

Detroit Election Results Analyzed

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THE MILITANT

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Manhattan Trotskyist Receives 1,324 Votes In Council Elections

NEW YORK, Nov. 16.—Louise Simpson, city council candidate in Manhattan of the Trotskyist Party, ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party, received 1,324 first choice votes in the municipal elections here November 6.

The vote for Louise Simpson, young Negro trade unionist who carried the banner of Trotskyism in the councilmanic elections, was even larger than the 1,043 votes cast in the borough of Manhattan for Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist candidate for mayor, who polled a total of 4,276 votes in all five boroughs. His total represented a 400 per cent increase over the 1941 Trotskyist vote for mayor.

Comrade Simpson's vote was only 345 less than the 1,669 secured by Amicus Most, candidate of the Socialist Party, a minority party which in previous years polled thousands of votes for its candidates in municipal elections. An estimated 16 per cent of all councilmanic ballots were invalidated. Undoubtedly Comrade Simpson lost many votes for this reason.

Complete information is not

yet available on the number of second choice votes for Louise Simpson or the sections which gave her the highest proportion of votes. However, it is probable that as a result of the intensive Socialist Workers Party campaign in Harlem, a significant portion of her votes came from the most exploited and oppressed section of the city's population, the Negro people.

An analysis of the vote cast for Farrell Dobbs shows that 341 of his 1,043 votes in Manhattan came from assembly districts in Harlem, indicating that one-third of his votes were cast by Negro workers. From this it can also be concluded that a high percentage of Louise Simpson's votes came from this area.

TROTSKYIST CAMPAIGN

During the past year the Socialist Workers Party has carried on an extensive subscription campaign for *The Militant* in the Harlem area. Thousands of Negro workers have become new readers of the Trotskyist paper. A new Harlem branch of the Socialist Workers Party has been established in recent months and SWP members have been conducting vigorous educational work throughout the area. The Trotskyists have defied police intimidation and carried on widespread public street sales of Trotskyist literature, including the warmly-received pamphlet, "A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow," by Charles Jackson, popular Militant columnist.

Louise Simpson, like Farrell Dobbs, attracted the votes of the most class conscious and politically advanced workers. On the ballot she was clearly labeled as the "Trotskyist Party" candidate.

Louise Simpson and Farrell Dobbs campaigned on a program calling for revolutionary socialism. One of the chief planks in their program was for an uncompromising struggle against every vestige of Jim Crow and (Continued on Page 2)

Yale And Towne Strikers Resist Open-Shop Drive

Special to THE MILITANT

STAMFORD, Conn., Nov. 14.—Supported by all labor in this area, 3,500 employees of Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company today continued solidly their militant picket lines. They have kept the plant closed tight for a week in a fight for a 30 per cent wage increase and renewal of the maintenance of membership contract granted by the War Labor Board during the war.

The whole community, sapped for years by this sweatshop, last week applauded when the strikers barred from the plant W. Gibson Carey, Jr., company president, popularly called "the Sewell L. Avery of Stamford."

Former president of the laboring National Association of Manufacturers, Carey heads a union-smashing coalition of 11 local concerns refusing to renew (Continued on Page 8)

U. S. Troops Fire In China Civil War

By Charles Carsten

American planes have strafed defenseless Stalinist-held villages in Shantung, according to press reports. And in the battle for the strategically important city of Shan-hai-kwan, American planes hovered over the battle area, charged the Communist (Stalinist) controlled Kalgan radio, "to give cover to the Kuomintang armies."

The Shan-hai-kwan attack was launched by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. They were transported by American forces operating from the United States - held Ching-wang-tao base.

In a release which was later "killed," Navy brass-hats stated that their objective in China was "... support of the National Government in China in connection with the movement of Chinese troops to newly liberated areas."

TRAINED AND ARMED

The United States military command in China, acting on instructions from Washington, are training Chiang Kai-shek's troops and arming them with

the most modern American equipment.

A Navy spokesman stated that the American fleet had transported more than 100,000 Nationalist troops to North China and 53,000 to Formosa.

North China is held by Chinese Communist (Stalinist) forces. Chiang Kai-shek's troops are moving to that area to wrest control from the Stalinists and to prevent them from occupying the strategic region of Manchuria.

Economically Manchuria is to China what the industrial Northeast is to the United States. Although its area is only about (Continued on Page 3)

Indonesian People Fight Heroically For Freedom From Allied Despots

Bringing "Four Freedoms" To Indonesia

San Francisco Machinists Solid In Strike

Special to THE MILITANT

By Robert Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 14.—The joint AFL and CIO machinist strike, which has shut tight more than 200 shops and shipyards in the Bay area, is continuing solidly in its third week.

Workers of all affected establishments, in an inspiring demonstration of labor solidarity, have respected the picket lines established by the striking unions, Lodge 68, AFL International Association of Machinists, and CIO Steelworkers East Bay Machinists Local 1304.

The strike has now settled down to a test of strength. The employers, combined in the Metal Trades Association, continue to reject out of hand the unions' demands for a 30 per cent wage increase, holiday pay, industrial accident benefits and guaranteed weekly income. Negotiations have been virtually discontinued.

Every employer attempt thus far to smear the strikers and turn "public opinion" against them has backfired. A "milk crisis" scare, based on an alleged "shortage" of wax paper milk containers from the closed American Can Co., has been exposed as a hoax. American Can is reported to have a million con-

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Militants Gain In Akron Rubber Union Elections

(Special to THE MILITANT)

AKRON, O., Nov. 10.—Militant forces in the Firestone and Goodrich locals of the United Rubber Workers, CIO, won hard-fought election victories this week over candidates representing the conservative policy of the International's top machine.

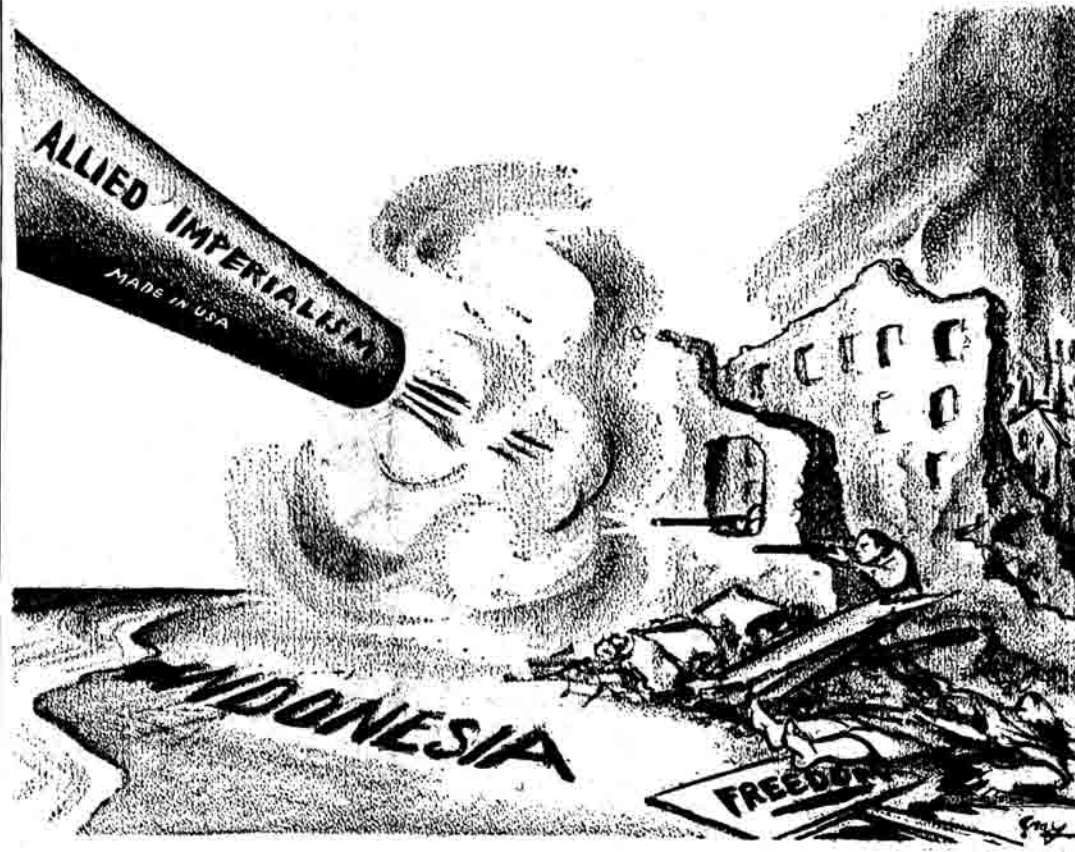
George Bass, a former president of Goodrich Local 5 and at present Executive Secretary of the Akron CIO Council, defeated the incumbent John Saylor for the Goodrich presidency by a close margin. The total vote of 6,273 was the largest ever cast in the local union. Both candidates headed well organized groups which conducted colorful and energetic campaigns. The Goodrich plant was flooded with 200,000 leaflets distributed by both sides.

It was clear from the beginning that it was a struggle between militant unionism and the forces of a combined International, Stalinist and company-backed bloc. The Bass group won both the key offices of president and secretary, but lost the vice-presidency and treasurer's post. Executive board posts have not yet been decided.

FIRESTONE ELECTION

In Firestone Local 7, President I. H. Watson and other militant officers were re-elected. The Firestone election battle was also hard fought and a record vote of more than 5,000 was cast. Despite the fact that the full forces of the International machine were thrown into the fight to

(Continued on Page 8)



Giant Auto Union Faces Greatest Strike Battle

Special to THE MILITANT

DETROIT, Nov. 18.—The militant, million-headed ranks of the CIO United Automobile Workers are getting poised for the greatest and most decisive strike struggle in their fighting history. A titanic battle against three of the greatest corporations in the world, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, now appears almost certain.

Today some 200 delegates of more than 100 General Motors locals are arriving in town for a crucial conference tomorrow and Tuesday, to prepare for the next and possible showdown stage of their conflict with the power-drunk, war profits-gorged GM corporation for a 30 per cent increase in wages.

These delegates, the local representatives of 325,000 GM workers, are in a grim and bitter mood. The arrogant and contemptuous rejection of their de-

mands during the recent weeks of prolonged negotiations, the provocative and insulting counter-proposals of the corporation barons have aroused them to a high pitch of determination to fight it out with no holds barred.

NEGOTIATIONS FUTILE

The delegates will have before them the admission of R. J. Thomas, UAW president, that further negotiations with General Motors will in all likelihood be as futile and useless as all previous attempts to wrest some reasonable concessions through across-the-table methods.

In a statement made public yesterday in the latest issue of the *United Automobile Worker*, official international union organ, Thomas indicated the imminence of the strike by beginning: "I am writing this column as the showdown between your union and the Big Three in the (Continued on Page 2)

IN THE NEWS

Division Of Labor?

"The world has nothing to fear from the United States territorially or in a military way, from Britain economically, or from any nation if the United Nations Organization is made to function properly, Prime Minister Attlee declared in an address to a joint session of Congress." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 15.)

Success At Last

Several times as Senator and Vice-President, Truman tried to get the nephew of the late Kansas City Boss Pendergast a federal job. Truman's personal appeals for the relative of his old political mentor were turned down. As President, Truman again "requested" the State Department to act. It did. Young Pendergast is now on the federal payroll at \$6,200 per annum as Acting Director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Defending Constitution

The Ford Motor Company at Albany, N. Y., on November 13 was fined \$300 for docking three employees for taking time off to vote last November. The company was found guilty of violating a state law requiring that employees be given two hours off with pay on election day. The company is appealing the decision on the grounds that the law is "unconstitutional."

Everybody's Pal

Commenting on the effect on President Truman of the election of Tammany's O'Dwyer as mayor of New York, Roscoe Drummond writes in the *Christian Science Monitor*, November 5: "Mr. Truman would probably find it as easy to work with the Tammany machine in New York as with the Pendergast machine in Mo."

U. S. Army Weapons Used In Slaughter Of Javanese

By Joseph Hansen

The colonial peoples who have suffered centuries of despotic foreign rule are now making a titanic effort to break the stranglehold of Allied imperialism.

The Republic of Indonesia, which came into being with the downfall of Japan, at present stands in the forefront of the struggle, battling for independence against all the odds of the modern Allied military machine.

The hopes and aspirations of hundreds of millions of down-trodden people throughout the orient lie with this young Republic. If Indonesia succeeds in winning freedom, then Malaya, Burma, India, Africa, Korea and the Philippines — all the oppressed colonial lands — will joyfully run aloft the banners of independence.

The brutal, murderous colonial system of the Allied powers is being shaken to the foundations.

BUTCHER'S JOB

Great Britain was the first to leap into the breach. When the Dutch imperialists proved powerless to cut down the Indonesians, their British class brothers agreed to carry out the butcher's job.

With centuries of experience in putting down rebellions and colonial uprisings, able to vary and combine tactics with utmost flexibility, the British imperialists have moved forward in Indonesia, now with machine guns,

Jackson to Address Protest Rally On Colonial Slaughter

Charles Jackson, author of the widely read column, "The Negro Struggle," will be one of the speakers at a mass meeting at the Hotel Diplomat in New York, Friday, November 30, 8 p. m.

The rally is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party to protest the Allied massacre of the colonial peoples. The SWP demands the withdrawal of Allied troops from China, Indonesia and Indo-China.

Other speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, editor of *THE MILITANT* and George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Right Defense Committee.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be chairman.

bombs and naval fire, now with soft words and seeming placability, again with harsh ultimatums and ferocious slaughter. The British are calling on all their experience — probing militarily (Continued on Page 7)

Withdraw Troops From The Far East!

By The Editors

Great issues are at stake in the Far East.

The teeming millions of this vast area, embracing the majority of mankind, are struggling for their freedom.

In Indonesia the entire populace has arisen in a mighty effort to strike off the shackles of more than three centuries of frightful oppression under Dutch imperialism.

In Indo-China the masses are giving their life-blood to free the land from brutal French Imperialist domination.

In China the populace of one of the world's oldest civilizations, after battling Japanese imperialism for almost a decade and a half, are girding themselves for a showdown struggle against their native and Allied oppressors represented by the butcher Chiang Kai-shek.

All these people seek liberation from foreign despotism. They want freedom to choose their own form of government.

But the capitalist classes of the imperialist nations wish to preserve and extend their oppressive rule over these nations. The capitalists derive colossal profits through merciless exploitation of the colonial peoples. They ruthlessly drain the rich natural resources. With bayonet and bomb they keep wages at starvation levels. Famine and disease haunt the colonial masses.

American capitalists have direct interests in these lands and likewise own stock in the British, French and Dutch companies. The profits squeezed out of the colonial people pour into the bank vaults of Wall Street, enormously strengthening Big Business.

That is why Wall Street is backing reaction to the hilt in the colonial lands. War materials from America's factories are freely given Dutch, British and French troops. One of the main sources of strength for the murderous rule of Chiang Kai-shek is his access to American guns and ammunition and free transportation for his mercenary troops.

The struggle of the colonial peoples is thus the struggle of American labor. The American workers have everything to gain from supporting the battle for freedom of the colonial peoples. The overthrow of foreign domination means the weakening of Wall Street and the strengthening of American labor.

It is the duty of every worker to do his utmost to help the colonial peoples.

Express your solidarity with the colonial peoples. Demand the withdrawal of all troops from the Far East!

Protest The Massacre Of The Colonial Peoples

MASS MEETING FRIDAY NOV. 30 8 P. M.

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

Speakers:

CHARLES JACKSON
Writer of 'The Negro Struggle'

FARRELL DOBBS
Editor of *The Militant*

GEORGE NOVACK
National Secretary, CRDC

Chairman **JAMES P. CANNON**, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party
HOTEL DIPLOMAT, 108 West 43rd St., New York

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party

Big Vote For Detroit Labor's Mayoralty Candidate Spurs Movement For An Independent Labor Party

By Arthur Burch

DETROIT—Despite the use of unlimited funds by Big Business in the most vicious anti-labor and anti-Negro campaign in the history of Detroit elections, labor's mayoralty candidate Richard T. Frankenstein, vice-president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, on November 6, received the impressive total of 216,817 votes against 274,455 for Mayor Jeffries. Frankenstein's vote was 41,000 larger than that cast two years ago for Fitzgerald who was endorsed by the CIO, AFL and Negro organizations, and even topped the figure of 207,821 polled then by the victorious Jeffries.

This campaign can best be compared with that of 1937 when labor ran its own slate of candidates. At that time O'Brien, backed by labor, received only 154,048 votes against 261,048 cast for Reading, the candidate of Big Business. Frankenstein's vote in this election was 62,000 larger than that rolled up by labor eight years ago, whereas Jeffries received only 13,000 more votes than Reading. Despite a population increase of about 25 per cent, the vote for the employers' candidate increased only five per cent, whereas the labor vote rose 40 per cent.

Never was the capitalist technique of "divide and conquer" more clearly illustrated than in this campaign. A veritable lynch mob was aroused in the white communities against the Negro minority. This drive was spearheaded by a chain of 16 newspapers such as the "Home Gazette," the "North Detroit" and the "Redford Record," all under the directorship of Floyd McGriff. Containing scare headlines like "White Neighborhoods Again in Peril!" these papers were freely distributed throughout all white sections of the city.

"Divide And Rule" Technique

At the same time Negro communities were flooded with tens of thousands of leaflets reading: "So Why Should Colored Folks Vote for Frankenstein? Frankenstein Has Not Proved Himself a True Friend of Negro Race."

In Jewish communities, the North Detroit, appearing partly in English and partly in Jewish, pictured Frankenstein as anti-Semitic. Throughout other sections of town Jeffries' crowd spread the word that Frankenstein was "Jewish" and urged them against voting for a "Jewish" candidate. In Polish sections, leaflets like the following appeared: "The Truth for Polish-American Patriots. Stalin Reaches Into Detroit. Frankenstein Supports Communist Gang Who Praise the Russian Conquest of Poland."

Jeffries and the kept press screamed that Frankenstein's election meant that the PAC-CIO would take over the city hall. This did not prevent Jeffries' slimy crew from distributing leaflets at plant gates with the query "Is Frankenstein Ashamed to Be a Labor Candidate?"

In addition to race-baiting the candidate of Big Business resorted to its inevitable twin, red-baiting. Both at public meetings and over the radio Jeffries denounced the "Trotskyites" and "Communists" for their support of Frankenstein. The McGriff newspapers blazoned the headline: "New Violent Group in Frankenstein's Camp. Trotskyites Already on Rampage Here, Want Power." The ferocity of the attack against the Trotskyites can be gleaned from the first sentence of the article: "The Forces of violence and terror threaten the city of Detroit! . . . The Socialist Workers Party known as Trotskyites is openly campaigning for Frankenstein . . ."

Big Business was determined to stop labor's challenge to its political power at all costs and by any means. But how did Frankenstein meet this frenzied onslaught? By retreating. In the last days before the election, for instance, Frankenstein published large advertisements in all the capitalist newspapers reassuring the "respectable" citizens that he was opposed to com-

munist, instead of exposing and assailing the divisive, red-baiting methods of Big Business.

Jeffries on the other hand never repudiated the support of the fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, although Frankenstein openly charged Jeffries with welcoming the aid of Smith's followers, who played a leading role in disseminating anti-labor and anti-Negro literature on behalf of Jeffries.

Fails To Inspire Followers

Frankenstein failed to inspire his followers to get out labor's maximum vote. It was Jeffries who drew the class lines while Frankenstein attempted to blur them over. It was Jeffries who admitted in a warning to Big Business that a victory for labor's candidates in Detroit would stimulate labor throughout the country to run its own candidates. Jeffries accused the national PAC of sending organizers to help Frankenstein and stated frankly that he favored segregation of the Negro people and challenged Frankenstein to make his stand known.

But Frankenstein was tongue-tied. He failed to boldly assert that he was labor's candidate. He neglected to tie up with labor's fight against Big Business, the struggle for better housing for the Negro people, the fight against segregation and discrimination. He kept silent about National PAC aid and why labor should welcome it to combat the National Association of Manufacturers' support of Jeffries on a national scale. Had Frankenstein rallied the ranks of labor along class lines he would have stood an excellent chance of winning the election.

Through its free use of money and its scurrilous campaign, Big Business was able to get out a maximum vote of all reactionary and anti-labor elements. This vote is fairly constant, as revealed by a comparison of the figures of 1937 and this year. It was by and large the working class which remained at home and only a more inspiring campaign along class lines by labor's candidate could have brought them to the polls.

Frankenstein's policy of class collaboration inside the UAW-CIO returned to plague him on every occasion during the campaign. Big Business, for instance, utilized such renegades as Charles Edgecomb to point out to the voters that it was not Jeffries but Frankenstein who referred to strikes as "Mobocracy." And despite Frankenstein's denunciation of "communism," his alliance with Stalinists within the UAW-CIO against the progressive and militant workers was well known.

Socialist Workers Party Support

The Socialist Workers Party supported Frankenstein for election despite his bad union record and his lack of a sound political program for labor. We gave him critical support because he was a labor candidate and it was necessary for all labor to unite against the candidate of Big Business and thereby to further the independent political action of the working class. Through the radio, the press, in meetings and leaflets we did everything possible to show Frankenstein the correct method of carrying on a genuine labor campaign against the forces of Big Business. But Frankenstein was more interested in such political hacks without following as Friel, who was defeated in the primaries, Fitzgerald who was defeated by Jeffries last year, and other stalwarts of the Democratic machine. To gain their "support" Frankenstein sacrificed a fighting program against Big Business.

The most significant lesson which labor has learned from this election is that it is necessary to build its own labor party if it hopes to wage a successful political fight against Big Business. The absence of such a party in Detroit hampered labor at every turn. The AFL, MESA and other unions would be drawn into such a party, as well as the CIO, and no labor bureaucrat could then so easily throw the support of labor organizations behind the candidate of Big Business, as happened in this campaign. People of the lower middle class could also become an integral part of an independent labor party. This election has convinced labor that it no longer has to rely on the capitalist political "friends of labor." There is greater determination than ever among the ranks here to wage an all-out campaign in the unions, especially the powerful UAW-CIO, to launch a labor party in the next immediate period.

Simpson Gets 1,324 Votes In Manhattan For Council

(Continued from Page 1)

choice vote of the Trotskyists. During the campaign the Stalinists claimed that the vote for Louise Simpson would "split" the vote for Davis. On the contrary, swelling the final total of the votes cast for Davis was a large proportion of second choice votes cast by Trotskyist voters whose first choice was Louise Simpson.

For full and unconditional equality for the Negro people. The results of the councilmanic elections in New York fully confirm the contention of the SWP during the campaign that the workers of New York City want genuine independent labor political action and are anxious to back candidates representing an independent working-class party. This was evidenced, in part, by the successes of the Communist Party in the councilmanic elections.

WORKING CLASS VOTE

Benjamin J. Davis, Negro candidate for council in Manhattan on the Communist (Stalinist) Party ticket, was swept into office with the second highest number of votes in Manhattan. He received 63,498 first choice votes. In Brooklyn, Peter V. Cacchione, running on the Communist Party ticket, won first place with 68,095 votes. The combined vote of 131,593 of these two Stalinist candidates was far in advance of the combined vote of 112,624 of their closest competitors running on the Democratic Party ticket. In the Bronx, Stalinist Michael J. Quill, head of the CIO Transport Workers Union, came in first, running as an American Labor Party candidate.

However, in no instances where candidates jointly of the Democratic and American Labor Party ran, did they receive anywhere near the votes given for those winning candidates running on a strictly independent working class party ticket.

The Communist Party poll for city council in Manhattan and Brooklyn was the highest in its history, and represents about a 40 per cent increase over its vote in 1943. Its vote far surpassed the votes cast for candidates of the Democratic Party who were endorsed by the ALP, which the Stalinists control.

Davis, on the basis of his being a Negro candidate running on an independent working class party ticket, was the second

Striking West Coast Machinists



Striking members of East Bay Machinists Local 1304, CIO United Steelworkers, picketing an Oakland, California, plant, one of more than 200 San Francisco Bay area shops and shipyards shut tight by a united strike of AFL and CIO machinists for higher wages.

Giant CIO Auto Union Faces Biggest Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

automobile industry moves to a climax.

He stated that there would be another attempt to resume negotiations, but added that "there seemed little hope that anything worth while would result. The corporation, the largest, richest and biggest money-making enterprise in the world, has refused utterly to grant any increase in wages without corresponding price increases, and treats our fully justified demands for wage increases to take care of the losses in take-home pay as something on which they will not negotiate."

RANKS PREPARING

The "tough" attitude of the corporation, its deliberately provocative conduct throughout the negotiations, Thomas states, is "no doubt" due to the "provisions of the Federal tax laws under which GM's strike losses would largely be repaid out of the Federal Treasury through tax refunds."

That the auto union ranks have long since come to the conclusion that the only way they can negotiate with the auto corporations is on the picket lines is shown by the extensive strike preparations under way for the past weeks in almost all the local unions. Throughout the giant GM empire the workers have been alerted for strike action by their local leaders.

Largely on their own initiative, local union leaders, backed by their memberships, have been taking the practical measures required to conduct a prolonged, bitter strike action. Most GM locals have voted strike assessments, which the workers, eager for battle, are willingly paying. In many areas, food and other supplies are being stocked.

STRIKE COMMITTEE

Here in Detroit, the center of the struggle, a City-Wide Strike Committee has been established by the GM locals. Preparations are under way for a central commissary and food purchasing agency. A speakers' bureau and publicity committee have been set up to unify the strike, sustain the morale of the strikers and answer the inevitable strike-breaking propaganda barrage of Big Business. Support of the AFL ranks, thousands of whom work for construction contractors in GM plants, is being lined up. Assurances have come from AFL stewards that their members will not cross CIO picket lines.

The Detroit City-Wide Strike Committee may take on national proportions at the GM delegates' conference convening tomorrow at the Barlum Hotel. Up to now the direction and conduct of the struggle has been formally confined to a six-man "strategy committee" set up by the international executive board two weeks ago.

AUTO BARONS UNITED

Any hope that there would be a division in the ranks of the auto corporations because of competitive factors, a hope repeatedly expressed by the UAW top leaders, was rudely shattered this week when the Ford Motor Company issued a statement, in advance of scheduled negotiations, lining up solidly with the rest of the industry.

Ford rejected out-of-hand any

genuine negotiation on wages, the key issue. "We do not believe," said the Ford statement, "that this is the time to settle on general wage increases."

But that "this is the time," in the minds of the auto corporations, to conduct an all-out war to undermine and destroy the union, was indicated in the further proposals of Ford to destroy union security and other conditions which the Ford workers have won by bitter struggle. Declaring that its experience with unionism has been "unhappy" since the strike of 1941 forced a union contract down Ford's throat, the company issued 31 demands for "company security"—the right once more to ride rough-shod over the workers.

THE REAL ISSUE

Ford's declaration leaves no doubt that the Big Three "Axis" is set for united action against the auto workers. These industrial giants, commanding staggering financial resources, linked with the very top ruling strata of Big Business, intend to mobilize a national offensive of union-busting in the interests of American capitalism.

What is at stake in the impending battle is not merely the interests of the auto workers. The capitalist class recognizes that the auto workers are spearheading a developing struggle of the entire American working class. Behind the auto workers, waiting for a signal to action, are the steel, electrical and radio, packinghouse, construction, railway and millions of other workers. That is what determines the strategy of the auto moguls. They are conducting a class war.

The issue will not be decided in Detroit and the other auto centers alone. The whole record and tradition of the auto workers assures us that they will do their part heroically. But the battle that is being joined is not only against the auto corporations. It is against the whole ruthless gang of Wall Street financiers and industrialists. They can be defeated with the united power of all organized labor.

A successful outcome of the struggle of the auto workers will have decisive bearing on the wage struggle of millions of other union men and women. To ensure such a successful outcome is the bounden duty and responsibility of the whole labor movement.

What "Mandate"?

A resolution on wage policy was passed by the CIO Executive Board on November 1. Reflecting the current mood of the rank and file, the resolution makes good reading—except for the last paragraph which should be read twice by every union militant.

After arguing strongly for wage increases for all workers, the resolution winds up by calling upon the owners of industry to comply with the "mandate" of President Truman to engage in "bona-fide collective bargaining and grant substantial wage increases." What "mandate"?

What has Truman said or done to make General Motors, Ford or U. S. Steel sit down with union representatives to bargain collectively?

But in his recent generally vague speech on wage-price policy, Truman distinctly said, "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." Nothing could be clearer than that to express Truman's policy on wages.

Right To Strike

Akron Firestone Local 7, CIO United Rubber Workers, has just taken action designed to prevent any tampering with the right to strike at conferences between labor and management. The local is wary of so-called "Peace Pacts" concluded by top union bureaucrats without benefit of rank and file authority.

In a resolution on "Restrictions on the right to strike," Local 7 calls upon the coming Tenth Annual Convention of the URW to "go on record against any restrictions whatsoever upon Labor's traditional right to strike and . . . that no officers of our International Union enter into any pact or agreement with any corporation, group of corporations, business organizations or with any government agency which in any way restricts, qualifies or repudiates the right to strike and . . . that copies of this resolution be sent to . . . Philip Murray, President Truman and all CIO International Unions and to the public and Labor press."

Inspiring Struggle

The seventh week of the SKF strike in Philadelphia finds the strikers still on their toes matching blow for blow with the boss.

15,000 Jersey Shipyard Men Stage Walkout

(Special To The Militant)

By A. Williams

KEARNY, N. J., Nov. 10.—Some 15,000 workers of Federal Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, in the Port Newark and Kearny yards, walked out in a protest demonstration yesterday afternoon. This demonstration was called by Local 16, CIO, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, to protest the firing of a shop steward for an alleged minor infraction of company rules. It was a direct provocation by the company and a continuation of its anti-labor policy for the last three years.

This was the first time that the leadership had acted in accordance with the wishes of the rank and file for action and the results spoke for themselves.

Meetings were held outside the both yards with the speakers emphasizing the fact that all the men responded unhesitatingly to this action to defend their union.

A speech that received a big hand was one that condemned the inactivity and do-nothing policy of the leadership of Local 16, for the past three years, and their refusal to take any real action now for a 30 per cent wage increase.

DETROIT BRANCH

Of the Socialist Workers Party

Announces

Gala House Warming
SATURDAY, DEC 15
At Our New Headquarters
6108 LINWOOD

On the Grand Belt Car Line - 2 Blocks So. of W. Grand Blvd.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Bill Morgan

The SKF ball-bearing trust is in court with a two million dollar suit against the union for alleged damages, an injunction to prevent picketing and a suit by some company stooges to tie up the union's funds.

The SKF strikers deserve commendation and all possible support for their devotion to union principles. They have been attacked with every law in the books and every trick known to the bosses. The corporation has refused to negotiate and the strike has become a lock-out during which the workers have had to wait four long weeks before being eligible for unemployment compensation. The company continues to reject arbitration but the pickets are holding firm.

GM's Gravy Train

Alfred P. Sloan Jr., chairman of General Motors Corporation, has just announced the "take" for July, August and September 1945. Reported profit during these three months alone came to \$36,791,784 despite the fact that sales volume of war materials fell to about one half the amount for the first six months of 1945.

This huge profit was made possible by a tax refund of \$9,612,000 and a special income credit of \$24,026,000 allowed by the Federal Government.

Mr. Sloan explains that this windfall resulted from "a very unusual set of circumstances which arose as a result of the termination of the war . . ." And he adds encouragingly, "In view of the fact that such circumstances, at least in part, may be expected to continue and affect reported earnings well into next year, it is important that our stockholders understand just what these circumstances are and why."

There is nothing in Mr. Sloan's report to GM's stockholders about a 30 per cent raise in pay for the workers who produce all of GM's products and profits.

New Labor Shackles

The Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives has voted favorably on a bill not only to take away labor's right to strike, but to make unions liable for all "damages" that may result from any and all "local contract violations."

This is the same committee that forced through the notorious wartime Smith-Connally anti-strike law. Now it is out to shackle both of labor's hands by including in this new bill a provision denying trade unions the right to participate in or contribute to candidates running for any Federal office. At the hearings in Washington no representative of labor was allowed an opportunity to be heard.

The bill would nullify the right of collective bargaining as provided for in the Wagner Act. It provides penalties against any labor organization or its officers for damages that might happen to any part as a result of a strike. The most flagrant violation of contract by an employer is permitted without penalty and without giving labor recourse to protect its interests.

Section 3 of the Act makes it impossible for any labor organization to participate in the free election of any public official in either primary or general election campaigns and prohibits labor organizations from taking part in political conventions.

Not content with hamstringing labor on the economic front, the House Military Affairs Committee is obviously keeping an eye on the growing labor party sentiment which threatens the political power of stooges for Big Business. It wants to prevent by law the possibility of independent labor political action.



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THE MILITANT

A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

England

The English Trotskyists have nominated Comrade Charles Martinson, militant Liverpool dock worker, as the Revolutionary Communist Party candidate for the Mersey Ward, Bootle, in the forthcoming Borough Council elections, according to the Mid-October English Socialist Appeal.

In 1932 Comrade Martinson joined the Communist Party. A year later he was elected organizer of the Bootle unemployed movement. Under his efficient, fighting leadership, the unemployed secured many concessions

Koreans were estimated to be laboring as virtual slaves in Japanese factories and mines.

While Major General A. D. Bruce, commander of the 77th Division occupying Hokkaido Island hypocritically proclaims that "No Chinese or Korean's return to the homeland will be delayed a single day because of working in the mines," he has ordered the miners back into the pits at a pay scale of 20 to 66 cents. "Those who produced the most coal have been promised quickest repatriation," reported the Post.

Nigeria

The main demand of the Nigerian workers in the general strike of last summer was 2 shillings and 6 pence a day minimum wage. The government promised to grant this demand. Now, however, Captain D. H. Holley, head of the Labor Department, has broken this promise, according to a dispatch from London in the Chicago Defender. Instead the government has offered the workers a three pence increase, totally inadequate to meet the steep rise in the cost of living.

Leaders of the Nigerian trade unions called a mass meeting and issued an ultimatum to Governor Sir Arthur Richards that unless the full amount promised, together with back pay, is immediately granted, the general strike will be renewed.

A mass meeting of workers in Lagos unanimously adopted a resolution of "No Confidence in the administration of Richards." The trade unions sent a cable to Prime Minister Attlee and George Hall, Secretary of State for Colonies, threatening a general protest strike unless their demand for the recall of Richards and other high-ranking officials is met.

It was in Spain fighting against Franco and Fascism as a member of the International Brigade in 1936 that Comrade Martinson first observed the degeneration of the Communist Party, and its treacherous collaboration with the bosses. Today he is a member of the Trotskyist movement.



CHARLES MARTINSON

from the local authorities. Comrade Martinson was also Chief Marshal of the Lancashire Hunger Marchers at that time.

With a long record of heroic struggles on behalf of the working class, Comrade Martinson stands on a fighting program of revolutionary socialism.

Japan

Chinese and Koreans forced to labor by the Japanese capitalists during the war have now become "slave laborers" for the U. S. occupation authorities, according to a Tokyo dispatch in the November 7 N. Y. Post. Some 15,000 Chinese and 78,400 Korean striking mine workers were ordered back into the Hokkaido coal mines by their "liberators," instead of being granted the repatriation they were anxiously awaiting.

Originally the Chinese were "grabbed" by Japanese civilian "police gangs" working with the Japanese army in China. They were shipped to Japan and sold to coal mine operators for \$100 each, most of them serving as slave labor without pay. At the beginning of the war the Koreans were induced to work in Japan on the promise of better rations and 23 cents a day. By the war's end, however, 2,000,000

Poland

The piece-work system of pay, "the worst form of capitalist exploitation used against the working class" and fought for years by all the labor unions of the world, is now being introduced on a wide scale in Poland, according to the September-October Poland Fights. This "Stakhanov system" is called by the Polish press a "reform," and was approved by Jan Stanczyk, present minister of Labor and Social Welfare in the Warsaw government.

The physical exhaustion of the Polish workers is close to the limit. The death toll is mounting steeply. According to a Warsaw dispatch in the "N. Y. Times" of Oct. 16, "Poland's 20,000,000 souls are dying off from tuberculosis alone at the rate of 10,000 a month. There are 1,200,000 reported cases of tuberculosis and it is believed that there may be twice that many more unreported ones."

Introduction of the piece-work system with its inhuman speed-up, together with hunger and inadequate medical care means "disastrous epidemics this winter." Already health authorities are sounding grim warnings.

Karl Marx's Indictment Of Dutch Colonial Rule

Karl Marx, in Capital, Volume I, first published in 1867, describes how the Dutch brought the blessings of Western civilization to the Far East. The facts he presents have never been refuted:

"Of the Christian colonial system, W. Howitt, a man who makes a specialty of Christianity, says: 'The barbarities and desperate outrages of the so-called Christian race, throughout every region of the world, and upon every people they have been able to subdue, are not to be paralleled by those of any other race, however fierce, however untaught, and however reckless of mercy and of shame, in any age of the earth.'"

TRACHERY, MASSACRE

"The history of the colonial administration of Holland—and Holland was the head capitalist nation of the 17th century—is one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre, and meanness."

"Nothing is more characteristic than their system of stealing men, to get slaves for Java. The men stealers were trained for this purpose. The thief, the interpreter, and the seller, were the chief agents in this trade, native princes the chief sellers. 'The young people stolen, were thrown into the secret dungeons



KARL MARX

of Celebes, until they were ready for sending to the slave ships.

"An official report says: 'This one town of Macassar, e.g., is full of secret prisons, one more horrible than the other, crammed with unfortunates, victims of greed and tyranny fettered in chains, forcibly torn from their families.'"

"SWEET COMMERCE!"

"To secure Malacca, the Dutch corrupted the Portuguese governor. He let them into the town in 1641. They hurried at once to his house and assassinated him, to 'abstain' from the payment of 21,875 Pounds, the price of his treason.

"Wherever they set foot, devastation and depopulation followed. Banjuwangi, a province of Java, in 1750 numbered over 80,000 inhabitants, in 1811 only 18,000. Sweet commerce!"

Indo-Chinese Battle For Freedom Against Imperialist Rule Of France

Hands Off Indo-China



Belgian Reaction Arms Its Bands For Civil War

By E. Germain

(Special to THE MILITANT)

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Oct. 29.—An atmosphere of civil war reigns in Belgium. The Catholic Party, the party of the big bourgeoisie, has unleashed a press campaign of extreme violence for the immediate return of King Leopold III.

Agitation favoring murder and assassination is being pushed to paroxysm in the Flemish villages against the reformist Premier Van Acker. "Death to Van Acker," "Lynch Van Acker"—these slogans can be read on innumerable walls in the country. At the same time a series of working class leaders have been persecuted. Nothomb, Catholic Senator, publicly declared that "no matter what the scoundrels do who are at present governing the country, the King will return before the elections and will be able to transform them, if he wishes, into a plebiscite for himself!"

The "Royalist Militia" and the "National Royalist Movement," as well as other reactionary bands, are arming openly. In brief, bourgeois reaction is doing everything possible to achieve its end: paralyze the working class, prepare the dictatorship, "re-establish" the economy of the country by imposing increasingly heavy burdens on the proletariat.

REFORMISTS, STALINISTS FEAR THE MASSES

But the reformist and Stalinist leaders are not opposing the mobilization of reaction by any mobilization whatsoever of the masses. On the contrary, they are caught between their fear of the bourgeois offensive which threatens to throw them out of the government, and their fear of a working class offensive which could rapidly plunge the country into a revolutionary situation. Having up to now delivered all its blows against the working class, the Van Acker government has itself reinforced capitalist reaction in the most notorious fashion. Forced to oppose the offensive of the Leopoldists (partisans of the return of King Leopold III), the Van Acker government strives to take the struggle out of the streets (where the most belligerent layers of the bourgeoisie and the militant workers wish to carry it, and place it on the Parliamentary stage where it hopes to conclude a rotten compromise.

For months the Van Acker government has withheld a devastating document on Leopold III, refusing to publish it, refusing to show it to the people. The government openly declares that it is afraid to "discredit" the monarchy which constitutes the most solid support of the Belgian bourgeoisie. Driven to reply by the violent attacks of its adversaries, it issued the famous "Schmidt document," a document which proves that Leopold III during the war went to Berchtesgaden and there discussed with Hitler a plan by

which, in case of Nazi victory, the dynasty would keep its throne in Belgium in exchange for incorporating the country into the economic and military bloc of German capitalism.

But to whom does Van Acker issue the document? To Parliament? To the people? To his own party? Not at all! To certain heads of all the parties, convened in secret session, including the leaders of the Catholic Party! He did not want to publish his own documents until the king had a chance to reply to them! He refused to employ his own weapons before they had been neutralized by the enemy. For he correctly fears that the masses, finally realizing the utter decay of the monarchy, would resolutely launch into the struggle for the republic!

CAPTIVES OF COALITION

When in August the Catholics resigned from the government, Van Acker could have constituted a Socialist-Communist government, organized immediate elections and gained an overwhelming victory as in England or in France. But in reality, the reformists and Stalinists are afraid to take power. They want nothing better than to remain captives of a coalition with a bourgeois party, in order to be able to absolve themselves of all their treason in the eyes of the masses.

Thus while the bourgeoisie, thanks to its Catholic party, reinforces the Leopoldist camp with all its means, it at the same time paralyzes the anti-Leopoldist camp thanks to its Liberal party. When Van Acker attempted a timid reply to the filthy campaigns of the reactionary press and suppressed the Catholic Journal Le Quotidien (The Daily), the Liberal ministers immediately threatened to resign and Van Acker was forced to reauthorize the publication of this most blackly reactionary paper. Nothing illustrates better the true role of the Liberal party than the following fact recently revealed in the press: The Solvay trust, which has just given a twenty million franc subsidy to Leopoldist propaganda, includes among its administrators the Liberal deputy Ch. E. Janssens!

But the Stalinist paper, which first published this revelation, does not add that Ch. E. Janssens sits "fraternally" with the Stalinist leaders in the "Committee of Democratic Alliance" at Brussels, and that he willingly permits himself to be photographed beside John Jean Terive, Secretary of the Communist Party, who pretends to "struggle" for the nationalization of the trusts!

MASS WANT TO ACT!

However, if the treacherous working class leaders do everything possible to paralyze the masses, the masses clearly express their will to act. Ten days ago a rumor—completely unfounded—spread through Brussels that a coup d'etat was going to be attempted against Van Acker.

Immediately the miners of the Borinage district decided to call a general strike the next day.

When the reaction tried to hold a Leopoldist rally at Brussels, 2,000 Stalinists, Socialists and Trotskyists in a counter demonstration transformed the Royalist meeting into a complete fiasco.

The working class reacts against all provocations of the bourgeoisie with admirable class instinct. The capitalists have sought to paralyze the most militant section of the proletariat, the miners, by bringing thousands of German prisoners of war to work in the mines. But this maneuver boomeranged against the bourgeoisie.

The international solidarity of the proletariat has proved very real! Recently when the miners of the village of Anderlues, under the guidance of our comrade Bougard, went out on strike against the boss, they succeeded in also drawing the German prisoners of war into the struggle! And when a German miner died in the Charleroi Valley because they delayed treating him properly after an accident at work, the Belgian miners spontaneously stopped work in protest against the shameful treatment inflicted upon their German comrades!

BREAK THE COALITION! FOR THE REPUBLIC!

The Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, incessantly summons the workers to struggle for their own class aims. Refusing to follow the reformists and Stalinists onto the field of useless, constitutional quarrels, the Trotskyists try to mobilize the masses for the immediate overthrow of the monarchy for the Republic. With this aim the RCP demands that full light be shed on all the facts and that all the documents be published. This activity finds increasing sympathy among ever greater sections of the workers, and at the Congress of the Socialist Party numerous delegates likewise demanded the struggle for the Republic.

At the same time the PCR shows the masses the only way to organize a serious resistance against the offensive of the reaction; that is, to transform the "vigilance committees" and "Committees of the Democratic Alliance" into genuine organs of struggle, through the expulsion of the bourgeois representatives and the inclusion of revolutionaries and delegates elected from the factories and the neighborhoods.

Basing themselves on these committees, the workers could organize their own militia, track down and disarm the neo-fascist gangs, compel the reformists and Stalinist leaders to break the coalition with the liberal bourgeoisie, and engage in an electoral battle for a bold program of transitional demands.

Along this road, and only along this road, the workers are assured of winning over the majority of the country. But if they continue to delay in taking this road, they can become discredited and prepare the ground for the worst bourgeois reaction.

By Daniel Guerin

(Translated from October 15 "Front Ouvrier"—Workers' Front—Trotskyist newspaper of Lyons, France.)

Despite the lies and slanders of a hypocritical press—amid which Marcel Fourrier, in Franc-Tireur, strikes a discordantly courageous note—the truth is beginning to break through. From authentic sources, we can already glean an idea of what is happening in Indo-China.

The capitalist press has tried to deceive us in two ways: first by presenting the "difficulties" as artificially fomented by the Japanese; second, by trying to make us believe that the Anglo-French in Cochinchina dominate the situation. The two statements are equally false.

To explain what is happening in Indo-China as a Japanese maneuver is as absurd as to pretend that the workers' movement in the western hemisphere is stirred up by "agitators" or by the "hand of Moscow." The Annamite revolt is the culmination of long years of frightful oppression, long years of fighting for freedom.

If the Annamites today prefer to take up arms and die rather than be again forced under French domination, it is because they retain as bitter a memory of their prewar despots as we have of the Hitlerian occupation. To depict this hell would require pages and pages.

IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION

Of all the French colonies, Indo-China has been most mistreated, since it has been the most favorable land for Big Business. All travelers who have witnessed the exploitation of the coolies on the rubber plantations or in the coal mines have uttered—when gold of the Bank of Indo-China hasn't silenced every human feeling in them—the same cry of horror. We refer the reader to the testimony of Dorgeles, Roubaud, Paul Monet, Leon Werth, Andree Viollis, etc., etc.

The domination of Big Business in Indo-China operated through a heavily-paid, top-heavy administration. This administration drained the country's resources—remember how?—by flooding the country with bad alcohol made by the Indo-Chinese Society of Distillers, upon which they levied an "honorary" commission, and by peddling opium, which they monopolized.

The Radical Socialist, Albert Sarraut, then Governor General, acquired wretched notoriety by urging his subordinates to push the sale of alcohol and opium in the villages.

Indo-China is essentially an agricultural country; 90 per cent of its people cultivate rice. The French rulers also extracted the revenues necessary for their ostentatious domination and for support of their army and police by heaping heavy taxes upon the small farmer, thus forcing him into the clutches of the Chinese usurer.

In order to reinforce their domination, the French fostered ignorance, depriving the people of schools. Before the conquest, the Indo-Chinese enjoyed a high level of civilization and education.

This despicable regime has never been accepted by the Annamite people. Since the beginning of French occupation, there has been a succession of revolts. The most important began in

AMERICAN SHIPS CARRY FRENCH TO INDO-CHINA

American troop ships are carrying French armed forces from France to Indo-China to fight against the Annamese people.

"The Victory ships Taos and Pauchag" left Marseilles October 31, each carrying more than 1,000 troops to Indo-China," reported a special correspondent to PM, November 12.

"The crewmen of the Taos signed on in New York with the understanding that they were to proceed to India to bring American troops home. Upon their arrival (in Marseilles) they learned they were also to be used to carry French troops to the Orient. 'Prior to the sailing of the Taos and the Pauchag, three other Victory ships left France bound for French Indo-China carrying French troops.'"

Meanwhile Brass Hats, in response to servicemen's demands to return home, alleged that a "bottle-neck" in shipping prevents early withdrawal of troops from overseas.

1930 with the mutiny of the sharpshooters of Yen Bay (Tonkin). Headed by young intellectuals who had become acquainted in our own schools in France with the rights of man, it soon took the form of a genuinely popular movement. Everywhere the peasants rose up. In peaceful processions, unarmed except for placards with demands, they flocked to the chief towns to protest against the excessively heavy taxes. Big Business replied with a blood bath.

The young nationalists died upon the guillotine, or through tortures which the Hitlerian brutes have since only practiced on a larger scale. The demonstrations of unarmed peasants were mowed down by machine guns. The demonstrators were run through by bayonets of drunken legionnaires. The so-called "rebellious" villages and farms were bombed to the ground. Thousands of condemned political prisoners were deported to Guiana where they suffered the same slow death as those at Buchenwald and Dachau.

It must also be said, for it is necessary to tell the whole truth,

American Troops Bolster Chiang Kai-shek Regime

(Continued from Page 1)

one-seventh of all China and its population only one-tenth, it includes as many skilled workers as all the rest of China.

Manchuria's industrial assets give it predominant influence over China. There are more factories and railroads in Manchuria than in all the rest of China. Manchuria produces nine times as much steel and three-fifths as much coal as the whole of China. It has vast untapped resources such as tungsten, shale oil, gold, iron and coal.

Chungking is prepared to wage a bitter battle for the region since its possession could have a decisive effect on the outcome of the civil war.

INDUSTRIAL WEALTH

The United States is aiding the Kuomintang government in order to prevent the Chinese Stalinists from dominating Manchuria and to bolster the utterly reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime.

Japanese troops, subject to the orders of American brass-hats, have "been purposely allowed to remain arms to preclude disorders," said a November 16 A.P. dispatch after a press conference with General Albert C. Wedemeyer, commander of United States forces in China.

The "disorders" are, of course, the actions of the Chinese Stalinists who are defending the territory they hold. Thus the lie is again given to the fraudulent declarations of the Allies during



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

the war that "liberated" countries would be free to choose their own form of government after victory.

Despite their promises to get out of China, American imperialists are making no moves to withdraw the troops. Wall Street is daily becoming more deeply involved in the civil war.

Under-Secretary of the Navy Artemus Gates declared on November 18 according to the Associated Press that "no decision had been made on the possible future withdrawal of the Marines from North China." Gates admitted "the possibility of involvement of United States forces."

that the repression continued even under the Popular Front. The hurricane of freedom that passed over France in 1936 did not extend to Indo-China. Under the administration of Marius Moutet the imprisonment of revolutionary Indo-Chinese militants did not cease. Just as at present, certain parties through their silence and complicity assisted in the attempts to strangle the Indo-Chinese people.

The Indo-Chinese people aspire to liberty and are ripe for freedom. To explain why Indo-China is the most developed among all the French colonies, the most capable of taking care of itself, would carry us too far afield. Let us give in a few words the principal reasons for this maturity.

First, an old and authentic civilization exists in Indo-China; Second, neither feudalism nor a capitalist bourgeoisie exists which would be inclined to share with the French despots the income from the exploitation of the popular masses, or to conquer independence solely for their own exclusive profit. That is why the intellectual elite of the Annamites, after having been nationalists for a time, today adhere in the majority to revolutionary Marxism. Is not the President of the Viet Minh, really the militant communist Nguyen Ai Quoc? His book The Process of French Colonization is known to all the friends of the Indo-Chinese people.

In the light of what has preceded, the events now taking place in Cochinchina assume full meaning. The Japanese have not "fomented" Annamite rebellion in order to avenge defeat. Nor have the Annamites for their part "collaborated" with the Japanese occupation authorities. With remarkable political sense, they have simply taken advantage of circumstances, making them serve the cause of independence. No freedom without arms. The Indo-Chinese patiently awaited the moment when the fall of Japan would place in their hands the arms of the Nipponese troops. And these arms today are serving them so that they will not fall back into the old slavery.

From September 24 to October 1, there was a genuine armed insurrection, a genuine Commune which burst forth in Saigon. This was not the work of the Japanese or of some native "agitators." All available information proves that it was a powerful mass movement. Despite their boasts, the Anglo-French forces do not at all appear to be masters of the situation. And the Armistice which they concluded with the Viet Minh seems to us rather a sign of weakness than of strength.

SUPPORT VIET MINH!

Such is the situation at the moment. But tomorrow it can develop in a less favorable direction for the Indo-Chinese people. The arrival of the French fleet at Saigon, the debarking of troops, is already restoring to French colonialism a little of its swagger. General Leclerc (De Haute Cloche) speaks again of reestablishing "order." The big capitalist companies who live on the robbery of Indo-China and who are very influential in the Rue Saint Dominique are going, make no mistake about it, to exert pressure to change the policy of the "outstretched hand" to one of brutal force against the Viet Minh.

The Annamite people understand—and they are right—that they must save themselves. But great dangers still menace them. And on the hard road to their liberation they need the support of the French workers, or to phrase it better, of all those in France for whom the word "democracy" has not yet been emptied of all meaning.

Let us give this support without losing a moment.

And let us know how to thank those who, shaking off the atmosphere of prostration, of demoralization, of impotence and despair in which the world has appeared to wallow since the end of the great cataclysm, have once again raised the banner of freedom.

Yesterday we saluted the uprising of the Greek people. Today we say from the bottom of our hearts: "Hail to the Commune of Saigon! Freedom for Indo-China!"

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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

Support The UAW!

As in the heroic days of the 1936-37 strike wave, the militant auto workers are preparing to spearhead a great and crucial struggle of American labor.

In the battles of nearly a decade ago, the auto workers humbled some of the most powerful fortresses of the open shop and climaxed with victory the basic conflict of that period—the right to a union and collective bargaining.

Today, all of American labor confronts a new stage of epic struggle. That is the battle for higher living standards and permanent security. Shall the workers go back to the breadlines, the welfare bureaus, the beans and gravy existence of the 1929-1940 capitalist crisis?

Big Business says yes! The Wall Street monopolists say yes! They are plotting and scheming to drive down wages, inflate prices, maintain a "reserve army" of unemployed to use in undermining union organization and conditions.

The American workers say no! They are determined to prevent the war profits-bloated corporations from slicing their take-home pay and purchasing power. Their determination is expressed in the demand voiced by millions of organized workers, in every section of the labor movement, for a reduced work-week with no reduction in take-home pay. For the auto workers that means a 30 per cent increase in basic wage rates.

A strike of the auto workers will unquestionably bring the developing wage conflict toward full nation-wide unfoldment. Every resource of Big Business and its government will be concentrated against the auto workers to smash their struggle and frustrate their demands.

The monopoly capitalists know only too well the meaning of a victory for the auto workers. It will inspire an overwhelming tide of labor resistance to Wall Street's hunger plans. It will weaken, if not shatter, the Big Business offensive to drive down the living standards of the American people and thereby to further increase the war-swollen profits of the corporations.

Every worker in America must appreciate what he has at stake in the auto workers' battle. His own chances for a steady job at a decent living wage are at issue. The capitalists, as a class, are moving against the auto workers to crush them and pave the way for crushing the aspirations of the workers in all industry.

There can be but one answer from the entire labor movement. It must rally to a man behind the auto workers. Unbreakable labor solidarity is the order of the day. "All support to the embattled auto workers!" must be the slogan the moment the auto workers hit the picket lines.

"Business Secrets"

Big Business corporations reject the just demands of workers for a 30 per cent wage increase. At the same time, they have issued an ultimatum to the government, demanding huge price increases. However, General Motors and U. S. Steel, for instance, have refused to make available even to the Office of Price Administration, the full record of their costs and profits.

The pretext for thus concealing how much these war-enriched corporations have stolen from the public treasury and squeezed out of the blood and toil of the workers, is—the "sanctity" of "business secrets."

Every time an effort is made to investigate the swindling and the frauds perpetrated by Big Business, to determine what monumental loot they are wringing from American workers, the corporations fall back on the same old cry of "business secrets."

Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, stripped the veil from the hypocritical claim that the shady workings of the corporations must be protected. In "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," written in 1939, Trotsky declared:

"The motivation offered for the principle of 'business secrets' is ostensibly, as in the epoch of liberal capitalism, that of 'free competition'! In reality, the trusts keep no secrets

from one another. The business secrets of the present epoch are part of a persistent plot of monopoly capitalism against the interests of society. Projects for limiting the autocracy of 'economic royalists' will continue to be pathetic farces as long as private owners of the social means of production can hide from producers and consumers the machinations of exploitation, robbery and fraud. The abolition of 'business secrets' is the first step towards actual control of industry."

It is the duty of organized labor to lay bare, as Trotsky put it, "that unconscionable squandering of human labor which is the result of capitalist anarchy and naked pursuit of profit." To that end, the unions must counter the capitalist claim of "inviolability" of "business secrets" with the demand:

OPEN THE BOOKS AND RECORDS OF THE CORPORATIONS!

Stalin And Indonesia

When British troops first entered Indonesia after the defeat of Japan, they were welcomed by the heads of the Nationalist movement. The Nationalists counted on the fulfillment of the promises of the Atlantic Charter, expecting that the Allies would surely grant the people of Indonesia their freedom from Dutch imperialism.

However, the British troops were ordered to shoot down the Indonesians. Then the British Government announced an understanding with the Dutch Government regarding restoration of Dutch oppression in Indonesia.

The heads of the Nationalist movement appealed to Truman and Attlee for help in their struggle for independence. But both Truman and Attlee maintained a studied and contemptuous silence. Allied troops, using American-made armament, dropped bombs and high explosive shells on populous areas of Java.

Finally, Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, and Soebardjo, Foreign Minister, addressed appeals to Molotov and Stalin, asking the Soviet Union to intervene in behalf of the people of Indonesia.

Up to now, Stalin and Molotov, like Truman and Attlee have not seen fit to even reply to the plea of the besieged Indonesians.

At the same time, the Anglo-American imperialists now slaughtering the Indonesians have launched a diplomatic offensive against the Soviet Union. It is an open secret that this offensive is but one of the stages toward armed assault on the Soviet Union. Obviously the people of the Soviet Union and the people of Indonesia face the same world enemies.

Consequently, not to help the Indonesians constitutes basest betrayal of the interests of the USSR.

The attitude of Stalin toward the colonial masses is the direct opposite of that of Lenin and Trotsky. These two founders of the Soviet Union, throughout their lives, stood in the forefront of the struggle for freedom of the colonial peoples. They considered the working people of the colonies as powerful allies of the working class in the industrial centers.

To see how rotten and counter-revolutionary Stalinism has become, one need only recall how Lenin would have acted. Lenin would not have waited for an appeal from the beleaguered Indonesians. From the beginning he would have supported their struggle openly and warned the colonial fighters well in advance of the perfidious intentions of Allied imperialism.

The program of Lenin—betrayed on every point by the Stalinists—today is the heritage of the Fourth International alone. Only the Trotskyists uphold Lenin's policy of full support to the colonial peoples in their struggle for independence.

Bandits' Agreement

The Washington columnist Drew Pearson on November 12 revealed a secret agreement between Roosevelt and Churchill. At the Quebec Conference held in September 1944, Pearson reports, the two imperialist politicians drew up a program to utterly destroy Germany.

"The industries in the Ruhr and Saar would therefore be necessarily put out of action, closed down," reads the secret agreement. "The districts should be put under some body under the World Organization which would supervise dismantling the industries, and make sure they are not started up again by some subterfuge."

"This program looks forward to converting Germany into a country principally agricultural and pastoral."

The document was laconically signed "O. K." and initialed by both Roosevelt and Churchill.

At the time of the Quebec Conference, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau publicly advocated precisely this plan. The people were horrified, for a "peace" based on such a plan meant the annihilation of tens of millions of Germans. It meant, moreover, the decline of all Europe. With the stilling of the industrial heart of the continent, millions of people outside Germany likewise would inevitably face starvation and death.

In view of this unfavorable public reaction, spokesmen of the Roosevelt Administration denied supporting the harsh and frightful "peace" outlined by Morgenthau.

Under cover of secret diplomacy, however, the heads of Anglo-American imperialism went right ahead behind the backs of the people and cynically agreed to carry out precisely the horrible "Morgenthau" plan.

Right now this plan is being put into effect by Truman, Attlee and Stalin. Without consulting the people of the Allied nations, the Allied Governments are methodically dismantling and blowing up the great productive industrial plants of Germany.

Capitalism has brought Europe to the brink of the abyss. The coming winter will witness scenes of such horror as to pale anything yet recorded in history.



"I've been thinking how much you'd enjoy this ever since last Thanksgiving!"



One of Jack London's finest short stories is 'The Mexican.'

This stirring tale of the devotion and heroism of a revolutionist has now been made into a movie, *El Mexicano*, by Mexico's studios and is showing currently at Spanish film theatres.

In Jack London's story the hero personifies the revolution of the Mexican people against the hated dictator Porfirio Diaz. When Rivera, a hungry-looking youth of 18 first appeared at the headquarters of the "Junta" or local branch, the revolutionists suspected him of being a spy. The hate that burned in his eyes made them uneasy.

He asked only one privilege—to work for the revolution. His first assignment was washing the floors and windows of the headquarters, cleaning out the spittoons and keeping the fires.

The cold-eyed youth merely asked: "Is it for the revolution?" Assured that these tasks too were for the revolution, he went to work without another word. In Jack London's story, this young revolutionist typifies the indomitable Jimmy Higgins worker, the backbone of the revolutionary party, willing to do anything to advance the cause.

Eventually Rivera worked up to setting type for the small revolutionary press. Then a strange thing happened. He began bringing to the Junta at irregular intervals increasing amounts of money. He not only did the "dirty work," but he helped finance the Junta.

The climax of the story is built on a crisis in the revolutionary movement—when the fate of the revolution hung by a thread.

*Available in the collection, "The Night Born," by Jack London. A. Appleton Century Co., New York.

The thread consisted of \$5,000 needed to buy arms.

How Rivera tries to get this money is one of the most exciting scenes in all of Jack London's works. The youth had obtained his previous financial contributions by taking merciless beatings in the training camps of professional boxers and in the amateur ring at Los Angeles. Now he must fight to win against one of the country's leading contenders for the championship.

Jack London shows how the power of the revolutionary idea inspires and fortifies the youthful fighter against what seem overwhelming odds.

Enough of this original story is left in *El Mexicano* to raise the film considerably above Hollywood standards.

HOLLYWOOD'S MOTIVES

El Mexicano goes back into Rivera's past, shows how dictator Diaz machine-gunned striking workers and ferociously hunted down those who opposed the regime. The movie also adds a wide ribbon of romance, tosses in a petty-bourgeois sympathizer of the Junta who eventually turns traitor, and completes the bill with a jail-break and plenty of gun-fire and hard riding.

But the devotion of the revolutionists to their cause, the power of a great idea to inspire people and convert them into truly human beings permeates the movie, lifting it far above the usual mind-deadener cranked out by Hollywood.

An interesting question arises. Why doesn't Hollywood utilize themes like the one in *El Mexicano*? Hollywood knows about Jack London. It has even turned out a few versions of the Call of the Wild and The Sea Wolf. But curiously enough, besides The

Mexican which is not well known, Hollywood has avoided Jack London's most famous and greatest work, *The Iron Heel*.

We can answer the question by examining Hollywood's handling of *Martin Eden*. This powerful novel of the rise of a working man to fame was reduced to a simple adventure and love story after Hollywood's surgeons had finished cutting and face-lifting. All the sections about *Martin Eden's* approach to socialism were completely amputated.

However, Hollywood could not cut out the socialism in *The Iron Heel*, for the entire story, although written as far back as 1907, prophesies the coming of fascism, shows how Big Business fosters fascism, and demonstrates that only the socialists are capable of leading the fight against fascist barbarism.

Hollywood, completely under the control of Wall Street, could no more convert into movies the works Jack London based on socialist ideas, than could the German studios under Hitler. Mexico, however, still lives under the aura of the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz and in addition feels every day the bitter pressure of Yankee imperialism. A portion of Jack London's revolutionary spirit can therefore seep into its films.

Unfortunately, English titles are not provided with *El Mexicano*. Much of the stinging bits of satire on the Yankees will thus be lost to those lacking a good knowledge of Spanish. However, the Mexican interpretation of an American prize fight and especially an American professional boxer handshaking himself into the ring is pantomime anyone can enjoy. The boxing match alone is worth the price of admission.

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

No Place To Come Home To

Men are coming back from far-flung battle fronts where they have spent the last winters either in cold, wet fox-holes and pup-tents, sleeping on frozen ground, or in torturous heat, drenched by heavy tropical rains. Or they have stood watch on deck exposed to freezing winds.

Uppermost in their thoughts was return to a comfortable home. But what do they find on arriving in this country?

The only homes or apartments available are either those renting for such exorbitant sums that GI's can't afford even to look at them, or vermin infested cold-water tenements with a bathtub in the kitchen and a toilet to be shared with half a dozen other families. The floors are rotting away, the doors are broken and the windows—in case they aren't broken—won't open if they're closed and can't be closed if they're open.

Even these miserable places are scarce. And veterans don't want that kind of a "home" as a reward for their long years of hardship.

The situation in New York is indicative of conditions throughout the country. Here there are 20,000 veterans without homes. This number is being augmented at the rate of 3,500 a week as men are demobilized from the armed forces. Many men in hospitals, men with wives and small children, can't be released because they have no home to go to.

A typical occurrence was reported by the N. Y. Times, November 13. "More than 1,000 men back from the wars crowded the Commodore Hotel lobby and overflowed into the street as they sought to obtain priorities for 600 of the apartments in the Bronx recently vacated by the Waves."

In addition several thousand phone calls were received from veterans during the day. They were told they had to apply in person. Groups of veterans and their wives gathered on the sidewalk and voiced their angry disapproval of the situation. They spoke about a march on City Hall to demand temporary housing.

Even in this early stage of demobilization the housing shortage is approaching the proportions of a major crisis and scandal.

The housing shortage doesn't come as a surprise to the authorities. Before the war there weren't enough dwellings. No new housing units have been built in the last five years. Buildings have depreciated during the war, many have had to be abandoned and many more should be condemned as unfit for human habitation. The problem was acute during the war. Thousands of veterans looking for a place to live have set in bold relief the scandalous conditions.

The situation was foreseeable and could have been averted. Yet, even now the government has no plan to provide more housing.

This indifference on the part of the government is in marked contrast to its actions in preparing for the war. Barracks to house millions of men mushroomed overnight. Factories sprang up with amazing speed—when it was a question of preparing for war.

Typical of the speed in those days was the construction in six weeks of Atom City in Oak Ridge, a city of 75,000 persons needed for work on the atomic bomb. If this could be done for war why can't it be done to house the men who fought in that war?

Reliable housing authorities state that temporary housing for veterans could be made available in 30 to 60 days. But no move has been made to construct it. Nor are there plans for large scale permanent low-rent housing projects.

In this as in everything else the government clearly demonstrates its callous indifference to the needs of workers and veterans. In no case is it willing to initiate a program in the interest of the men who fought the war.

Steel Union Exposes Bosses' 'Poverty' Plea

The greatest steel strike in history looms as nearly a million CIO steel and metal workers await the outcome of an NLRB strike vote on November 27 in support of their demand for a \$2 a day wage increase.

Pleading "poverty" for the war-profits glutted steel industry, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of U. S. Steel Corporation, twice flatly refused to meet a government conciliator. Instead he handed the government an ultimatum to boost steel prices. The obedient Office of Price Administration is pushing through the price boost while Fairless continues to flout the Labor Department.

Fairless lied that present steel prices "do not enable us to grant a wage increase at this time." In reality the steel industry could pay the \$2 raise and still triple its prewar profits next year, according to Philip Murray, president of both the CIO and the United Steelworkers of America.

Murray has disclosed a "conservative" \$800,000,000 of "hidden" steel war profits in five years—"hidden" in excess reserves, excess depreciation write-offs, amortizations and allowances for pensions for millionaire executives. This \$800,000,000 "hidden profits" brings total steel war profits to \$2,000,000,000 (two billions)—enough profits in five years to pay the \$2 raise for eight years.

Whereas the \$2 raise would amount to \$250,000,000 a year, the steel barons are already guaranteed \$300,000,000 in tax refunds, plus \$125,000,000 already saved by elimination of overtime pay, plus another \$225,000,000 through repeal of the excess profits tax. What's more, government-financed plant modernization has raised labor productivity about 25 per cent in steel.

Accusing Fairless of "crying poor" with "pockets bulging with war profits," Murray said the steel industry can pay the raise in 1946 and still net \$474,000,000, three and a half times average annual 1935-39 profits or 45 per cent above the corporations' take-home in 1941, the most profitable war year.

U. S. Steel has boasted in business circles of being "in the best financial position it has ever experienced." In contrast, steelworkers' wages buy 10 per cent less than in January, 1941, when they averaged \$33.60 a week. Cuts of 25 to 50 per cent have resulted from downgrading and reducing the work-week, while prices continue to skyrocket since last year, when the CIO determined the cost of living had risen 45 per cent.

Congressmen At Work

Some of Wall Street's Congressmen apparently have been studying how the Roman emperors appeased the hungry proletariat with circuses and games. Senator Langer of North Dakota, for instance, evidences close acquaintance with Roman political lore:

"For many years, Mr. President, we have had an Army-Navy football game. . . . Mr. President, I believe that the admission to this game should be free. I believe that there should be no tickets reserved except 100 for the President of the United States and his guests and the Secret Service; 10 for the Secretary of War, 10 for the Secretary of the Navy, and 10 for the Governor of the State in which the contest may be played."

The rest of the Cabinet and State officials, presumably, would have to scramble for seats along with the Senators and Representatives.

BRILLIANT PROVISION

To help poor people, unable to afford transportation long distances to see the free game, the Senator included a brilliant provision: "In the bill which I am introducing . . . commencing alphabetically, the game shall be played in every State in the Union, commencing next year in Alabama at a place designated by the Governor of the State,



whether his "Jim Crow" signs in the modern Colosseum would be carved in marble. Bilbo only specified "a landing strip for privately owned airplanes."

What with hot dog concessions, bottled pop and all, the stadium will eventually become a "self-liquidating proposition." But right now, to put it bluntly, a small appropriation from public funds is needed "so that we can convince business concerns that may be willing to invest their money to build this greatest stadium in all the world."

Why don't the two Senators make a deal? If Senator Langer would give up Army-Navy games in 48 States and agree to staging them in the super-colossal stadium, maybe he could line up Bilbo's vote. And if Bilbo would limit the take-off to the concessions, while accepting Langer's proposal for free tickets to the Army-Navy contest, then he could line up Langer's vote. It looks like a natural!

And to make the whole thing a real whopping success, how about donating free airplanes? Then anybody who wants one can try out the landing strip when he comes to Washington to see the free Army-Navy football game in the greatest memorial in the world to Wall Street's wars.

Senator Bilbo did not say

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.

Scores Betrayers Of Working Class

Editor:
A Labor Party came to power in Australia in 1928 and obtained a striking Labor victory in 1943. Yet Australia has viciously treated Japanese prisoners of war, if we are to believe returning soldiers. They drowned some and mutilated others and now the remaining prisoners are to be managed as you relate in The Militant.

In America the heavily unionized districts such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, etc., voted for Roosevelt and his Wall Street War in about the same proportion as did the Poll Tax electorates of the South. And no union leader large or small has uttered one word about the destruction of the livelihood of the workers in the vanquished countries. In fact Mr. Hillman, CIO agent in Europe, has asked that workers be represented on the United Nations Council so they can be sure that the Potsdam Agreement will be carried out and German industry destroyed. He no doubt is the man who would have headed the Labor Party (if he had not chosen to direct it into other channels) had it succeeded in America.

In England, Attlee, head of the Labor Party, is sending troops to shoot not only British subjects but French and Dutch as well. And his proposed reforms in England seem to be a plan for a broader distribution of the spoils obtained by colonial exploitations.

Gray should do a cartoon of "Musical Tunes" for the few within the Labor movement who still hope that organized labor and Labor Parties will use their strength for something other than an immediate increase in their own pay envelope, but as yet there have been no symptoms.

L. C.
Chicago

Reconversion Hits Negroes Hardest

Editor:
The great task of reconversion now faces our government and already we can see they are unable to cope with the situation. The best we can get is the statement "every worker is entitled to a job."

This is just one of the proofs that the capitalist system has outlived its time but, of course, the capitalists as always are struggling to maintain their system and profits. Just a few weeks ago, they screamed "victory is ours, the peace is won, the war is over." At that very moment we became unemployed and will continue to be so while plants and factories are being closed down.

During the war years, the Negroes were the last ones hired, filling jobs vacated by white workers, at less pay, more work and discrimination. Now in this so-called "peacetime" the Negroes are the first ones fired because they were the last ones hired.

The Negroes are a minority and helpless people, and their allies must come from the ranks of labor. Together they can fight a battle for labor that will unquestionably be victorious. Today the Negro people are being forced back into their former places, the dirtiest jobs with lowest wages and deplorable hours. Discrimination is again rising rapidly. Experienced Negro workers are being denied the opportunity to use their skills to the best advantage. Instead, inexperienced white help is employed at less than standard pay. In this way, both workers are cheated and the bosses gain on two points: the work is done cheaper, and the unity of the laboring class has been weakened. That is the aim of all capitalists.

These methods of the capitalists are not new. Every worker should recognize them even in a blackout. We all realize that under this capitalist system there will never be enough jobs for everyone.

We must remember that when the employer can get plenty of employees, he is independent of any individual, black or white. And he uses his independence as a weapon against every worker. Wages are reduced, hours are increased, and conditions are poor. These things we should know. Now the question is, what can we do? How can we fight a victorious battle?

One word . . . Organize! can explain the answer, but I shall go a bit further. All factory workers, office help, salesmen, unite in one fight for labor. It is only then that labor shall really come into power. Not ev-

PRAY AND LOSE

Governments take from taxpayer To pay the politicians Monopolies rob consumers Aided by traditions Pastors pray and ring the bells Judges fill the jails Hysteria and sentiments Make pathetic tales.

Banks are filled with money Stores control the food Masters like the wage-slaves Hungry, nearly nude— The unemployed workers Are the capitalist's delight Cheap labor and lots of it Keeps capitalism right.

Governments want more taxes To build more "peace" or "war" Monopolies want more profits To fill the banks up more Flags, prayers and profits Give powers to millionaires Security from monopolies Does not come from prayers

Davis Dusenbery
Rochester, N. Y.

ery place of employment has a union, not every union is a good union; but it is every worker's duty to himself and his children to join with the masses from all fields of labor and become a soldier for labor just as you were a soldier in the army fighting for the profits of the capitalists. Now it is time to be loyal to labor and fight for the security you were told you won by the peace.

Every worker in America should be a reader of The Militant, every worker should investigate the cause for which it fights. No worker is secure so long as another worker is unemployed. The unions must fight for their unemployed, for all are part of the laboring class. Unless the employed fight side by side with the unemployed, both will sooner or later belong to the army of the unemployed.

Workers, today we are standing at the door of golden opportunity. We can unite and open the doors of every factory and plant, or we can be led to the cause of socialism and be destroyed under capitalism.

The capitalists gloried in their military army, but the growing army of the unemployed is "unworthy" of consideration because it might mean a loss of profits for Big Business.

Workers of America, stop and think a moment. 1929, 1930, and later—remember the headlines, hungry children, separated families, sickness, robberies, murders, suffering on every side, mass unemployment, all these ills of life, were the reward of capitalism to the workers. During those years of living hell, the wealthy continued to consume every luxury of life. Are we going to re-live those years, or learn of something even worse? There is but one escape. Every worker must at this moment realize what is happening, and join in the fight. It is left to us, the workers of America, whether or not we shall re-live those years.

In conclusion I want to ask every reader of The Militant to

QUESTION BOX

Q: What is the destructive capacity of the atomic bomb?

A: While the death toll of World War II ran into scores of millions, no nation lost 10 per cent of its people in the whole six years of the war. Today atomic bombs of the smallest size can kill 20 per cent of a nation's people IN AN HOUR.

W. R.
Minneapolis

Q: What kind of plant and equipment is included in Ford's River Rouge plant?

A: During the war the government built four important new plants at River Rouge: a \$37,000,000 engine construction building, a magnesium smelter with a capacity of 110,000 pounds a month, and the largest foundry in the world. Besides the foundries, blast and open hearth furnaces, River Rouge includes a power and light plant, a glass factory, steel mills, coke oven, a cement mill, a paper mill, tool and die shops and machine shops and laboratories.

Q: How large were U. S. investments in Japan before the war, compared with other parts of the Far East?

A: At the time the U. S. entered the war in the Pacific, American investments in Japan were less than \$60,000,000. But in other parts of Asia which the U. S. has now wrested from Japan, nearly 200 U. S. firms have direct holdings in business amounting to \$250,000,000.

give his copy to someone and tell him of our fight for jobs for all.

If there is an interested family in New York City unable to pay 50 cents for a six-month subscription to The Militant, I will be glad to pay for it personally upon receiving your name, address and zone number.

Victor A. Howell,
The Militant,
116 University Place,
New York 3, N. Y.

Mother Proud of Trotskyist Daughter

Editor:
I am so pleased with a letter I have received from my mother in California that I am sending it to you. It was through me that she became acquainted with the Trotskyist movement.

"My dear Daughter Mili: You said in your letter that you are working full time for the Party. I am very happy that you are. I wish more people would be like you and work for the Party. Then we would build a better world—not like the one we have now."

"Your work helps to better conditions for all workers in the world and for the boys who come home alive from the army."

"This summer when I was at the West Coast Camp School, I met the most wonderful people I ever saw, all working so hard in the school and for the Party. You really have fine comrades and I had very much pleasure with them."

"I am very, very proud of you, Mili, and of Rudy, my darling son-in-law, too. Both of you do such fine, intelligent work. Keep on working for the Party and a better world."

Mill Adams
New York

Cites Weakness Of Craft Unions

Editor:
Some of the inadequacies of the AFL craft union system can be seen in the compositors' strike in Chicago against the job printing shops. The Western Newspaper Union, because it is a syndicate and does advertising work, is not considered a newspaper and, therefore, is not immune from the strike. The compositors are demanding a 30 per cent increase in wages, two weeks vacation with pay a year, 12 paid holidays a year and payment of sick leave.

In order to battle the union, the Western Newspaper Union has been able to get some of its syndicate mat work done outside of Chicago, and then has shipped the mats to its other printing offices throughout the country, of which Minneapolis is one. In this manner it is circumventing the striking compositors.

The casters in the AFL union here are not only not going out in a sympathy strike, but are also working on mats which have clearly been made by non-union labor. Such practices obviously weaken the strikers' position and the union's.

If the compositors belonged to the CIO instead of the AFL, an industry-wide strike would be called and the dispute would be settled in short order. In spite of this, the strike is now (Oct. 23) going into its third week and there is not a sign of a settlement in sight. If the workers ever expect to win any permanent gains, they will have to stand together and throw the craft-type of union into the ashcan for industry-wide organization.

W. R.
Minneapolis

Why Workers Seek Refuge In Religion

Editor:
I have read Victor Howell's reply to Joseph Hansen's letter in The Militant concerning Victor Howell's "Letter To The Negro Children."

I sincerely agree with Victor Howell on his comment on the November 3 issue of The Militant, as to the procedure used in bringing the principles of socialism to the Negro people.

Being a Negro, I feel that I can very well understand why the masses of my race seek consolation in religion. Having been oppressed and exploited for many, many years, religion is to them not only a sanction against the forces of injustice, but they feel it is also a way by which faith in themselves and one another can be accomplished, so as to provide means for an existence on this earth.

As the worst-oppressed minority group, especially in this country, my race has grasped the banner of religion, as would

U. S. Aims To Use Japan Against Soviet Union, Says Latest F.I.

"There are only two major military powers left in the world—the United States and the USSR," states an important editorial, "Washington, Moscow and Japan," in the November Fourth International, just off the press. The editorial points out that the interests of these two powers clash most sharply "in the vast Pacific arena where the imperialist destiny of the U. S. chiefly lies."

For this reason, the editorial explains, the U. S. imperialists must adopt a different policy from the one they used in crushing and dismembering Germany. Alarmed by the totality of their "destructive handiwork" in Germany which "created an enormous vacuum in which . . . the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union proceeded to move," the U. S. imperialists are now preparing the Japanese ruling class to become their agent in the Far East against the Soviet Union.

Will the Japanese capitalist class agree to this role? The editorial states, "Its great gamble for empire having failed, they are now content to fill the role of humble agent of the Wall Street brigands and to help them in establishing their rule in the Far East." For both the U. S. and Japanese capitalist class un-

derstand that they have a common enemy—the revolutionary world working class. That is why "for a generation Japan has filled the role of 'gendarme of the East' against the tide of Bolshevism."

LABOR REVIVES

However, the editorial concludes, it is not at all a foregone conclusion that Japan can be converted into an anti-Soviet tool of American imperialism. "For the Japanese masses have yet to speak their word . . . the Japanese labor movement is reviving . . . the victorious American imperialists are sitting on a social volcano which may erupt at any time."

Related to the subject matter of this editorial, is another article in the latest issue of the Fourth International, "The Big Five at London," by William F. Warde, which gives an analysis of the ignominious collapse of this first peace conference, and the present jockeying for power and spheres of influence by the imperialist "victors."

The author shows that underlying the struggle among the "Big Three" (who dominated the "Big Five" Conference) "is the social-economic antagonism between the capitalist world and the degenerated workers' state which still remains rooted in the

nationalized property of the USSR." This irreconcilable antagonism remains, he points out, even though the Kremlin has thus far "limited itself in the occupied countries to social reforms and has brutally suppressed the attempts of the masses to overthrow capitalism and place the workers in power."

OTHER FEATURES

The November Fourth International contains many other interesting articles and features including: the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution; the fascist menace again emerging in this country and its principal figure, Gerald L. K. Smith; the British Dock Strike and the Labor Government; the new "relief for the greedy" tax bill passed in the interests of the profiteers.

"The New Versailles and the German Revolution" is an article written in March 1945 by a former member of the Communist Party of Germany who broke with Stalinism and came over to the position of the Fourth International. An article by Charles Carsten on the Argentine crisis, a letter by Leon Trotsky on the Agrarian and National Questions, written in 1935 and sent to the South African Trotskyists, round out this excellent issue.

Veteran Of World War II. Writes On Armistice Day

November 11, 1945

Editor:

After four years in the army and one year combat in the Southwest Pacific area, it is indeed a wonderful feeling to be out of uniform and free from the physical danger and stifling intellectual atmosphere. The war has not made a jingo "flag-waver" out of me; I can say the same for a good number of buddies still "in" or "liberated." In fact, I am now more convinced than ever that this war, as the last war—as any war organized and conducted by a capitalist state—was basically imperialistic. A study of the boss press—from the conservative through the phony "liberal"—brings home with increasing clarity the fact that those who won in this war were the "democratic imperialist" regimes and those who lost, who never have anything to gain in such a war, were the G.I.'s slaughtering each other for "God and country" on the battlefields, and the working classes and peasants of all lands, bluffed, misled, or bludgeoned into submission!

Coming from a working-class family, which, from the day of its arrival in the "land of opportunity" knew only bitter struggle for a union, for better wages and for job security, I do not have to be convinced that the international Socialist society is the only answer to present-day social and economic problems. Indeed, it seems to me that Socialism is the crying need of our civilization. There is no other out in this epoch, where capitalism can offer only periodic wars and economic crises, each more dreadful than the last; where "democratic" capitalism and its other face, fascism, resort to increasing violence against the working masses, who, through the class struggle, find the way to the revolutionary socialist cause.

I salute the Socialist Workers Party for its forthright stand against the capitalist class and the flunkies of that class in the labor movement: the counter-revolutionary Stalinists and the labor-bureaucrats. With its program of working-class struggle against imperialism, war, Jim-Crow, anti-Semitism, unemployment and capitalist oppression in general, I am sure the Socialist Workers Party will before long become recognized among thousands of working-class militants as their party, their guide, and their leader in the struggle of the working-class against the boss class.

On this day, November 11, 1945—fifty-eight years after those great heroes of the working-class were hanged in Chicago after the infamous Haymarket frame-up—I stand with you under the banner of international working-class solidarity. I repeat the words of August Spies who shouted from beneath the hood which covered his head as he was being led to the gallows by the capitalist hangman on that memorable day in 1887: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!"

Long live the International of Lenin and Trotsky, the Fourth International! Down with the Stalinist misleaders and betrayers of the world working class!

Comradely,
Ex-Sergeant, U. S. Army

which is run and overrun by American fascists.

The management of this institution, like every other that is capitalist, knows how to keep the workers divided by paying one worker a dollar a week more than another. And as is natural under capitalism, working conditions in this hospital, and in all Philadelphia hospitals, are bad. Once you try to fight against the miserable conditions, you can rest assured you won't last long.

The employees here get very small wages and very little to eat. And long hours—12 hours is a short work day here!

A nurse gets about \$100 to \$125 a month, plus the poorest

kind of maintenance. The highest-paid attendant receives \$65 a month, out of which about \$6 a month is deducted for taxes.

Those who try to educate the rest of the employees to the value of organization, are reported by stooges of the management. I can't understand how Hitler's concentration camps can be any worse than the conditions existing in the Philadelphia hospitals, and yet the hospitals are filled with stooges.

I give you this information with the hope that you will publish an exposure of these conditions.

A Reader
Philadelphia

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Volume I

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Local New York comrades and friends are to be commended for the excellent job they have done in publicizing The Militant. During the period of the election campaign, innumerable copies of the paper were distributed at street corner meetings. In addition, speakers at meetings advocated the reading of The Militant, pointing out "the consistent role The Militant has played in supporting the workers in their fight for better living conditions, higher wages, against Jim Crow at home and in the armed forces, and proving that only a socialist society was the

solution for the salvation of mankind."

A post-election report was sent to us by Abe Davis of the Brooklyn Branch: "We held a very successful street corner meeting in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. We distributed several hundred copies of The Militant, and obtained 4 subscriptions from workers who were impressed by our paper, and the social program of action our speakers discussed."

Dorothy Lessing writes from Baltimore: "Here as everywhere else that The Militant is sold, I've met with friendly and sympathetic response. Of the first 12 people in Baltimore that I approached, 9 took subscriptions. The box on the masthead of the paper, 'How Trotskyism Fights Jim Crow,' drew some interesting comments from the white workers I canvassed."

"One housewife, whose husband was a railroad worker, urged her husband to subscribe because The Militant fought Jim Crow, and she thought discrimination and segregation were terrible, and that all men were equal."

From Philadelphia we received this report: "A young worker came into our headquarters last Friday, and said he wanted some information on the forum to be held that evening. He told us he had been sold a subscription to The Militant several weeks ago, and prior to contact with our paper had never read such ideas. To quote him: 'I'm a building construction worker, and after work I spend an hour reading and studying The Militant. I find it very enlightening, and am keenly interested in the ideas and program it presents. I took the paper in to work, and showed it to some of the boys during lunch hour. After glancing briefly through it, they decided they too wanted to subscribe.'"

Eloise Gordon sends in these two interesting experiences from Pittsburgh: "We sold a number of subscriptions, one of which was taken by a woman who runs a coffee-lunch room near the B. & O. Railroad roundhouse. She's a socialist by conviction, and was delighted at our suggestion that she put The Militant at the disposal of the railroad workers 'coffee-up' in her little restaurant. She says she knows just whom to show it to!"

"Another new subscriber is a woman laundry worker who was quite enthused when we explained the revolutionary program of the paper, and exclaimed that a complete economic and political change was exactly what she thinks is necessary to meet the problems of the workers. She told us she was one of the local organizers of the women's suffrage movement, and led the parades through the main streets of Pittsburgh."

Our Program:

1. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

A sliding scale of hours! Reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay!

A rising scale of wages! Increase wages to meet the increased cost of living!

Operate all government-built plants under workers' control!

Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages during the entire period of unemployment!

2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!

No restriction on the right to strike!

Withdraw union representatives from the War Labor Board!

3. Organization of the war veterans by the trade unions!

4. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities! Down with Jim Crow!

5. Working class political action! Establish the workers' and farmers' government! Build the independent labor party!

6. Tax the rich, not the poor! No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

7. A working class answer to capitalist militarism! Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Trade union wages for all workers in the armed forces!

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

For the complete independence of the colonial peoples! Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!

Join the Socialist Workers Party!

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

I would like:

☐ To join the Socialist Workers Party.

☐ To obtain further information about your organization.

☐ To attend meetings and forums of the Socialist Workers Party in my city.

Name (Please Print)

Address

City Postal Zone State

6,845 New Readers Of 'Militant' Gained; Sub Campaign Hits 68 Per Cent Of Quota

By Justine Lang
Campaign Director

The end of the fifth week of our national subscription campaign brings our total of new *Militant* readers to 6,845. This is 68 per cent of our quota of 10,000 new subscriptions in this campaign.

During this week, *The Militant* was introduced to 1,388 additional readers. A check of the scoreboard reveals that seven branches of the Socialist Work-

ers Party have now gone over the 100 per cent mark. Last week, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Connecticut and Pittsburgh were the only four in this category. However, Reading, San Francisco and Portland, Ore. now join them, in our "over the top" class. Reading is to be commended for the excellent work done in advancing from tenth place last week to third place this week. A note from the branch reads: "We want to challenge all other

branches that have a subscription quota of 50. This includes St. Louis, Cincinnati, Rochester and San Diego. Will any of these four branches accept the challenge?"

As reported previously, Connecticut accepted the challenge extended to them by Pittsburgh, and at this point in the campaign, Connecticut leads by eight subs. From letters received, both branches are aiming for 200 per cent. It remains to be seen which one will achieve its goal first.

In addition to these seven top scoring branches, special recognition is given to the next five branches on our scoreboard who have completed over three-fourths of their quota.

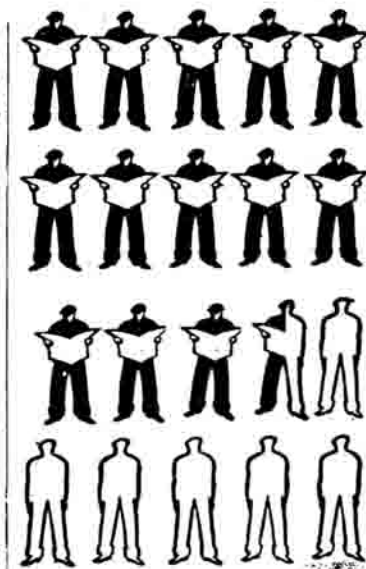
New York with the highest quota, 2,000, has completed 87 per cent of its quota, having obtained 1,732 new readers. Detroit with a high quota of 1,000 has sent in 815 subscriptions—82 per cent of its quota.

Baltimore and Cincinnati, comparatively new branches, have gone all out in this campaign and in this fifth week have achieved 84 per cent of their respective quotas.

Seattle also has made a notable advance this week, from sixteenth place to twelfth, by completing 80 per cent of its quota. Several branches are making special efforts to complete their quotas ahead of schedule. We quote from some of their letters:

Fred Martin, Milwaukee Campaign Director: "We plan to throw all our energies into reaching our quota this week with a full scale mobilization on Sunday, November 18."

Libby Jones, Buffalo: "It looks like Buffalo will really have to step on it to compete with the splendid records of some of our other branches, particularly Philadelphia! Several of our best sub-getters are on the sick-



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

list, notably Fred Kaminsky who sold 190 subs in the Spring campaign. He just got out of the hospital and won't be able to participate at all in this campaign.

"However, the rest of us are determined to work twice as hard to make up for it."

C. Cathy, Brooklyn Branch: "Jimmie Wright, a new recruit has been inspiring the Brooklyn branch with his enthusiasm and steady efforts in the sub drive. Last week he obtained 10 new readers for *The Militant*, and on last Sunday's mobilization, he reported back with 17. This not only sets a fine example for the branch, but makes Jimmie top-scorer with 43 subs to his credit." We might point out, it also makes him a national pace-setter.

J. P. Cannon Speaks In Chicago On 1917 Revolution Anniversary

CHICAGO, Nov. 10—James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed a capacity audience of 150 people tonight at Buckingham Hall on the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The meeting was sponsored by the Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Cannon's speech inspired the audience and was received with prolonged applause. The enthusiasm of the workers was demonstrated in the generous collection of \$150, contributed toward the work of building the Trotskyist party.

Among the workers in the audience were 14 steel workers who traveled more than 25 miles from the Calumet steel belt. Six workers, present for the first time at a Trotskyist meeting, became so convinced of the party's program that they immediately joined the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Konikow Speaks in Boston

By J. Kitting

BOSTON, Nov. 10—The choice before the workers today is socialism or barbarism, declared Comrade Fred Mauw to an audience of friends and sympathizers at the Russian Revolution Anniversary meeting.

Reviewing the development of the October Revolution, the speaker emphasized the role of Lenin and Trotsky as not only leaders of the revolution but uncompromising proponents of internationalism.

Comrade Antoinette Konikow, veteran revolutionist, spoke of her own experiences as a fighter for socialism through two world wars. She recollected that under pressure of the hysteria during the last war, when she spoke out boldly against the imperialist war, she was urged to change

the topic; to go easy. At those times, thinking of Karl Liebknecht, standing alone in the Reichstag against the war, she would continue to speak.

Philadelphia Hears William F. Warde

By John Haas

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 9—A capacity audience of workers commemorated the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution tonight at 405 Girard Ave. William F. Warde, associate editor of *The Militant* and Fourth International, reviewed the ideas and program of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky which led the Russian workers and peasants to victory in 1917.

The example of the Russian Revolution, the speaker pointed out, demonstrated to the workers of the world that they have more talent and energy than the ruling class. It gave them more confidence in themselves. Today the October Revolution still stands as the beacon light for all the oppressed peoples seeking a way out of capitalist misery and destruction.

Mary Clark Gives Speech in Akron

AKRON, Nov. 9—The Akron Branch of the Socialist Workers Party celebrated the 28th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution tonight. Mary Clark described the conquests of the first successful workers' revolution. She explained why we defend the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, despite Stalinist degeneration.

"The two antagonistic systems the imperialist system of the United States and Britain on the one side, and the Soviet system on the other, cannot live peacefully side by side; sooner or later

the imperialists will seek to destroy the remaining conquests of the October Revolution," declared Comrade Clark. "Only the extension of the Revolution to the advanced countries can guarantee the defense of the Soviet Union and the regeneration of the First Workers' State."

John G. Wright Addresses Group In St. Paul

ST. PAUL, Nov. 9—Despite a snowstorm and icy streets, 21 workers turned out tonight to hear John G. Wright speak on "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning to American Workers." The audience listened with great interest as the speaker traced the history of the working class movement in Britain and its culmination in the labor party victory. The same process is developing in the United States, he stated.

After the meeting members of the audience remained to discuss further with Comrade Wright, educator and writer for the *Socialist Workers Party*. Sympathizers displayed their interest in the SWP by purchasing many of the basic pamphlets.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE

CITY	LOS ANGELES	SAN DIEGO	DATE
	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. 24		

SCOREBOARD

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party	Quotas	Subs	Per Cent
St. Louis	50	108	216
Philadelphia	300	470	157
Reading	50	63	126
Connecticut	100	126	126
Pittsburgh	100	118	118
San Francisco	300	331	110
Portland	75	76	101
New York	2000	1732	87
Baltimore	100	84	84
Cincinnati	50	42	84
Detroit	1000	815	82
Seattle	300	238	80
Milwaukee	100	69	69
Allentown-Bethlehem	100	68	68
Boston	200	132	66
Minneapolis	300	190	64
Chicago	1000	617	62
Buffalo	300	177	59
Newark	300	162	54
Youngstown	300	148	50
Bayonne	100	47	47
St. Paul	100	46	46
Los Angeles	1500	640	43
Cleveland	200	80	40
Rochester	50	19	38
Akron	300	87	29
Toledo	300	76	26
Flint	200	44	22
San Diego	50	0	0
Groups, Members at large and Friends	175	40	22
TOTAL		6,845	68

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

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

Name	Branch	Subs Sold
Paul Kujak	Chicago	174
Mike Warren	Seattle	130
Ernest Drake	Detroit	112
Theresa Stone	Philadelphia	96
Rudy Rhodes	St. Louis	86
G. Roberts	Detroit	81
Rigo Carl	Detroit	78
Connie Locke	East Side, New York	62
Ed Lewis	Detroit	58
H. Spangler	Connecticut	57
Bill Ference	Minneapolis	51
Albert Conway	Los Angeles	50
Margaret Moran	Chicago	49
Sympathizer	Philadelphia	49
Ruth Brady	San Francisco	47
E. Logan	Detroit	46
Eloise Gordon	Pittsburgh	45
Don Barry	East Side, New York	45
Ida Brandt	East Side, New York	43
Jimmie Wright	Brooklyn, New York	43

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

Previous installments of Comrade Cannon's book described the emergence of the American Communist Party out of the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1919, the expulsion of the Trotskyists in 1928, the formation of a new party and the Minneapolis Strikes of 1934.

Fresh workers and younger elements, untainted by responsibility for the betrayals of the past, had been shaken and awakened by the tremendous impact of world events, especially the crushing of the German labor movement with the coming of fascism to power. A new wind was blowing in this old decrepit organization of Social Democracy. A Left Wing was forming there, manifesting the impulse of large numbers of people to find a revolutionary program. We thought this could not be disregarded because it was a fact, an element of American political reality. Even though we had formed a new party, and had proclaimed it as the unification of the vanguard, we realized that we could not ignore or arbitrarily shut off from participation in this new movement these new elements of strength and health and revolutionary vitality. On the contrary, we had an obligation to help this inchoate movement in the Socialist Party to find the right road.

We were convinced that without our help they could not do it, because they had no Marxist leaders, they had no tradition, they were beset on every side by influences and forces and pressures that blocked off their road to a clear view of the revolutionary program. Their ultimate fate, the possibility of their development on the revolutionary road, rested with the more experienced and tested cadres of Marxism represented in the newly-founded Workers Party. The leaders of the nebulous Left Wing in the Socialist Party called themselves the "Militants." Why, we have never been able to ascertain. *THE MILITANT* was the name of the official organ of the American Trotskyists from the very beginning, and everybody recognized that it was the right name for our paper. *THE MILITANT* signified the party worker, the party activist, the party fighter. But why the leaders of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party at that time, who were phillistine to the marrow of their bones, without tradition, without serious knowledge, without anything at all, could call themselves "Militants"—that remains a problem to be solved by the students of historical research who are yet to come in our movement. The reason hasn't been discovered yet. At least I never learned it.

This wretched leadership, these accidental figures, pretenders, windbags, incapable of any real sacrifice or serious struggle for an idea, without serious devotion to the movement—most of them are working for the government at various war jobs today—these "knights for an hour" didn't interest us very much. What interested us was the fact that beneath the froth on the top there was a quite live youth movement in the Socialist Party and a considerable number of activist worker elements, trade unionists, and fighters in the unemployed field, who constituted good raw material for the revolutionary party. There is a big difference. You can't do much with the type of leader which the Socialist Party in any of its wings had then or now. But out of serious rank and file militants, trade union activists, and radical youth, you can make a party which can lead a revolution. We wanted to find a road to them. At that time nobody knew, and least of all did the young Socialists know, which way their movement was going to go. They were stifled by their conservative bureaucracy in the Socialist Party, and time and time again their worthless leaders—the so-called "Militants"—showed tendencies to capitulate to the Right Wing bureaucracy.

We Turn Our Attention to the Socialist Party

On the other hand, they were beset by the Stalinists who had a powerful press and apparatus and plenty of money to corrupt, and who didn't hesitate to use money for just that purpose. At that time the Stalinists were exerting extraordinary pressure on the Socialists in order to lay hold of this progressive left-wing movement and turn it back in the direction of reformism by way of Stalinism. They had succeeded in doing this in Spain and many other European countries. The young Socialist movement in Spain, which had on its own initiative announced its support of the idea of a Fourth International, was neglected by the Trotskyists of Spain, who, sterilized in sectarian unity, eschewed any kind of maneuvers in the direction of the young Socialists.

They were satisfied to recite the ritual of the split between the Social Democracy and the Comintern in 1914-19, with the result that the Stalinists cut right in ahead of them, took over this grandly promising Socialist youth organization and made it into an appendage of Stalinism. That was one of the decisive factors in the destruction of the Spanish revolution. We didn't want that to happen here. The Stalinists had the edge on us to begin with. In the Socialist Left Wing there were already strong sentiments of conciliation with Stalinism, and the Stalinists were working the demagogic "unity" slogan for all it was worth. We

OUR APPROACH TO LEFT-WING DEVELOPMENTS IN '35

recognized the problem and realized that if we did not bestir ourselves, what had happened in Spain would happen again here.

We had barely started our work under the independent banner of the Workers Party, but this problem would not wait. We began to insist that more and more attention be paid to the Socialist Party and its developing Left Wing. We argued along the following lines: We must cut in between the Stalinists and this developing movement of Left Socialism and turn it in the direction of genuine Marxism. And in order to accomplish this we must lay aside all organizational fetishism. We cannot content ourselves with saying: "Here is the Workers Party. It has a correct program. Come and join it!" That is the attitude of sectarians. This Left Wing is a loose grouping of thousands of people in the Socialist Party, somewhat hazy in their conceptions, confused and badly led, but very valuable for the future if they receive the proper fertilization of Marxist ideas.

Our position was formulated in the Cannon-Schachtman resolution. We met determined resistance in the party from Oehler and also from Muste. The Oehlerites took their stand on dogmatic sectarian grounds. Not only would they have nothing to do with any present orientation toward the Socialist Party, but they insisted, as a matter of principle, that we specifically exclude this from any future consideration. We have formed the party, said the Oehlerites. Here it is. Let the Left Socialists join us if they accept the program. We are Mohammed and they are the mountain, and the mountain must come to us. That was their whole prescription for those confused young Left Socialists who had never shown the slightest inclination to join our party. We said: "No, that is too simple. Bolshevism must have sufficient political initiative to help the Left Socialists find their way to the right program. If we do this the problem of uniting with them in a common organization can be worked out easily."

Muste opposed this—not on principled grounds, but on grounds of organizational fetishism, perhaps personal pride. Such sentiments are fatal in politics. Pride, anger, spite—any kind of subjectivity which influences a political course leads only to the defeat and destruction of those who give way to it. You know, in the prize-fighting profession—"the manly art of self-defense"—one of the first lessons the young boxer learns from the cashed-in trainer is to keep cool when facing an antagonist in the ring. "Don't ever get mad in the ring. Don't ever lose your head, because if you do you will wake up on the canvas." Boxers have to fight calculatingly, not subjectively. The same thing is doubly true in politics. Muste couldn't bear the thought that after we had founded a party and proclaimed it the one and only party, we should then pay attention to any other party. We should go on in our own way, keep our heads up and see what happens. If they failed to join us, well, that would be their own fault. Muste's position was not sufficiently thought out, not reasoned with the necessary objectivity. It would not do in the situation. If we had stood aside, the Stalinists would have gobbled up the Socialist Left Wing and it would have been used as another club against us, as in Spain.

Sectarianism Is A Political Disease

Before the Socialist Party question could be solved, and thereby another obstacle removed from the path of the development of the American party of the vanguard, we had to fight the question in the ranks of the Workers Party. We had to fight out the question of principle with the sectarians; and when they remained stubborn and became undisciplined we had to drive them out of the party. I said that with a little emphasis because that was the way we had to deal with the Oehlerites—with emphasis. If we had failed to do that in 1935, if we had yielded to any kind of sentimentalism toward people who were ruining our political prospects with their stupid formalism, our movement would have been wrecked in 1935. We would have been cut off from the possibility of further development. An inevitable disintegration would have taken place. The movement would have ended in the blind alley of sectarian infatuation.

Sectarianism is not an interesting idiosyncrasy. Sectarianism is a political disease that will destroy any organization where it takes firm hold and isn't rooted out in time. Our party is living today and is quite healthy thanks to the medicinal and surgical treatment that sectarianism received in 1935. Medicinal treatment is the more important and must always come first in any case. Ours consisted of sound education on Marxist principles and their sectarian caricatures; thorough discussion, patient explanation. By these methods we cleared away the miasma and, although we were in a minority at the start, eventually gained a large majority and isolated the Oehlerites.

This was not done in a day. It took many months. Surgical treatment followed only when the defeated Oehlerites began to violate party discipline systematically and to prepare a split. In the course of discussion and explanation, we educated the great majority of the party. The body of the party had been cured and was in good health. The tip of the little finger remained infected and began to turn gangrenous, so we just chopped it off. That is why the party lives today and is able to talk about that time.

After we finished with the Oehlerites we had to go through a rather prolonged faction struggle with the Musteites—two internal struggles in the first year of the existence of the Workers Party—before the way was clear to solve this problem of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. These internal struggles, which consumed the energies of the new party almost from its inception, were certainly very inconvenient. We should have had a year or two of constructive work, uninterrupted by differences, conflicts and internal fights. But history didn't work that way. We had no sooner launched the new party than we were confronted with the problem of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. We could not agree on what to do, we had to spend a year fighting it out.

Of course, these conflicts didn't begin immediately. The new party, organized in early December 1934 began its work quite auspiciously. One of the party's first demonstrations of political activity, which was also intended to symbolize the unification of the two currents, was a joint cross-country speaking tour of Muste and myself. We were received with enthusiasm along the way. One could notice in the radical labor movement a general spirit of appreciation of the fact that a process of unification had begun after the long period of disintegration and splits. We had very good meetings in most places, and the tour reached its high point at Minneapolis.

National Tours After the Unification

This was six months or so following the great strike victories; We were received there very well. The comrades in Minneapolis were highly pleased that we had not allowed ourselves to become so completely absorbed in economic strikes as to neglect opportunities of the purely political party field. Our unification with another group, whose militants they valued very highly because of the work they had done in the unemployed movement, the Toledo strike, etc., was warmly applauded by the Minneapolis comrades. They gave us a good reception and laid themselves out to celebrate our visit by a well-planned series of meetings and conferences, culminating in a banquet in honor of the National Secretary of their party and the editor of the paper that was so dear to their hearts—*THE MILITANT*. They always do things right in Minneapolis. In the course of our stay there, they decided to dress us up in a manner befitting the dignity of our positions.

The leading comrades came down from the union hall, picked up Muste and me—who, I must admit, were looking a bit seedy at the time—and took us on a tour of clothiers and haberdashers. They rigged us out in new outfits from head to foot. It was a very fine gesture. I was sharply reminded of that suit of clothes long after I had worn it out. In the summer of 1936 Muste, disoriented by all the complications and difficulties, and overwhelmed by the blood and violence in the Spanish civil war and Moscow trials, reverted as you know, to his original position as a religionist and went back to the church. Vincent Dunne got the news through a private letter and he passed the information on to Bill Brown. "Bill," he said, "What do you think? Muste has gone back to the church." Bill was flabbergasted. "Well, I'll be damned," he said. Then, a moment later: "Say, Vincent, we ought to get that suit back!" But he should have known better. Preachers never give anything back.

We parted at Minneapolis. Muste went on further South to cover other parts of the country. I went on to California to finish the tour. This was at the time of the Sacramento "criminal-syndicalism" trial of Communist Party members. One of our comrades—Norman Mini—was among the defendants, and because he had turned Trotskyist, not only did the Stalinists refuse to defend him, but they denounced him in their press as a "stoop-pigeon" while he was on trial. We came to his aid. The Non-Partisan Labor Defense, a non-Stalinist defense committee, did very distinguished work in providing defense for Comrade Mini. We exploited to the full all the political aspects of this situation.

While this tour was in process, lasting a couple of months, we began to hear the first rumbling of trouble with the sectarian phrasemongers back in New York. They always begin it in New York. They didn't let the party rest, they wouldn't let it get a good start in its work. Consider the situation. Here was a newly formed organization, representing a unification of people with

entirely different experiences and backgrounds. This party required a little time to work together, and to have peace in common work. That was the most reasonable, the most realistic program for the first period. But you can never get reasonableness or realism from sectarians. They came tearing into this united organization in New York with a "Bolshevization" program. They were going to take these centrist Musteites and make Bolsheviks out of them, whether they liked it or not. And quick too. Discussions! They scared some of these Musteites out of their wits with their discussions, theses, and clarifications till all hours of the night. They went about searching for "issues," hounding all who might be deviating from the straight and narrow path of doctrine. No peace, no fraternal common work, no education in a calm atmosphere, no will to let the young party develop naturally and organically. An irresponsible factional struggle was the contribution of the sectarians almost from the very beginning.

Explosion At Pittsburgh Active Workers Conference

This ruction in New York was preparing the way for an explosion at the famous Active Workers Conference, called by the party to meet in Pittsburgh in March, 1935. The Active Workers Conference was an excellent institution which had been brought over from the experiences of the American Workers Party. The idea is to invite all the party activists in a given area, or the whole country over, to pick up and come to a central place to discuss practical work, report on experiences, get acquainted with one another, etc. It is a marvelous institution, as we found out in our experiences at Chicago in 1940 and again in 1941. It works out beautifully when there is harmony in the party and you are able to come together to transact business and get it over with. But when there are serious disputes in the party, which nothing but a formal convention can settle, especially if an irresponsible faction is on the loose, it is best to dispense with informal Active Workers Conferences which have no constitutional powers to decide the disputes. In such a situation informal gatherings only feed the flames of factionalism. We found that out at Pittsburgh.

The Active Workers Conference we tried at Pittsburgh was a horrible fiasco because, from the very opening of it, the Oehlerites used it as a sounding board for their factional struggle against the "opportunism" of the leadership. The Musteite comrades, new to the experience of political party life, came in from the field with the naive idea, that they were going to hear each others' reports on party mass work and discuss how they could step it up a little. Instead of that, they were confronted with an unrestrained free-for-all factional fight from the very beginning. The Oehlerites started the fight over the selection of the chairman, and thereafter continued it—in a fanatical, life and death, do or die manner—on every question. It was a factional shambles such as I have never seen before in such a setting. Forty or fifty innocent field workers, with little or no experience in party politics or caucuses, who had come there looking for some inspiration from this new party and some sensible guidance in their practical work, were treated to discussions and arguments and factional denunciations, lasting all day and night. I imagine many of them said to themselves in alarm: "What have we got into? We always heard the Trotskyists were crazy theses sharks and professional factionalists. Perhaps the stories had some truth in them." They saw factionalism in the worst version there.

The mass work activist, as a rule, is inclined to want only a very little discussion, to settle a few very necessary details, and then proceed to action. At Pittsburgh they—and we, too—wanted to get down to business and have an exchange of experiences in the practical work of the party: trade union activity, the unemployed leagues, the functioning of party branches, finances, etc. The sectarians weren't interested in such humdrum matters. They insisted on discussing Ethiopia, China, "the French turn," and other "principled questions," which were very important, to be sure, but not on the agenda of the conference.

Oehler, Stamm and Zack were the three leaders. I don't know how many of you know the famous Joseph Zack. He had recently come over to us from Stalinism but was only bivouacking in our camp on his way to other destinations. He had been one of the inside bureaucrats of the Stalinist party, and contributed a full share to the corruption and bureaucratic degeneration of the party. Then he became a Trotskyist for a few weeks—at the most a few months. He had no sooner got his feet wet in our organization, than he turned and began to attack us from the "left." We tolerated him for a while, but when he began to disrupt party discipline, we chucked him out. He fell off into space and finally landed in the anti-Communist "democratic" camp, as a contributor to the New Leader—you know that Social-Democratic newspaper over there on Fifteenth Street; that Old Renegades Home, where all the political cripples and lepers live.

(To Be Continued)

European Trotskyists Call For Aid To The Embattled Colonial Peoples

Editorial Note: This Manifesto of the European Executive Committee of the Fourth International to all the workers of Europe is translated from the October 27 "De Rode October" (Red October), official organ of the Dutch Trotskyists. Publication of this Manifesto in the Netherlands indicates how the Dutch Trotskyists are opposing Dutch imperialism and defending the Indonesian struggle for independence.

At the same time the atomic bomb demonstrates the full destructive power of world imperialism, the complete organizational weakness of capitalism is shown by the beginning of the revolution in the colonial countries.

Taking advantage of the growing difficulties of the imperialist bourgeoisie in defending its domestic rule and in regulating its international relations, the colonial peoples, one after the other, are rising to sweep away the hated imperialist domination which has brought them nothing but double exploitation and a regime of bloody repressions. The Indo-Chinese and the Indonesians have thrown off the yoke of French and Dutch imperialism. It will not be long before the masses in Burma, India, Ceylon, the Philippines and Korea too will go over to open struggle against their imperialist masters. The period of revolution in the colonial countries is at hand.

The bourgeois and social-patriotic slanderers have formed their united front against the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom. On every hand the world press is being mobilized against the revolutionary movements of the Far East. But the cynical "defenders of democracy" who let hundreds of thousands of soldiers and civilians be murdered supposedly to crush "Japanese militarism," do not hesitate for one moment to use this same Japanese army against the revolutionary liberation movement of the colonial peoples! With the aid of the Japanese army and "irregular" French forces the British troops attempted to stem the Annamite uprising. This same Japanese army was called upon by British imperialism to maintain "peace and order" in Java before the British forces arrived on the spot. In spite of their diverging interests all the imperialists together will tomorrow unleash a bloody war should one of the colonial peoples succeed in temporarily achieving its independence.

As always, the mere beginning of a revolutionary outburst was sufficient to unmask the imperialist bourgeoisie and its agents. The defense of "freedom and culture" is the defense of the right of the bankers to live off the blood and the sweat of millions of colonial slaves! The "defense of the rights of small nations" means that half a dozen colonial nations are denied the most elementary of democratic rights, namely the right of independence.

For A United Front Of The Workers!

To this united front of the slave drivers, the oppressed of all lands must counterpose their own united front. True, in the last instance the revolution in the colonial countries can only be victorious when the proletariat, together with the masses of the poor peasants, ends the domination of its own national bourgeoisie as well as the domination of foreign imperialism, when it sweeps away the remnants of feudalism, solves the agrarian problem, liquidates the frontiers and founds the great Socialist Federation of the Asiatic peoples.

But the struggle of the colonial peoples for their immediate independence is in itself an extremely progressive struggle, which the proletariat of the mother country must support with all its might. This struggle strikes at the very core of the imperialist system; it shakes the world domination of finance capital to its foundation; deprives the European bourgeoisie of its last reserves and thus decisively favors the class struggle of the European working masses.

All the workers' organizations are faced with the immediate choice: WITH the rascapulous imperialist bandits, or WITH the peoples who have risen against barbaric exploitation. "Complete solidarity with the struggle for colonial freedom!" Such is the slogan of the Fourth International, such must be the line of conduct of all workers in Europe. The cause of the colonial peoples is their cause. They have a common enemy: blood-stained imperialism which is leading humanity to the abyss. The road to liberation is the same for both: it is the road of irreconcilable revolutionary struggle, of unity under the banner of Communism, under the banner of the Fourth International!

WORKERS OF EUROPE!

You cannot permit the revolution in the colonial countries to be crushed! Its suppression can only be a preparation for your own defeat, its success will be an important step toward your own victory.

You must follow the example of the Australian workers who showed in action their solidarity with their brothers from the colonial countries.

You must demand of your unions and mass parties that they take immediate action against imperialist intervention in the Far East. The European Executive Committee of the Fourth International calls all workers' organizations to the immediate formation of a united front for the defense of the revolution in the colonial countries.

DOCKWORKERS OF MARSEILLE, NAPLES, ANTWERP, ROTTERDAM AND LIVERPOOL!

The shining example of your Australian comrades shows you the way. Ships are leaving the harbors with weapons destined for the fight against the colonial peoples.

FRENCH, DUTCH AND BELGIAN RAILROAD WORKERS!

Trains are transporting soldiers and materials for embarkation to the Far East.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SOVIET UNION!

Protest against the Kremlin's abandonment of the Leninist policy of complete support to the colonial revolution. Today the decisive blow for the defense of the Soviet Union is struck in Saigon and Batavia.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN!

Show opposition, demonstrate, strike in protest against the scandalous complicity of your "labor government" with the slave drivers of Paris, Amsterdam, London and Tokyo.

Proletarians of all countries, unite in the struggle against imperialism, in defense of the endangered revolution in the colonial countries.

No soldier, no rifle against the Uprising of the Colonial Peoples! Down with imperialism! Long live the revolution in the colonial countries!

Immediate independence for all countries!

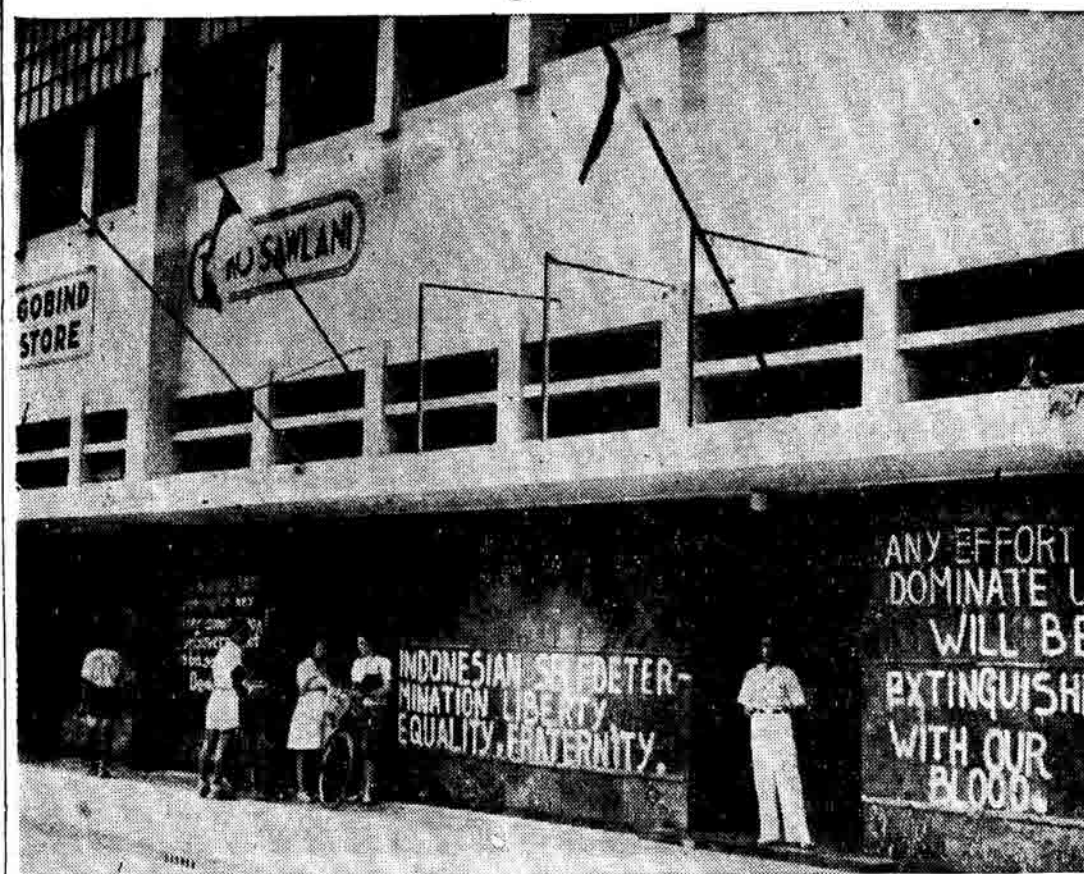
Long live the world solidarity of the oppressed!

European Executive Committee, Fourth International and the following sections of the Fourth International:

RCP, Great Britain PCI, Greece
PCI, France GCI, Spain
FOR, Belgium IKD, Germany
CRM, Netherlands MAS, Switzerland

The group of Indo-Chinese Internationalist Communists in Europe.

Indonesian Slogans In Soerabaja



People of Indonesia proclaim their determination to win their independence from Dutch imperialism. "Any effort to dominate us will be extinguished with our blood," says one of the slogans. AP Photo

Javanese Battle Heroically Against Imperialist Despots

(Continued from Page 1)

for weak spots, probing political for soft openings in the nationalist movement itself, lying and deceiving with a perfidiousness not exceeded by the diplomacy of Hitler.

The objective of the British is deadly clear. They intend to smash the independence movement. They intend to reinstate the Dutch slave-masters. They intend to prevent above all the spread of the Indonesian uprising to the colonial lands still in the grip of London.

And the fact that the policy of massacre is being implemented by Clement Attlee and Ernest Bevin makes the picture all the more sickening. For the British

workers voted these men to power to do battle against capitalism and not to save this vicious outmoded system from its long overdue grave.

U. S. ROLE

Washington is backing the British and Dutch. American arms, American ammunition, American military supplies are pouring into the hands of the British and Dutch imperialist troops. American ships are hastening fresh contingents of soldiers to battle the Indonesian people.

Thus are the fair promises of the Atlantic Charter finding their true expression in the smoking ruins and bloody streets

of Indonesia's cities.

The events of the past week show that the Indonesian people, if they are to win, will require all the assistance the working class of the world can give.

In the past week the British inched forward, trying to secure their positions in Soerabaja. They need the harbor for their warships. They want to land more troops in this strategic area. They hope to use Soerabaja as a depot for the great stream of supplies carried in American and British ships.

BOMB CIVILIANS

With Batavia already in their hands, the scale of military power is tipping in favor of the Allied imperialists. Reinforcements are following the British. In addition to those listed in previous issues of *The Militant*, "about 4,600 Netherland Marines, now in United States training camps, have been ordered to the East Indies," Associated Press reported November 15. Trained by American officers and familiar with U. S. Army equipment, these Marines can further increase chances of an imperialist victory.

According to the Nationalists, the British advanced in Soerabaja using civilians as shields and bombing the city indiscriminately. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, issued the following statement: "I strongly protest the use of bombers and heavy weapons against a city population which is not able to defend itself. I hereby draw attention to the whole world toward the vast massacre of men, women and children."

NEW PREMIER
Meanwhile the Allied imperialists continued their efforts to undermine the leadership of the Nationalist movement. On November 11 the Dutch predicted the Cabinet would be reorganized to make way for the leadership of Sjahrir. Two days later the Dutch prediction proved correct. Sjahrir was made "Premier," replacing Soekarno as the main political figure.

The new spokesman said his policy would be cooperation with the British. The Dutch were reported to be willing to negotiate with him, and a N. Y. Times editorial hailed the change. All the reports from Indonesia are screened by the Dutch and British imperialists. Consequently they must be viewed with utmost caution. The facts cannot yet be verified. Whatever Sjahrir's policies may be, the incontestable fact is the Indonesian people are fighting tooth and

CLOTHES CONFISCATED

The prices of available food and necessities are beyond the means of the Indonesian workers. Many civilians obtained their first clothes in years from generous Australian and American military personnel. But these clothes were confiscated by NICA's Military Police under the pretense that civilians could not wear garments similar to those of the Dutch troops who are equipped with Australian uniforms.

In contrast to the Indonesians, the Dutch troops are well housed and well fed while the natives suffer inflationary government prices, scarcity and scandalously low wages.

Hunger Plagues Indonesians Under Dutch Rule

By Susan Adams

The entire capitalist press is trying to convey the impression that the Indonesian people are being terribly ungrateful to the British and Dutch rulers. After all didn't these masters raise the standard of living and make people more civilized?

Here is some evidence from one of the leading nutritionists in America, Dr. E. V. McCollum of Johns Hopkins University, showing just how much imperialism has "helped" the Indonesian people.

McCollum states that "in the two chief hospitals in Java, 24 percent of the 5,500 deaths reported during the years 1919 and 1920 were ascribed to starvation. The hospital records represent but a very small fraction of the total illness of natives in this land. The death rate from starvation is appalling." (Newer Knowledge of Nutrition, Dr. E. V. McCollum.)

One region in Java, where the soil is almost pure chalk, is inhabited by three or four million people. The only plant of any value that can be grown there is the cassava from which tapioca is made. The diet of these people consists mainly of cassava, almost pure starch. Hence they suffer from severe malnutrition.

EATING POISON!

"The cassava eater," says McCollum "experiences a peculiar craving, a kind of perverted appetite, for the djengk bean, the product of an indigenous tree. This bean is poisonous, and a single bean causes some degree of illness, but the people persist in eating it because the bean affords a kind of misery differing from and preferable to deficiencies from cassava."

The Western islands of New Guinea formerly supported a large population of vigorous people. But grants made to foreign companies by the European imperialist rulers have deprived the natives of the best agricultural lands. The natives have been forced to live mainly on wild fruits and starchy foods. This diet has resulted in severe malnutrition.

Due to this near starvation there is a tremendously high rate of tuberculosis.

In contradiction to reports in the capitalist press, conditions have not improved under Dutch rule. According to the dietary expert, McCollum: "Their diet is very poor as compared with that before the foreign invasion."

The soil in the East Indies is generally extremely fertile and could well support a large population. Instead there is want. The Indonesian people, like all colonial peoples, are being starved to death in the midst of potential plenty.

Events are moving with great rapidity in Indonesia as the Allies exert their greatest energies to stem the tide of revolt. But the battle still hangs in the balance. Vigorous aid from the workers throughout the world can bring victory to the Indonesians.

The Australian longshoremen demonstrated their understanding of the Indonesian situation by striking all ships carrying war supplies for the Dutch. Workers in South Africa, Ceylon and Tokyo have demonstrated. On November 11 "the crew of the British ship Moreton Bay walked off the vessel . . . just before it was to sail for Java with 1,600 Netherlands troops," reported an AP dispatch from Sidney, Australia. "Demonstrators at the wharf shouted at the soldiers, 'Go Back to Holland!' and 'Hands Off Java!'"

By JAMES P. CANNON
SOCIALISM ON TRIAL
the official court record

NEW YORK
Militant Labor Forum
Charles Carsten
SWP National Educational Director
will speak on
"The U. S. and the Argentine Crisis"
Sunday, Nov. 25, 8 p.m.
116 University Place

LOS ANGELES—Buy The Militant, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.
Campaign mobilization every Sunday at 2:00 p.m. monthly Forum, Friday, Nov. 23; Joseph Andrews speaker on "How Can Labor Win the Wage Fight?"

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

CHICAGO—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters 160 N. Wells St., 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.

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The NEGRO STRUGGLE

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

by CHARLES JACKSON

A Worker's Fortune

(For the benefit of the thousands of new readers of "The Militant," we reprint this week one of the most inspiring and widely praised of Charles Jackson's columns on "The Negro Struggle." It first appeared October 7, 1944.)

I asked B. P., one of our newer comrades, to pinch hit for me this week. He chose, in retrospect, to make some personal observations. His article follows:

I am a fellow worker who inherited a great fortune. It came to me after years of believing in capitalism, fighting in vain for equal rights and "butting my head against a stone wall." It came as the result of the death of a man whose passing I have no cause to regret.

Under such conditions of inheritance it is no more than fair that I should share the fortune with others. There is enough of it to go around no matter how many take their cut, for it is not the kind of wealth that is washed away by bank failures, depressions or unemployment. In a manner seemingly strange, division has the effect of multiplication on this new-found wealth of mine.

The man who bequeathed riches to me resembled me in every outward way. His name was the same as mine. He had the same parents, the same childhood and the same semi-education. As a matter of fact, he was my former self.

Yes, after a long and suffering illness my former self gave up a fruitless struggle and died. An autopsy showed that he died of mis-education, vain desires for unattainable riches, lack of faith in the working people and other complications often seen in the workers under capitalism.

There is no finer sensation than that which comes with a victory over one's self. It feels good to go fronting into the obstacles of racial injustice created by capitalism and winning a few skirmishes now and then; but it feels a thousand times better to go forward with a program that has as its goal COMPLETE achievement.

CONQUEST OF FEAR

I knew the joy of skating on a clear day; I knew the joy of winning a baseball game with a home run; I knew the delight of a good meal after a long walk. But all of them put together cannot approach the thrill of conquering the fear of capitalist injustices and capitalist insecurity. Nor the satisfaction of fighting, teaching and working for Socialism with its peace, plenty and equality for all.

For twenty years I had fought against the unreasonable "justice" meted out under the prevailing system. "What's the matter?" I asked myself, and kept on asking that same question and hoping that the answer some day would come. I prodded myself hard at this period and always there was the temptation to evade complete honesty.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

AKRON—Visit The Militant Club, 405-6 Everett Bldg., 39 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 9 p.m.
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Diary Of A Steelworker By T. Kovalesky

LETTER TO ANOTHER STEELWORKER

Dear Tony:

In some ways it seems like old times, doesn't it? Of course, some years ago we didn't have to go through so much red tape to get ready for a strike, this Smith-Conally Act voting set-up with its government ballooning and its 30-day "cooling off period." But we can do that too, if we have to, and still knock the big companies to their knees.

We want to get a big turnout for the vote, Tony, a hundred per cent if we can. You remember what the company did last time. They put out statements to the press saying that the workers in the plant were perfectly satisfied, and that the place had been closed down by a strike of a few agitators, who were leading the rest of the employees around by the nose. That didn't beat us, of course, and if they did it again, it wouldn't beat us this time. But it was a weapon that the companies used against us; and we don't want them to have any weapons at all that we can keep them from having. Besides, the bigger the vote, the better the morale is going to be. We want every steelworker to be saying to himself, "All the guys are together on this. Look at the vote." We'll have solidarity, and we want everybody to know it in the depths of his heart.

The ballot may be a little confusing, but I don't think we'll lose many votes because of it, if we lose any at all. As far as I know it'll read something like this: "Do you wish to interrupt war production in time of war?" Well, we'll be able to answer that one all right. We'll just tell the fellows to mark the ballot "Yes," and we'll go on to tell them what a "yes" vote means.

Have you thought it out, Tony? I guess you have, being a steelworker and a union man. But anyway, here's a way of saying it.

A "Yes" vote means good food on the table. It means butter, plenty of milk for the kids, enough meat to keep you strong enough to go out into the red hell of the steel plant and sweat each day on the job.

A "yes" vote means medical and dental care. It means that when you get a stomach ache or a queer feeling in your back, you won't have to persuade yourself that it doesn't mean any-

thing like you have been doing. You'll be able to go to the doctor and see if it is anything serious, before it gets to be too late. Plenty of fellows have died because they didn't see the doctor in time, just because they didn't have the money to go. And, Tony, look around at the fellows you work with. How many of them have gaps in their mouths where they should have teeth? When a fellow's hard up, the first thing he lets slide is dental care. Hell, you can't buy everything, can't pay out money for everything. Something's got to wait. So the dentist waits, and the worker loses his teeth at an early age.

A "yes" vote means a decent house to live in: it means decent furniture, not sagging chairs with the springs coming through the seats. It means clean wallpaper, not tattered walls and broken plaster. It means a refrigerator, not a run down ice-box, where your meat will spoil in a few days, and milk will turn sour overnight.

A "yes" vote means clothing. Did you know that the average steelworker gets only one suit in ten years, that his wife gets only four dresses a year, including house dresses? Did you know his little boy doesn't even get one new suit a year, and that his little girl has only four new dresses a year, and one coat, one blouse, and two sweaters?

A "yes" vote is a chance to let your son finish high school. You and I may have started working as kids, Tony, but we don't want our boys to do that. Whatever anybody may say about human beings, they always want their kids to have a better life than they had, themselves. They're pretty decent that way. And a "yes" vote will help them send their kids on toward a better life. More power to them, I say.

And finally, Tony, a "yes" vote means MANHOOD. In a letter to The Militant a week or so ago, Eugene Debs was quoted as saying what deep compassion he felt for the unwilling slave; but for the willing slave, he felt nothing but contempt. That's what this is: a roll call of the willing and unwilling slaves. Those of us who resent our conditions are the descendants of Spartacus and all the rest of the rebel slaves who were free in their hearts. Those who are satisfied are no more than beasts of burden, slaves at heart. The MEN will vote "Yes" on November 28.

Best luck to you and your local,

Fraternally,
Ted Kovalesky

Shoptalks On Socialism

By V. Grey

"Don't worry — I'll be with you when the time comes. I'll be on the right side of the barricades."



Maybe you will, brother, maybe you will. But we need your help RIGHT NOW. We have to build a party that has the numbers and influence to take power "when the time comes." That's why we recruit new members.

That gag "I'll be with you when the time comes," is generally just an excuse for not joining the revolutionary party. It's sort of a shifty, mumbling way of saying "I'm a no-account and a ne'er-do-well, but my heart's in the right place, don't you know."

But some people really do think that's all they have to do to get socialism—just be around "when the time comes." They don't see why a party is necessary. What's the difference, they think, whether they are in it or out of it, so long as they agree with its ideas?

If a person agrees with our ideas and does not join us, his agreement doesn't mean very much. It's like the picture of a man painted on a screen. It's high and wide and it looks real — but there's no thickness to it.

The living flesh and blood of our ideas is action. We are always in action of one sort or another—from recruiting a single member to the act of revolution itself. Action needs purpose, plan, organization. To take the smallest actions against the bosses, you have to organize into large unions. You have to start with a few people, spread the idea, and get more people. It's much the same with fighting the bosses of the whole country and the world.

Suppose there were no Socialist Workers Party. And suppose you and I and a few other people began figuring what was wrong with things today. Suppose we figured it out that the factory system had grown too big for its owners who couldn't make it work any more; that these owners couldn't do anything for the world except try to blow it sky high every few years; and suppose we decided that the only answer was to kick

this handful of zombies out on their ear and let the whole people run things through workers' delegates.

After we did all this figuring would we get up, shake hands, and say, "Well, so long, pal. I'll see you when the time comes." That would be a queer way for normal human beings to act.

No, we wouldn't do that. We'd do just the opposite. We'd grab all our friends and say, "Let's get together on this. What are your experiences? Don't they prove this idea is right? You must contribute the value of your experience to make this idea richer. You must contribute your prestige and popularity to spread the idea. Let's get together and work energetically to test it in life and struggle and prove to everybody that we're right."

In other words, we'd start a revolutionary party.

But luckily for us, that's already been done. Luckily for us, Marx and Engels didn't say, "I'll see you boys when the time comes." Lenin and Trotsky didn't say, "We'll come along when you're on the barricades." No, these men stuck through thick and thin. They helped to build the barricades.

Luckily for the workers of the world, the thinking, fighting and dying of millions of revolutionary heroes is crystallized in the Fourth International, which is going to lead the worldwide socialist revolution.

But this thinking and this fighting is not finished. The party it created is still growing. Each new member's muscles give it fresh sinews. Each new member's thinking, his criticism and questions give nerve and life to the party's brain.

The revolutionary party does not have to have the majority of humanity within its ranks to lead the revolution. But it must have their overwhelming confidence and support. That means that every energetic youth, boy or girl, man or woman, everyone with a tongue to convince, with a character to lead, with hands to work, or spirit to fight, should join the party so that oppressed humanity stirring in revolt will see its own image reflected there.

If there is anyone at the door biting his nails until "the time comes" let him come right in and help MAKE the time come.

Postwar Notes For Seamen By F. J. Lang

The American Export Line has been awarded the Mediterranean trade route by the U. S. Maritime Commission. The Commission is going ahead with a \$250-million government-financed plan for the construction of 11 passenger ships, 3 of which will go to Export for service in the New York-Mediterranean run. These present plans of the U. S. Maritime Commission for American-flag ship service to the Mediterranean almost exactly duplicate what was done after World War I by the old U. S. Shipping Board.



American Export Line is a typical "private operator." This outfit got started in the Mediterranean trade in 1920 with seven government-owned World War I freighters. By 1924 it operated all government-owned vessels in this trade at a loss of \$750,000 per annum to the federal treasury.

The following year, 1925, the Shipping Board decided to sell these government-owned ships which had been built at a cost to the American taxpayers of \$29 million. Export picked them up for \$1,062,000.

In 1929 alone the government's mail subsidy to Export for operating these ships amounted to over \$1 million, or about equal to Export's original investment in ships. Yet there was still outstanding in 1929 more than \$500,000 which Export owed the Shipping Board for the 18 ships "sold" by the government to put this outfit in business as a "private operator."

In 1929 Export built the four "Aces" (as the company called them)—Exeter, Exambion, Excalibur, and Exochorda—all sunk during World War II. These gave Export its cut on the war insurance racket.

These four ships cost Export nothing. Their total construction cost was \$9,442,000, and to pay for them the company borrowed \$6,900,000 from the U. S. Shipping Board. The remaining \$2,500,000 was to be paid by the company, but by 1931 it had defaulted in these construction payments. Yet in the same year, 1931, the four "Aces" brought in \$1,620,000 in mail subsidies.

A Senate investigating committee in 1934 revealed that Export had received \$8 million from government mail subsidies between 1928 and 1934, and that the company was then still \$747,000 in arrears on its government-loan subsidy. In 1936 this outfit was still in business and still collecting mail subsidies, receiving \$1,479,000 of the taxpayers' money for that year.

The 1936 Merchant Marine Act established the Maritime Commission and was supposed to rid the maritime industry of much of the graft connected with the old system of mail subsidies. Nevertheless, Export continued to operate until the outbreak of World War II. From 1938 through 1941 the company paid out \$1,844,687 in dividends. Government funds poured into the industry during the war further fattened Export's stockholders. They are now back on the government gravy train in one of the coveted subsidized trade routes.

Dutch Stalinists Oppose Indonesian Freedom Offer Full Support To Brutal Imperialist Rule

By Felix Morrow

The November 17 Daily Worker publishes an appeal from the head of the recently-re-established Indonesian Communist Party, asking "the world's democratic forces" to intervene on behalf of Indonesian independence.

For the past five years the Stalinists listed among "the world's democratic forces" —

Up until 1937 the Communist Party continued to support the traditional revolutionary slogan: Indonesia los van Holland nu! (literally, Indonesia loose from Holland now). Then it dropped the slogan—and continues to oppose it now.

This is brazenly admitted in an article in the Stalinist organ De Waarheid which is extensively quoted in De Rode October of October 27, organ of the Dutch Trotskyists. The article, written by Paul De Groot, head of the Communist Party, states:

"We have without reserve supported the war against Japan and even more we argued that Holland should demand a greater part in that war. We pointed out to the Dutch people that it must maintain the ties of commerce, shipping and culture which have bound it through the ages to the East.

"Trouw (a Catholic newspaper) demands: let us hit them. What would happen if we would give in to this demand? It would not only cause a criminal blood bath, but it would be no less than suicide for Holland as a power in the East.

"We communists in 1937 withdrew our previous slogan: 'Indonesia Loose from Holland!', because the Japanese threat made the unity of Holland and Indonesia a necessity.

"We hold to this.

OPPOSE INDEPENDENCE

"And for this very reason, in the interest of the maintenance of the tie between Holland and Indonesia, we now stand with so much force and determination for the fulfillment of the promises made to the Indonesians.

"Holland is weak, it possesses no army worth mentioning, no fleet or airpower of sufficient importance to assert itself against others. Everything depends on courageous and wise statesmanship. This prescribes: to apply without further delay the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. To give Indonesia its independence and thereby use the only chance which is still left to realize the unity of the Dutch and Indonesian peoples."

The sudden reference to "independence" in the last paragraph should be read in the light of the previous paragraphs, which show that it merely means what the Queen has "promised," namely, so-called dominion independence within the Dutch Empire.

To sum up: the Dutch Stalinist line is one of advice to the Queen on how to save Indonesia for the Dutch Empire.

Now you know why you can't find any word in the Daily Worker about the Dutch Communist Party calling on the working class to ACT for Indonesian independence.

Speaking about the Indonesian problem Mr. De Groot said that our country would fall not only into temporary but into permanent poverty if the ties between Holland and Indonesia were broken. For this very reason the Communist Party energetically opposes those who incite to violence from the side of the Dutch. We Communists consider them foreign agents."

Labor Solidarity In Stamford



Returned war veterans, some dressed in their old uniforms, leading a sympathy parade and demonstration of the workers of the Atlas Powder Company and other Stamford, Conn., plants in support of the striking Yale & Towne workers. The militant struggle against the would-be open-shop Yale & Towne company has the backing of virtually the entire community—except, of course, the bosses.

Yale And Towne Strikers Fight Low Wages, Return Of Open Shop

(Continued from Page 1)

closed shop contracts or even to accept arbitration of union demands. For two months Carey spurned union negotiations. The workers, members of Lodges 539 and 1557 International Association of Machinists, AFL, voted overwhelmingly for strike in an NLRB poll and walked out November 7. All AFL and CIO unions here pledged moral and financial aid.

When Carey then showed up the first day of the strike, he was kept out of the plant. Other officials conferred with him in the street, to the amusement of the 300 pickets and thousands of spectators.

MUSICAL PICKETS

Picketing is enlivened by a 10-piece volunteer union band playing frequent concerts of popular tunes, labor songs such as "Solidarity Forever," and funeral dirges whenever a few executives are admitted to the plant. Management submitted a list of 192 men they wanted admitted into the plant for "reconversion planning." The union pared this down to 70, who are admitted only by union consent.

Children accompany mothers and fathers, white and Negro, on the three solid picket circles before the main gates of the brick and stone plant that covers

four square blocks. Directly opposite the main gates are workers' homes. Women wheel baby carriages there, shout encouragement to the pickets and join in songs and even occasional dancing on the pavement.

Yesterday, after an especially fine band concert, a picket slapped a musician on the back, exclaiming, "A swell show today." The grinning bandsman replied, "Tomorrow we'll do the 'Unfinished Symphony.'" This was an apt prediction.

POLICE ATTACK

Today 30 police formed a wedge to try to break through the largest picket circle to admit a group of company supervisors. A few pickets were knocked down in a 10-minute scuffle but no one went through. Police chief John Brennan threatened to use tear gas. After consultation a few non-production men were allowed to enter, while the band played dirges and the crowd howled.

The strikers were especially angered yesterday by a smear in the Hearst N. Y. Journal-American. Following the barring of Carey from the plant, the yellow Hearst paper sent a reporter to demand and be denied plant entry so the Journal-American could shed crocodile tears

for "freedom of the press."

Yale & Towne workers make as little as 50 cents an hour, with no overtime since the end of the war. Many recall getting as little as \$13 for a 40-hour week in the '30s, when the town welfare department had to supplement such starvation wages.

Today most stores on Atlantic Avenue, main shopping district for workers, have window signs "We Support the Yale & Towne Workers." Some have been threatened by anonymous phone calls, but they refuse to remove the signs.

Greyhound Bus Strikers Fight Big Wage Slash

(Special to THE MILITANT)

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Bus service from New York to Albuquerque over five regional Greyhound lines, is tied up by a strike of some 6,000 employees demanding a decent postwar wage.

Members of Local 1313, Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, AFL, have outlined their grievances against Southwestern Greyhound. They struck November 4, joining their militant brothers of four other companies.

Drivers are paid on a mileage basis. A 15 per cent increase was granted during the war to compensate for the 35 mile per hour speed limit. Put on a 40 mph basis after V-J day, with their 15 per cent increase eliminated, drivers were forced to work longer than prewar hours for prewar pay. A slash from \$70 to \$55 per week was typical.

WAGE DEMANDS

Overland Greyhound, a Southwestern associate, pays its drivers 5.4 cents per mile over the same routes on which local drivers were drawing only 4.25 cents at the time of the strike. The men are demanding 5.75 cents to compensate for increased living costs.

Striking employees, all of whom will benefit under the new contract, include porters, ticket sellers and other terminal workers. Company executives are selling tickets from sidewalk booths, as the picket line closes the Kansas City station.

Los Angeles
JOHN G. WRIGHT
Noted Marxist Writer
Translator of Trotsky's Works
will speak on
"The Meaning of the British Elections"
Saturday, Dec. 1—8 p.m.
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM
South Hall 843 S. Grand Ave.

Progressives Gain In Rubber Locals

(Continued from Page 1)

defeat Watson, the progressive forces emerged decisive victors at Firestone.

Nominations and elections at the third big local in Akron, Goodyear Local 2, will be held next week. C. V. Wheeler, incumbent president and courageous leader who defied the War Labor Board and the International top officers in a great strike prior to end of the war, will be opposed by an outright Stalinist bloc headed by John House, now an International organizer. At Goodyear, the Stalinists have their most efficient and largest machine.

By a constant campaign of provocations the Goodyear Co. has been trying to undermine the standing of C. V. Wheeler and his group of militants. The corporation is conducting a determined battle to destroy the 6-hour day. A recent ruling by the union, attempted to force Goodyear workers back to the 8-hour day. The company began to schedule 8-hour shifts, in violation of the agreement with the union. The workers replied by quitting after 6-hours work.

MILITANT'S ANSWER
In a half-page advertisement in the Akron Beacon Journal the union stated, "Local No. 2 has been forced time and time again to resist the abandonment of the six (6) hour day, and this

is just another attempt by the company to force their employees on an eight (8) hour day so they will not have to relinquish some of their FAT PROFITS in the form of a wage increase."

Wheeler, Bass, Watson and the presidents of General Local 9 and Mohawk Local 6, Wm. A. Nelson and Robert E. Force, are sponsors of a program for the rubber workers which calls for a 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. In a recently published statement they point out that the rubber companies increased their profits during the war by 612 per cent above their average annual earnings for 1936 to 1939. They also state that the OPA permitted the companies a 30 per cent price increase to take care of overtime pay which they are no longer paying due to the shortened work week.

All signs point to a showdown fight in the near future between the rubber workers who pioneered the great struggles of the 1930's for the CIO, and the profit-bloated rubber companies which are trying to destroy the unions and bring back starvation wage-levels. The election of Bass and Watson to two of the most important local union posts indicates that the rubber workers know the score and are preparing themselves for a fight for the strengthening of their unions and for higher wages and better conditions.