

No "Secrets" In Atomic Bomb

—See Page 7

THE MILITANT

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MILITARISTS PLAN NEW WAR

Greek Stalinists Slay Trotskyists

By Paul G. Stevens

News from Trotskyist sources in Greece indicates that the Stalinist betrayal of the masses in the Civil War last December was accompanied, and in some cases preceded, by a horrible massacre of hundreds of members of the Greek section of the Fourth International. The Greek Trotskyists had already lost many militants in the struggle against the Metaxas dictatorship before the war and against the Fascist and Nazi occupation during the war.

The program of the Greek Trotskyists called for the election of democratically elected committees in the factories and on the land, the formation of workers' militias and the carrying out of a working class policy both before and after the rout of the Nazis. They warned against the reactionary aims of the Allied imperialists and the Greek capitalists and urged the masses to distrust them and to rely only on their own independent strength in the struggle for their emancipation.

FEARED BY STALINISTS

For thus seeking to arm the masses against the plots of the bourgeoisie and its British sponsors, the Greek Trotskyists aroused the fear and the hatred of the Stalinists who controlled the ELAS and the EAM (Greek National Liberation Army and Front). Never permitting the masses to determine the policies of the EAM and the ELAS, the Stalinists held these organizations in a bureaucratic vise as organs of the "People's Front."

In this coalition the Communist Party bureaucrats yielded to the policies of Greek capitalism represented in the EAM by lawyers, politicians, old time labor skates, etc. The Trotskyist program of independent working class action, in a situation in which the masses were in ferment, constituted a definite danger to these "People's Front" machinations. In order to prevent the Trotskyists from gaining leadership of the masses, the Stalinists organized a GPU-type of police system known as the OPLA. Last October, the OPLA began a systematic campaign to stamp out the Greek Trotskyists. Honeycombing the local ELAS organizations with its secret police and agents-provocateur, the Stalinist OPLA ferreted out not only Trotskyists,

SWP Protests French Arrest Of Indo-Chinese

NEW YORK, Oct. 13. — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent the following cable to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Provisional Government:

"Socialist Workers Party strongly protests arrest of Dr. Tran Duc Tao and delegation of 42 representing 25,000 Indo-Chinese living in Paris. We demand their immediate release. We demand they be given full opportunity to put the case of the Indo-Chinese people fighting against imperialism to the French people and the peoples of the whole world. Imprisonment of the 42 will be interpreted only as an attempt to prevent understanding and co-operation between the masses in Indo-China and the people of France. Let the people of the world hear the voice of Free Indo-China."

but members of all political working class groups opposed to Stalinism.

The major blows of the OPLA were struck against our comrades and against another left wing organization of workers known as the Archo-Marxists. These murders took place in Salonica, where the ELAS was in complete control. This city was far from the actual front lines of the civil war. More than 230 revolutionists were slain in cold blood by the OPLA in Salonica alone last December. Not a single one of those slain was permitted even the formality of a court trial. There were no official indictments and no warrants for arrests.

In Athens, 31 leading Trotskyists, among them well-known (Continued on Page 3)

Stalinist Editor Budenz Deserts To The Church

By Art Preis

Louis Budenz, anti-Marxist and jingo patriot whom the Stalinists welcomed into their fold in 1935 and quickly elevated to top leadership, last week deserted the Communist Party for the "faith of my fathers, the Catholic Church."

His break and open declaration of warfare against communism as well as its Stalinist counterfeit was made to the capitalist press on Thursday, October 11, while his name still appeared as editor on the masthead of the Stalinist Daily Worker.

Accomplished in the dark of the night, Budenz' flight came as a stunning blow and an act of base ingratitude to the party which six years ago raised him to its national committee because of his outstanding record as a Trotskyist-baiter and slanderer of the genuine revolutionary communists.

DECADE OF "SERVICE"

To his Stalinist associates the blow was all the more devastating because Budenz had served the Communist Party so long and faithfully through a decade of twists and turns in its process of degeneration into an open agency of U. S. imperialism during the war.

After a stunned 24-hour silence, the Stalinist National Committee rigged up a statement in the October 12 Daily Worker to "explain" how so choice a product of their school had graduated into an avowed enemy of Marxism and joined the most virulent opponents of communism and vigorous defenders of capitalism.

With much beating of breasts, the Stalinist leaders, through their Chairman William Z. Foster, complained that "the promotion of a man with Budenz' record was a most serious error. Budenz came to our party after a prolonged period of participation in the Muste-Trotskyite movement."

The Daily Worker editorial board, in a simultaneous confession of "error," discovered that Budenz had been an "associate of Trotskyites as recently as ten years ago."

As "recently" as the day before (Continued on Page 8)

Planning The Third World War



Rank And File Dock Strikers Demand Own Negotiating Body

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Oct. 14.—Some 5,000 insurgent rank and file members of the AFL International Longshoremen's union at a meeting in Manhattan Center here this afternoon voted to accept Mayor LaGuardia's proposal for a state-supervised election to determine whether their own negotiating committee or that of ILA President Ryan will negotiate the new contract. A return to work is contingent on employers' acceptance of the proposal. Ryan and the employers are trying to forestall such an election by a back-to-work movement.

Special to THE MILITANT
By F. J. Lang

NEW YORK, Oct. 13.—An estimated 35,000 longshoremen here remained off the job today in the face of mounting pressure to get them back to work under the same rotten conditions prevailing 12 days ago when stevedoring companies ordered a lock-out of all gangs refusing to work under the unsafe conditions of no weight limit for sling loads.

The men are united in their main demands for a maximum 2,240 pounds sling load, two shape-ups a day for hiring on the docks instead of three, and double time for work during meal hours. BACKED BY SEAMEN Longshoremen's demands are being backed by seamen in both AFL and CIO unions. The CIO National Maritime Union has distributed leaflets along the waterfront solidifying itself with the rank and file longshoremen. Similarly, the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards and the independent Marine Firemen's union, both West Coast unions which man ships calling at this port, are supporting the longshoremen here. The AFL Seafarers Interna-

tional Union here officially notified all locals of the International Longshoremen's Association that "seamen would give any assistance necessary to win the beef."

That seamen's support was forthcoming was demonstrated when the crew of the "John H. Davey" operated by the American Hawaiian Steamship Co., refused to shift that ship to the Army Base in Brooklyn to be unloaded by troops. This ship was manned by members of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific on deck, the independent Marine Firemen's Union in the engine department, and the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards.

Further support came from longshoremen in Philadelphia where it was reported that Paul Baker, a vice president of the ILA, announced that no ships diverted from New York would be worked.

ENEMY LINE-UP Arrayed against the militant longshoremen were the employers, state and federal labor mediators, the Army brass hats, New York City's Mayor LaGuardia, and ILA International President Joseph P. Ryan. The stevedore companies have (Continued on Page 2)

Minneapolis Unions Picket Gerald L. K. Smith Meeting

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 3.—One hundred pickets carrying banners signed by AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhood leaders, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Socialist Workers Party and American Youth for Democracy, marched in protest before a Gerald L. K. Smith meeting at the Truth and Liberty Temple here last night.

This was the second meeting addressed by this fascist demagogue at the Church of Rev. C. A. Stadskev. In the past Stadskev provided audiences for Elizabeth Dilling and speakers from the violently anti-Semitic Anglo-Saxon Federation.

Minneapolis newspapers did not publicize the meeting and admission to the main body of the hall was by card or personal recognition. Speaking to audi-

ences of about 700, Smith delivered the usual anti-Semitic, anti-labor attacks, seeking especially to turn the veterans and the unemployed against the labor movement.

At the first meeting on Monday night, the Socialist Workers Party distributed leaflets exposing Smith's road as that leading to fascism. Also present were three pickets who carried banners unidentified by any organizational ties. These pickets distributed leaflets of Stalinist front organizations.

By Tuesday night, various pressures had begun to make themselves felt on the labor movement. The size of Smith's audience frightened labor leaders out of their ostrich-like policy of ignoring the meeting. The appeal of the NAACP to the CIO, (Continued on Page 2)

Possibility Of Peace Era Discounted By Marshall

Total Destruction of Mankind Threatened By Frightful New Atomic-Powered Weapons
By Joseph Hansen

The Third World War is already in the blueprint stage. Even before the official termination of the Second World War, Wall Street's newly-fledged military caste has projected the opening phases of another bloodbath so frightful and de-

Lockheed Union Aids Picketers In Movie Strike

BULLETIN

HOLLYWOOD, Oct. 12.—Picketing continued today at the struck Warner Bros. and Universal studios despite announcement finally by the NLRB that striking AFL Painters Local 1421 had won the collective bargaining election held last May. Herbert Sorrell, strike leader, said "Our picket lines will continue until the strike is settled" and all strikers are returned to work without discrimination, contracts with striking unions are renewed, and machinery established to settle future jurisdictional disputes.

Special to THE MILITANT
By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 11.—Police, who yesterday morning arrested hundreds of unarmed pickets at Warner Bros. Burbank studio, retreated in confusion today when at six a.m. sharp the first contingent of a mighty wave of thousands of Lockheed workers drove up dramatically and with flags flying joined the pickets.

Fifty carloads of AFL machinists, led by their president Thomas E. McNett, and displaying the banner of the International Association of Machinists and the American flag, paraded past the studio. Pickets (Continued on Page 8)

structive it can mean the end of mankind. This is the meaning of Gen. George C. Marshall's Biennial Report to the Secretary of War.

The General himself reveals what the Third World War will look like in its first few days. Referring to atomic power, he declares: "This discovery of American scientists can be man's greatest benefit. And it can destroy him. It is against the latter possibility that this nation must prepare or perish."

"Atomic power will affect the peaceful life of every individual on earth. And it will at the same time affect every instrument and technique of destruction.

"But the atomic bomb is not alone among the scientific advances that make the possibilities of the future so terrifying. The development of aircraft and rockets and electronics has become equally incredible. In order to prevent any possible misconception of the terrible potentialities of the future, I asked the Commanding General of the Army Air Forces to prepare an estimate of the capabilities of other modern weapons.

"His report is confined to the certainties but, as is obvious from the atomic bomb, the developments of the war have been so incredible that the wildest imagination will not project us far from the target in estimating the future."

Marshall then quotes from General Arnold's report on the (Continued on Page 2)

IN THE NEWS

Not Out Of Job Yet

Admiral Nimitz told a news conference in Washington on October 6 that the atom bomb will not mean the end of the Navy "in your lifetime and mine." It is just "another weapon which must be brought to the scene of action to be used. I see no way to get them there except by ships until we can project them from this continent to another."

Hero's Return

Discharged war veterans, most of whom have had little job training, "are having a hard time getting jobs that pay more than 65 cents an hour through a 44-hour week," admitted Col. McDermott, head of the New York Area Selective Service System. He related last week how a Wall Street firm requested veterans with "a record of self-discipline and responsibility" for jobs paying \$25 a week.

See Brighter Future

"Of all nations now discussing the atomic bomb, leadership in optimism is undoubtedly at the moment in the hands of Sweden. Scientific authorities in Sweden take the view that not only is protection against atomic bombs possible, but the way wherein this protection could be achieved is already perfectly obvious. Get yourself into a solid rock shelter deep under the earth, line it with lead and coat it thinly with cadmium, and you can snap your fingers at any atomic bomb that wanders along." (Harold Hobson in Christian Science Monitor, October 10.)

Scientific "Progress"

Dr. Irving Langmuir, General Electric physicist, expressing fear that Soviet Russian science might outstrip American "in 10 or 15 years," told a Senate committee on October 8 that among the things that may "hold us back" is the tendency toward "the 30-hour week."

Guess His Decision!

The War Department referred a letter from the world's largest cotton brokers, Anderson, Clayton & Co., for permission to open a branch in Osaka, Japan, to the State Department. There it was turned over to the head of the Economic Section, Will Clayton, senior partner of Anderson, Clayton & Co.

'Relief For The Rich' Tax Bill Passed

House Democrats and Republicans last week united by a vote of 343 to 10 to give the corporations and the high-income brackets, already hog-fat with war profits and tax rebates, a huge slice in taxes amounting to nearly seven billion dollars.

The new "relief for the greedy" bill was passed with almost record speed, the debate failing to consume the time allotted. Hearings on the bill had been closed and labor organizations had been barred from offering testimony on it.

So raw is the bill that even 13 Democrats who announced they were giving it "reluctant support" were impelled to confess that it "gives the lion's share of tax forgiveness to those who don't need it."

WINDFALL FOR RICH

The capitalist Representatives railroaded through the tax "relief" bill for the rich in the face of a protest from 15 labor and consumer groups, including the CIO, charging that the bill would "grant huge windfalls to the most prosperous corporations" while granting "only meager relief to low and middle income groups."

Chief provisions of the bill include a more than 35 per cent slash in corporation excess profits taxes in 1946 and complete elimination of such taxes in 1947, a ten per cent slice in corporation combined normal and surtax rates, repeal of the capital stock and declared value excess profits taxes and reduction of excise taxes on luxury goods such as furs, jewelry, high-priced liquors, etc.

"EQUAL" CUTS

In addition, the bill provides that all taxpayers, regardless of their income, receive an "equal" ten per cent flat cut in individ-

ual income taxes. Even so, as the bill would actually operate, the take-home income of a person making \$3,000 a year, for instance, would be increased only 3 per cent while that of a coupon-clipper snaring \$1,000,000 annually would be upped 90 per cent.

According to the findings of the Committee for a Progressive Tax Program, the present tax laws already provide for a \$1,000,000,000 tax rebate to just 650 of the biggest corporations. Total "carry-back and carry-forward" credits of \$25 billion are being allowed in tax refunds to corporations in case their profits fall below the high 1936-39 level.

SENATE SHARPENS KNIFE

The only concession to low-income earners in the tax bill would eliminate the infamous wartime income tax on the lowest income brackets, involving 12,000,000 of those earning less than \$2,000 down to \$500 annually. The total cut will amount to about \$300,000,000 as contrasted to nearly \$7 billion saved for the handful of rich and their corporations.

Even this concession is threat- (Continued on Page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

- Los Angeles Unions Vote to Picket Smith Meeting2
- British Dock Strike3
- Future Under Atom Bomb3
- Foster's "New" Line8
- COLUMNS AND FEATURES
- Trade Union Notes2
- International Notes3
- Veterans Problems4
- Workers Forum5
- Pioneer Notes5
- The Negro Struggle7
- Diary of Stelworker8
- Shoptalks on Socialism8

SWP'S STATEMENT ON BEN DAVIS EXPOSES STALINIST TRICKERY

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York councilman candidate of the Communist Party, threw a connoption fit in the pages of the Stalinist Daily Worker last week in an hysterical statement "reputing" Trotskyist support for his candidacy.

The Trotskyist Party, ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party, is calling upon the voters of Manhattan to designate Louise Simpson, Trotskyist candidate for City Council, as first choice, and to cast their second choice votes for Davis. Such procedure is common under the system of proportional representation governing the councilmanic elections.

This is a Trotskyist trick, screamed Davis, "to split the Negro and progressive vote and to prevent any Negro from being elected to the City Council." Let's see just who is tricking whom!

STALINIST DEAL

The Stalinists are so deeply involved in a shady deal with the bosses of Tammany Hall that they dare not tell the truth. It would be of benefit to the Negro and white workers of New York to throw a little light on the real tricksters.

There are four Negro councilmanic candidates for the borough of Manhattan. Louise Simpson is the candidate of the Trotskyist Party, Benjamin Davis of the Communist Party, Benjamin

F McLaurin of the Republican Party and Ruth Whaley of the Democratic Party.

Davis was first nominated as the Negro candidate of the Democratic Party and then publicly repudiated by Tammany for being a "communist." The Tammany bosses then proceeded to nominate Ruth Whaley as their Negro candidate to run AGAINST Davis! Wasn't that action deliberately designed to "split the Negro vote?" But neither the Communist Party nor Davis have uttered a mumbling word about that "trick" because they are in a shameful alliance with the Tammany corruptionists.

"SPLITTING VOTE"

Further! In the Sunday Worker of October 7, the Stalinists call upon the workers to vote: "In Manhattan, number 1 for Ben Davis and 2 for Eugene Connolly." Connolly is the white candidate of the Democratic Party in Manhattan. Why do the Stalinists designate the white Democratic candidate Connolly, as their second choice instead of the Negro Democrat, Whaley? Isn't that "splitting the Negro vote?"

On what principle do the Stalinists operate? If it is purely on the basis of preventing a split in the Negro vote then they would of necessity have to advocate that the voters cast their ballots for all four Negro candidates. Under proportional representation the voters can mark as many choices as they

Smith Denied San Diego Hall

Gerald L. K. Smith, one of America's leading native fascists, was barred October 9, from using a city high school as a meeting place in San Diego. The would-be fuhrer was scheduled to speak October 28 and Nov. 4. The San Diego city school board ruled against Smith when it was charged at hearings that his appearance might "provoke riots and damage school property."

Smith's difficulties in San Diego undoubtedly are a result of labor's growing opposition to his drive to establish a fascist government in America. In Detroit, on September 27, 1,000 pickets, called out by the CIO and supported by the Socialist Workers Party, demonstrated against the fascist demagogue.

want in the order of their preference; that is, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.

But Stalinist lip-service to the principle of Negro representation is nothing more than a hollow fraud. Their choices are made solely on the opportunist basis of political expediency.

They endorse Connolly instead of Whaley because the former is a well-known Stalinist stooge. They keep quiet about the Tammany "stab-in-the-back" to Davis because they are (Continued on Page 7)

Texas CIO Oil Militants Determined To Renew Wage Fight; Denounce Truman's Strikebreaking

Special to THE MILITANT

HOUSTON, Texas, Oct. 10.—Some 7,000 CIO Oil Workers Union militants of District 4, who were in the forefront of the spreading 15-state strike which Truman broke with his Navy "seizure" of struck refineries, returned to work during the past week determined to resume their struggle for a 30 per cent wage increase at the first opportunity.

The strikers in this area are particularly dissatisfied with the actions of the international union officials, headed by President O. A. Knight, for capitulating to the pressure of the government and ordering the men back to work.

It is feared that the administration's order for the union to submit its wage demands to the government's mercies will result in chiseling down possible gains that could have been won on the picket lines. "We struck for '52 For 40' and would have gotten it if the International hadn't let us down. And we'll get it yet!" many workers are saying.

Members of Locals 23, 207, 208, 227, 243, 316, 343, 367 and 449, scattered from Galveston and Port Arthur to Dallas and Fort Worth, fought in a magnificent fashion and brought down refinery after refinery. They shut off pipelines and storage terminals and defied strikebreaking forces of Rangers and State Guards ordered out by Governor Coke Stevenson and his sidekick, Lt. Gov. John Lee Smith, who is tied up with a fascist outfit called "Fight For Free Enterprise."

A vicious onslaught has been opened up against the oil union and its local leaders by the corporations. Now that the men have returned to work, the open shop companies have intensified their violations of OWIU contracts and launched a widespread paid advertising campaign in the newspapers against the union and its just wage demands.

Reprisals have begun against leading militants. Ray Andrus and other members of the Dis-

trict 4 Policy Committee were fired by the Texas Company in Port Arthur. Similar attempts to victimize leading militants are reported from Sinclair in Houston.

The men are bitter against the government strikebreaking. Business Agent Jeff Hickman of Shell Local 387, Houston, stated: "If the Government can, in peacetime, order men to work at the point of a bayonet, and make them work at the same terms and under the same conditions as before the strike was called, why it means we have just got through losing a war!"

Organized labor in Texas is seething. At this writing, some 31,000 workers in numerous industries and trades are manning the picket lines.

Ranks Demand Own Committee In Dock Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

refused to budge on the longshoremen's demands. State and federal mediators have been up and down the waterfront talking to rank and file longshoremen in an effort to inspire a back-to-work movement on the employers' terms—"so that differences can be negotiated." Army officials have ordered troops to discharge ships, and gangs of officers have volunteered to work cargo.

Mayor LaGuardia took to the air last Friday in an effort to stampee longshoremen back to work. Unable to broadcast any concessions on the part of the employers, the Mayor tried to tell longshoremen that they were holding up return of troops from Europe and preventing food shipments to the starving people there.

REVOLT AGAINST RYAN

Joseph P. Ryan, who had agreed to the conditions of the employers against which the longshoremen are in revolt, is now trying to drive stevedores back to work on the basis of LaGuardia's promise that some concessions will be granted within one week. He hopes in this way to regain control over the longshoremen.

Leadership of the longshoremen shifted last week from Chelsea Local 791 of the ILA in Manhattan, which was the first victim of the employers' lockout, as five insurgent Brooklyn locals made a bid for leadership. These locals have repudiated Ryan and elected a rank and file committee, headed by William E. Warren, to negotiate with the employers.

This rank and file committee notified LaGuardia yesterday that "Ryan and his so-called negotiating committee do not speak for the men and are not authorized to make any settlement."

INSURGENTS MEET

A mass meeting has been called by the insurgents for Sunday, October 14, at Manhattan Center to elect a full rank and file negotiating committee. The meeting will decide whether to continue the revolt against Ryan's leadership by refusing to work under conditions dictated by the employers, or to return to work for a limited period of one week pending further negotiations on the part of Ryan and the bosses.

Regardless of the outcome of this meeting, the longshoremen here are expected to demand a settlement of the issues which have kept them off the job for 12 days now. They are not likely to go to work permanently under a contract that fails to fix safe load limits.

N. Y. Longshore Strike Rally



Rank and file insurgents in New York dock strike at open-air rally in Brooklyn. They are opposing the attempt of Joseph Ryan, AFL International Longshoremen's Association president, to impose a new contract that fails to contain the workers' demands, including safe sling-loads.

SKF Strikers Fight International Trust

Special to THE MILITANT

By M. Garber

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 11.—The two-week old strike at the Philadelphia plants of the notorious SKF international roller-bearing trust has turned into a basic struggle for unionism in this area. The company, in a slanderous and lying statement which appeared in the local press as a paid advertisement, falsely charged that the union had refused to negotiate and declared a lockout until the workers were ready to return to work on the company's terms.

CIO United Steel Workers Local 2898 gave a fitting answer to this hypocritical company propaganda at a rousing mass meeting, over 1,000 strong, in the Kensington Labor Lyceum on October 4. A long list of speakers, representing the Philadelphia CIO, declared their support of the strike and characterized the struggle of the SKF workers as the key fight for unionism in Philadelphia and its outlying districts.

Steve Root, president of Local 2898 and chairman of the meeting, announced that a meeting of presidents from all the steel workers' locals, held the day before, had voted to give moral and financial support to the SKF local. Representatives from the United Electrical Workers, Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, Transport Workers and Steel Workers organization staff, pledged all-out aid in what they agreed was a test case for union labor.

STRONG SUPPORT

James Price, secretary-treasurer of Local 107, UFW, presented the strikers with a check of \$100 on behalf of his organization. He stated his union was ready to go all the way to bring union-busting SKF to the realization that unionism was here to stay. "You are fighting for the entire CIO," Price declared, "and we not only cheer your fight but are ready to participate with you."

One of the highlights of the meeting was the militant speech of Jimmy Jones, colored Steel Workers organizer and head of the CIO Anti-Discrimination Committee. Jones pointed out how in every strike in which he had participated, the solidarity of white and negro workers had foiled attempts of the bosses to divide the workers' ranks and brought victory to the union forces. "You are leading the fight for unionism in this town. It's a test case for union labor."

STEEL LEADER SPEAKS

The participation of Casimir Miller, regional Steel Workers Director, as the main speaker at the meeting, decisively refuted the company charge that the SKF strike did not have the support of the national organization. Miller assured the strikers that the national union was behind them. He indicted the company as an old hand at union-busting and recited the shameful history of this union-busting corporation from the attempts to organize it in 1935-36.

SKF, utilizing its stooge company union, company thugs, paid police and bribed politicians, succeeded in breaking the early

Generals Blueprint A Third World War

(Continued from Page 1)

"certainties" of the Third World War: "Bombers capable of carrying 20,000 pounds of bombs to targets 1,600 miles away at speeds of 350 miles an hour and altitudes of over 35,000 feet. . . . Within the next few years jet-propelled bombers capable of flying 500 to 600 miles an hour to targets 1,600 miles away at altitudes of over 40,000 feet.

"Development of even greater bombers capable of operating at stratospheric altitudes and speeds faster than sound and carrying bomb loads of more than 100,000 pounds already is a certainty. These aircraft will have sufficient range to attack any spot on the earth and return to a friendly base. . . . At this very moment we are making a single bomb weighing 45,000 pounds to keep pace with the bomber, already under construction, which will carry such a load. . . . We can direct rockets to targets by electronic devices and new instruments which guide them accurately to sources of heat, light, and magnetism.

"Drawn by their own fuses such new rockets will streak unerringly to the heart of big factories, attracted by the heat of the furnaces. They are so sensitive that in the space of a large room they aim themselves toward a man who enters, in reaction to the heat of his body.

ANNIHILATION IN HOURS

"All of these weapons and their possible combinations make the air approaches of a country the points of extreme danger. Many Americans do not yet understand the full implication of the formless rubble of Berlin and of the cities of Japan. With the continued development of weapons and techniques now known to us, the cities of New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, or San Francisco may be subject to annihilation from other continents in a matter of hours."

Marshall declares there is no effective defense except the "power of attack." Men are needed, he says, to come to "close grips with the enemy and tear his operating bases and his productive establishment away from him. . . . Citing the rocket showers that fell on Britain until the close of the war, he continues:

"Such is the pattern of war in the 20th Century. If this nation is ever again at war, suffering, as Britain did in this war, the disastrous attacks of rocket-propelled weapons with explosive power like our own atomic bomb, it will bleed and suffer perhaps to the point of annihilation, unless we can move armies of men into the enemy's bases of operations and seize the sites from which he launches his attacks."

As for the possibilities of peace, General Marshall is derisive; "If man does find the solution for world peace it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his re-

Los Angeles Unions Vote To Picket Fascist Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

At this meeting, Connelly advocated "peaceful" picketing, "no violence," and viciously attacked the Trotskyists, slandering the Socialist Workers Party as "troublemakers." (In Detroit picketing of a Smith meeting was peaceful until police began clubbing pickets).

Connelly attacked the Socialist Workers Party leaflet which asked the Los Angeles working class to support the anti-fascist picket line.

Local Los Angeles of the Socialist Workers Party has launched an intensive campaign to rally all anti-fascist organizations in support of the October 17 picket line.

The subscription drive of The Militant was utilized to activate sentiment against Smith. The Local is issuing press releases, telegrams and resolutions, making wide mailings and conducting a telephone campaign. A mass protest delegation is scheduled to appear October 15 at the School Board to demand revocation of Smith's permit to use school property as a rostrum.

At a public rally tonight, spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party will discuss the struggle against Smith and native fascism.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Steel Negotiations

Last week in Pittsburgh the CIO Steelworkers opened negotiations with the Big Steel corporations for a \$2 a day general wage increase. Meanwhile, USA - CIO President Philip Murray is spreading his usual caution that the negotiations may be "prolonged" and for the workers not to get "impatient."

An article by Paul Schremp in the Lorain (O.), Labor Leader, organ of Steel Local 1104, indicates Murray's fears that the steel workers may not exercise the "restraint" they did during the war when they wound up with no basic gains after four years of Murray's fiddling with the WLB and his no-strike policy.

"Everyone knows there is a good deal of unrest in other organizations that are bargaining for increases," writes Schremp. "It is the desire of Philip Murray to conduct the conferences in as speedy a manner as possible in order to keep the Steelworkers from becoming impatient. His theory is that all other ways and means be exhausted before any drastic action is recommended."

We think that before Murray exhausts his numerous devices for attempting to curb the union ranks from effective militant action there is a great likelihood that his pussyfooting tactics will exhaust the patience of the steel workers.

Murray Local Wins

Little publicity, if any, appeared in the capitalist press about the outcome of the Murray Corporation strike in Detroit which ended on September 26 with a complete victory for Local 2, CIO United Automobile Workers.

The 3,100 strikers won their five demands against the company's attempt to override contract provisions and declare the contract inoperative.

Like the Kelsey-Hayes workers, the Murray workers confronted a united strikebreaking front of the automotive corporations, government and top UAW officials. But they conducted a brilliant and solid strike, knowing full well that if they permitted the company to toss the contract out the window their union would have been cut to pieces in short order. Their victory helped materially to bolster the courageous six-week strike of the Kelsey-Hayes workers.

Elevator Strike

New York City's elevator operators, who several weeks ago tied up Manhattan's loft and office buildings in a week-long strike backed by a million and a half workers who refused to cross picket lines, were awarded their major wage and hour demands by a decision of arbitrator George Frankenthaler, former New York Supreme Court Justice.

His decision reversed a ruling of the Regional WLB, which had thrown out a recommendation of its own panel granting the demands of the workers and had

thereby provoked the strike. Only the decisive and militant action of the elevator operators won this speedy decision, although it will no doubt be attributed to the process of "arbitration."

The agreement, which it appears the officials of AFL Building Service Employees Local 32-B are prepared to accept, also includes provisions for a 10-year arbitration set-up to handle disputes in the future. This the press has tried to misrepresent as a 10-year no-strike pledge.

The actual terms provide for arbitration procedure which must bring in a decision within 45 days following expiration of the 3-year contract. If this decision is not accepted by the union, it has no commitment not to strike. As is the case with all such set-ups, however, it can be used for chiseling down the demands of the workers, prolonging negotiations, stalling off militant union action, and encouraging government intervention.

Feels Pretty Gloomy

Daniel J. Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters and a leading labor stooge of the Democratic Party, reflects the anxiety of the labor bureaucracy. Long tied to the capitalist political machines, he suffers as the movement for a labor party grows.

In the October issue of his organ, International Teamster, Tobin appeals to his fellow Democrats, including the virulent labor-haters from the South, for "more understanding of the pulse of labor. . . before it is too late," and the workers kick the Democratic Party overboard—a prospect that Tobin looks upon with grave foreboding.

Tobin is not so sure that it isn't already too late to cover up the reactionary Democrats with a new coat of "pro-labor" whitewash, for he concedes "at this time it is not an even bet, and with strikes and unemployment increasing, the outlook may get even more gloomy."

Gloomy for whom? Tobin and the capitalist politicians of the workers who are moving to free themselves from control of the capitalist political machines?

Labor Party

That sentiment for a labor party in America is growing among the union ranks is evidenced by comments appearing in many local union papers. An example is an excellent article by Edwin Hastings in the September '190' Bulletin, organ of Newark, N. J. Local 190, AFL Federation of Post Office Clerks.

Hastings explains the significance of the British Labor Party victory and points out that labor must be organized politically as a class, instead of following the present bankrupt policy of the labor leaders who "hustle and bustle around the conventions and succeed in having both major (capitalist) parties write into their platforms wage phrases which pass for labor planks."

House Adopts Tax Bill To Aid Rich Parasites

(Continued from Page 1)

ened with elimination by the Senate. Democratic Senator George, head of the Senate Finance Committee, has announced he opposes lifting taxes on those too poor to pay surtaxes, while he is pressing for complete abolition this year of the corporation excess profits tax.

Prior to passing the tax bill, the House voted to shelve all legislation on unemployment compensation.

IN THE COMING

New York Elections

VOTE AGAINST:

- Capitalist Hunger
- Capitalist Misery
- Capitalist War

VOTE FOR:

- Socialist Plenty
- Socialist Prosperity
- Socialist Peace

DOBBS & SIMPSON!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Greece

The continued political crisis in Greece precipitated the resignation of the Petros Voulgaris cabinet on October 9. The Voulgaris regime, set up by the Allies in conjunction with Greek reaction, resigned with the declaration that the majority of Greeks opposed elections scheduled for January 25.

Constantin Tsaldaris, one of the heads of the Populist Party, spoke for retention of the Voulgaris regime in office. A change, he said, would be contrary to Allied views. Installed against the will of the Greek people, the Voulgaris cabinet has slavishly carried out the will of the British, whose bayonets constitute its principal support.

Japan

A spreading coal strike, the first in a generation, was reported by The Associated Press, October 8. Some 6,000 Koreans walked out of the coal mines near the city of Sapporo on the northernmost island of Hokkaido. The demands of the miners were not listed, although the strike was spreading to nearby mines. This strike can have great symptomatic importance, indicating the revival of the organized labor movement in Japan.

The formal launching of new Japanese seamen's unions was scheduled for October 5 at Osaka. Tokyo transport workers, including all the city's streetcar and bus employees, are organizing. Approximately 500,000 workers of the government-owned railroads are also forming trade unions.

In China thousands of Japanese soldiers are reported deserting to the Chinese Communists. Eighth Route Army, Japanese general Tan Takahashi, declared that in Peiping desertions from his forces were increasing daily and that the "morale" of his men was very low.

Trotskyists In Greece Killed By Stalinist Murder Gangs

(Continued from Page 1) murders made possible the compromise which entrenched the reactionary monarchists with the aid of British tanks and planes. The elimination of the Trotskyists was followed by the terror which has since reigned against all workers and peasants in Greece.

TROTSKYIST PROGRAM But even though white, the Greek section of the Fourth International has survived the terror. And now that the masses are stirring once more, the Trotskyists in Greece are again in the vanguard of the workers' struggle.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

position to imperial rule." The crowd of 600 "waved Red flags and Korean independence banners while Communist Kyuichi Tokuda urged overthrow of the imperial system." Many of the political prisoners had been held without charge for as long as 10 to 20 years for criticism of the Japanese government.

India

The struggle of the people of India for freedom from British imperialist rule has given rise to a series of incidents in Bombay. On August 23, according to the London "Times," the Government of Bombay "declared illegal seven organizations and several other bodies in the Satara district . . . Three hundred persons have been arrested after continued lawlessness and atrocities in this area."

On September 28, the Associated Press reported "rioting" broke out, the "worst since 1940." Public assemblies were prohibited and police squads were stationed at "strategic points." By October 1 casualties had risen to 31 killed and 152 injured.

The frightful conditions in India under British domination are eloquently described in the British "New Leader" of September 22. A cable from the paper's Bombay correspondent likens India to "a huge concentration camp." The ban on public meetings, continues the "New Leader," "is being lifted only tardily, while such organizations as the Congress Socialist Party are still unlawful in 10 out of the 11 provinces. Many Congressmen are still in prison."

Despite the end of the war, "life is exactly as it has been in the last three nightmare years. Bombay's 150,000 citizens sleep on the pavements while the fighting personnel, Government officials, police, etc., continue to occupy requisitioned houses and blocks of flats, even though recently the Bombay High Court declared that the Government's requisitioning orders were illegal.

MINERS IN VANGUARD This demonstration of international solidarity is linked directly with the miners' vanguard position in the struggle against the Belgian capitalists and their monarchy and for the establishment of a republic with workers' democracy as its base.

COMRADES DAVISTER OF CHARLEROI, Malenkaev of the Borinage and Victor Bougard of An-

Biggest Dock Strike Since 1926 Sweeps Harbors Of Great Britain

Seamen Picket Dutch Consulate In San Francisco

(Special to The Militant) SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 2.—In a display of international solidarity, American seamen joined with Indonesian seamen today in picketing the Netherlands Consulate's large and swanky offices in the financial district.

Together with their American fellow-workers Indonesian seamen from Dutch ships in the harbor, wearing red and white armbands, their national colors, publicized the conditions imposed upon them by the foreign imperialists. Picket signs read: "Smash Dutch Imperialism," "Average Indonesian Income 1939—2 1/2 cents a Day," "Indonesian Seaman Get \$17 a Month," "Protest Sending Troops to Enslave Indonesia," "Down With Oppression."

RESOLUTION TO COUNCIL

A committee from the picket line handed the Consul a resolution calling on the Dutch government to "let the Indonesians determine their own government" and "refrain from the use of terror in Indonesian affairs." Represented in the picket lines were members of the National Maritime Union, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Marine Firemen and other individual trade-unions. Resolutions of support for Indonesian independence have been passed by the CIO Council and the Bay Cities Metal Trades Council.

Belgian Miners Solidarize With German Workers

With demonstrations of international solidarity, Europe's workers are beginning to reply to the dastardly attempt of the Allied imperialists to impose slave labor conditions upon the German masses. Thus, a plan hatched by the Belgian capitalists to send 30,000 German prisoners of war into slavery in the coal pits of that country has been met with sharpest protest from the Belgian miners.

IN THE VANGUARD OF THIS protest movement are the coal diggers of Charleroi, the Borinage and Anderlues, where the influence of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire, Belgian Section of the Fourth International, is particularly strong.

The August 11 La Lutte Ouvriere, the PCR paper in the Charleroi region, reports the following action taken by miners assembled at their pitheads at Pit No. 3 and Pit No. 6 in the Anderlues area:

"(We) protest against the introduction of German prisoners into the mines;

"Declare that their place is in the mines, factories and shops of Germany and that the aim of the capitalist leaders, in sending the prisoners down into the mines, is directed above all towards sabotaging the workers' resistance (to capitalist exploitation);

"Declare that (we) will work together with them (the Germans) only on the condition that they enjoy the same working conditions as the Belgian miners and above all, the same right of (trade union) organization."

COMRADES DAVISTER OF CHARLEROI, Malenkaev of the Borinage and Victor Bougard of An-

Picketing The Dutch Consulate



Indonesian seamen, backed by members of American maritime unions, picket the Dutch consulate in San Francisco. These supporters of the newly-declared Republic of Indonesia are protesting Allied attempts to reinstate despotic Dutch imperialist rule in Java. Photo by THE MILITANT

Allies Tightening Grip On Far East

The struggle of the colonial people of the Far East for freedom from imperialist rule, continued this week in the face of mounting military pressure as the Allies landed thousands of fresh troops.

The Australian Government joined in the persecution of the independence fighters. The Melbourne radio reported October 11 that 207 Indonesian seamen who had refused to man Dutch ships bound to the East Indies with military supplies, were sentenced to six months imprisonment. In the Australian Senate, William A. Brand urged action against distributors of pamphlets headed "Hands Off the Indonesian Republic."

USING A TRUCE In Indo-China, the British and French have taken advantage of a truce with the Indo-Chinese nationalists to land several units of French troops and 7,000 more British troops. Meanwhile Paris and London reached agreement that the French shall continue their despotic sovereignty over Indo-China.

The truce seems already to have ended. Japanese troops acting under British orders killed 80 Indo-Chinese and wounded 150 in a foray October 10, while an Annamite official declared that "negotiations" had broken down. Allied Gen. Gracey told the Annamites that any interference with movements of British troops would be met with force. Five British officers and men were killed by the Indonesians October 12.

FIFTY KILLED At Soerabaja, 50 persons were reported killed and 150 wounded in fighting between nationalists and Japanese soldiers acting under Allied orders.

On October 11 a crowd of risings were the result of the dissatisfaction of the population, not of agitation. After the uprisings were crushed he and his co-thinkers intensified their propaganda for Indonesian nationalism. They realized, and said so, that the masses had been made organization-ripe by their experiences with the communists and were looking for leadership.

In 1927 the Partai Nasional Indonesia was officially launched. Its first aim was political independence. Only then could the entire structure of the Indonesian society be connected. Soekarno always stressed that this aim could only be achieved through a conscious popular movement which relies on its own strength lies in the lowest layers of the people. When the whole people agrees with us freedom will not be far off," he said. He would start almost every speech with an explanation of why the Dutch came to the Indies, not to spread civilization, but to "fill their rumbling stomachs."

UTOPIAN PROGRAM The program of the PNI was, like that of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, to create a state within a state, to create for every institution of the Dutch an equivalent to take over. At one of the meetings where this program was explained a man in the audience arose to ask how the speaker proposed to achieve this without landing in the concentration camp Boven-Digoel. A shrewd question. It was of course

deludes are particularly singled out by the Stalinists in their attacks because of the increasing support and prestige these comrades are gaining; through their activities among the miners.

In their biggest strike since 1926, British dock workers from London to Glasgow have hung up their cargo hooks. Approximately 45,000 are out. Principal demands of the strikers are a basic wage of 25 shillings (\$5) a day and a 44-hour guaranteed work week. But the political significance of the strike far transcends the importance of these immediate demands.

The strike is taking place against the sabotage of the official trade union leaders who are closely linked with the Labor Party officialdom. It is a rank and file movement of tremendous proportions.

Attlee, head of the Labor Government, ordered out troops to break the strike. The trade union officials are covering up for Attlee by blaming the strike on "agitators" and trying to start a back-to-work movement. Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union blamed the Revolutionary Communist Party (the British Trotskyists) for engineering the strike from behind the scenes.

TROTSKYIST REPLY

The RCP, according to an October 12 Reuters dispatch, responded that this charge was "a miserable falsification . . . The dockers have already given their answer to this nonsense by their vote of no confidence in the union leaders . . . If Deakin and company were to use the same energy in opposing the employers as they are using to undermine the workers' struggles; and, if the Labor Government were to use the troops to end the sabotage of the owners instead of lowering the standards of the dockers, the strike would be over tomorrow."

By way of contrast to this militant support of the strikers, the British Stalinists are pleading in leaflets to the picket lines to heed the voice of the strike-breaking officialdom.

The dock workers are among the most militant of those sections of the populace who voted the Labor Government to power last July. They were voting for socialism. The Attlee administration, however, continued the main policies of Churchill and has delayed instituting the reforms which it advocated in its election platform. Now the workers are beginning to resort to direct action. This was predicted in the September Fourth International, American Trotskyist monthly.

The heads of the Labor Party in power, said the Fourth International, "will be compelled to expose themselves with startling speed." As one of the results, "the hundreds of thousands of workers newly awakened to political life will begin resorting to direct action to achieve their demands. Thus the Labor Party victory means above all that England stands on the verge of a new stormy development of the class struggle."

The Struggle Against The Belgian Monarchy

By Felix Morrow

King Leopold III, who by a law adopted July 18 by the Belgian parliament, is forbidden to return except with parliament's consent, defiantly began on October 3 a new campaign to return, issuing a manifesto which attempted to justify his meeting with Hitler.

In flagrant violation of the anti-Leopold law of July 18, the manifesto was distributed in Belgium by the official Belgian News Agency, which is subsidized by the government. It is new proof that the so-called constitutional monarchy has only contempt for the constitution and the will of the people. It is new proof that the mere barring of the return of Leopold, leaving intact the institution of the monarchy now presided over by Prince Baudoin as Regent, did not solve the crisis which convulsed Belgium for months.

The leaders of the Belgian Labor Party and the Communist Party, sitting in the Cabinet together with royalists, were responsible for saving the monarchy during months when the workers plainly indicated they wanted the monarchy abolished. As against the reformist parties, the Revolutionary Communist Party, Belgian section of the Fourth International, rallied the workers under the central slogan of immediate proclamation of the republic.

LIMITED DEMAND

A test of the real sentiments of the masses came on June 25, when the Labor and Communist parties, forced to yield to the workers' desire for mass action, called a mass demonstration in the industrial center of Charleroi to demand Leopold's abdication, i.e., continuation of the monarchy in the form of the regency of Leopold's brother. Over 10,000 workers came out in spite of the limited character of the demand.

Our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party entered the demonstration with their own slogans and were able to report a signal success: "From the beginning, the slogans launched by our comrades of Charleroi: 'Leopold to prison,' 'Down with the monarchy,' 'For the republic,' were taken up by the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators," reports the July 14 La Lutte Ouvriere.

Our comrades followed up this success by issuing a manifesto and many leaflets distributed throughout Belgium, headed by three main slogans: "For the Republic"; "Down with civil mobilization" (this refers to war-

time laws, freezing of wages, etc.); "Throw out the Capitalist Ministers." (This would transform the government into one comprising the Labor and Communist parties.)

Fearful of the growth of republican sentiment, the government prohibited a mass demonstration called for July 15—although it was called by the parties sitting in the government! Yet, as our Belgian comrades were able to show in their leaflets, the return of the king had been prevented thus far only by the direct action of the workers—strikes, demonstrations and mass meetings.

WHITEWASHING KING The Labor and Communist parties opposed Leopold's return purely on patriotic grounds. Our comrades, on the other hand, explained to the workers the real aims of Leopold's return. Whitewashing him would mean also whitewashing the bankers and industrialists who had collaborated with Hitler and who today are forced to hide in the background. Thus the collaborationist bourgeoisie and the "non-collaborationist" bourgeoisie would be openly united for an assault on the labor movement.

Our comrades reminded the workers of how, behind the pretense of being merely a constitutional monarch subordinate to parliament, the king can dictate the composition of the cabinet. They cited the example of February 1939, when Leopold threatened to form a cabinet of "technicians"—the classic formula for a dictatorship—and thereby forced the cowardly leaders of the Labor Party to accept Leopold's candidate for Prime Minister, Pierlot.

One Trotskyist leaflet pointed out how the same battle is being fought elsewhere in Europe: "Throughout Europe the popular masses are rising against the monarchies: in Greece, the fighters of the EAM are struggling to prevent the return of King George; in Italy, the House of Savoy is condemned by the immense majority of the masses; in Yugoslavia, the heroic partisans oppose the return of the Royal House; in Rumania and Bulgaria the anger is great against the monarchy which shamelessly collaborated with Hitler; there are moves to impose anew kings on Austria and Spain but there, too, the great masses make clearly heard their absolute opposition to the crowned parasites who are the zealous servitors of capitalist reaction.

"The working class, followed by the masses as a whole, reject the monarchy not in the name of constitutional principles, but because everywhere the monarchy constitutes the most dangerous spearhead of coups d'etat of capitalist reaction."

LABOR PROGRAM The Trotskyists call upon the Labor Party members to force their leaders to carry out the party's own program:

"The Belgian Labor Party claims that it has never abandoned the slogan of the republic, which remains inscribed in its program. Today it is time to demand its realization. A real united front of all the workers' parties and of the new trade union federation would be able to prevent the king's return, obtain the proclamation of the republic, and the speedy convocation of a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage."

Such a united front must not be limited to top committees, explains the manifesto of our comrades, but in every locality should be formed by elected delegates of the workers from the factories and places of work.

These united front committees would organize workers' militias to disarm the fascist and royalist bands; would see to it that popular tribunals are formed to punish the fascists and collaborators; prepare immediately the electoral lists for the voting for the Constituent Assembly; establish workers' control over economy and over the government of the Communist and Labor parties.

Thus the struggle for the republic and the Constituent Assembly, correctly carried on, is in reality a class struggle for all the needs of the workers. Our comrades are sure that if the workers will take the road of mass action for these demands, it will result in a great stride forward to socialism.

Indonesia Movement For Independence Has Long Tradition Of Militant Struggle

By Ratna Soemanti

(The Second of Two Articles)

The engineer Soekarno is undoubtedly the most respected and ablest leader of the Indonesian nationalist movement has so far produced. His popularity and influence can be gauged from the violence of the attacks and accusations which the Dutch officials hurl at this man who has followed a consistent and uncompromising course since he began his political activity as a young man of 19.

Soekarno, then a student at the Technical college in Bandoeng (Java), founded the Bandoeng Study Club, constituting mostly ex-members of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, now returned to the Indies. They immediately injected a radical and anti-collaborationist tone into the publications and meetings of this and other study clubs. Soekarno proclaimed that Indonesian political problems should be seen in an inter-Asiatic framework and be solved in cooperation with other Asiatic peoples. During the days of the Chinese revolution he proposed affiliation to the Chinese movement.

In 1926 during the Communist uprisings in Java and Sumatra, he pointed out in speeches and in the press that the up-

risings were the result of the dissatisfaction of the population, not of agitation. After the uprisings were crushed he and his co-thinkers intensified their propaganda for Indonesian nationalism. They realized, and said so, that the masses had been made organization-ripe by their experiences with the communists and were looking for leadership.

In 1927 the Partai Nasional Indonesia was officially launched. Its first aim was political independence. Only then could the entire structure of the Indonesian society be connected. Soekarno always stressed that this aim could only be achieved through a conscious popular movement which relies on its own strength lies in the lowest layers of the people. When the whole people agrees with us freedom will not be far off," he said. He would start almost every speech with an explanation of why the Dutch came to the Indies, not to spread civilization, but to "fill their rumbling stomachs."

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COMRADES DAVISTER OF CHARLEROI, Malenkaev of the Borinage and Victor Bougard of An-

Utopian to think that the Dutch would sit idly by while the Nationalists were quietly building their own organs of power to oust the Dutch.

The enthusiasm of the crowds attending PNI meetings, the bold and contemptuous tone of the speakers which broke down the respect for the white man, all this became too dangerous for the imperialists. In 1930 Soekarno and three other PNI leaders were arrested and imprisoned for two years. In 1932 after his release Soekarno was again arrested and exiled to the Island of Flores without trial. There he remained in spite of urgent requests from nationalist circles that he be permitted to return to Java in the crisis preceding the Japanese conquest.

OPPOSES JAPANESE RULE

The Dutch knew better than to let him return. Other exiles had expressed their support of the Dutch government against Japan, but no such word had come from Soekarno. He remained consistently anti-collaborationist. His return to Java under Japanese domination is advanced by Dutch officialdom as proof that he was a turncoat "communist one day, fascist the next." This is absurd. He returned to the center of political life the moment it became possible for him. If he had any illusion, due to his earlier pan-Asiatic ideas, that the defeat of the Dutch by the Japanese would mean an end to oppression and complete independence for In-

onesia, he shows no trace of it now.

In an interview he explained that the Japanese had been friendly to the nationalist movement but permitted independence only within the framework of their "co-prosperity sphere," which he declared was unacceptable as Dutch promises of autonomy within the framework of the empire. "We don't like Japanese oppression and we don't want Dutch oppression either. This is no racial movement against the whites, nor do we have anything against the Dutch as a people. We are only fighting the Dutch colonial system."

MUST DEFEND INDONESIANS

Thus the Indonesian nationalist movement as it emerges today, far from being Japanese-inspired, is in reality a continuation of the movement which arose after the defeated communist uprisings in 1926 and which was suppressed in 1930 with an unbroken anti-collaborationist record. The confidence of the masses in a movement which has no record of betrayal will be important moral capital when the final struggle for independence begins with the arrival of Dutch troops.

We Marxists have profound ideological and practical differences with Nationalists which will need to be taken up as events unfold.

But the first task is to defend the national independence movement against the slanderous attacks of the imperialists.

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

—Leon Trotsky

Pierre Frank

The deportation order now pending against Pierre Frank, a French Socialist living in London, should arouse every supporter of civil liberties and fundamental democratic rights.

In 1939 Pierre Frank opposed the imperialist war. He was forced to leave France as a political refugee because of this opposition. In 1941 the Churchill government issued an order for his deportation. But it was never enforced, and Herbert Morrison, Secretary of the Home Office, assured Frank he would not be sent back to France.

However, within two weeks after the Labor Party came to power, Frank was informed that he would be deported the following month. No official written order was handed this opponent of the capitalist system. The cowardly officials wished to accomplish their aim without assuming responsibility. They tried to get Frank to sign an application form for an "exit permit" to France. When he refused, the police took his French passport, his alien registration book, and changed his identity card for a provisional one valid only until November 15, 1945.

Several Members of Parliament have taken up his case and are protesting the deportation proceedings. Hence the case has been taken out of the hands of the police and now rests with the Home Office. An extension has been granted Frank, according to a verbal report given one of the MP's interested in the case. But Frank has heard nothing from either the Home Office or the police. His papers are thus officially valid only until November 15.

The British working class voted for socialism when they put the Labor Party in power. But in persecuting Pierre Frank, the heads of the Labor Government are violating the most elementary democratic rights. Instead of enforcing Churchill's deportation order against Pierre Frank, it is the duty of the Labor Government to quash the proceedings.

Protests to the British Embassies and British Government are in order. Demand the right of political asylum for Pierre Frank!

Labor Solidarity

"An injury to one is an injury to all!" That is a most dynamic and powerful principle of organized labor. That principle has further proved its worth in a number of recent labor struggles.

Last week, in Hollywood, motion picture studio and city police assaulted peacefully picketing studio workers. A mighty outpouring of Lockheed aircraft workers came to the aid of the strikers and forced the police to retreat.

Several weeks ago in Cleveland strike pickets at the Parker Appliance company were ridden down and clubbed by mounted police. Thousands of workers from neighboring plants, AFL and CIO, rushed to the picket line and forced a halt to police violence and strikebreaking.

In New York City, AFL and CIO seamen last week refused to move ships into the harbor for unloading by troops in the dock workers strike.

In Akron a few weeks ago, 15,000 CIO rubber workers in the Goodrich plant refused to cross picket lines of supervisory employes fighting for collective bargaining rights.

A million and a half Manhattan workers backed up the recent victorious strike of 15,000 AFL elevator workers.

With sound instinct, the workers everywhere are learning to use the potent weapon of labor solidarity. They don't ask whether the strikers are AFL or CIO, white or black. They know an injury to one worker, in any union, anywhere, is an injury to all.

Labor's enemies know the meaning of class solidarity. When any workers dare to strike for just demands, all the bosses and all their agents line up in solid ranks to fight them.

The kept press and radio propagandists pour out their lies and rumors to divide and deceive and demoralize the workers.

Company police and thugs, city and state armed forces join in attempting to smash the workers with violence and intimidation.

All the capitalist government agencies send in their "mediators" and "conciliators" to

swindle the workers out of the gains they might win on the picket lines. But the workers—united in program and action—are so overwhelming and mighty they can beat back any attack. That is the meaning of labor solidarity.

Bring Them Back Home!

On September 13 Lieut. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, U. S. Commander in China, revealed that American troops might be used in China. "The object of bringing in American troops would be to maintain order and facilitate the control of the Central Chinese Government in areas that have been occupied by the Japanese."

On September 30, the U. S. 1st Marine Division entered Tientsin "to assume police duties in northern China's political hotspot."

Wall Street's propagandists depict such utilization of U. S. troops in the "postwar" world as necessary to "win the peace." What they really mean is to put down the labor movement, suppress the colonial drive for freedom and safeguard the capitalist system.

How deliberately Wall Street plots the use of American troops for this purpose is graphically revealed by the fact that on June 4, 1942, when the Duke of Windsor, then governor of the Bahamas, appealed to Washington for help in a "labor crisis," Roosevelt ordered members of the Sixth Cavalry Regiment flown in for use against the workers. The troops took field supplies, ammunition and hand grenades. The incident was revealed only last week by one of the men now on duty in Berlin. In 1942 the use of these troops to put down the workers of the Bahamas was kept a deep secret by Roosevelt since the news of his scandalous order would have conflicted violently with the Allied propaganda about the war being for "democracy" and the "freedom of the peoples."

The Bahamas incident was simply a forerunner of what is now in store for the Chinese masses. When Chiang Kai-shek, like the Duke of Windsor, appeals to Washington for aid in a "labor crisis," American troops will be ordered into action against the Chinese.

Thus the American boys who were dragooned into the Second World War under the pretext that they were being sent on foreign battlefields to free the peoples of the earth from fascism, fear and oppression, find themselves winding up as a brutal police force. Instead of freeing the world, they find themselves enslaving it for the benefit of Wall Street. Their demand to come back home must be backed to the hilt.

Digging Up A Corpse

The October 7 "Daily Worker," official mouthpiece of the American Stalinists, carries without comment an article from Athens which declares the Greek Stalinists are urging the revival of the Third International. A few facts will help to clarify this proposal.

The Third International was organized in 1919 by the leaders of the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Lenin and Trotsky were its outstanding spokesmen. They called on the most devoted and class-conscious workers of the world to join together in an international organization to fight for their common interests and establish a socialist society. The Third International in those days opposed imperialist war and did its utmost to overthrow the capitalist system before it could breed another World War.

With the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin, however, the Communist International, or Comintern as it became known, likewise degenerated and ended up as a docile instrument of Stalin's foreign policy. He sold its services to the highest bidder among the capitalist powers. In 1939 when Stalin signed a pact with Hitler, the adherents of the Comintern acclaimed the pact as a "blow for peace," and denounced the Allies as war-mongering nations. When the Soviet Union was invaded, the Comintern flopped overnight into support of the "peace-loving" Allied imperialists and denunciation of the Axis. Finally in 1943, in response to the demands of Allied imperialists, Stalin dissolved the Comintern. It was buried without regret or mourning, for it had been dead since the day in 1933 when it permitted Hitler to rise to power without opposition.

The true principles of internationalism were embodied in the Fourth International, founded under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938. These principles in this country are supported by the Socialist Workers Party.

In the United States, Earl Browder, head of the American Stalinists, carried out Stalin's line by dissolving the Communist Party. Recently the American Communist Party was revived and Foster placed in charge to the accompaniment of criticism against Browder. But not a word of criticism was breathed against the "genius" in the Kremlin who dissolved the entire Comintern.

The resolution of the Greek Stalinists to revive the Comintern coincides with the breakdown of the London Conference of the Big Five. Obviously the resolution is inspired by Moscow. Just as Truman dangles the atomic bomb over the conference tables, so Stalin seeks some new weapon with which to threaten the imperialists and so gain greater bargaining power. The proposal to reconstitute the Comintern is nothing more than such a threat.

That the proposal comes from the Greek Stalinists is singularly appropriate, for it underlines what the revived Comintern would look like. The Greek Stalinists betrayed the Greek people to Allied imperialism. They welcomed British troops to Greece and when the British provoked civil war, the Stalinists under cover of the military struggle murdered the flower of the working class vanguard. Thus a new Stalinist Comintern would simply begin where the old one left off—working for the capitalists whenever they met Stalin's price. Such an organization would be the utter opposite of a real Communist International.



"It certainly is a revolutionary idea—and just think—we'll be at the very bottom of the heap!"

Workers' BOOKSHELF

"FASCISM AND SOCIALISM," A New Preface to "Fascism and Big Business," by Daniel Guerin. Published in the September issue of Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, 25c.

Many readers of The Militant are familiar with Daniel Guerin's book, Fascism and Big Business. Written before the Second World War, it is still one of the best studies available of fascism in Italy and Germany. In this book, Guerin follows step by step the remarkable parallel in the rise to power of Mussolini and Hitler. He traces the similarity in methods of the Italian fascists and the German Nazis, and probes the causes for the failure of the working class political parties (Social Democrats and Stalinists) to halt this barbarous movement. In both countries, Guerin's study reveals, the drive-wheel of fascism was Big Business.

Now Guerin has written a new preface to this important book, bringing it up to date by incorporating the lessons learned about fascism in the Second World War.

First, in the field of basic theory, Guerin declares that the war has confirmed the Trotskyist analysis of fascism. Like imperialist war, fascism is a product of the capitalist system in its decline. This is an important lesson, for it points to the correct method of fighting fascism—that is, overthrowing the capitalist system. At the outbreak of the Second World War petty bourgeois "theorists" held that fascism was a new phenomenon. They said the fascists represented a new class, not workers, not capitalists, but something new under the sun. Various names, such as the "managerial" class, were given this alleged new class by these "theorists."

Citing the fate of Mussolini and Hitler, Guerin declares, "Although it may not please some naive people, the old laws which have always governed the relations of classes, have not failed this time either. Fascism has not suspended them, as with a wave of the magic wand. The link between fascism and Big Business is so intimate that the day when Big Business withdraws its support is the beginning of the end for fascism."

Second, the effect of the Allied victory on European fascism. Guerin declares that the victory by no means signifies the end of fascist barbarism. The new regimes are extremely complacent toward former fascists. These so-called "democratic" regimes remain "completely infected with the fascist virus..." The "purge" is nothing but a shameful comedy, because to really disaffect the bourgeois state, it is necessary to destroy it. The administrative tops, the army, the police, the judiciary remains staffed with auxiliaries and accomplices of the former regime. The recent notorious case of General Patton confirms Guerin's observations. Patton blurted out to the press the truth about Allied utilization of fascist officials, and for this blunder of frankly speaking out, he was removed from his post.

Third, the possibility of fascism reviving in Europe. Guerin believes that the fascist movement can again become a force, more horrible than anything yet imagined. This will happen, however, only if the working class should once more fail to take power when it has the opportunity.

Fourth, the nearness of socialist revolution in Europe. Fascism did not and could not destroy the class struggle, declares Guerin. Fascism atomized, broke up,

scientifically tracked down, destroyed in embryo every form of organized working class opposition to its frightful rule, but the struggle between the workers and the capitalists continued.

"... Gradually and to the extent that the fascist lid is lifted, we perceive that beneath it, the class struggle, supposedly destroyed forever, continues right on its way." In Italy and Germany "we find once more traces of a revolutionary vanguard, especially in the concentration camps and the prisons. Fascism has not halted humanity's continuous march toward emancipation. It has only delayed it temporarily, if at all."

Fifth, the correct method of fighting fascism. Guerin attacks the shameful hypocrites at the head of the Allied powers who today denounce fascism and make themselves out as extremely "anti-fascist." These are the very same people, he points out, who admired the way Mussolini "made the trains run on time." But "tomorrow the big 'democracies' may very well put anti-fascism back on the shelf." He points out how already the "democracies" are crushing the resistance movements which rose against fascism during the war.

There is only one way to really stamp out fascist barbarism once and for all and that is by establishing socialism. "Anti-fascist" sentiment is not enough. Militant struggle is required. It is "fascism or socialism." Pointing to the example of the October 1917 Revolution as a model for the workers to follow, Guerin declares: "The totalitarian state is a tottering monster. We shall be forever rid of it by assuring the triumph of the antithesis: the Republic of the Workers' Councils."

Reviewed by Joseph Hansen

Congressmen At Work

Since the development of the atomic bomb, Wall Street's Congressmen have been especially fervent in their declaration that "peace is wonderful." But they are going right ahead with their plans for a Third World War.

Senator Hill of Alabama, for example, in a matter of fact way introduced a joint resolution "authorizing experiments" with atomic bombs "to determine their effect on naval vessels."

Another school of thought, however, fears the consequences of continued experimentation. "Almost two months ago," declared Senator Downey of California, "the first atomic bomb destroyed Hiroshima and a major part of its population—men, women and children. Since that holocaust—the greatest in all history—there has been only one real question before the people of this world. Is atomic energy to advance the welfare of all humanity or is it to provide the means of global suicide?"



"We built it; in its use we killed hundreds of thousands of human beings; we possess now its fearful mastery more than any other nation. No one else now has the power even to attempt to banish from this unhappy world the fear that our bomb creation has engendered... I believe we already possess power by which we may readily destroy all civilization including ourselves..."

Representative Arends of Illinois is likewise impressed with the power of the atomic bomb: "I am advised on the most competent authority that our scientists and technicians have now created atomic bombs of such prodigious and multiplied destructive power that the explosion which killed 150,000 humans and obliterated the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was only a small fire cracker by comparison... The most dangerous spots on the face of the earth are Washington, D. C., New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and the other large urban centers in this nation..."

Even Senator Bilbo of Mississippi pondered over the problem and came up with a brilliant proposal: "It would be a wise thing to move the Capital to the geographical center of the United States and get it away from the sea coast and the hazards of attack from the ocean. The progressive, industrious, hustling new ruler of Turkey, when he took control of affairs in Turkey, did not hesitate a minute to move the capital from Constantinople to the center of the landed area of his country, to make it safe. I understand that it is rather difficult to approach the new capital of Turkey. Perhaps that would be a good idea for us to follow."

But Senator Johnson of Colorado carted off the brass spittoon for the week's prize suggestion. He proposed Congress just pass a law providing the "death penalty" for anyone revealing the secrets of atomic power. That should put a stop once and for all to the dangerous nonsense about "global suicide."

However, it is not necessary to worry over the frightful implications of the atomic bomb. Wall Street's Congressmen are devoting their brains to the problem of safeguarding humanity.

PROBLEMS FACING WAR VETERANS

By CHARLES CARSTEN

Plight of Mentally Disabled Veterans

"A police patrol wagon roared up to the front steps of Lakeside Courthouse. Two uniformed officers opened the rear doors and pulled from the inside a disheveled and ashen-faced young man who gazed wildly about him then emitted a fearful scream.

"Men, women and youngsters gathered quickly and looked on in wonderment or shocked surprise as the young man was dragged into the main lobby of the Courthouse, up the steps and around to the inquest room of Probate Court."

This young man was not a criminal, says the Cleveland Press of August 30, in which the incident was reported, even though he was being treated as one. He was a World War II veteran "who had been driven into a frenzy by some unknown fear."

He is one of the mental casualties of World War II, one of the psychotics, those in need of institutional care and treatment by highly trained doctors. In March of this year the army listed as receiving pensions 23,270 men who were similarly afflicted.

An additional 171,309 psychoneurotic cases were reported on the same date as being recipients of disability pensions. Their condition is not as serious as that of the psychotics. But they have been emotionally unbalanced by the experiences in the war. Without proper care their condition may worsen and, at best, will continue to be a handicap all their lives.

Authorities estimate that 600,000 of the men discharged from the armed forces will be psychoneurotic. They do not need extended hospitalization, but they do need treatment by trained psychiatrists using modern facilities.

However, neither those classified as psychoneurotic nor those who are psychotic have the slightest chance of receiving the highly skilled treatment they require.

Of the 3,500 psychiatrists in the country, 3,000 are normally needed in hospitals and institutions. The remaining 500 have private practices from which they draw fabulous sums for treating the well-to-do and wealthy. Even if induced to give up their lucrative practices, there are too few to treat more than a small fraction of the mentally disabled veterans.

Although aiding the mental casualties of this war is one of the most pressing problems before it, the Veterans Administration has relegated the task to a very small, understaffed division of four or five officers and two secretaries crowded into a single room of the Veterans Administration building. To this force is assigned the job of directing 40 per cent of the Administration's entire medical load.

Proposed mental reconditioning centers are, at this late date, still in the planning stage. None had been established by the end of August, said Charles Hurd, specialist on veteran affairs for the N. Y. Times. He added that psychoneurotic cases requiring hospitalization "are being treated in general hospitals, but the system is not satisfactory."

Army brass hats knew from previous experiences that the mental casualties of this war would mount into the hundreds of thousands. They knew when the war began that thousands of trained psychiatrists would be needed to care for men who acquired mental-emotional disorders from it. Yet they made no provisions whatsoever to give medical doctors the long, intensive additional training required to enable them to treat veterans suffering from mental disorders.

Furthermore, early diagnosis and treatment are most important for cases of neurosis, as the condition becomes "fixed" over a period of time, so that the longer cure is postponed, the more difficult it is and the less likely it is to be completed.

In its neglect in this case as in its failure to provide modern artificial limbs, adequate hospitalization, its failure in every case to provide for their needs, the government demonstrates its callous indifference to the veterans.

Government Rehearses New 'Anti-Trust' Farce

Another farcical "anti-trust" attack against the gigantic Mellon-owned aluminum monopoly was opened on September 17 by Trumans' Attorney-General Tom C. Clark. Break it up through "subdivision," he besought Congress, and give "competition" a chance.

But the magnates who own the Aluminum Company of America are certainly not too worried about losing their grip on the nation's production of aluminum. Four and a half years ago The Militant, February 15, 1941, pointed to a whole series of government show-piece suits against ALCOA, beginning as far back as 1912 when the Federal courts first declared the Aluminum Company a monopoly. Yet in 1941 forty per cent of its 10 million shares valued at \$500,000,000 were owned by 17 stockholders.

These "anti-trust" suits were instituted again in 1924, 1928, 1930 and 1937. All of them ended in dismal failure to "bust the trust." The only real action the capitalist government took was to grant rebates of millions of dollars in taxes to the Mellon estate. Now the same farce is proposed again.

Before the war ALCOA produced 100 per cent of the nation's virgin aluminum and practically all of the fabricated metal. During the war ALCOA's annual production shot up seven-fold from 327,000,000 pounds to 878,000,000. When the government built \$700,000,000 worth of aluminum plants producing over 50 per cent of the nation's aluminum, the lion's share of these plants were leased to ALCOA. Thus, with the government's own help ALCOA became a bigger monopoly than ever.

Clark himself admitted that ALCOA now controls, through ownership or lease, more than 90 per cent of the aluminum industry's productive capacity. He complained that Reynolds Metal, ALCOA's only competitor, is itself dependent on ALCOA for much raw material.

Even the capitalist press sneers at this latest "trust-busting" farce. The N. Y. World-Telegram, September 20, points out the "interesting parallel in what happened to the Standard Oil Company when the court ordered it dissolved in 1911." After the "dissolution," it states, the Standard Oil companies "grew and grew and grew." Today, it declares, "some of the Standard companies are bigger than the original firm which was 'dissolved' in 1911."

If the government really meant business about its "trust-busting," the first step it would take would be to operate all the government-built aluminum plants under workers' control.

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.

Irish Comrades Report Progress

Editor: At the present time we consider that we have great possibilities of expansion. We have some Communist Party contacts who are very close to us, and our last meeting (indoors) drew a crowd of almost 100 workers, most of whom were sympathetic. We are now negotiating for the purchase of an amplifier, which will extend our range of activity. The cost will be considerable, and we are trying to raise it among the party members and close sympathizers.

Most of our comrades are young apprentices, who do not earn much; some are unemployed (and there has been unemployment here right through the war) and the remainder have large family commitments.

Can you let us have 150 Militants per week, to sell to our contacts here? We already get the Socialist Appeal from Britain. Also, can you let us have more Fourth Internationals and supplies of pamphlets for sale here? We are very short of pamphlets, and new ones rarely come to us.

We shall be very grateful if you can help us in this way. F. A. Belfast, Northern Ireland.

Welsh Comrades Read 'Militant'

Editor: May I firstly apologize for not writing to you sooner to express my thanks for literature received since I appealed for aid.

Since you sent it, I can truthfully say I have a greater understanding of "Trotskyism," giving me a deeper conviction in relation to the correctness of the policy—and even more necessary, a confidence in my daily struggle in the ranks of the anthracite miners of South Wales. All the literature is read by the members of our branch and then is sent to various clubs of the locality.

The Militant and especially the articles of Theodore Kovalesky, are very popular, and also V. Grey's "Shoptalks" is widely read. One speaker's comment to me is worth repeating. He said: "They seem to strike at the root of our trouble."

The hostility received at our inception is fast disappearing, the Socialist Appeal helping the hostility gradually to its burial place.

I am sure you will appreciate it when I state that at the beginning we could only sell 4 copies of the Socialist Appeal at the colliery where I work. Now we sell 200 copies showing clearly in my opinion the advance of our party. The Militant and the Fourth International will, I am sure, help us to more success in the future.

In thanking you again it gives me great pleasure to write this letter because I see International Brotherhood in a common purpose. It is so lacking today in the world because of the betrayal by the Stalinists who here worship the Kremlin autocrat and forget the teachings of the teachers of the class struggle.

They, who so cynically looked

QUESTION BOX

Q: What other territories besides Annam are incorporated into French Indo-China? What is the condition of the working class in the whole area under French rule?

A: French Indo-China consists of one "colony," Cochinchina; four "protectorates," Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and Laos; and a "special territory," Kwanchowan. These five states, comprising 281,174 square miles with a total population of 24,461,261, are ruled as a colony by French imperialism.

The condition of the working class can be judged by the fact that 90 per cent of the native Indo-Chinese population are kept illiterate; unskilled workers get 10 cents a day in wages, skilled workers 30 cents. The workers live in hovels. Their labor unions have never been recognized and any attempt to better their conditions meets with the harshest repressions.

Q: How large is the Jewish population in Palestine, compared with the Arab population?

A: There are between 600,000 and 700,000 Jews in Palestine, compared with 1,200,000 Arabs.

on the monstrous betrayal of the Greek workers and continually look on the German workers' suffering CANNOT BE COMMUNISTS or they would see Internationalism as the only hope of achieving revolutionary progress for the benefit of the working class of all lands.

For the G.C.S. Branch may I be permitted to send our fraternal greetings to J. P. Cannon, the founder of your American Socialist Workers Party. He has our respect and undoubtedly the affection of all class-conscious workers in the world.

In extending the hand of friendship to all American workers (black and white) I can sincerely say I am a communist.

For the G.C.S. Branch J. J. Secretary, Wales.

Movie Boosts The "Good" Collaborators!

Editor: There evidently were so many capitalist collaborators in those countries overrun by the Nazis and Fascists that in order to counteract the hatred and bitterness the working people feel toward these traitors, the capitalists quickly made a moving picture (1945 production) depicting a "good" collaborator and how underneath his open collaboration with the Nazis he "all the time" was aiding his country and people. The name of the picture is "The Silver Fleet" produced with the aid of the Netherlands Royal Navy.

This movie tries to turn the people's minds away from re-primations against these despicable fascist collaborators by trying to show that there were some "good" collaborators. And that those who owned industry were in the best position to maneuver with the fascists (and actually help their country).

I got so angry at the fact that the boss class controls the moving picture industry (besides the press, church, schools, etc.) from which they are able to propagate their rotten lies for the people to see in, that I wanted to let The Militant know that there are many of us who are glad that there is a Militant spokesman for the workers which counteracts the lies of the boss class.

"Hero Fund" Hides Neglect Of Veterans

Editor: The Toledo Blade, this city's only daily paper, is at present conducting a campaign in which over \$15,000 has been contributed as a "gift from citizens who want to say 'thank you'" to a Toledo veteran who lost both legs and one arm in the war.

Over the whole affair hangs the halo of smug self-satisfaction. Every line written in the Blade on the "Home for a Hero Fund" reeks of moral integrity and of "doing right by our boys." Every angle of publicity has been worked. A Citizen's Committee of businessmen has been set up to handle the fund. The theaters sport collection boxes in their lobbies. A special week has been set aside and dedicated to the hero. And from the Blade press has poured a stream of propaganda designed to subtly flatter the worker contributors and to place on a pedestal the Blade and its cohorts, the business firms and city political machinery.

"See what we're doing for our boys," is the spirit of the campaign, and when it is all over, the city will settle down in the self-righteous knowledge that it has indeed settled the veteran question.

But little is said in the BLADE of thousands of other wounded and disabled veterans in the city of Toledo who are receiving inadequate medical care, mechanical limbs that don't fit, and insufficient financial aid, and who are tossed on the scrap-heap of the unemployed. Little is said of the suicides of veterans in Toledo and vicinity who are afflicted with battle-neurosis, or of the almost complete lack of psychiatric facilities. Nothing is said of the problems of war widows with children to support on the starvation pittance permitted by the government.

The "Home for a Hero Fund," and I understand other cities have conducted similar campaigns, is a very conscious and completely vicious policy of Big Business and its appendages, the press and the government. Such campaigns gloss over the

glaring inadequacies of the Veterans' Administration... they hide the true facts in fanfare of publicity concerning a single case and what the city fathers are doing about it. It creates the illusion of prodigious effort in solving the problems of the veterans. While actually, the ruling class considers veterans, like battleships and factories, expendable.

M. McGowan, Toledo, Ohio

Capitalist Schools Breed Prejudice

Editor: The system of prejudice of a racial nature which has ensnared too many within the ranks of the working class, is silent tribute to the damnable and "unholy" strength of capitalist propaganda. Although I am but 25 years old, I feel as if I have suffered under this cancer for a period exceeding my years.

As a boy of six, when in the first grade, I was thrown among other children extensively for the first time. These children belonged to various racial and national groups of the globe, but in spite of this we based our friendships on personalities rather than race. This was as it should have been. But do you think that capitalism would be so benevolent as to for long permit this state of tranquility to exist?

Of course not! The system began its poisonous racial teachings upon the moral minds of these youngsters and slowly but surely capitalism was rewarded by a change of situation. The first time I, who am a person of African ancestry, was referred to as a "nigger," it didn't serve to anger, only puzzle and bewilder me. For believe it or not, in spite of the fact that I am dark skinned, I felt that my dark skin was no more peculiar than a blonde's whiteness or the extreme redness of some white persons.

After the first name calling incident I was gradually to learn very painfully of course that society is divided arbitrarily into divisions and subdivisions of caste within the collectively exploited working class. The Mexicans, Chinese and Filipinos hating each other, all three hating the Negroes, the Negroes retaliating with a defensive counter-contempt for all other races, and the whites collectively holding the entire mentioned group as inferior.

One day when in the second grade, I was the victim of a chauvinistic remark by a white lad of my own age, I retaliated angrily by bloodying his nose. The teacher, who, I knew, had heard his remarks, and from whom I had expected tolerant realization of the enormous amount of provocation, instead became furious and snatching me by the arm, dragged me off to the principal's office where I was cuffed about a bit before I was returned to class.

This and following school happenings should have taught me at even this early age, that teachers, who almost invariably, actively or otherwise supported the chauvinism of these little supremacists, were then and are now the agents of and for the State, and that therefore, it was and is the State, which was and is to blame for the evil.

One can see with special clarity what happens to that brave person, be he teacher or student, who goes too far in criticizing racialism, for he is at once subjected to discipline if not complete dismissal, as a dangerous "heretic" (radical).

America and most major countries of the world have the power and will wield it while most of us are yet young, to remove the cause of racism and oppression of the world working class as a whole, by its antidote, socialism. This will only be possible through the Fourth International. I know it will not fail. Long live the Fourth International!

W. C., San Diego.

Henry Ford Still Making Tanks

Editor: I learned a bit of information that I think the Militant readers would be interested in. The Ford plant in Richmond, California is still turning out tanks—one month and a half after V-J Day! Apparently Henry Ford doesn't know the war is over. Or, could it be that he doesn't care?

B. C., San Francisco.

A DISCUSSION ON PUBLIC OPINION

Gentlemen: We are submitting an article for publication in your periodical, The Militant. We feel that this is a timely article and should receive as much circulation as possible. Thanking you in advance, we extend the right of fellowship in the fight for the elevation of the workers.

Respectfully yours, GEORGE E. CLOUTIER, JR. Acting Chairman, Policy Committee Plant No. 3, Chevrolet-Flint Local 659, UAW-CIO

By Andrew Michelson

The other morning while I was talking with a small business man, he told me that "unless labor stops making demands on the owners of industry and unless labor stops meddling in the affairs of government, public opinion would be against it and the unions would disappear."

When I got home that afternoon I began reading the daily paper and again I read syndicated articles and an editorial warning organized labor to set its house in order or public opinion would force the government to pass laws curbing the activities of the unions.

That night I turned on the radio to hear the news, and so help me, do you know what I heard? Yes! I! You're right. Even the news commentator was warning organized labor against bringing the wrath of public opinion down on themselves.

Then I began to wonder, Who is the public? What is there about their opinion that the unions must fear?

IS IT OF ANY VALUE?

Is public opinion of any value? Were all the great causes for the development of human personality guided by public opinion?

Since the time Eve was influenced by the serpent to take that first bite of forbidden fruit, public opinion has taken its toll of failures among persons and organizations who have been lulled into activity or a state of doubt by its soothing warnings of "don't do this" or "if you dare try that you will fall" or "be careful of what the public will say."

For several years publishers, editors, columnists and radio news commentators have put themselves up as the protectors of organized labor by warning them to be careful of public opinion. While openly they may appear as disciples of labor in these warnings, they are actually betrayers of the labor movement by attempting to influence the reading and radio listening public to demand action against the unions.

Knowing the power of the spoken and written word upon the general public, they become past masters in moulding public opinion down the channels they wish it to travel. This subtle propaganda is an evil thing in the hands of the Judases of our time.

I wonder what might have happened since the beginning of time if every person or organization would have concerned themselves about public opinion before trying to accomplish anything worthwhile?

If every young person who planned on getting married first listened to what the public thought about it, I fear Grandma herself would have died an old maid.

If every person who dreamed of starting into business for himself had worried about public opinion, we would still be tilling the soil with a stick, and Fulton's steamboat would have remained in the dream stage.

If every politician who wanted to be elected to a public office first asked the public their opinion, our democracy would have died in infancy.

If the Christian church in the early days of persecution had first tried to get public opinion on its side before organizing the church, this great movement would have died on the cross with Christ, and the resurrection and the glorious birth of this new way of life would have been relegated to the ash pile of spiritual and social failures.

LABOR THREATENED

Now organized labor is being threatened with extinction unless it soft pedals its activities so as not to incur the wrath of public opinion.

The UAW-CIO has developed a reputation for demanding investigations and that public officials publicize their records. Now perhaps we should do a little investigating to find out who this public is that labor should fear. So in the words of the late Al Smith, "Let's look at the record."

Stuart Chase, in his book "Democracy Under Pressure," lists 43,000,000 workers as eligible for membership in labor unions. Out of this number there are 12,600,000 organized workers or about 30 per cent of those that are eligible for membership. Only an organized worker can appreciate the trials and tribulations of the union and its dealings with the management. Only

a union member can know what it is to have a contract or an agreement with the owners or the managers of an industry.

If the 30 odd millions of workers who are not members of any union and therefore cannot know anything about organized labor, still express their opinion, why should that opinion be of value to 12 million union members?

ANALYZING POLLS

Now if you will bear in mind that among the most optimistic conveyors of statistics only 30 per cent of the workers are union members, perhaps we should analyze the results of some of the popular polls that have been taken recently to feel out the public pulse regarding organized labor.

Here are the results of a Fortune poll covering the tests of the whole population in 1944:

Labor unions have done a great job and should be given more power	7
Labor unions have made mistakes, but they have done more good than harm and should be supported	28
Labor unions have done some good in the past but they have gone too far and should be curbed by law	49
Labor unions should be abolished	7
Don't know	9
Total	100

Here you will notice that among the percentage who speak so highly about labor unions are the 30 per cent who are best qualified to judge the value of unions, the union members themselves. The 65 per cent or 70 per cent of the workers who have voiced an opinion about labor unions have done so ignorantly and their opinions cannot be regarded as having any value.

Editor's Comment

We wish to thank the Plant No. 3 Policy Committee of UAW Local 659 for the stimulating contribution of Brother Michelson. We welcome authentic expressions of the points of view of union men and women and will gladly publish them insofar as our limited space permits.

The Militant agrees in general with the views of Brother Michelson against the fraudulent use of so-called "public opinion" to provide a smoke-screen for anti-labor acts.

We should like to make some additional comment on the nature of this "public opinion," which we believe will contribute to further clarify on this important question.

We contend that the "public opinion" to which the anti-labor monopoly press and radio appeal, is manufactured. It is deliberately created by these same agencies to serve the interests of the ruling capitalist class.

By its control over the means of communication and education, Big Business attempts to monopolize the dissemination of information and ideas, just as it monopolizes the means of production and distribution of goods. It permits the people to hear only carefully selected or falsified "facts" and attempts to censor or suppress any information or ideas which run counter to its interests.

The wage earners, the vast bulk of that very "public" whose "opinions" the kept press and radio claim to represent, are denied the means of knowing all the facts and are prevented from forming a clear judgment based on full knowledge.

ROBBERS BARONS' PHRASE

The expression, "the public be damned!" was coined by one of the robber-barons of the American capitalist class. It truly represents the point of view of the plutocrats whose only interest is to rob and bleed the people for profits. That doesn't prevent these leeches from giving their crimes a protective-coating of "public opinion."

That is the function, for in-

When the Smith-Connelly bill to curb unions was before Congress, a Gallup Poll showed 67 per cent of the nation for it, 24 per cent against it and 9 per cent undecided. Again showing that those who are best qualified to recognize what is good and what is bad for the working people are the minority of the union members.

How could any poll that takes in the whole population turn out any other way when it concerns an issue that only affects the minority?

If a poll was taken among all the people in the United States to find out if the Methodist Church was the best church, what do you suppose the answer would be when there are only 8 million Methodists in the United States?

The answer to the poll about labor unions is as simple as that. BIG BUSINESS PRESS

I know that the UAW-CIO, because of its youth, vigor and complete democracy and local autonomy, makes good copy for newspapers and radio commentators, but it would be better, much better, if they would confine themselves to collecting data from union people and not from the unorganized masses whose only adult economic education comes from the controlled press. A press that has so completely been taken over by the large advertisers that it dare not speak the truth like an honest man, but speaks more like Big Business itself.

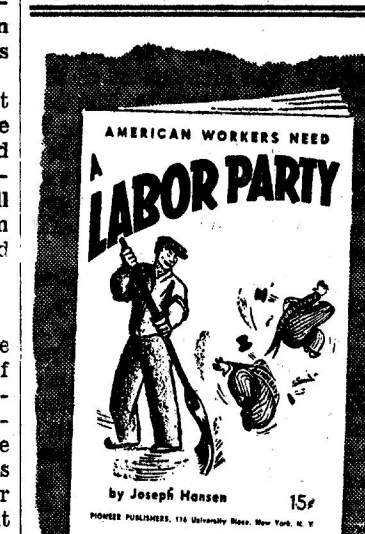
So until the 70 per cent who are unorganized become union members and become an informed voice of public opinion, until then, I say with the 13 million union members—PUBLIC OPINION BE DAMNED!

Endorsed by Chevrolet Plant No. 3, Policy Committee, Local 659, Flint, Michigan.

stance, of the many "public opinion" polls, like the Gallup Poll, which are means for moulding not expressing public opinion. These "polls," a careful study will show, give as much weight to views of spokesmen of the capitalist class as to the workers interviewed, who represent the great bulk of the population. If 50 business men are interviewed and 50 workers, then, you see, "50 per cent" of "the public" are represented by the views of the business men.

The Militant does not say, "The public be damned!" Our press is devoted to expressing the genuine opinions and defending the needs of the "real" public—the 80 per cent or more of the populace who are workers and working farmers and whose interests are opposed to those of the big capitalists.

We recommend to our readers two books which lay bare the facts about the control of the plutocracy over the press, radio, motion pictures, schools, etc. . . . They are Ferdinand Lundberg's "America's Sixty Families," and George Seldes' "Lords of the Press." There the readers will get the detailed facts about the way "public opinion" is manufactured and controlled under capitalism by the ruling rich.



Exposes the methods and aims of the politicians who oppose labor's interests, outlines labor's place in politics, shows how intelligent and independent political action today can lead the labor movement forward.

48 pages, 15 cents
Pioneer Publishers
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.



The favorable response Local New York has met with in placing The Militant on 1000 newsstands has inspired our agents nationally to place the paper on several stands in their respective areas. The Militant can now be obtained from newsdealers in practically every large city in the country.

In this vein, our Portland agent advises: "Last week I put The Militant on a stand that carries radical papers. Not having too many papers on hand I gave the dealer only five copies. Before he could take the paper out and display it on the stand,

Pioneer Notes

This week we received an enthusiastic letter from a friend who had just finished reading The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, by James P. Cannon, Miss Belle Montague of Cambridge, Mass. writes:

"I have shown this book to some friends of mine, and we have discussed it together. . . the sly attack (of the petty-bourgeois opposition) upon the party principles to cover a retreat in the face of the approaching war-storm in 1940 . . . the plot revealing itself little by little . . . the uprising of the working class in the party in a revolution of its own . . . and the final rescue of the party for the workers of America and the world . . . indeed I shall never forget this book. The account of the political battle fought under a sky already dark with the shadow of the second world war impressed me differently than any book I have ever read in my life.

. . . I am enclosing a money order for \$1.50 for which please send me a paper bound copy of 'In Defense of Marxism' by Leon Trotsky. I have wanted to read this book for a long time . . . Best wishes to the Socialist Workers Party in its great struggle to save mankind from atomic death!"

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party which Miss Montague so highly recommends is a companion volume to In Defense of Marxism by Leon Trotsky. These two books contain the historic documents of the fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition which the Socialist Workers Party conducted in 1939-40.

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, by James P. Cannon, clothbound \$2.00, paperbound \$1.50. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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!
2. Independence of the trade unions from the government!
Rescind the no-strike pledge!
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. Hands off the European and colonial peoples!
Withdraw the Allied Occupation Troops from Europe!
Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial peoples!

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

Address

City

First Day Of "Militant" Drive Gains 1,064 New Subscribers

By Justine Lang Campaign Director

Despite inclement weather, comrades and friends of the Socialist Workers Party participating in the National Red Sunday Mobilization on October 14 placed *The Militant* in 1,064

more workers' homes. Although several mobilizations were called off due to rainstorms, and 10 branches were still unheard from as we went to press, 11 per cent of our quota was realized. A great deal of enthusiasm was revealed by the many telegrams received. Just a few are quoted below:

Connecticut: "21 subscriptions. Intend to double our quota. Place setter Pearl Spangler with nine subs."

Pittsburgh: "Despite rainy weather three members obtained 14 new subscriptions today including two one-year subscriptions."

Detroit: "Obtained 106 subscriptions today. Drake high scorer with 16; Carl 14; Lewis 13; Wright 11; and Wood 11. Kindly send more sub cards."

Many branches held socials after their sub-getting to compare notes and exchange experiences.

Connie Locke, East Side Branch, New York, summed up her experiences: "Before going out, I was afraid that due to the

lay-offs in employment, it was going to be hard to sell 50 cent subscriptions.

"However, I found right away that all I had to do was to point out some of the features of the paper, such as the fact that *The Militant* tells the truth, analyzes the news, telling how it affects the workers. Many of the subscribers asked where they could come to hear more about our program, and took down the address of their nearest branch."

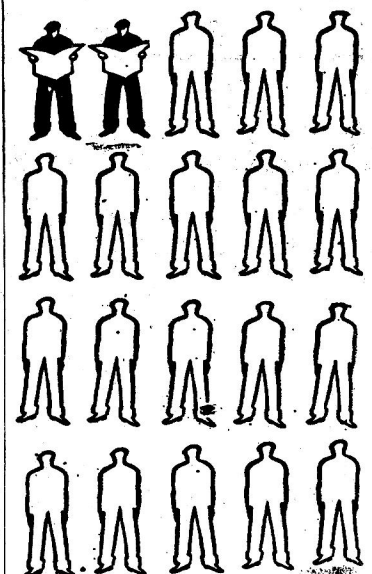
Margaret Stewart, East Side, New York: "I rang the doorbell of an apartment, and when the woman answered the door and saw *The Militant* in my hand, she invited me in most cordially. She told me she was a subscriber of the paper, and was very enthusiastic about its contents, and that many features and stories that appear there and in no other paper."

A number of new names appear in the pace-setters box, headed by Therese Stone, a recent recruit of the Philadelphia branch. Mike Warren, leading national pace-setter of the spring

campaign with a score of 859 subs, is in sixth place.

Detroit comrades are very well represented in the present campaign just as they were in the previous one, claiming five pace-setters among the ten top scorers. Local New York boasts four pace-setters, three from the East Side Branch, and one from the newly organized Harlem Branch. San Francisco claims three pace-setters from the list of twenty.

Next week's scoreboard will reveal a more accurate picture of our first day's mobilization. In addition, branches which were rained out are planning mid-week mobilizations.



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

John G. Wright Talks In Buffalo On The British Labor Victory

BUFFALO, N. Y., Oct. 5.—Fifty-five workers listened to an inspiring speech by John G. Wright, Trotskyist editor and writer, on "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers," at the Militant Forum here tonight.

With great interest the audience followed the political analysis of the elections, as Comrade Wright showed how the decline of British imperialism and the development of the class struggle was impelling the British workers to take the road to Socialism.

Dealing with the powerful impact of the British elections on the American labor movement, the speaker predicted that the labor party of the workers in this country would be built. "The militant workers must take the lead in building the labor party as the indispensable weapon in the struggle of the workers. This is the lesson that must be learned from the experiences of our British brothers," he declared.

After the meeting a new member was recruited into the Socialist Workers Party.

West Coast Vacation School Inspires All

LOS ANGELES—The most impressive fact for the more than 85 workers attending the West Coast Vacation School of the Socialist Workers Party was the spirit with which all who were present devoted their short vacation to improving their knowledge and understanding of Marxism. Nor was this a one-sided atmosphere. The entire period was liberally filled with other activities, such as swimming, indoor games and dances.

One of the highlights of the two week period was the visit by a group of Jamaican workers from a nearby agricultural camp, all of them members of the Jamaican Labor Party.

The educational program of the camp consisted of three morning classes, an afternoon study group on the Russian Revolution and an evening seminar on Marxist Philosophy. The final week-end was concluded by a West Coast Conference on the problems and perspectives for the next period.

A Negro comrade who had joined the party six months previously, and was leaving for his home in the south, made an inspiring farewell speech. In summing up what the party, and particularly the school, had done for him, he expressed what all the comrades gathered there felt.

of *The Militant* and Fourth International, speak on "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers."

Comrade Wright pointed out that the dynamic American workers, who within the short space of five years advanced from a backward trade union organization to the most advanced in the world, would advance with equal speed on the working-class political arena.

JOHN G. WRIGHT TOUR SCHEDULE table with columns for City, Date, and Time.

Imperialists Use Food As Weapon Against Revolt

President Truman in a statement on aid to Europe said, "Provision of the supplies thus requested (by Europe) does not, however, mean that the civilian populations of Europe will reach even a minimum level of subsistence, and much suffering may be expected during the coming winter in certain areas of the Continent."

The whole problem of food has been used by the imperialists since the last war as a brutal weapon in their counter-revolutionary work. There was a recent example of this in Greece, where the British ran the UNRRA food supplies as an auxiliary method in their armed struggle against the Greek insurgent movement.

The Greek experience recalls the infamous work of the Hoover Commission of the last war. The role of this Commission is fully analyzed in an article, "The Imperialist Strategy of Food," by C. Charles in the January 1943 Fourth International. The author gives a factual, documented description of international intrigue in "the use of a food and medicine blockade against a revolution while helping the counter-revolutionary preparations."

MILITANT PACE-SETTERS

Table listing names, branches, and subscription counts for Militant Pace-Setters.

SCOREBOARD

Scoreboard table with columns for Branches of the Socialist Workers Party, Quotas, Subs, and Per Cent.

Hear: JOHN G. WRIGHT "The British Labor Victory—Its Meaning for American Workers" with event details for Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, and Flint.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM — by James P. Cannon

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

The organizing campaign and the strikes were carried on virtually over the head of the official leadership of the union. The only one of the regular officials who really participated in a direct way in the actual leadership of the strikes was Bill Brown, along with the Organizing Committee. This Organizing Committee had one merit which was demonstrated in the beginning—other merits were revealed later—they knew how to organize workers. This is one thing the ossified labor skates in Minneapolis did not know and apparently could not learn. They know how to disorganize them. This breed is the same everywhere. They know how, sometimes, to let the workers into the unions when they break the doors down. But to go out and really organize the workers, stir them up and inspire them with faith and confidence—the traditional craft-union bureaucrat cannot do that. This is not his field, his function. It is not even his ambition.

The Trotskyist Organizing Committee organized the workers in the trucking industry and then proceeded to line up the rest of the labor movement to support these workers. They did not lead them into an isolated action. They began working through the Central Labor Union, by conferences with the labor skates as well as by pressure from below, to put the whole labor movement in Minneapolis on record in support of these newly-organized truck drivers; worked tirelessly to involve the officials of the Central Labor Union in the campaign, to have resolutions passed endorsing their demands, to make them take official responsibility. When the time came for action, the labor movement of Minneapolis, as represented by the official unions of the American Federation of Labor, found themselves in advance in a position of having endorsed the demands and being logically bound to support the strike.

The General Strike Shakes Minneapolis

In May the general strike burst into flames. The bosses, grown complacent from long unchallenged domination, were greatly surprised. The lesson of the coal strike had not yet convinced them that "something new" had been added to the trade union movement in Minneapolis. They still thought they could nip this thing in the bud. They tried stalling and maneuvering, and bogging our people down in the negotiations with the Labor Board where so many new unions had been cut to pieces. Right in the middle of the business, when they thought they had the union tangled in this web of negotiations for indefinite delay, our people just cut through it at one stroke. They hit them on the nose with a general strike. The trucks were tied up and the "negotiations" were taken to the streets.

This May general strike shook Minneapolis as it had never been shaken before. It shook the whole country, because this was no tame strike. This was a strike that began with such a wallop that the whole country heard about it, and about the role of the Trotskyists in its leadership—the bosses advertised that widely, and also hysterically. Then we saw again the same response among the observing radical workers that had followed our resolute action in the case of Field and the New York hotel strike. When they saw the performances in the May strike in Minneapolis, that same sentiment was expressed again: "These Trotskyists mean business. When they undertake anything, they go through with it." The jokes about the Trotskyist "sectarians" began to turn sour. There was no essential difference, in fact I don't think there was any serious difference at all between the strikers in Minneapolis and the workers involved in a hundred other strikes throughout the land in that period. Nearly all the strikes were fought with the greatest militancy by the workers. The difference was in the leadership and the policy. In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank and file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overruled by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing or another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top. All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its in-

HOW TROTSKYISTS LED MINNEAPOLIS STRIKES

stitutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Strikers Organize For Battle

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

Proceeding from these general concepts, the Minneapolis Trotskyists, in the course of organizing the workers, planned a battle strategy. Something unique was seen in Minneapolis for the first time. That is, a strike that was thoroughly organized beforehand, a strike prepared with the meticulous detail which they used to attribute to the German army—down to the last button sewn on the uniform of the last individual soldier. When the hour of the deadline came, and the bosses thought they could still maneuver and bluff, our people were setting up a fortress for action. This was noted and reported by the Minneapolis Tribune, the mouthpiece of the bosses, only at the last moment, a day before the strike. The paper said: "If the preparations made by their union for handling it are any indication, the strike of truck drivers in Minneapolis is going to be a far-reaching affair. . . . Even before the official start of the strike at 11:30 P.M. Tuesday, the 'General Headquarters' organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

Our people had a commissary all fixed up. They didn't wait until the strikers were hungry. They had it organized beforehand in preparation for the strike. They set up an emergency hospital in a garage—the strike headquarters was in a garage—with their own doctor and their own nurses before the strike even broke. Why? Because they knew that the bosses, their cops, and thugs and deputies would try in this case, as in every other, to beat the strike down. They were prepared to take care of their own people and not let them be sent, if injured, to a city hospital and then placed under arrest and put out of commission. When a fellow worker was injured on the picket line they brought him to their own headquarters and doctored him up there.

They took a leaf from the Progressive Miners of America and organized a Women's Auxiliary to help make trouble for the bosses. And I tell you, the women made lots of trouble, running around protesting and scandalizing the bosses and the city authorities, which is one of the most important political weapons. The strike leadership organized picketing on a mass basis. This business of appointing or hiring a few people, one or two, to watch and count and report how many scabs have been hired, doesn't work in a real struggle. They sent a squad to keep any scabs from going in. I mentioned that they had their strike headquarters in a garage. This was because the picketing was put on wheels. They not only organized the pickets, they mobilized a fleet of picketing cars. Every striker worker, sympathizer and trade unionist in town was called upon to donate the use of his car or truck. The strike committee thus had a whole fleet at its dis-

posal. Flying squads of pickets on wheels were stationed at strategic points throughout the town.

Whenever a report came in of a truck being operated or any attempt to move trucks, the "dispatcher" called through the loud-speaker in the garage for as many cars, loaded with pickets, as were needed to go out there and give the operators of the scab trucks an argument.

The "dispatcher" in the May strike was a young man named Farrell Dobbs. He came out of a coal yard in Minneapolis into the union and the strike, and then into the party. He first became known to us as a dispatcher who shot out the squad cars and the pickets. At first the pickets went out barehanded, but they came back with broken heads and injuries of various kinds. Then they equipped themselves with shillalahs for the next trips. A shillalah, as any Irishman can tell you, is a blackthorn stick you lean on in case you suddenly go lame. Of course, it is handy for other purposes too. The attempt of the bosses and the police to crush the strike by force culminated in the famous "Battle of the Market." Several thousand special deputies in addition to the whole police force were mobilized to make one supreme effort to open up a strategic part of the town, the wholesale market, for the operation of trucks.

Those deputies, recruited from the petty-bourgeois and the employing classes of the town, and the professions, came to the market in a sort of gala holiday spirit. They were going to have fun down there just beating up strikers. One of the special deputies wore his polo hat. He was going to have one hell of a time down there, knocking strikers' heads around like polo balls. The ill-advised sportsman was mistaken; it was no polo game this time. He and the whole mob of deputies and cops ran into a mass of determined, organized pickets of the union supplemented by sympathetic unionists from other trades and by members of the unemployed organizations.

"The Battle of Deputies Run"

The attempt to drive the pickets from the market place ended in failure. The counter-attack of the workers put them to flight. The battle has gone down in Minneapolis history as "The Battle of Deputies Run." There were two casualties, and they were both on the other side. That was one of the features of the strike that lifted Minneapolis high in the estimation of the workers everywhere. In strike after strike of those days the same story had been monotonously repeated in the press: Two strikers killed; four strikers shot; twenty strikers arrested, etc. Here was a strike where it wasn't all one-sided. There was one universal burst of applause, from one end of the labor movement to the other, for the militancy and resoluteness of the Minneapolis fighters. They had reversed the trend of things, and worker militants everywhere praised their name.

As the organizing campaign developed, our National Committee in New York was informed of everything and collaborated as much as possible by mail. But when the strike broke out we were fully conscious that this was the time for us to do more, to do all that we possibly could to help. I was sent to Minneapolis by airplane to assist the comrades, especially in the negotiations for a settlement. This was the time, you will recall, when we were still so poor that we couldn't afford a telephone in the office. We had absolutely no financial basis for such extravagant expenses as airplane fares. But the consciousness of our movement was expressed very graphically in the fact that in the moment of necessity we found the means to pay for an airplane trip to save a few hours time.

This action, taken at an expense far beyond what our budget could normally carry, was designed to give the local comrades involved in the fight the benefit of all the advice and assistance we could offer, and to which, as members of the League, they were entitled. But there was another aspect, just as important. In sending a representative of the NC to Minneapolis our League meant to take the responsibility for what they were doing. If things went wrong—and there is always the possibility that things will go wrong in a strike—we meant to take responsibility for it and not leave the local comrades to hold the sack. That has always been our procedure. When any section of our movement is involved in action, the local comrades are not left to their own resources. The national leadership must help and in the final analysis take the responsibility.

The May strike lasted six days and a quick settlement was

reached. The bosses were swept off their feet, the whole country was clamoring to get the thing settled. There was pressure from Washington and from Governor Olson. The settlement was severely attacked by the Stalinist press, which was very radical at that time, because it was not a sweeping victory, but a compromise; a partial victory that gave recognition to the union. We took full responsibility for the settlement our comrades had made, and took up the challenge of the Stalinists. Our press simply chased the Stalinists off the field in the controversy. We defended the settlement of the Minneapolis strike and frustrated their campaign to discredit it and thereby to discredit our work in the unions. The radical labor movement was given a complete picture of this strike. We published a special issue of *The Militant* which described in detail all the different aspects of the strike and the preparations leading up to it. This issue was written almost entirely by the leading comrades in the strike.

The main point around which we wove the explanation of the compromise settlement was: What are the aims of a new union in this period? We pointed out that the American working class is still unorganized, atomized. Only a part of the skilled workers are organized into craft unions, and these do not represent the great mass of American labor. The American workers are an unorganized mass and their first impulse and need is to take the first elementary step before they can do anything else; that is, to form a union and compel the bosses to recognize that union. Thus we formulated the problem.

First Battle Wins Gains for Union

We maintained—and I think with full justice—that a group of workers, who in their first battle gained the recognition of their union, and on that basis could build and strengthen their position, had accomplished the objectives of the occasion and should not overtax their strength and run the danger of demoralization and defeat. The settlement proved to be correct because it was enough to build on. The union remained stable. It was not a flash in the pan. The union began to forge ahead, began to recruit new members and educate a cadre of new leaders. As the weeks went by it became clear to the bosses that their scheme to trick the truckdrivers out of the fruits of their struggle was not working out so well.

Then the bosses came to the conclusion that they had made a mistake; that they should have fought longer and broken the union, so as to teach the workers of Minneapolis the lesson that unions could not exist there; that Minneapolis was an open-shop slave town and should remain that way. Somebody gave them some bad advice. The Citizens Alliance, the general organization of the employers and labor haters, kept needling and inciting the bosses in the trucking industry to break the agreement, to chisel and stall on the concessions they had agreed to give, and whittle away the gains that had been made by the workers.

The leadership of the union understood the situation. The bosses had not been sufficiently convinced by the first test of strength with the union and needed another demonstration. They began to prepare another strike. Again the workers in the industry were prepared for action. Again the whole labor movement of Minneapolis was mobilized to support them, this time in the most impressive, the most dramatic fashion. The campaign for the adoption of resolutions in the Central Labor Union and its affiliated unions in support of Local 574 was pointed toward a great parade of organized labor. The members of the various unions turned out in force and marched in solid ranks to a huge mass meeting in the City Auditorium, to back up the truck drivers and pledge them support in the impending struggle. It was an imposing demonstration of labor solidarity and of the new militancy which had taken hold of the workers.

The bosses remained obdurate. They raised the "Red Scare" in a big way, denouncing the "Trotsky Communists" in screaming advertisements in the newspapers. On the union side, preparations went ahead as in the May strike, but on an even more highly organized plan. When it became clear that another strike could not be avoided without sacrificing the union, our National Committee decided that the whole Communist League of America would have to go all-out in its support. We knew that the real test was here, that we dared not dabble with the issue. We sensed that here was a battle that could make or break us for years to come; if we gave half-hearted support, or withheld this or that aid which we could give, it might tip the balance between victory and defeat. We knew that we had plenty to give to our Minneapolis comrades. (To Be Continued)

No "Secrets" In Atomic Bomb, Say Scientists; Predict "World Suicide" Under Present Set Up

"We face the prospect in the next half century of a return to the cliff dweller or cave man stage of civilization." These words were spoken not by a hare-brained Buck Rogers cartoonist, but by Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota before the House of Representatives September 27. "The scientists who created the atomic bomb have spent sleepless nights," he continued, "on the question of what to do with their brain child."

Judd then placed in the Congressional Record of October 1 a statement from a group of these scientists still residing in one of the centers where the bomb was developed. "This statement is of considerable importance, for it soberly analyzes what development of the bomb holds in store."

"By using more bombs, larger bombs and more efficient bombs," says the report, "it will be possible in the near future to completely destroy the bulk of the population, industry, and military strength of any nation within a few weeks. Moreover, aviation and rocket developments might enable this to be accomplished within a few hours, without possibility of effective retaliation."

As if this perspective were not horrible enough, the scientific report continues: "Alternately, strategic locations may be mined in advance by agents of foreign nations."

NO DEFENSE
Chances of defense against this nightmarish destruction are very slim. "We as scientists can offer no hope of a specific defense against the atomic bomb. The only immediate defensive measures are retaliation, counter-offensive or 'preventive' warfare, but these will not restore the ruins of our cities nor revive the millions of our dead."

As for going underground, this is impractical. "Dispersion of population and industry over wide areas or underground can reduce the efficiency of atomic bomb raids, but cannot be considered an adequate permanent defense."

As for "moral" pressure to prevent further use of atomic bombs, the scientists regard this as completely utopian. "Moral considerations did not prevent the use of atomic bombs against Japan. . . . In time of war, moral sanctions have never prevented the use of any weapon, no matter how terrible. Moreover, those having control over the use of atomic bombs may not be subject to moral pressure of the world in general. These few sentences would indicate what the scientists think of Wall Street, the power now controlling the atomic bomb."

MISLEADING ADVICE
At present the Truman administration preaches retaining the secret of atomic energy as a means of preventing other nations from manufacturing atomic bombs. The scientists observe: "Those who advocate that the secret of the atomic bomb be kept mislead our own people rather than other countries. There are no longer any fundamental secrets about the atomic bomb. . . . even those nations with lesser resources than those of the United States will be able to produce atomic bombs within two to five years."

This is within the length of time it took the United States to transform production of atomic energy from laboratory to plant scale.

The scientists add that this policy could have one "very dangerous consequence," namely, that "withholding detailed information from the majority of our own scientists. . . will artificially channel and sterilize the further development of nuclear physics and chemistry in our own country."

The argument of the super-militarists that the only real defense is production of bigger and more destructive bombs is likewise exploded by the scientists: "Once a nation possesses a certain minimum number of bombs, there is no great advantage in having more. In a few years a nation with a small number of atomic bombs carried by rockets or planted as mines in our cities could in a few minutes destroy most of the industrial resources of the United States and much of its population. Furthermore, if we have more and better bombs, another nation may fear, justifiably or not, an attack by us, and deem it necessary to attack first."

The scientists then develop some possible alternatives:
U. S. VULNERABLE
(1) "If we reveal no more information to other nations, the United States may maintain leadership for a few years. It is almost certain that after five years all of the great powers

Louise Simpson Fights For Socialist Society

By Grace Carlson
NEW YORK, Oct. 13.—Twenty-two year old Louise Simpson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the New York City Council, combines the youthful zeal of a crusader with the self assurance of a seasoned political leader. When I interviewed the attractive young Negro candidate yesterday at the Party campaign headquarters, 116 University Place, she told me proudly that the Trotskyist election platform has "the only fighting working class program" in the campaign. Trotskyist Party is the ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party.

"I am appealing for the support of the workers of all races, colors, creeds and nationalities," Louise Simpson went on to say,



LOUISE SIMPSON

"although I am especially interested in receiving the support of my own people. But no section of New York City's workers can stand alone, and our election platform calls upon the workers of all groups to fight together for the things that workers need."

CONFIDENT VOICE
Her voice had a firm, confident ring as she spoke about the Socialist Workers Party program. When I questioned her about her personal history—where she came from; her school experiences; what kind of work she did; when she had first become interested in the Trotskyist movement, she was reluctant to answer my questions.

"There isn't anything important to tell you," she said hesitantly. "I've lived just an ordinary life—an awfully ordinary life."

When I pressed her for replies to my questions, pointing out that working class voters are always interested in learning more about the background of their candidates, Louise Simpson told me the story of her life, which is not such an "ordinary life," after all.

Born in Richmond, Virginia on September 4, 1923, the daughter of a Southern railroad worker, Louise was brought to New York City when she was only two years old. She has lived in

NEW YORK
Militant Labor Forum
FELIX MORROW
on
"The Big 5 Conference"
SUNDAY, OCT. 21
116 University Place, 8 p.m.

NEW YORK
Socialist Workers Party
STREET MEETINGS
From a Sound Truck
FRIDAY, Oct. 19
Manhattan:
12 Noon—38 St. between 7 and 8 Aves.
Afternoon—146 St. and 7 Ave.
126 St. and 7 Ave.
Brooklyn:
6:50 p.m.—Brevort Pl. and Bedford Ave.
SATURDAY EVENING, Oct. 20
Bronx: 161 St. and Prospect Ave.
Manhattan:
146 St. and 7 Ave.
126 St. and 7 Ave.
Vote for:
FARRELL DOBBS for Mayor
LOUISE SIMPSON for City Council

Native Fascist Propaganda

Stop Jewish Barbarism!

Thousands of defenseless animals are being daily tortured to death by JEWISH Ritualistic KOSHER Butchers.
Hoisted by a hind leg, its throat slashed, the kicking, gasping and sobbing creature is subjected to cruel agony of being slowly bled to death...



Protest against Kosher Slaughter
Why should the "Great American Civilized Democracy" stand for Jewish atrocities?
DISTRIBUTED BY—
PIONEER NEWS SERVICE
P. O. Box 435—CHICAGO 90, ILLINOIS

The above leaflet was distributed at the first Christian Front meeting held in New York since the beginning of the war. It is modeled on the lines used by Hitler in his drive for power in Germany. Homer Maertz is head of the "Pioneer News Service."

NEW YORK FASCISTS HOLD QUEENS RALLY

The first Christian Front meeting in New York since the beginning of the Second World War was held October 6. The Christian Front is a native fascist organization which remained quiescent while Wall Street was busy waging its war for "democracy."

In the summer of 1939, however, it was a growing, truculent, rabidly anti-racial organization. Its tentacles were spreading throughout the country. Its chief figure, Father Coughlin, disposed of vast funds from mysterious sources which permitted him to broadcast over a wide radio network and publish a slick magazine called Social Justice.

At the October 6 meeting in Queens borough, the Christian Front began taking up the threads dropped during the war. Principal speakers were Homer Maertz, Kurt Mertig, C. Daniel Kurts, and Fred Kister.

Homer Maertz has already been exposed in the columns of The Militant. This former Silver-Shirt is closely linked with the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith and ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds who are at present organizing the Nationalist Party. This Party they hope will eventually take power in America the way the fascists did in Italy and the Nazis in Germany.

ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITY
Maertz, head of the "Pioneer News Service" of Chicago, is violently anti-Semitic. He was a delegate at the America First national convention August 29, 1944 where he presented a resolution calling for the sterilization of all "Jews" in America. In 1941 he served a six-month jail sentence for smashing windows of Jewish-owned stores. Recently he toured the country "organizing sluggers and hoodlums into action groups."

Kurt Mertig was formerly connected with the German-American Bund. C. Daniel Kurts is organizer of the Christian Front in the Queens borough of New York.

Hear The Program
of the
Trotskyist Candidates
In the coming
New York Municipal Elections
RADIO BROADCAST SCHEDULE
Saturday, Oct. 20, 9:00 to 9:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial, "People's Choice"
Sunday, Oct. 21, 9:00 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WMCA 570, on dial, "Women's City Club"
Monday, Oct. 22, 10:00 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial, "People's Choice"
Thursday, Oct. 25, 10:45 to 11:00 p.m.:
Station WOXR, 1560 on dial, "Public Service Series"
Saturday, Oct. 27, 9:00 to 9:30 p.m.:
Station WNEW, 1130 on dial, "People's Choice"
Sunday, Oct. 28, 10:15 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WMCA, 570 on dial.
Sunday, Nov. 4, 10:15 to 10:30 p.m.:
Station WMCA, 570 on dial.

The NEGRO STRUGGLE

by CHARLES JACKSON

Storm Warning—Prepare Now
Native fascist groups are taking a major turn in their activities. They have passed from a stage of propaganda to one of action. There are increasing reports from all over the country of planned and organized attacks on Negroes and Jews. It is obvious that these race hate perpetrators are seriously out to convince Big Business that they are the ones who can successfully stir up sufficient fratricidal strife within the working class to weaken and paralyze it so that it will be helpless before the onslaught of reactionary capitalism.

These fascists, just as they did in Italy and Germany, are making a major bid among the youth. During the past few weeks anti-Negro strikes and racial strife have been instigated successfully in many Northern cities, including Gary, Indiana; Youngstown, Ohio; Chicago and New York. Ringleaders whose parents are no doubt members of fascist organizations, circulate lying rumors calculated to get the other students to walk out of classes and stay out unless Negro students are barred from the school. In Gary, the older members took an even more active part. They organized a meeting at which 400 parents attended and laid plans to "back up the demands of the white students."

PARENTS TO BLAME
It was clear to all, however, that the parents were the ones who had instigated the strike using the school children as mere pawns for their own reactionary purposes. In Detroit youthful gangs have invaded Jewish neighborhoods recently and beat up residents which they encountered.

Fascism is not peculiar to "foreign" countries. It is, however, peculiar to decaying capitalism. It can happen here just as it happened in Italy and Germany. One difference will be that in this country, it will be the Negro who will be the first victim of the murdering gangs.

Let us wake up to the facts we may have to face in the very near future. This upsurge of anti-Negroism is no mere accident but rather part of an organized trend which is growing out of Big Business' inability to continue to control the labor movement under peaceful, "democratic" means. That the vanguard of American fascism is now actively rearing its scummy head is no fantastic claim.

Although the real target of the fascists is the labor movement, their first victim must and will be the Negro minority. Therefore, who can fail to agree that the Negro must be in the forefront of the fight against fascism? Through his trade unions, in his branch of the NAACP, or wherever he may be, the Negro must place at the top of the agenda the militant fight against fascism if he would survive in this country.

Read:
"NEGROES IN THE POST-WAR WORLD"
16 pages 5 cents
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Socialist Workers Party Branch Activities

- AKRON**—Visit The Militant Club, 405-E Everett Bldg., 38 East Market St., open Tues. and Thurs. 2 to 4 p.m.; Mon., Wed., Fri. 7 to 8 p.m.
- ALBANY**—Public discussion meeting on current topics every Thursday, 8 p.m. at Militant Labor Forum, 3 E. Cooper Street and Hamilton Streets, Albany.
- BOSTON**—Office at 30 Stuart St., open evenings (except Sundays) until 9:30; also Monday and Saturday afternoons. Come in and get acquainted. Complete stock of literature.
- RUFFALO**—Open house every Saturday night at the Militant Forum, 620 Main St., 2nd floor.
- CHICAGO**—Visit the Chicago SWP headquarters to obtain The Militant, Fourth International, Marxist books and pamphlets, as well as information about the SWP, 160 N. Wells, R. 317. Open 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 7562.
- DETROIT**—All Militant readers invited to the SWP Open House held every Saturday evening, from 8 p.m. on. Music, dancing, cards, refreshments. Admission free. Room 7, 3112 Woodward. Forums on topical questions every Sunday 2 p.m. Refreshments. No admission charge. Basic Training Class in Fundamental Principles of Marxism every Thursday 8 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES**—Visit The Militant, 4th International and other Marxist books and pamphlets and get information about the SWP at the following places in the Los Angeles area: LOS ANGELES, Socialist Workers Party, Rooms 200-05, 232 E. Hill St., VA-7838. SAN PEDRO, Socialist Workers Party, 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- LOS ANGELES**—Sunday, Oct. 28, 8 p.m. Lecture on "Veterans and the Labor Movement." Speaker Al Miller, 232 So. Hill St., R. 200-5.
- MILWAUKEE**—Visit the Milwaukee branch of the SWP at its headquarters, 626 Franklin Ave., Room 21, any evening between 7 and 9:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—Visit the Labor Book Store, 10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily.
- Attend the Twin Cities Sunday Forum held every Sunday, 3:30 p.m. Hear a Marxist analysis of the "New Deal Behind the Headlines."
- NEWARK**—Lectures are held every Friday at the Progressive Workers School, 423 Springfield Ave., at 5:30 p.m.
- NEW HAVEN**—Friday, Oct. 19, 8 p.m. Lecture on "Labor's Post-War Problems." Polish Palace Hall, 168 Franklin St.
- NEW YORK**—Sat. Oct. 28, 9 p.m. Open house at 116 University Place; refreshments.
- Sun., Oct. 21, 10:30 a.m. Comrades and friends will meet at 116 University Place to sell subscriptions in The Militant Campaign for ten thousand new readers.
- Every Monday, 8 p.m. Class on "Program and Principles of SWP," 116 University Place, first floor.
- Harlem Discussion Group meets every Wednesday night 8 p.m. to discuss "Labor and Negro Struggles," at 103 West 110 St., Room 23. Office open day and evening 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. also 7 to 9 p.m. Books and pamphlets on sale.
- Trotskyist Youth Forum, Friday, Oct. 19, 8 p.m. at 116 University Place "U. S. Colonial Policy."
- PHILADELPHIA**—SWP Headquarters, 405 W. Girard Ave. Open forums every Friday 8 p.m. on current topics.
- Socialist Youth Group meets on alternate Saturdays, 8 p.m. All young people invited.
- PORTLAND, Ore.**—Visit SWP headquarters, 230 S. W. Alder St., Room 509, open 10 to 4 p.m. daily except Sunday, and 6 to 8 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday. Saturday, Oct. 27, 7 p.m. Social. All Militant Readers invited.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—Visit the San Francisco School of Social Science 205 Grant Ave. corner of Grant and Butler, 4th floor; open from 12 noon to 3 p.m. Monday through Friday.
- TOLDO**—Forums held every Sunday evening at 205 Jefferson Ave., Room 204, 8 p.m.
- Open House every Saturday night; dancing, refreshments.

Diary of a STEEL WORKER

By Theodore Kovalesky

Last night was a miserable night; rain, and wind, and more rain. I met Jimmy at the gate on the way to work, and he was pretty well soaked through. "God," he muttered to me, "it sure is hell coming out on a night like this!" I agreed one hundred per cent with him.

"Man! If I coulda gone to college . . ." he sighed. "You wouldn't see me out in this damn steel plant in the rain."

"People like us don't go there, Jimmy."

"I know."

"But it's just as well."

"Huh?" Jimmy turned to see if I was kidding.

"Look, Jimmy," I asked, "what do they teach in Mississippi?"

"Oh," Jimmy said. "Yeah, that's right, they teach a lot of race hate and all that."

"Sure they do. And not just Mississippi either! They fill the minds of little kids full of poison all over the whole country. And when the kids grow old enough for college, those that go, they get a lot more poison."

"Yeah," Jimmy said doubtfully. "I know all you say is true, but you told me yourself that the reason kids can go to public school without paying is that the labor movement used to have big strikes demanding free public schools. Were they wrong to do that or you think?"

"No, Jimmy, I wouldn't say that," I answered. "We want our people to be educated. But they don't get much education nowadays in the schools. When the workers take over the ownership of the factories and control of the government, we'll have schools that will teach the truth. And not just a few kids and young people will be able to go to them like they do now. We'll send everybody to school. Nobody that wants an education will have to go without it."

Jimmy walked silently at my side for a few moments. When he spoke his voice was thoughtful. "That'll be great, all right. But, you know, even today, I don't think it's quite as bad as you say. Look, as far as politics go, I know they teach all that capitalistic propaganda in the schools. But how about the rest of the lessons, I mean the ones that don't tell you about the government or the profit system . . . you know, all that sort of stuff?"

"TACTICAL MISTAKES"

Whereupon Adam Lapin, the Stalinist expert on Washington, complains in the October 12 Daily Worker (page 6) against these "tactical mistakes" of the CIO delegations:

"For example, liberal Congressmen complained that delegations were not sufficiently well informed and frequently failed to draw the line between those Congressmen who had supported labor's program and those who had not."

"Obviously delegations ought to be so organized as to strengthen the ties between labor and the more progressive members of Congress . . . If it were done it would strengthen the backbone of the liberals . . ."

Who are these "more progressive Congressmen" who have "supported labor's program" but need kind words to "strengthen their backbone"? Lapin doesn't name them—because they don't exist.

Significant to note is that these CIO delegations include many Stalinist functionaries. If these wheelhorses are getting tough with the "progressives" in Congress, they must be getting plenty of heat from the workers. And that heat must be very hot, indeed, since Fosterline orders forbid roughing up "progressive" Congressmen, as Adam Lapin plainly says.

How do you draw the class line between a good capitalist politician and a bad capitalist politician? How do you square the circle?

The October 9 Daily Worker tried it. Commenting on the fact that the Pulaski Day parade was turned into an anti-Soviet demonstration—which is certainly true—a Stalinist editorial went on to the unpalatable task of separating the sheep from the goats. Alas, ALL the capitalist mayoralty candidates had been there, not only the bad ones but also the good one, i.e., the one supported by the Stalinists. The editorial tried and tried but the most it could say was:

"VERY UNCLEAR"

"For Thomas E. Dewey and Jonah Goldstein to reap the applause of Polish fascists is understandable. Why General O'Dwyer should find that necessary is very unclear."

That "very unclear" should have reassured every Communist party member, sympathizer and every American Laborite, and sent him rushing off to register so he could vote for O'Dwyer. So hopes the Daily Worker.

But the October 10 Daily Worker has to wail and moan about the low turnout for registration.

It seems many workers can't be made to understand the profound difference between the bad capitalist candidates whose anti-labor and anti-Soviet actions are "perfectly understandable" and the good capitalist candidate the reason for whose anti-labor and anti-Soviet actions is "very unclear."

On the 25th anniversary of John Reed's death, the Stalinists held a New Masses meeting in his memory.

But what they DID NOT DO was to sell John Reed's immortal book, "Ten Days That Shook the World."

READ AND COMPARE

Everybody should read it. And then compare his version of the October revolution, which Lenin

praised so highly—compare it with the Stalinist version.

A quick glance at the index will show you the difference. Look up how many times Trotsky appears in it, and how many times Stalin appears.

No wonder the Communist Party doesn't want its members to read it!

Foster Continues Browder Line Of Supporting 'Good' Capitalists

By Felix Morrow

The Communist Party ousted Browder and adopted a "new" line. But, whatever the difference between the new and the Browderline, both have one basic thing in common: the claim that there are good and bad capitalists, progressive and reactionary capitalists, and that the Communist Party should ally itself with the good or progressive ones against the bad or reactionary ones.

The net result is that the Fosterline cannot draw the class line between the workers and the capitalists, any more than the Browderline could draw it. And that means that the Fosterline, like the Browderline, holds back the workers from fighting against the capitalist class, prevents the workers from understanding the class struggle.

One example of how the Fosterline holds back the workers:

Increasingly, CIO delegations are going to Washington, banging on the doors of Congressmen, telling them off, and returning to tell union meetings that both the Democratic and Republican Congressmen are against the workers.

Meanwhile, mass picketing began outside Universal studios in Universal City. While a number of workers had already entered the lot when the pickets arrived, 200 extras stopped abruptly when they saw the pickets and refused to cross the line.

Hundreds of telegrams of protest were received yesterday by Los Angeles Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz following the arrests of the pickets. He received only two telegrams of approval. These were from Roy M. Brewer, International representative of the AFL, and from Joseph R. Singleton of the AFL, carpenter. Brewer, in a blatantly anti-union action, "thanked" the sheriff for arresting the pickets.

2,500 JOIN LINE

The arrest of nearly 300 pickets on Wednesday came only a few hours prior to receipt of news from the National Labor Relations Board that all 105 votes in last May's collective bargaining election between the striking AFL Painters Local 421, a member of the AFL Conference of Studio Unions, and the IATSE were counted. This the strikers interpreted as a victory.

In contrast to the shameful action of Brewer in welcoming police action against the pickets, members of several unions affiliated with IATSE have consistently refused to go through the picket line ever since last Friday when Warners' police turned fire hoses and hurled tear gas bombs at the strikers, injuring a number of them.

Lockheed machinists, after demonstratively driving past Warners' studio, quickly parked their cars and in columns four abreast marched back to join the other pickets. The singing, militant marches were halted by those on the line with shouts, whistles and applause. By seven o'clock, more than 2,500 sympathizers from Lockheed had joined the pickets.

Sheriff Biscailuz and his heavily armed police looked on, temporarily impotent. Biscailuz expressed the opinion, however, that the injunction limiting pickets to a handful was being violated and that the line was illegal.

McNett, IAM president, in explaining the decision of Lockheed workers, stated: "We are joining the picket line to prevent unjustified beatings of members by Warners' police when they appear as peaceful pickets." Applauded so highly—compare it with the Stalinist version.

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Police Violence In Hollywood Strike



Mass picket line which shut down Warner Bros. studio in Hollywood strike, attacked by company and city police with tear gas, fire hoses, clubs and pistol butts. The strikers were later joined by thousands of workers from the Lockheed aircraft plant who halted the police

Lockheed Workers Halt Police Terror Against Studio Strike

(Continued from Page 1) In front of the gates cheered lustily.

POLICE RETREAT

Some 500 police, who had previously taken up positions in the middle of the street, stepped back and retreated to the opposite curb. They made no move to stop the procession.

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approximately 30 machinists were among the pickets arrested on Wednesday, while several machinists previously had been beaten, at least one of them seriously.

"Reports that the union urged only off-shift workers to report to the picket line are not true," McNett continued. "The invitation was to all Lockheed workers."

Then the police closed in. Strikers were taken under protest into the studio, and there finger-printed and booked on the rioting charge and on additional counts of disturbing the peace and disobeying a court injunction against picketing. Maximum penalty under these charges is two years in jail, \$2,000 fine, or both. Following the mass arrests, only token pickets paraded in front of the studio.

Today, with the magnificent aid of the Lockheed workers, another and different chapter was written.

REJECT STRIKEBREAKING

After four months of inexcusable delay, the NLRB finally reached a decision on how to count strike votes cast last May. In a two to one opinion, the board announced that ballots cast by both strikers and replacements would be counted. Of the 105 votes, 54 were cast by striking set decorators, the remaining 51 being cast by IATSE members hired since the strike started last March.

Brewer, in his treacherous telegram of thanks to Sheriff Biscailuz, made the presumptuous claim that in tendering his gratitude he was speaking in the name of 14,000 IATSE members.

DETROIT READERS!

Hear Arthur Burch SWP Organizer

Speak on "Why Trotskyists Support Detroit's Labor Candidates"

SATURDAYS AT 11:45 A.M. Station WXYZ-1270 kc Oct. 20-Oct. 27-Nov. 3

He obviously chose to forget those members loyal to union solidarity who rejected the IATSE-inspired scab policy of breaking the picket line.

IATSE cameramen, film technicians, soundmen and costumers have all refused to enter Warners since the company used violence against the pickets.

POLICE TERROR

Although several hundred scabs have been in the studio since a police-flanked and police-protected break-through on Monday, production has been at a standstill. No pictures can be "shot" without cameramen and other technicians.

Early Wednesday morning, the pickets were marching peacefully when they were surrounded by more than 200 police, armed with machine guns, tear gas, side arms and night sticks. They were arrested on the flimsy pretext that they were rioting.

Although studio police have used violence and attempted to foment riots ever since mass picketing began, no charges of riot or inciting to riot have been leveled against any Warners' officials.

Pickets realized that arrests were imminent when they saw the police advancing toward them. Strike leader Herbert Sorrell, who has been on the mass picket line every day since its inception, grabbed the microphone.

\$50-PER-DAY GOONS

"A few goons," he shouted, "will enter your lines. They are getting \$50 a day. You will be arrested. Do not resist. Do not strike police. I am doing this to preserve law and prevent violence. You will be bailed out, and tomorrow we'll have 20,000 men on the picket line."

Pickets were still cheering Sorrell when Burbank Police

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM

By V. Grey

When you were a little kid in school, you dreamed of the vanished great days of the world, the days of giants, of epic fights and heroes. You saw yourself on a fiery horse rescuing ladies fair from distress and conquering all kinds of villains and dragons. Or you'd go to the movies and see Buffalo Bill in the Saturday afternoon serials and play cowboy after the show, pretending with all your little soul that you were a real two gun pioneer.

If you lived in a small town you'd stand near the railroad tracks in the early evening and watch the express hurtle past out into the unknown and wish you were an engineer. The dining car would flit by with all those pretty people, gliding into the magic night, and you'd long for the far places and the great things they were surely going to. You wanted to be a fireman, an engineer, an explorer, a Galahad—a HERO.

But before you were even out of school, you learned to laugh at your own dreams. Why the world was all explored! The west was all pioneered. And the future was on ice. All the big stuff was in books. The great days of the world were over, and now everybody had to be little and humdrum.

The world was all finished changing, you thought. The past might have been exciting. But the present was just a succession of meaningless days. How were you going to do great things in the world, like the teacher said? That was kid stuff.

And when you went to work in the factory and the dust of the capitalist system began to settle in your lungs and fill up your brain, the hopes and dreams of your childhood began to grow dimmer still. You saw yourself as one of a thousand or ten thousand gray people in that gray plant. What could you or they ever do besides slave your life away, wearing out your dreams even faster than your heart and lungs? Why the capitalist almost had you believing you were BORN to be his slave!

The capitalist did all in his power to brutalize you and degrade you. He took the energy out of your tired mind in the factory and then with his radio, movies and church, he poured into your brain his hypnotic message: "SUBMIT." He tried to enslave your whole soul. He tried to wipe out of your mind even the memory of the dreams you had of being great.

Red Blood Flows In Your Veins

But that was before. That was before you saw the power of your class. That was before you realized that red blood flows in the veins of the gray people and red blood of the most revolutionary red flows in your own.

Now you are reading THE MILITANT and you have begun to dream again—not with the wishfulness of a child, but with the insistence of one who knows the dream can come true. Now you realize that tomorrow is not the same as today. Now you see the tremendous sleeping energy of your class—and you see it beginning to wake up. You are going to point the way to the waking sleepers and help lead them to a waked up world. You are going to earn their everlasting gratitude even if they never find out your name.

You are going to join together with the pioneers of the future in the Trotskyist party. You are going to fight in the front ranks of your class army, in the greatest fight the world has ever seen, for the liberation of mankind.

Now you see that all the ordinariness around you is a mask, a shell. It is like the rusty, battered iron and brick shell of the blast furnace that conceals the spitting boiling fury of three thousand degrees—hot liquid metal within. Soon the shell of the ordinary world is going to crack apart—like a blast furnace does when the pressure inside is too high. And there will be excitement, courage, sacrifice, heroism—all at their highest pitch.

You are going to share to the utmost in the fire and the glory. And that's not in the distant future. It's right here, inside the battered shell of the present. Your time of greatness is right now.

"Daily Worker" Editor Deserts To The Church

(Continued from Page 1)

for the above statement was issued, however, Budenz had been editor of the chief organ of the Stalinist party, and for ten years had been a leader of the Stalinist pack in attacking Trotskyism, the authentic Bolshevism of our time.

Moreover, Budenz had never been a Trotskyist. On the contrary, even prior to his faithful services for Stalinism he had been an opponent of Trotskyism and of Marxist theory. This was in fact the qualification which so endeared him to the Stalinists. It was for this very reason that they sought him out, embraced him and elevated him in their ranks.

RECORD OF BUDENZ

Budenz, a lawyer and social service worker, had started out his labor career giving advice to the labor movement through a personal magazine. Though he achieved a certain prominence through his assistance in several strikes in the early 1930's, he had an unquestioned flair for strike tactics, particularly getting publicity.

He became associated with A. J. Muste in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, an organization which sought to unite militant workers into a left-wing in the labor movement and which in December 1933 established the American Workers Party. Budenz participated in the famous Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934 which was led by local members of the AWP.

As recorded by James F. Cannon's History of American Trotskyism, "by 1934 Budenz, who had no socialist background, was a 100 per cent patriot, three-fourths of a Stalinist, tired and somewhat sick and looking for a chance to sell out."

When the Communist League of America, pioneer Trotskyist organization and forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party, proposed unification with the Muste group, Cannon relates, Budenz was "bitterly hostile to unity with the Trotskyists." He organized a faction in the AWP

which did everything possible to sabotage such unity.

He did not succeed. So he decided to enter the new party formed by the fusion and for a few months, from January to May 1935, attempted to conduct warfare inside the party against the ideas of socialist internationalism and for his own vulgar and reactionary nationalism which he termed the "American approach."

"RIDICULOUS IDEA

In March 1935, two months after the fusion, he publicly attacked the basic ideas of Marxist internationalism in the Modern Monthly and advanced the ridiculous idea of eliminating all-powerful American monopoly capitalism by a simple amendment to the constitution. His anti-Marxist views were sharply attacked in the New Militant, predecessor of the present Militant.

Budenz was seeking allies in his fight against Marxism and Trotskyism. The Stalinists were bent on a similar search. They too had abandoned internationalism and were embarked on their course of national patriotism and "People's Front" collaboration with "our own" "democratic" capitalists, in line with the "collective security" program of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The alliance between Budenz and the Stalinists was a genuine "love-match." He went over to the Stalinists in May 1935 with the boast that the Communist Party had "now come over to my position."

TROTSKYIST-BAITER

For ten long years he served Stalinism well. He was a specialist in Trotskyist-baiting and slander. He accepted every order emanating from the Moscow regime and defended its every crime against world labor. He made every turn, including the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact and back again, with the agility of a trapeze artist. And when the Communist Party needed an editor especially qualified to peddle its pro-imperialist war, pro-capitalist line after June 22,

1941, it found the ideal candidate in Budenz.

But Budenz, like others still in the Stalinist ranks who may be expected to emulate his flight from the Communist Party, followed the logic of his Stalinist views. When the conflict between the Soviet Union and American imperialism once more began to reveal itself, he decided to serve openly the cause of capitalist imperialism and take his orders henceforth from an "older and more established" institution which he feels promises him greater security.

En route to Notre Dame University, where as an associate professor of economics he will now teach the "true faith"—defense of "emancipating" monopoly capitalism as against communism which "I have found aims to establish a tyranny over the human spirit"—Budenz piously denied that he had ever knowingly taken orders from Stalin. "Earl Browder and others get orders from somewhere," he observed with new-born sanctimony, "but I don't know where."

"DAILY WORKER" LIES

About the only true words in the Daily Worker "explanation" for Stalinism's latest finished product is that "Budenz's desertion of his post has nothing to do with religious convictions." But the Stalinists, strain the truth when they claim his high position in the Communist Party was due to "error" and "political looseness and carelessness."

From the first, the Stalinists knew what they were getting when they got Budenz. The New Militant of September 21, 1935, in an article entitled "Budenz and the Stalinists," observed that "those who go off the Marxist road find themselves in the end in a swamp."

Budenz has merely sunk to the bottom of the swamp. His anti-Marxist, anti-Trotskyist training with the Stalinists will serve him well in his new profession. One of his acts following his first communion was to confer with "a number of high-ranking military officials."

Fears Intelligence of the Workers

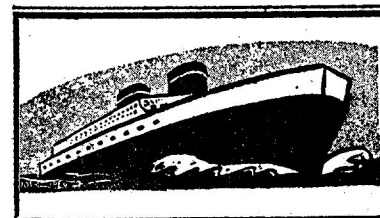
"Even those, Jimmy," I said, "Look at what happened to Einstein in Germany. And look at what happened to the libraries: storm troopers took thousands of great books out of them and burned them. You know that fascism or Nazism is nothing but capitalism at its worst. Well, when capitalism gets worn out so badly that it turns into fascism, it fears the truth. It fears intelligence, ESPECIALLY INTELLIGENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS."

"Poverty and ignorance have gone hand in hand for centuries. The labor movement was in part responsible for free education as we have it today. But there was something else as well as that. The worker in the modern factory needs some education. Modern machinery is a little bit tricky. Then there are blueprints to be read and all that sort of thing. So the ruling class is willing to have us learn a little. But they don't want us to learn too much or get too intelligent, because they know that if we do, it's going to be dangerous for them. A guy that's really intelligent, Jimmy, a guy that can think, is going to wonder why there's unemployment, poverty in the midst of plenty, war, race prejudice, depressions and all the other misery that comes from capitalism. And if the capitalists can't buy him off, he'll cause them trouble."

Jimmy slogged through the puddles at my side for a few moments without speaking. Then he said, "Well, we got to go to school our own way, I guess."

"That's right, Jimmy: 'The Militant,' the 'Fourth International,' all the books written by Marx and Engels and Lenin and Trotsky . . . we've got to learn them all. And we can, too. The time will come before too long, when we'll show those capitalists that we're not as dumb as they hope we are."

Jimmy wiped the rain from his face and yawned. "The sooner the better," he said. "I sure am sick of things the way they are now."



Postwar Notes for Seamen

The State Department intervened in Congressional deliberations on the Bailey ship-disposal bill, introducing statistics to show that American export goods are paid for in part through the shipping services of other countries. This has been the practice in the past and partly explains why American-flag shipping did not flourish in the interim between world wars. In 1937, for example, U. S. shippers paid \$130,000,000 more for foreign shipping services than was paid by foreign shippers to American operators.

It is now argued by the State Department that increasing the proportion of trade carried in American bottoms will cut the source of dollars abroad, with serious effects on U. S. export trade. This is just one of the minor facets of the whole policy known as "dollar diplomacy."

The National Maritime Union (CIO) published in the October 5 issue of THE PILOT a set of statistics proving that profits to American ship operators increased 200 per cent in the six-year period from 1938 to 1944. One of the outfits mentioned,

Likes Brothers, had a profit of \$486,000 in 1938 which jumped to \$8,918,000 in 1944. These tremendous profits accrued to the ship-owners during the period of the war when the entire merchant fleet was controlled by the War Shipping Administration. Nearly five thousand government-built ships were launched, and all ships were operated at government expense. These "profits" therefore, represent part of the wartime swindle in the shipping industry.

The Bland ship-disposal bill was passed by the House on October 2. The adopted bill contained some amendments allegedly designed to recover 25 per cent of the \$17-billion spent by the government in wartime construction of ships. This "recovery" of government funds will be more than off-set by government subsidies paid to the new "owners" for operation of the government-built ships.

Approximately 3,000 of the wartime ships will not be used by U. S. Imperialism in the peace period. These 3,000 ships will eventually be scrapped if present plans materialize. For the present they are being relegated quietly to the great ghost fleets in out-of-the-way places along the American coastline.

At present there are more than 90 in the James River ghost fleet near Baltimore. By the end of this year there will be another ghost fleet of more than 90 ships hidden away in Suisun Bay, near the mouth of the Sacramento River not far from Frisco.

