	68
Pittsburgh	100	66	66
San Francisco	300	194	65
Connecticut	100	60	60
New York	2000	1003	50
Allentown-Bethlehem	100	48	48
Minneapolis	300	132	44
Milwaukee	100	42	42
Boston	200	82	41
Buffalo	300	116	39
Detroit	1000	363	36
Newark	300	105	35
Reading	50	16	32
Seattle	300	96	32
Chicago	1000	276	28
Portland	75	20	27
St. Paul	100	25	25
Bayonne	100	23	23
Los Angeles	1500	350	23
Baltimore	100	20	20
Youngstown	300	61	20
Flint	200	35	18
Cleveland	200	34	17
Toledo	300	44	15
Rochester	50	7	14
Akron	300	0	0
San Diego	50	0	0
Groups, Members at large and Friends	175	20	11
TOTAL	10,000	3666	37

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Therese Stone	Philadelphia	80
Mike Warren	Seattle	51
Ernest Drake	Detroit	46
A. Ference	Minneapolis	42
G. Roberts	Detroit	41
Rigo Carl	Detroit	34
Albert Conway	Los Angeles	33
Muth Brady	San Francisco	32
Sympathizer	Philadelphia	31
Ed Lewis	Detroit	31
Ida Brandt	East Side, New York	30
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	30
Pearl Spangler	Connecticut	28
Mack Garber	Philadelphia	25
Rose Young	West Side, New York	24
Don Barry	East Side, New York	22
Al Hamid	Harlem Branch, N. Y.	22
Larissa Reed	West Side, New York	22
Jerry Kirk	Flint	22
Goldy Fishler	Philadelphia	22

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.

It was characteristic of Salutsky that he didn't join the Communist Party outright and forthright, either in 1919 or 1921. He didn't want to join the underground CP but only to form, together with us, a new party with a moderate, strictly "legal" program. He joined, so to speak, through the back door in 1921, through this fusion we made with the "Workers Council" to form our legal party, the Workers Party. That fusion happened to coincide with our purposes at the time. The Communist Party of the United States was underground and we were trying to force it back into the open by degrees, as I have already related. At that time we wanted to form a legal organization, not as a self-sufficient party, but as a cover for the underground movement and as one step in our fight for legality. It served our purposes very well to effect a unification with half-and-half groups such as Salutsky's organization, the "Workers Council" and to launch a legal party in which the Communist majority was firmly assured. This legal party—known as the Workers Party—was completely under the domination of the Communist Party. Everybody knew that it was the legal expression of the Communist Party. Salutsky, and other people such as Engdahl, Lore and Olgin, were willing to join this legal organization, but not the underground Communist Party. It was a sort of shameful adherence to the Communist movement that Salutsky made. But he didn't stay long. When the Workers Party, under the direction and the influence of the Communist Party, opened up a campaign against the labor bureaucracy, he began to sink away. Salutsky had no stomach for that sort of thing.

It is one thing to make a lecture on Sunday about socialism and the class struggle; to explain the contradictions of capitalism and the inevitability of the revolution. It is another thing to engage in practical revolutionary action which brings you into conflict with the labor fakers, thereby endangering your chance to serve them in well-rewarded positions.

Salutsky presently quit the Workers Party, or was thrown out—I don't remember which. It doesn't matter. Salutsky, however, could not quit playing with the ideas of socialism and revolution. He joined the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the predecessor of the American Workers Party. He helped give the CPLA a certain political direction, and sponsored the idea of transforming it into a party, but he wanted a pseudo-revolutionary party, not a real one. He wanted no clash with the labor bureaucrats. Above everything else he feared a union with the Trotskyists.

Nothing that Salutsky could do to sabotage the unification was left undone. He knew, as many others knew, that characteristic of our movement which I have mentioned in previous lectures: Trotskyists mean business. Salutsky knew that once a fusion of the AWP with the Trotskyists took place, all further possibilities of masquerading as a socialist with a pseudo-radical party would be lost for him.

In the negotiations we met with Salutsky as enemies, polite, of course, as is the prevailing custom for negotiators, passing the time of day, making a few jokes and concealing your knife—at least in the beginning. I recall the first day that we—Shachtman and myself, and I think Abern, or Oehler—I am not sure which—walked into the office of the American Workers Party to meet by appointment with Muste, Salutsky, and Sidney Hook, the New York University professor then dabbling with socialism. As we were exchanging pleasantries before the meeting came to order, Salutsky said to me, with that mirthless smile he seemed permanently to wear: "I always read the Militant. I like to see what Trotsky has to say."

It was on the tip of my tongue to answer that I always read the Advance because I like to see what Hillman has to say. But I let it pass. We were on our best behavior, determined to accomplish the unity with as little friction over incidentals as possible. Salutsky tried to sabotage the unity by every means, but he lost the game in the end. Instead of his pulling the American Workers Party away from the Trotskyists, we pulled it towards us, into an eventual unification, and he was thrown aside like an old dishcloth. That ended Salutsky's activities as a "socialist." He quit the party, and radical politics altogether. Now he is in the Roosevelt camp—and that is where he belongs.

HOW TROTSKYISTS NEGOTIATED UNITY WITH A.W.P.

Budenz Looking for a Chance to Sell Out

Another outstanding leader of the American Workers Party at that time was a man named Louis Budenz. He had been a social worker to begin with. His interest in the labor movement for years was that of student-observer and publisher of a subsidized magazine which gave advice to the workers but represented no organized movement. Eventually, through the medium of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, he became engaged for the first time in the mass movement for which he unquestionably had considerable talents.

Mass work is hard work and it devours many people. By 1934 Budenz, who had no socialist background or education, was a 100 percent patriot, three-fourths a Stalinist, tired and somewhat sick and looking for a chance to sell out. He was a vicious opponent of the unification. Budenz was already looking toward the Stalinist party, as indeed, a considerable section of the AWP organization had been. Only the vigorous intervention of the Trotskyists and the pressure of our unity negotiations prevented the Stalinist party from gobbling up a large section of the AWP at that time. I might add that Budenz eventually found his opportunity to sell out, is today the editor of the Daily Worker and for years has been doing all the dirty work they pay him to do.

And then there was Ludwig Lore, well known to us from the old days of the Communist Party. Lore, one of the original Communists in the United States; one of the editors of *Class Struggle*, the first Communist magazine in this country; a Left Socialist rather than a Communist at heart, who had slipped backwards, was then passing through the AWP on his way to complete reconciliation with bourgeois democracy. He finally landed a job on the New York Evening Post as a super-patriotic columnist. Lore was against the unification.

These were some of the leading figures in the AWP. In discussing in our ranks the question of unifying with the Musteites, we encountered an opposition, the beginning of a sectarian faction in our movement headed by Oehler and Stamm. We heard the old familiar arguments of sectarians who see only the official leaders of organizations, not the membership, and who judge accordingly. They asked: "How can we unite with Salutsky, with Lore, and so on?" If there were nothing to the American Workers Party but Salutsky, Lore and Company there would have been some logic in their opposition.

Behind these fakes and renegades we saw some serious people, some proletarian militants. I have previously mentioned the comrades who led the Toledo strike. They had numerous elements of this type throughout Pennsylvania and the Middle West. They had built up an unemployed organization of considerable size. These proletarian activists in the AWP were the types that interested us; these together with Muste who we thought could be made into a Bolshevik. Besides Muste, who was a type by himself; besides Budenz, Salutsky, Lore, there were others in this heterogeneous mass called the American Workers Party: The Toledo people; the rank and file militants in the unemployed movement, and some rank and file trade unionists. In addition, to round out the roll call of the American Workers Party, there were some YWCA girls, Bible students, assorted intellectuals, college professors, and some nondescripts who had just wandered in through the open door.

Provocation On the Russian Question

Our political task was to prevent the Stalinists from swallowing up this movement, and to remove a centrist obstacle from our path by effecting a unity with the proletarian activists and the serious people, isolating the fakes and fakers, and discarding the unassimilable elements. That was quite a large order but in the end we succeeded, not without great effort and difficulty.

I mentioned that the AWP letter, which had been sent in reply to our second proposal for negotiation, contained a provocation on the Russian question, unquestionably inspired by Salutsky and Budenz. I quote a few sentences from that letter to give you an idea of what the provocation consisted. It said: "We must take care that our criticism of CI and CP policies not only is not, but is free from any appearance of being, an attack upon the Soviet Union. However justified the CIA criticisms of certain policies of the Soviet Union may have been, they have stood out in the public mind as an expression of an antagonistic attitude toward the Soviet Union."

They went on to say in the letter that there must be a clear understanding that, in uniting with us, they were not going to be anti-Soviet. When we read this letter in our National Committee meeting we hit the ceiling. Here, we felt—this was our subjective reaction—we have been defending the Soviet Union since 1917. These people for the most part have just discovered it and yet they presume to lecture us on our duties in regard to the Soviet Union. In white heat we sat down and knocked out a blistering reply to get it out of our system. After we had written this reply, telling them where to get off at, we cooled off. We recognized it for what it was: a provocation. It would be foolish for us to be caught in a trap like that and lose sight of our political aims and tasks. We thereupon outlined in the committee meeting another reply which would: (1) state our position on the Soviet Union firmly; (2) pretend not to notice the provocation; and (3) again emphasize the necessity of unity. This kind of reply was designed to make it harder for the provocateurs to halt the trend towards unity in the ranks of the AWP.

While we were sitting at the meeting in our headquarters on Second Avenue, discussing the points of this outline and deciding who should draft the statement, we received a visit at the headquarters from Professors Hook and Burnham, who were both members of this fantastic national committee of the American Workers Party. They were for 'he fusion. That was very advantageous for us—to have a couple of professors on the AWP committee in favor of fusion regardless of what their real motives might be. Hook wanted the fusion in order to get the AWP off his hands and end his brief adventure in party politics. He wanted to retire to the side lines, the only place where he has ever felt at home, and which he ought never to have left. Burnham, as later events showed, wanted unification with the Trotskyists because he was then taking a step forward, getting a little bit more radical; he wanted to put his toe a little deeper into the icy water of proletarian politics while firmly bracing himself, with his other foot, on the bourgeois shore. The two doughty professors warned us of the provocation. They were afraid that we would reply in kind and that this would upset the apple-cart. That is why they had come to visit us. They were greatly pleased and relieved when we gave them the second outline of the draft of our reply.

Lovestone Group Loses Members to Trotskyists

While all this was going on in our camp, things were stirring everywhere, in all organizations, under the impact of the developments of the mass movement. We were beginning to attract small groups of people from the Lovestoneites and other circles at that time. There was a notice in *The Militant* of September 8: "Lovestone group cracks in Detroit. Five join the League." The same issue of *The Militant* reported that Herbert Zam had quit the Lovestone organization, and that Zam and Gitlow were going to join the Socialist Party. *The Militant* of September 29 reported: "The French Bolshevik-Leninists have joined the Socialist Party of France as a faction." This was the first big action taken in carrying out the line of Trotsky's "French turn" which directed that our comrades join, wherever possible, those reformist socialist organizations which might be open to them in order to establish contact with the developing Left Wing and, thereby, lay the basis for a new party.

Our organizational proposals, which we submitted to the American Workers Party in our third meeting, went a long way to facilitate the unification. We always believed that the program decides everything. A group which is assured of the adoption of the Marxist program does not need to fight too hard over every organizational detail. It is a common error made by inexperienced militants in politics to exaggerate the organization question and deprecate the decisive role of the program. In the early days of the American Communist movement many of the fights and even splits were unnecessarily caused by an exaggerated concern of the different factions for organizational positions which were considered posts of vantage for the faction. We had learned something from that experience, which now served us in good stead.

When, in the course of the negotiations, we found the Musteites coming closer to us on the question of the program, we came forward with a complete set of proposals for the organizational side of the fusion, a side which concerned a number of them very much. We offered them a fifty-fifty arrangement all up and down the line. By that time we were stronger than the Musteites numeri-

cally. When you came to a showdown of the dues-paying members of the organization, we had more forces. They had perhaps a bigger movement in a nebulous form, perhaps more general sympathizers, but we had more actual members. Our organization was more compact. But we disregarded all that and offered them an arrangement whereby the official positions in the party would be divided equally between the two sides.

Moreover, in each case where there were two posts of relatively equal importance, we offered them the choice. For example, in the two leading positions we proposed that Muste should be National Secretary, and that I should be editor of the paper. Or, if they wished it, the other way around. I would be National Secretary and Muste, the editor. It was very hard for them to object. We knew what it meant to them, with their overemphasis on purely organizational matters, to have the secretaryship because the secretary, theoretically at least, controls the party machine. We were more interested in the editorship because that shapes more directly the ideology of the movement. Similarly, with the posts of labor secretary and educational director. We proposed to take the latter and give them the former, or vice versa as they saw fit.

Our Organization Proposals Facilitate Unity

The National Committee was to have an equal number from each side and all other organization questions which might arise were to be settled on a parity basis. Such was our proposal. Its obvious fairness, even generosity, strongly impressed Muste and his friends. Our "organization proposals," instead of precipitating conflicts and deadlock, as has so often been the case, greatly facilitated the unity. As I said, we were able to do this, and to eliminate at one stroke what has so often been an insuperable obstacle, because we had learned the lessons of the organization struggles of the past in the Communist Party.

We took a liberal and conciliatory attitude on the organization question, reserving our intransigence for the question of the program. A joint committee was selected to draft the program. After two or three drafts had been drawn up, discussed and amended; after a little pressure and conflict, a program was finally agreed upon. This became after ratification by the joint convention, the "Declaration of Principles" of the Workers Party of the United States, which was characterized by Comrade Trotsky as a rigidly principled program.

Meantime we got some advice from the Stalinists who had been sleeping on the side lines while the despised little "sectarian" group of Trotskyists had entered a field which they thought properly belonged to them. They had fully intended to absorb the Muste organization and had more right to expect success than we had. But we had beaten them to the punch; we had acted at the right time—time is of the essence in politics—and were deep in the unity negotiations with the AWP before the Stalinists realized what was going on. When they woke up they broke out in their press with both warnings and advice. The headline of *The Militant* of October 20 reports: "Stalinist Press 'Warns' AWP Against Unity With Us." The reference was to an article in the *Daily Worker* by the notorious Bittleman, who, under the title "Does the American Workers Party Know With What It Is Uniting?" gave a free-hearted warning to both sides. To the Musteites the Stalinists said: "We must warn the workers who follow Muste and his American Workers Party against a trap that is being laid for them by their leaders, the trap of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism." And then, to show their impartiality, in the same article they turned around and said: "To the few misguided workers who still follow the Trotskyists: Cannon, Shachtman and Company are leading you into unity with Muste, the champion of bourgeois nationalism."

We answered them: "If the Trotskyists are counter-revolutionists and the Musteites are bourgeois nationalists, you might as well throw them all together in one sack. No harm can come from it because neither one can be made any worse for the fusion." We thanked them for their impartial, two-sided, double-acting advice—and went on with the fusion. The two organizations began to collaborate in practical activities. We held joint meetings before the fusion. *The Militant* of October 6 reports that Muste and Cannon spoke at a joint mass meeting of the CLA and AWP in Paterson, New Jersey, to 300 silk workers, discussing the lessons of the strike.

(To Be Continued)

What is Behind The Official Silence In Unsolved Murder of Carlo Tresca?

NEW YORK.—Charges that Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco, heading the Italian end of the investigation of the Carlo Tresca murder, was closely associated with Fascists in the past, received honors and awards from them and was praised by Mussolini's regime, have been made public by the Tresca Memorial Committee, headed by Norman Thomas.

Tresca, noted anti-fascist editor of *Il Martello* and a militant workingclass opponent of both the Fascists and Stalinists, was shot down in the dim-out at Fifth Avenue and 15th Street on January 11, 1943.

Shortly after the murder, police apprehended a suspect Carmine Galante, convicted gunman on parole. Two parole officers declared they saw him enter the car which two hours later

ords, the committee revealed, had been presented to District Attorney Frank S. Hogan in August 1944, over a year ago.

"The Militant" has received from the Tresca Memorial Committee a photostat of the award made in 1929 to Pagnucco by the Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York for his City College thesis: "Italian Financing in the American Market." The engraved document, citing the award, also announces the presentation to Pagnucco of a gold medal from Mussolini's Ministry of Finance in Italy.

In 1936 Pagnucco was one of the recipients of a cash scholarship from a fund collected by Generoso Pope, Italian-American publisher who himself had intimate connections with the Fascists. In a speech of thanks Pagnucco said, "The hour has arrived for the Italians of America to get a place in the sun, as the victorious Duce of New Italy said . . ."

He was Guest of Honor No. 2 at a "fraternal club" ball in 1939, at which the Fascist Consul General Vecchiotti was high patron and Generoso Pope was Guest of Honor No. 1.

When the facts were first placed in Hogan's hands, he refused to do anything about it. Subsequently, when he learned a petition was being sent to Governor Dewey to appoint a special prosecutor, Hogan agreed to launch a new inquiry.

Another assistant, Eleazar Lipsky, was put on the case. After months of delay he began to call witnesses. A few weeks later, in March of this year, Lipsky was suddenly pulled off the case without explanation and assigned to another. "Since then," the committee points out, "a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca slaying."



CARLO TRESCA

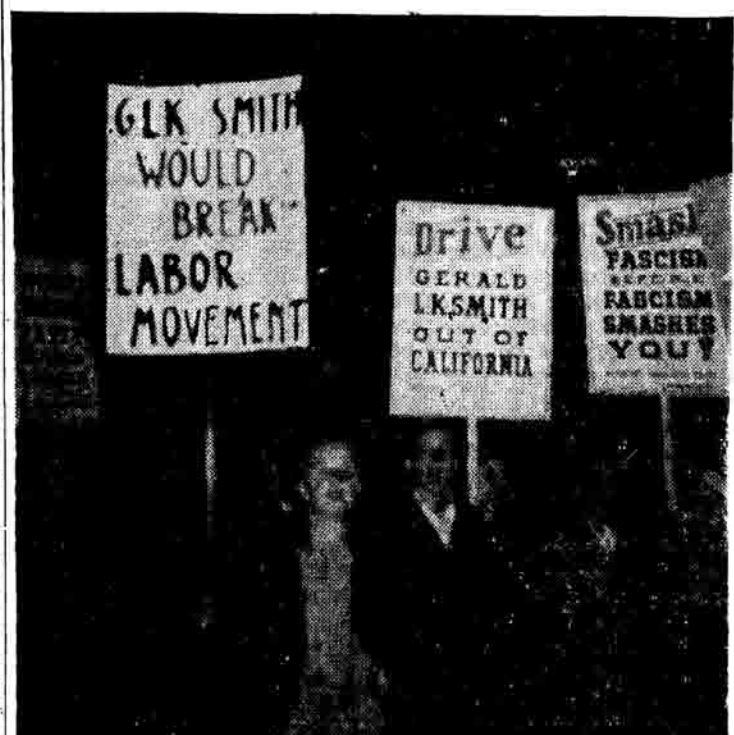
er was used for the getaway of Tresca's assassins. Police discovered the garage where the murder car was kept less than a block from where Galante was picked up.

FASCIST INVESTIGATOR

Nevertheless, no indictment was ever brought. The investigation has been bogged down for over two and a half years.

In making public the documentary records of Assistant District Attorney Pagnucco's past Fascist connections, the Tresca Memorial Committee has raised the question of the possible bearing this has on the failure of the police investigation to make any headway. These rec-

SWP Pickets At Oakland Meeting



Bearing banners of the Socialist Workers Party, these workers and youth are part of the 3,000 anti-fascists picketing the meeting of Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith in Oakland, California, on October 27.

Labor, Students, Sailors Make It Hot For Smith

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 27.—As the drizzle of "Ham and Eggs" sneaked through the picket line and walked up the steps of the high school here to hear Fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, they were spotlighted by flashlights and lustily booed. One couple paused on the steps, listened to the arguments of the pickets, and then walked down again and joined the picket line.

Students from the Technical High School searched out their principal and bombarded him with questions, demanding to know why Smith was permitted to use their high school. He had no answer for them.

Other students, passing by in a bus, saw the picket crowd and got off to see what was going on at their school. When they learned a fascist was trying to hold a meeting there, they joined the picket line and were among the most vociferous in shouting "Down with Smith!"

Two Shore Patrol stood conspicuously on the steps of the high school during the picketing. "What's this all about?" one of them asked. "We were told to be on hand at Technical High School because Harry James was supposed to be playing here." There was a kind of logic in the Shore Patrol being detailed there, however, for around 50 of the pickets were Navy men. A Chief Petty Officer with two hash marks was

giving full expression to what he thought of Smith and fascism in general.

"I am continually amazed," Smith said at the Oakland meeting, "at the demonstrations held wherever I go, protesting my meetings on Americanism." When he announced that ten to twenty thousand pickets had demonstrated against his last Los Angeles meeting, he was greeted with such loud and continuous applause from pickets who entered the meeting after the line was disbanded, that Smith could not speak for several minutes.

"It's the rich revolutionists who are behind these demonstrations," Smith said at Oakland. "At Los Angeles there must have been 5,000 pickets signs, and anyone who knows anything about commercial art knows they must have cost at least two dollars each. Now where did they get that \$10,000?" If Smith had looked, he could have seen that the dozen or so professional looking signs at the Oakland meeting were signed, "Labor Donated."

As the Socialist Workers Party picket signs were being unloaded from a car, a passer-by walked up and asked if he could carry one. When it was pointed out that they were the banners of a revolutionary party, he said, "I don't care whose signs they are, just so I can picket Smith!"

CIVIL WAR FLARES IN NORTH CHINA

(Continued from Page 1)

of America. We consider the Americans are intervening in China's internal politics."

However, Chiang Kai-shek's

army continued to enjoy the co-operation of Wall Street. At Chinwangtao, the Kuomintang army landed from American transports under cover of "dozens of United States carrier planes." A second large transport group rapidly followed.

Chiang Kai-shek's troops are "well-clad and well-equipped. Most of them are carrying American Garand rifles or Browning automatics. In addition, they were equipped with mortars, flame-throwers and pack howitzers."

China is one of the great prizes of the Second World War. Chiang Kai-shek has a long bloody record of ruthless reprisals against the Chinese masses whenever they have sought to better their living conditions or to build a free and independent China. American Big Business counts on using Chiang Kai-shek as a puppet which will further the imperialist interests of America. That is why Washington is doing its utmost to strengthen his hand.

At the same time, the strengthening of Chiang Kai-shek in the north helps prepare military bases for possible future use in a war against the Soviet Union.

Workers Gird For Showdown With Packers

CHICAGO, Oct. 26.—The CIO packinghouse workers here are preparing for a show-down fight against the meat trust for a 25-cent hourly wage increase, with an intensive organizational drive for 100 per cent union membership.

A mass picket demonstration was held today at all entrances to the Stockyard area. Leaflets had previously been distributed urging all workers to join the picket line and advising union members to carry their membership cards to work at all times.

This demonstration was also a protest against the recent strike-breaking drill held in the stockyard area by the state militia. (See *The Militant*, October 13.)

The hundreds of active members and stewards who participated in the picket lines at the dozen or so gates were enthusiastic about the response.

Fascist Smith Rally In Oakland Picketed

(Continued from Page 1)

tional Maritime Union, District Council of Carpenters, Socialist Workers Party, American Youth For Democracy, Workers Party, Young Peoples Socialist League, and others.

Many unionists whose organizations were not officially represented came in response to the call of leaflets issued by the Socialist Workers Party to join the contingents of other organizations and express their opposition to fascism. A sound truck, contributed by the CIO, informed passersby of the meaning of the picket line and invited them to participate. About 30 police patrolled the sidelines while an estimated 150 remained on call nearby. The pickets preserved admirable discipline.

When the strains of "Solidarity Forever!" rose from one section, immediately workers and students, white and Negro, Jewish and Christian, joined in the mighty refrain that filled the air.

CLIMAX OF FIGHT

The Saturday night picket line climaxed a two weeks' running fight to prevent Smith from meeting in the Bay Area. First information that Smith would invade this area broke Sunday, October 14. Sponsored by the Payroll Guarantee Association, the "Ham and Eggs," a speaking tour for Smith was scheduled through the central part of the state, climaxing with a meeting in San Francisco at the Odd Fellows' Hall, October 26, and at the Technical High School in Oakland on the 27th.

Immediately, the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party sent out the call to all unions and other anti-fascist organizations to "help initiate and organize a permanent united front organization capable of mobilizing against the fascists at a moment's notice."

With the example of Los Angeles labor before them, the unions here took up the fight against Smith without delay. A Monday afternoon meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union passed a motion to meet "fascist-minded Smith . . . not only with a giant picket line, but also consider a city wide work stoppage."

The AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific that same evening resolved to "handle fascist-fink G.L.K. Smith the same way as other labor-hating phonies have been handled in the past."

The Wednesday meeting of the CIO Council issued the statement that "it is the purpose of the CIO Council to keep Smith away from this city. If he does come, it is the purpose of the CIO to so impress him with the hostility of the San Francisco residents that he will never return again."

HALLS REFUSED

Wednesday afternoon, the Oakland School Board met an avalanche of protests at its meeting to consider the Smith application to use the school auditorium. Under pressure of the CIO, AFL Building Trades, Jewish Federation, Council of Ministers, and other organizations, the Oakland Board unanimously denied the application.

The following day, October 18, the morning after the tremendous Los Angeles anti-fascist demonstration of 20,000, the management of the Odd Fellows' Hall in San Francisco denied its use on the grounds that "Smith obtained the hall surreptitiously and without our knowledge." Immediately, Smith's backers applied for the use of a San Francisco school auditorium.

CLASH AT HEARING

At the Board of Education hearing the following Tuesday, October 23, both sides sharply clashed. Over 100 people, representing many organizations, were ready to testify against granting Smith the use of a school. Leading off the attack was a statement by the CIO Council which traced Smith's anti-labor, fascist background. After him, representatives of the Lawyers Guild, Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, B'nai B'rith, NMU-CIO, Communist Party (Stalinist), Workers Party and others testified against Smith.

Smith himself attended this hearing, surrounded by a small group of bodyguards, legal mouthpieces and supporters. Speaking in his own behalf, he

made a demagogic appeal to the Board to permit him "freedom of speech." Whipping himself into a frenzy, he attacked the "communists" and Jews and Negroes, whom he termed "trained seals" who sought to prevent him from spreading his "gospel of Americanism" in the state. He ended with a super-patriotic plea to the Board to grant the use of the hall "because my son has been wounded twice in the war."

S. F. UNIONS PREPARED

The Board voted 3 to 2 to deny the application, although Lawrence Allen, leader of the Payroll Guarantee Association, offered to post a \$400,000 bond to cover any possible damage to school property. Upon the Board's denial of the permit, Allen threatened to take court action for "malfeasance in office," against the members voting for the denial.

Thursday night, recognizing that this victory over Smith was only a temporary one, the San Francisco CIO Council sent out a call for a united-front organization of unions, political, fraternal and religious organizations to form a more permanent body to fight Smith or any other fascist menace in San Francisco. Most of the organizations previously present at the Board of Education hearing attended. Preparations are under way here to intervene in Smith's court action against the Board and to prepare picket lines against any San Francisco meeting that Smith might call.

OAKLAND BOARD WILTS

Meanwhile, in Oakland, the School Board, on recommendation of its counsel, reversed its former position and granted Smith permission to speak the following Saturday night. Thursday, a meeting of the Council of Civic Unity, on which the CIO, NAACP, Jewish Federation, and Council of Ministers were all represented, decided to send out the call for a picket line.

Though the Stalinist-dominated Alameda County CIO Council endorsed the call, the Stalinist leaders appeared to have been interested in only a token demonstration against Smith, rather than a mass outpouring of the unions. If they had made a serious effort to get their member unions to participate, the picket line would have been of tremendous proportions. No leaflet or widespread official call was sent out.

It was the Socialist Workers Party and other political organizations that broke the information to a majority of the workers in the plants and the streets of the East Bay Area. That the workers were ready and eager to participate was evident to the SWP members and sympathizers who were out distributing the SWP leaflets announcing the mass picketing call and urging all anti-fascists to participate. Unionists stopped to read, asked questions of the distributors, helped distribute the leaflets, and promised to attend the demonstration.

FIGHT IS SPREADING

Following the lead of Los Angeles and San Francisco labor, many of the smaller California cities have also picked up the fight against Smith. In Sacramento his meeting was picketed from the outside and met with heckling from the majority of the audience inside. The city of San Jose has refused the use of its auditorium. Thus Smith has found the going increasingly difficult.

However, this aspirant to the role of "The American Fuehrer" is not through. His propaganda breeds on the economic crisis: unemployment, the declining standard of living, the disaffected and dispossessed middle class, the dispossessed "old age pensioners." As long as the crisis continues, the danger of fascism remains. When Smith left Los Angeles the first time, he boasted: "When California has a million unemployed I'll be back and I'll get them all."

But Smith is reckoning without his host. The militant labor demonstrations against Smith in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit and elsewhere are only a foretaste of what is in store for Smith, or any other would-be "Fuehrer" who tries to impose fascism upon the American workers.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

No Negro Struggle?

Through this column we have attempted to give a Marxist analysis of those events which have a specific bearing on the Negro people. This particular segment of the working class, deprived of many basic democratic privileges which are still granted to the also economically oppressed white workers, has always been tenaciously defended by mature revolutionists.

Nevertheless, such defense has been and will continue to be misinterpreted by many individuals who do not yet understand the interconnection of the struggles of oppressed peoples with the struggles of the entire working class. Following our policy of publishing criticisms of this column with as much relish—if not more—as we do the remarks of those from the "amen corner," we reprint a recent letter along this line.

"Dear Comrade Jackson:

"Your article, 'The Negro Struggle,' has a chauvinistic tint. It really smacks of racism. The more I read your column the more I suspect that you are falling into that oblivious chasm of isolationism. And that is the last thing that a militant worker is desirous of doing.

"The spirit of our philosophy is internationalism. Just try to visualize what there is in store for us as the result of dividing our class into Negro and white. This is precisely what is going on today and the exploiters are having a picnic at our expense. The net result of this would be our inability to overthrow outmoded capitalism. And this you are following to the letter.

ALL EXPLOITED

"Secondly, who gave you the license to infer that the Negro worker has a monopoly on being brow-beaten, exploited and enslaved? This alone spells shortsightedness on your part. In order to insure internationalism the world must also know about the exploited whites in America, Great Britain and Europe, the colonial slaves of India, and the disfranchised people of Stalinized Russia.

"Marx, Engels, Trotsky and the other revolutionists were not interested in one particular group of workers at the tender expense of the workers of other parts of the world.

"May I use your terms of 'white,' 'Negro,' 'blacks,' etc. here for the convenience of expression? Nevertheless, I am impatiently awaiting the day when the word 'worker' will suffice.

"It is obvious that when Karl Marx made the statement 'Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded,' he identified the two with each other, hence the former and the latter are the same—identical, integrated, interdependent and

international. The statement can be turned around and still make sense. We can by no means disturb our equation which is intrinsically international.

"There is no Negro Workers' struggle without the white workers' struggle. The white workers' struggle is identical with the black workers' struggle, hence, there is no 'Negro struggle.' There is but one struggle—a workers' struggle.

"It is quite imperative that we get away from the old bourgeois sub-divisions and boil them down to two economic groups, namely, the 'haves' and the 'have-nots,' or, the bourgeoisie and the workers, respectively. And we are members of and we support the latter (workers) group.

REFORMIST ROLE

"The spirit of internationalism recognizes no boundaries. It sheds light on the plight of all workers and would not dare favor any one group because of some bourgeois-reformist type of pseudo-sympathy. These fickle-minded reformists magnify the 'progress' of one group of workers. Do not be taken in by them. They are spitting in our face and telling us it's raining.

"We will see a better world only through Socialism. A world devoid of all boundaries and divisions and where the worker is conscious of his contribution to society and is sure of an equitable return for such. He will no longer be forced to be ashamed of that greatest good known to man—labor.

"It is necessary that we workers, in the spirit of internationalism, recognize no encumbrances that might interfere with our progress. We must annihilate in toto all of our acquired prejudices that were so subtly instilled in us. We must arise and fight for the perpetuation of Bolshevism.

"Being black, white, red, brown or yellow is merely incidental, so I beg you to come out of your limited surroundings and enlighten us of the progress, trials and tribulations of the workers of the world. Long live Bolshevism!

"Internationally yours,

"Comrade Thomas."

(Note: Comrade Jackson's answer to this letter will be published in next week's column.)

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

- AKRON—Visit The Militant Club, 405-E Everett Bldg., 38 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Sat. 10 a.m. to 12 p.m.
- ALBANY—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m. at Militant Labor Forum, 8 E. corner Front and Hamilton Streets, Albany.
- BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St., open evenings (except Sundays) until 9:30; also Monday and Saturday afternoons. Come in and get acquainted. Complete stock of literature.
- BUFFALO—Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 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. 160 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7822.
- 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.
- Forums on topical questions every Sunday 8 p.m. Refreshments. No admission charge.
- Basic Training Class in Fundamental Principles of Marxism every Thursday 8 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES—Buy The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-05, 232 S. Hill St., WA-2838. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- MILWAUKEE—Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 926 Plankinton 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 8 p.m. daily.
- Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p.m.
- NEWARK—Lectures are held every Friday at 8 p.m. at Progressive Workers' School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 8:30 p.m.
- NEW YORK—Sun., Nov. 10, 10:30 a.m. meet at 118 University Place to join subscriptions in The Militant Campaign for ten thousand new readers.
- Harlem Discussion Group meets every Wednesday night 8 p.m. at discussion "Labor and Negro Struggle," at 103 West 110 St. Room 21. Office open day and evening 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. also 7 to 9 p.m. Books and pamphlets on sale.
- Trotskyist Youth Forum Fridays, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place, Nov. 8, "Longshoremen's Strike—Report of a Participant," Nov. 15, "Real issues in French Elections." 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, 220 S. W. Alder St., Room 509, open 1 to 4 p.m. daily except Sunday, and 8 to 8:30 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday.
- SAN FRANCISCO—Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science 305 Grant Ave., corner of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 2 p.m. Monday through Saturday, and 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.
- SEATTLE—Study groups every Friday, 7:45 p.m., at Seattle School of Social Science, 1819 1/2 Second Ave.; 1. Imperialism, 2. Introduction to Socialism.
- ST. LOUIS—Visit our headquarters and The Militant Labor Forum at Peoples Bldg., corner 316, cor. Jefferson Ave. and Market Place. Open every evening, 8 to 10 p.m.
- TOLEDO—Forums every Tuesday, 8:45 p.m. Classes every Thursday: Fundamentals of Marxism, 7:30 p.m. and History of the Third International, 8:45 p.m. at 905 Jefferson Ave. Office hours: Every evening from 7 to 9 p.m.
- YOUNGSTOWN—Youngstown School of Social Science, 225 N. Phelps St., open to public Tuesday and Saturday afternoon from 2 to 5; also 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Monday through Thursday.

Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky



We had been talking about the standard of living and the attitude the companies were taking concerning the wage demands of the unions, when Slim began to get sore.

"Those lousy companies don't give a damn if you starve or not," he exploded. "We ought to have a revolution and shoot 'em all like they did in Russia."

I almost jumped. "Holy smokes, Slim! Where did you hear all that baloney?" I asked. "Look," I added, "I'll tell you what happened in Russia if you'd like to hear about it."

"It was twenty-eight years ago, Wednesday, the seventh of November, 1917. The people in Russia—people like you and me, working long hours for low pay, fighting in muddy, watery trenches for the capitalists—well, they got sick of the way things were going and decided that they were going to run the government their own way and have peace, good working conditions, plenty to eat, security, and happiness for all people. So they got together and took over the government. There was 'a little scuffling,' a handful of people—only a few—got killed. And that was the Russian Revolution."

"Are you kidding?" Slim asked.

I grinned at him. "What do you want for your money—mass murder?"

Jimmy had come up while I was talking, and he now joined in. "You see how easy it is, Slim?"

In answer to Slim's distrustful expression I went on. "Of course, it wasn't quite that simple, Slim, but it wasn't a massacre like the boss press makes out. And the Russian people weren't led around by the nose by a little gang of fanatics, either."

"Here's how it was. There was a revolutionary party called the Bolsheviks, and they wanted a workers' government just like the Socialist Workers Party here in this country does. At the start of things they were just a small group. But when the people got together in March, 1917, and kicked out the Russian czar, the Bol-

sheviki began growing pretty fast.

"The people had set up what they called 'Soviets.' That's the Russian word for Councils... you know, something like the CIO Council, where all the different local unions from the plants around here are represented by elected delegates. Well, these councils, or Soviets, had representatives of the soldiers as well as the workers, so the great majority of the Russian people had a voice in what was going on in the councils."

"Now, since the czar had been kicked out by the combined might of the people, who left their jobs in a big strike, held demonstrations against the monarchy, and forced him to abdicate, the government was in pretty tough shape. None of the so-called leaders dared to set up a real people's government. They were sort of like Murray, Thomas, Green, and the rest of our labor leaders who don't dare to come out for a Labor Party, because they are afraid of the workers' strength."

"But the people were clamoring for action. They looked more and more to the Soviets for leadership and less and less to the national government. The Bolsheviks raised the slogan of 'All power to the Soviets,' and the people began to say the Bolsheviks were right. Finally, on November 7, after the great majority of the workers, peasants (you know, small farmers), and soldiers were on their side, the Bolsheviks, who were now a majority in the Soviets, proclaimed the Soviets to be the national government."

"But how about all the fighting?"

"Well, Slim, nobody gives up privileges without a scrap. The capitalists, who had been kicked out, raised up an army and made war on the Soviet Government. America and Britain and the other big countries financed the reactionaries in Russia; you can thank them for the bloodshed in the Civil War. But the Soviets won out. That was the revolution. What happened later is another story."

"The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky led it in Russia. The Socialist Workers Party led it here. And when it happens, we'll just take them over and run them for ourselves; and we'll have peace and plenty for all of us."

Shoptalks On Socialism By V. Grey



"You spend all your time agitating for socialism, and what does it get you? You're always worrying about the other guy. Me—I'm looking out for myself and my family."

But how can a working man look out for himself anyway? These are the only recipes that I can think up:

1. He can forsake the working class and be a crook.

2 (A). He can forsake the working class and be a capitalist. Or, 2 (B). He can be a capitalist stooge—job-killer, peg-setter, scissorbill or scab.

3. He can advance the struggle of his own class against the boss class—making all the working people including himself and his family better off.

There is only one way for a worker as a worker to look out for himself. That's No. 3. Any other way is to desert his class.

But what's wrong with getting out of the working class, you might say? It's a free country, they tell you, and who wants to work for a living anyway?

I guess the caverns of hell don't grow any deeper just to accommodate the scabs, skunks, and ne'er-do-wells that try to leave the working class. And maybe it's all right if they can get away with it. But the point I wish to raise is that they just don't get away with it—at least not very far.

Take No. 1—the worker who becomes a crook. That is, a legitimate crook—one who steals and calls it stealing—a second-story man, pickpocket, penman, etc. Modern capitalist police methods, fingerprint bureaus, prison and parole systems, are organized to the nth degree with millions of dollars and thousands of cops arrayed against the individual worker who tries to escape his chains of slavery alone. "Crime," as the capitalists smugly say, "does not pay."

Take No. 2—the worker who becomes a capitalist to live comfortably off the backs of the workers. Of course that's only in the movies. And even there it's not an ignorant mechanic

or steel worker, like you or me. It's a clean-cut young college boy, poor but honest, who meets a nice girl, falls in love with her and then wakes up to find himself married to a million dollars, etc., etc.

Or take the worker who takes that movie seriously. He scrapes together a few hundred bucks to start a gas station and run it up into a whole chain of stations just like Clark Gable or somebody did in the movies. Well, he works fourteen hours a day and makes his wife and kids work too, and after ten years they're still working fourteen hours a day on the same corner—if Standard Oil hasn't run them out of business.

No. 2 (B) offers the surest immediate cash payment. But you have to have certain qualifications. Your knees and backbone have to be well oiled and very limber. While it's easy to be a stooge, it's hard to be a successful one, because the competition is very severe. And working people aren't trained for it like the more educated middle class.

It seems as though the surest bet is No. 3. That's what the majority of working people seem to think today anyhow. When they vote as high as twenty to one for strike, it shows they know where their bread is buttered. It's buttered on their own side, and not spread with the phony baloney of capitalist wish thinking. Their self interest is the interest of their CLASS.

The worker on the picket line sees where his bread is buttered, too. As he fights for his class he fights for himself and his children. If his children grow hungry in the long strike he fights more fiercely against the boss class which starves them. He fights for higher wages and shorter hours, so his children, when they go to work, will be less slaves than he.

Millions of workers are like that. And yet only a few today are revolutionary socialists. But these millions will become revolutionary socialists as they begin to see that socialism means a better world for their children and the end of slavery altogether. And they will make great sacrifices of time and energy precisely BECAUSE they look out for themselves and their families.

Postwar Notes For Seamen By F. J. Lang



Ship operators and their Admiral friends are afraid the U. S. Maritime Commission may be absorbed into some other federal agency—probably the Department of Commerce—under powers which may be granted to President Truman by government reorganization measures now pending in Congress.

Admiral Vickery of the Maritime Commission rebuked the ship operators at their recent Merchant Marine Conference in New York's swank Waldorf-Astoria for their apparent lack of interest in the fate of the Commission. The Admiral had good reason to be peeved, considering the billions in government funds he has helped divert into the coffers of private shipping companies. "To jealously watch the factors that basically are going to effect the industry which supports you," the Admiral told his friends, "is the least you can do."

As if to show the Admirals that the ship-

"owners" are not asleep where their interests are concerned (regardless of the Maritime Commission's fate), Basil Harris, president of the U. S. Lines Co. and spokesman for bigtime operators who enjoy heavy government subsidies, has listed six demands. Among them is the demand for representation in Truman's Cabinet through creation of the office of Secretary of Transportation. Harris says his demands "might be termed a Bill of Rights founded on past experience and future well-being of our industry."

Past experience shows that the ship operators have always found an open door to the federal treasury. The old Dollar Line was notorious for its raids on the public treasury after World War I, and exposure of its steals threatened to scandalize the entire industry. This outfit is now laying claim to the government-built and government-owned American President Line which has been reorganized since 1938 by the Maritime Commission from the remnants of the bankrupt Dollar Line. R. Stanley Dollar now claims that he is the "owner" of APL because an original four-and-one-half million dollars in government loans has been repaid from wartime operating earnings of APL. No mention is made of the fact that the government loans were repaid with more government funds. However, all action on sale of APL is being held up while Truman makes a personal study of reports from Attorney-General Clark and the Maritime Commission on the Dollar claims.

The ease with which the ship-"owners" are able to get the President's ear seems to indicate that these people are hardly in need of a "Bill of Rights." What they need is a Bill of Particulars, listing their thievery, profiteering and exploitation of the workers, and this should be drawn up by the maritime unions.

Criminal Election Policy Of N. Y. Stalinists Blocks Step Toward National Labor Party

By Felix Morrow

The New York mayoralty campaign is over, but no worker should forget the criminal policy of the Communist Party which deprived the labor movement of an extraordinarily favorable opportunity for a big step ahead toward a nation-wide Labor Party.

There was little labor sentiment for LaGuardia's choice of a successor, Newbold Morris, and still less for the Democratic candidate O'Dwyer or the Republican Goldstein.

Here, then, was the opportunity for the American Labor Party to run its own candidate. Even if not elected, he would have been certain of a big vote, considering whom he would be running against. At the least, he would do as well as the miserable nobody, Dean Alfange, who got 18 per cent of the New York City vote in the 1942 gubernatorial elections, running as an independent ALP candidate.

Remember, too, that the ALP got that vote despite Roosevelt's appeal to the workers to vote for the Democratic candidate Bennett. And despite the fact that Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers broke away from the ALP and supported Bennett in that election.

ALP PRESTIGE

That show of strength in 1942 for an ALP candidate who did not also run on any capitalist ticket gave the ALP the prestige which its leaders have since then been trading away in election deals with the capitalist parties.

This year, with Roosevelt and LaGuardia out of the picture, the ALP had an even better opportunity than in 1942. Nor was there need to run a nobody like Alfange. The candidate could have been the leader of one of the big unions affiliated to the ALP—Curran of the National Maritime Union, Quill of the Transport Workers, etc.

But the Communist Party, securely in control of the New York machinery of the ALP, ruled otherwise. It insisted on making a deal with Tammany to support its man, O'Dwyer, who in the course of the campaign repudiated the councilmanic candidacy of Benjamin Davis, reneged on practically everything.

COVERING UP

On its side, however, the Communist Party carried out the deal to the bitter end, trying to explain away O'Dwyer's anti-labor actions or, where even that

couldn't be done, simply covering up for O'Dwyer.

The climax of this vile policy came the last week of the campaign when the Republicans, for their own reasons naturally, spilled the story of how O'Dwyer had smothered the investigation of the murder of Pete Panto, militant leader of the Brooklyn longshoremen. Elsewhere on this page you will read the story of how the Communist Party has covered up O'Dwyer even in this instance, although in 1940 and 1941 the Communist Party itself proved that O'Dwyer had done in the Panto case just what the Republicans now say he did.

As for any claims that O'Dwyer's election would bring progressive results, the Communist Party wound up the campaign with the arguments concerning the horrors which would result if Goldstein got in but with as much silence as possible concerning what will happen when O'Dwyer takes office.

The one half-way plausible argument proffered by the Stalinists had nothing to do with O'Dwyer at all but with the good effect of having as many votes as possible cast (for O'Dwyer) on the ALP line of the voting machine. As one after another of the Communist Party's pretenses of Roosevelt's progressiveness were punctured, the Stalinists concentrated more and more on the value of a big vote on the ALP line.

REVEAL OWN ROLE

Precisely this argument, however, reveals the crime of the Communist Party. If a big ALP vote means to draw a distinction from Tammany—O'Dwyer, then it is plain how valuable would have been a big ALP vote for an independent labor candidate. A big ALP vote for O'Dwyer is at best an ambiguous thing, with O'Dwyer's gang being able to argue plausibly that most of such votes are for O'Dwyer rather than for the ALP, that many a good Democrat just happened to pull the first lever he saw marked for O'Dwyer, etc. Whereas votes for an independent labor candidate on the ALP line would have been unambiguous votes against the capitalist parties and for labor's own party.

Such a big ALP vote for an independent labor candidate would have brought powerful pressure on the trade union officialdom to launch an independent Labor Party in time to campaign in the next state and national elections.

That this didn't happen is the crime of the Communist Party, which had the power to do it and instead sold out the ALP to Tammany.

Student Groups Hear Trotskyist Youth Speakers

NEW YORK, Oct. 31 — The Trotskyist Youth Group held highly successful street corner meetings at three colleges in New York last week, to discuss what is at stake for youth in the New York City election campaign. These meetings attracted attentive gatherings of 50 to 150 students at City College, Brooklyn College and New York University.

Members of the Trotskyist Youth Group and the Socialist Workers Party spoke. The audiences were full of young people who were interested in the problems of conscription, war and unemployment. Many young Stalinists and other leftist youth were there. Students were generally attentive and genuinely interested in the Trotskyist program. They asked important questions and joined in discussion. Even many young Stalinists made militant points.

These meetings not only spread the ideas of socialism to hundreds of students, but they also showed clearly that American youth is rapidly becoming disillusioned in American capitalism, which can only produce war, depression, and misery.

Huge Picket Line Against Fascist Meeting In L.A.

(Continued from Page 1)

authorities in San Francisco, San Jose and San Diego where Smith was refused use of the schools, and demanded that use of school halls in Los Angeles henceforth be barred to "anyone who spews the doctrines of fascism."

The picket line and the Olympic meeting were both called by the Mobilization for Democracy, which comprises some 200 labor, minority and liberal organizations. Prominent in the group is the Los Angeles CIO Council, as well as AFL and Railway Brotherhood unions.

Veterans Leading Picket Line



This group of World War II veterans hasn't fallen for the propaganda of the corporations. They are leading the picket line in the strike of 8,000 Timken workers in Canton, Ohio.

War Veterans Lead The Picket Line In Walkout At Canton Timken Plant

(Continued from Page 1)

ers, tried to pull a fast one. It supplied scab production workers with pink office-help badges and sneaked them into the plant.

VETS SHOW UP BOSS

The strike pickets, among whom were the World War II veterans, soon caught on to this cheap trick and became really angered. The veterans came to the local union hall in a body and asked to be placed at the No. 1 main gate to stop the company's strikebreaking maneuver. They picketed in a group with placards reading: "Are you going to let us down by going through the picket lines?" The pickets showed their contempt for the scabs by tossing pennies at them, shouting, "Here's your carfare, now go on home!"

During this demonstration, one of the pickets, who had fought in Europe, walked up to Umstaad, president of the corporation, and showed him the banner he was carrying. Umstaad sneeringly insulted the veteran. Whereupon the worker-veteran explained the banner to Umstaad and reminded him how he and other soldiers had rescued Umstaad's son from a Nazi concentration camp.

No one, including Umstaad, was permitted to enter the plant. The police, who previously had been escorting scabs through the lines, made themselves scarce before the workers' show of strength and militancy. The strikers put pressure on the mayor, who is up for reelection, not to use the police to attack the picket line.

EMPTY PROMISES

Explaining the union solidarity of the veterans, union officials stated: "During the war, Timken Roller Bearing advertised in the daily papers for an entire year, 'We're going to do everything under the sun for the veterans, rebuild and revamp machines so crippled veterans can have jobs, etc.' The company promised double seniority and, in fact, were going to have Utopia at Timken Roller Bearing."

"Since the boys have been returning, all the company has done is try to use Vets against the non-Vets to create dissension. In many instances the company has placed Vets on jobs and then paid them 25 cents an hour less than non-vets doing the same work. To prove this, we have arbitration awards the

union has won, providing equal pay for vets. This shows the company's attempts at creating dissension."

"In every case where the company failed to pay equal wages to the vets the union has fought the cases successfully. So why shouldn't the vets support the union?"

Timken refuses to negotiate while the workers are on strike. But the workers are more determined than ever to settle the issues before they return because of the inspiring example of the Republic Steel workers here who recently struck and forced the company to negotiate while they were still out.

WIDE SUPPORT

Some 5,000 Timken workers in Columbus, Ohio, have come out in full support of the Canton strikers. Truck-drivers here are supporting the strikers by respecting all picket lines.

Strikers point out that the issues in this fight are similar to those in the bitter battle against the union-busting international trust, SKF, in Philadelphia. It is urged that local unions pass resolutions in support of the Timken strikers here.

Stalinists Forget Murder of Panto In Wild Effort To Cover Up O'Dwyer

By Bill Morgan

NEW YORK—A shocking and revealing example of Stalinist treachery and degeneration came to light in the recent election campaign mud-slinging between Tammany Hall and the Republican Party machine in this city.

In a frantic effort to smear O'Dwyer, the Stalinist supported candidate of Tammany, the machine politicians of the Republican Party brought to light the unsolved and almost forgotten murder of Peter Panto.

Peter Panto was the rank and file leader of about 1200 longshoremen who attempted to combat the dictatorship of Joseph P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Association and a leading member of Tammany Hall. Panto was a member of the Communist Party. The rank and file revolt against Ryan was given full support by the Daily Worker.

This struggle occurred during 1938 and 1939 on the Brooklyn waterfront.

On July 14, 1939 Peter Panto disappeared. No trace of him could be found. The Daily Worker demanded the District Attorney of Brooklyn investigate the case and prosecute the gangsters with whom Panto was last seen in an automobile outside a local office of the I.L.A.

The District Attorney began an investigation and several known gangsters including members of the infamous Murder, Inc. who were involved in the

kick-back and other rackets, were brought in for questioning. Some evidence was obtained but it was obvious that the officials were stalling.

In 1940 William O'Dwyer, an ex-cop and a Tammany Hall stooge, became District Attorney and he ordered the case dropped.

The body of Panto was discovered on January 29, 1941 in a frozen claybank on the Passaic River near Lyndhurst, New Jersey. The body was said to be of a man of about 35 years of age, of Jewish descent, and of a mass of rotting flesh encased in a block of frozen earth and quicklime, a literal skeleton in the Brooklyn political closet, his remains a banner of struggle to the rank and file longshoremen who he led until his death...

DAILY WORKER ATTACKS O'DWYER

Attacking O'Dwyer for laxity, Gerson, in the Daily Worker of February 1, 1941 asked, "Why doesn't O'Dwyer clean up gangsterism, racketeering and kick-backs which still exist on the Brooklyn waterfront?" In the same article it said, "Already Brooklyn politicians are worried about the slogan ('Who Paid for the Murder of Panto?' B. M.) which bids fair to rival embarrassing questions asked in the notorious Druckman case. With at least one I.L.A. official high in the Brooklyn Democratic organization and close connection between officers of the Association and the Kelly ma-

chine, certain authorities were understood to be nervous about any wide investigation of the Panto murder mystery."

In the election campaign of 1941 in New York City the Stalinists attacked O'Dwyer in a statement by Pete Mazzi, a longshoreman who took over the leadership of the rank and file committee after Peter Panto was murdered. Mazzi charged that O'Dwyer had failed to act upon a mass of "concrete evidence" as to the identity and connections of the murderers of Panto.

"District Attorney O'Dwyer," continued Mazzi in the Daily Worker of October 22, 1941, "has brought neither the paymasters nor the murderers of Pete Panto to justice though he has stated publicly months ago that he knew the names of those responsible for this brutal crime."

O'Dwyer has done nothing to clean up the vicious kick-back, loan-shark, loading and other Murder, Inc. rackets and gangsterism on the Brooklyn waterfront. O'Dwyer's connections with America First, Hearst and other alien-baiters, anti-Semites and Negro-haters make him an enemy of the overwhelming majority of the longshoremen...

NEW YORK
Militant Labor Forum
"Results of the Elections In France"
Charles Carsten
National Education Director, SWP
SUNDAY, NOV. 11
116 University Place, 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.