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— See Page 3 —

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CONGRESS SPECIAL SESSION WON'T HALT HIGH PRICES OR AID HUNGRY EUROPEANS

A Labor Program for Congress

An Editorial

The Republican and Democratic members of Congress are getting together in a special session to push through the program of Big Business.

The members of organized labor should also get together to draft and fight for an independent program in the interests of the working people.

When Wall Street's Congress meets in Washington on Nov. 17, it should be confronted with the representative voice and might of the American people. That voice and might can best be expressed through a CONGRESS OF LABOR—a grass roots assembly of elected delegates from all labor organizations CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents.

There in Washington, on the very doorsteps of Wall Street's Congress, the men and women who truly speak for labor should meet, draft their demands and organize action.

They should deal first of all with the most burning problem of the American people—high prices.

Truman dared not ignore this problem in his call for a special session. But only an idiot can believe that Wall Street's Congress—which passed the Taft-Hartley Law, killed price and rent controls, reduced corporation profits taxes—will willingly lift a finger against the profiteers and price-gougers.

A representative Congress of Labor should counterpose its own program to the program that serves only the profit-interests of the few. This program would include:

1. PRICE CONTROL THROUGH COMMITTEES OF THE UNIONS, CONSUMERS GROUPS AND FARMERS ORGANIZATIONS.

These mass committees should fix price ceilings, ration scarce necessities, confiscate food and other goods hoarded for speculative purposes. They should examine the books and records of the corporations, and expose all fraudulent and profiteering practices. They should press for the imprisonment of price-extortionists.

2. EXPROPRIATION AND NATIONALIZATION OF ALL FOOD-PROCESSING INDUSTRIES AS A FIRST

STEP TOWARD NATIONALIZATION OF ALL MONOPOLIES.

Private monopolies of food-processing and other basic industries must be smashed. The government should seize these industries, eliminate private profit and operate them under the control of the workers themselves.

At the same time, a Congress of Labor should press for measures that would really ensure aid for the hungry.

Money and supplies that Wall Street's Congress sends to Europe are not intended for the people. They go to dictatorial regimes, controlled by the rich, which are oppressing the people. They are swallowed up by military machines and the black markets. A Congress of Labor should demand:

1. LET THE TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE SUPERVISE LOANS TO FEED THE PEOPLE AND DISTRIBUTE ALL SUPPLIES. SEND AID WITHOUT POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION TO THE NEEDY OF ALL LANDS.

The greatest immediate aid we could give the people of occupied Europe would be to take the burden of foreign military occupation from their backs. That means:

2. WITHDRAW ALL OCCUPATION TROOPS AND LET THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES WORK OUT THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

To achieve labor's program, a Congress of Labor should mobilize the workers in militant action on a nation-wide scale through mass meetings, mass committees of pressure on Congressmen, mass demonstrations.

At the same time, a Congress of Labor should recognize that the fundamental job is to destroy Wall Street's political monopoly. It should launch the campaign for independent political action through a Labor Party. It should run its own candidates and build its own party. It should fight to kick out the Democratic and Republican agents of Wall Street in Washington and replace them with tried and trusted men and women from labor's own ranks.

The Chief Client for "Aid"



Truman, GOP Speed Up Wall Street's Program To Bolster Dictators

By Art Preis

Truman has called a special session of Congress, starting Nov. 17, to speed up Wall Street's program for bolstering capitalist reaction in Europe. At the same time he has thrown a bone to the American people by promising to place before Congress a program on price inflation, the details of which he has not yet revealed.

Despite billions already poured into the U.S.-dominated countries of Europe, the rotten and tottering capitalist economies of France, Italy, etc., are on the verge of collapse.

The swift pace of this disintegration abroad is accelerated by the soaring inflation in this country. Rising prices of American goods have drastically curtailed foreign purchases from the U. S. and quickly eaten up previous American loans to bankrupt and war-ruined countries.

In return, American capitalist economy, which has shown huge cracks and fissures since the end of the war, would be dangerously shaken and undermined by a collapse in the western European countries.

This two-fold prospect has thoroughly alarmed American Big Business and its government. They are especially concerned because of the effects upon Wall Street's plans to dominate the world.

IMPAIR SCHEME

Capitalist economic crisis in western Europe, with its inevitable accompaniment of working class revolts against unemployment and starvation, would seriously impair Wall Street's scheme to build a strong European base for the planned atomic war against the Soviet Union.

Wall Street has ordered the government to rush through the Marshall Plan and "stop-gap aid" without further delay. Both Republicans and Democrats are complying quickly.

The Republicans, who were delaying action with a pinch-penny attitude, have stepped promptly into line at the crack of Wall Street's whip. They have announced, through Senator Taft, that they expect to push through not only the "stop-gap" program but the whole Marshall Plan by Dec. 19.

'Fortune' Poll Shows Wide Fear of Future

The latest poll taken by Fortune magazine reports that 50% of the farmers and 67% of the factory workers queried find it harder to "make ends meet" than six months ago. Of the general population only 33% reported it the same; while 5% found it easier and 4% had no opinion. Apprehension over the future is widespread. 51% of those polled expect there will be fewer jobs six months from now than today. 25% thought there might be the same number of jobs; while 13% believed more jobs are just around the corner, and 11% had no opinion. As for a depression within two years, 57% considered it "likely," 25% "unlikely," and 18% had no opinion.

Thus, virtually the entire Congress is regimented behind Wall Street's basic program of imperialist world domination and conquest.

Although the impelling aim of Truman's call for a special session is to prop up capitalist despotism in western Europe, he felt compelled to hitch his "aid to free nations" program to a demagogic promise of action on price inflation at home. This is the gravest and most immediate concern of the American people. Truman did not dare to ignore it in any call for a special session.

Truman threw in his promise of action on prices to better justify the special session in the eyes of the people and make them more willing to accept his real aim—more and quicker aid to reactionary regimes under the thumb of Washington.

But nobody knows as yet, just what Truman intends to propose on prices. In his radio speech on the special session, he stressed the peril of unrestrained price inflation and warned that "the road is being paved for a recession or a depression." He was utterly vague. (Continued on Page 2)

Vigilantes Break Up New Jersey Meeting Of Communist Party

NEWARK, Oct. 29—Strongly denouncing the vigilante attack which broke up a Communist Party meeting in Trenton last Sunday, the Socialist Workers Party here called on the labor movement for action to stop the spreading attacks on the democratic rights of minority parties.

A court order had been obtained by the CP to prevent interference with its meeting, but police did nothing to enforce the order. Several thousand members of a mob gathered by reactionary "veterans" leaders broke into the meeting hall, beat up some observers who sought to enter and prevented the meeting from being held.

The next day Republican Governor Driscoll issued a statement giving his implied approval to such attacks on the right of free assembly, and denying state protection to a Kingdon-for-Senator rally threatened with a similar attack in Jersey City that night.

The SWP statement struck sharply at Driscoll for "condoning this suppression of civil liberties. Here he is, parading around as a great democrat on the basis of the liberalized Bill of Rights in the proposed Constitution to be voted on next week, and yet at the same time he upholds these violations.

"When the Stalinists suppress the meetings of their political opponents in Eastern Europe, that's terrible and a great outcry goes up about it here. But when the same thing happens in reverse in the capitol of one of America's most important states, that's presumably democracy. Free speech seems to be a good thing—in far-off Europe. Here it appears to be well on the way to being considered a crime.

"If reactionaries and hoodlums get away with breaking up Communist Party meetings today, with the Governor's approval, they will on the morrow try the same gangster methods against all union and progressive groups. This is the road to fascism.

"Since the state and police authorities refuse to guarantee the right of free speech and assembly, we call on the labor movement to do so by forming workers' defense guards to protect minority parties

Landlords Dominate Local Rent Boards

Real estate and business interests control most of the local rent boards set up under the Rent Decretal Act. These boards are empowered to recommend rent boosts or decontrol of rents altogether in their areas.

An analysis of the membership of 179 rent boards in heavily populated areas shows they are dominated by 449 landlords, real estate men, business executives, bankers, corporation lawyers and insurance representatives. Only 57 labor spokesmen have been appointed.

Out of 10 members on the Chicago board, there are three real estate agents, one insurance agent, one lawyer, one merchant, one YMCA secretary, a foundry owner and one union man. Los Angeles has four retired businessmen, one real estate agent, Louisville has two lawyers, two real estate agents, one landlord. St. Louis has two real estate men, an automobile dealer, a lawyer and one union man. These are typical.

Hickman Defense Getting Nation-Wide Support

CHICAGO, Oct. 28—James Hickman goes on trial on the morning of Nov. 5 in the court of Judge Rudolf DeSart, 7th floor of the Criminal Court Building, 26th and California Sts. The state will demand Hickman's life or liberty for shooting the landlord he held responsible for the murder of his four children in a fire last winter.

The outcome of this trial is being watched with interest by increasing numbers of organizations and people in all parts of the country, thanks to the campaign being conducted in Hickman's behalf by the Hickman Defense Committee (4619 South Parkway, Chicago 15).

Defense committees are being formed in other communities, and resolutions demanding Hickman's freedom are coming in from more and more states. In the last week alone, moral and/or financial aid was received from the following organizations:

New York: \$118 from individuals

appealed to in a Workers Defense League mailing.

Detroit: UAW Briggs Local 212—\$100; Dodge UAW Local 3—\$25.

Philadelphia: Westinghouse UE Local 107—\$10.

Chicago: Local 1204, CIO United Paper Workers—\$100; Local 15, CIO Retail Clerks—\$25; Local 44 of Livestock Handlers—\$10; Local 1454 of CIO United Railroad Workers—\$10.

New Jersey: UAW Bendix Local 153; UE Local 440.

The Defense Committee's fight to free Hickman has been endorsed by all four regional directors of the UAW in Detroit—Emil Mazey, Percy Llewellyn, Norman Matthews and William C. Stevenson.

More Wages a "Must" States AFL's Survey

Back in September the CIO News said that if prices continue to rise the workers will be forced to demand more wages.

Last week the AFL, in its current Economic Survey, voiced the same view. It stated that prices have so outstripped previous wage gains that a "third round" of wage raises has become "a must."

Most workers will say "Amen!" to that. You don't have to be very sharp to know that when prices rise more than 25% in a year—and now are going up faster than ever—the only way the workers can protect their living standards is to fight for more wages.

But what are the AFL and CIO leaders doing about it—besides permitting publication of a couple of obscure literary references to the need for more wages?

Last month both these organizations held national conventions. They solemnly resolved that prices are getting terrible. They complained about the inaction of the government. But they seemed to have dropped the word "wages" from their vocabularies. CARRY INTO ACTION

It is time for the question of higher wages to be carried from the columns of CIO and AFL house organs into the field of action.

A national fight for a substantial wage increase must be made. Every day's delay means a wider gap between present money wages and rising prices.

But it must be recognized that another round of fixed wage increases is not enough. It will only enable the workers to catch up temporarily with past price rises. It will not protect them from future price rises.

This is what worries most workers. They won't important wage gains in 1946 through tremendous strike struggles. During the past year, they were forced to demand a "second round" of raises. Now they must demand a "third round."

Will they have to fight for a "fourth," a "fifth" and a "sixth"? That's the discouraging prospect they face in a period of price inflation when they limit their demands to fixed wage gains.

ESCALATOR CLAUSE

The labor movement must therefore raise an additional and more far-reaching demand—for an adjustable cost-of-living bonus. The

cost-of-living bonus principle, also known as the escalator or sliding wage scale, provides for supplements to regular wages in direct proportion to rising prices.

The employer is automatically required by contract, at regular monthly or quarterly intervals, to pay a wage bonus in line with higher living costs. Thus, if the basic wage is \$1 an hour, and prices then raise 10%, the employer must

pay the basic scale plus 10 cents more per hour.

This is the type of demand the New York Building Trades Council has counterposed to the employers' demand for a three-year wage freeze. A similar cost-of-living demand was raised last year by the CIO Packinghouse Workers.

Let the whole union movement now inscribe this demand on its banner as a fighting slogan.

DE GAULLE THREAT MOUNTS IN FRANCE

By Joseph Hansen

France is faced with the gravest threat of a fascist seizure of power since 1936. General de Gaulle has received Wall Street's stamp of approval as future dictator.

With American Big Business behind him, this French version of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco is now brazenly encouraging his motley following of royalists, avowed fascists, police

agents, strong-arm ruffraff, Catholic politicians and hysteria-ridden small businessmen to get ready for action in the streets. Already a clash has occurred, with hundreds of casualties, when alarmed Parisian workers, protesting a provocative de Gaulle rally were attacked by steel-helmeted police wielding rifle butts.

De Gaulle followed up his gains in the elections of Oct. 19 and 26 by a dictatorial demand for the immediate dissolution of the National Assembly. This amounted to an ultimatum to the present government to hand over power. That was the pattern of events in both Italy and Germany where Mussolini and Hitler took advantage of parliamentary forms to pave their way to dictatorship.

"The objections that certain persons might profess to find in a constitutional text to retard the operation," said de Gaulle, "would be turned to mere derision." This is an open threat to toss the constitution of France into the wastebasket if the general finds it stands in the way of his early assumption of rule.

U. S. SUPPORT

In the United States, such Big Business newspapers as the N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Herald Tribune support de Gaulle's ominous demands. "There is no doubt that

France has arrived at a stage which demands new decisions," said the Times editorially. There is an "unanswerable logic in General de Gaulle's challenge to the Government" and the Ramadier regime "will have to bow in the end if it should succeed in obtaining a precarious vote of confidence in an Assembly which is no longer representative."

The Oct. 28 Times printed an interview between its correspondent G. L. Sulzberger and de Gaulle last May which was withheld from publication while the general was in political eclipse. Its release now was clearly designed to tip off the capitalists—outside the inner circle on the real score about de Gaulle.

De Gaulle was asked how he planned to come to power. For instance, if he were offered the post of Premier "early this winter," a constitutional change would be required.

QUESTION OF TACTICS

De Gaulle replied that it was "a question of tactics. . . . Some events, such as those of 1940, show that a Constitution can be changed quickly, even in one afternoon."

In office, de Gaulle would end the multiple-party system. This would fix a one-party dictatorship on France in the style of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.

De Gaulle would end the independence of the trade unions by two means: (1) barring them from politics; (2) tying them into "associations" combined with capitalists. This plank in de Gaulle's platform is directly patterned on Mussolini's "corporations" in the fascist state.

De Gaulle's phrases directed against both trade unions and "capitalist organizations" and the scheme to combine them in "associations" sound like a plagiarism from Hitler's book "Mein Kampf." The same holds for his main plank against "communism." In this interview last May, de Gaulle was already looking beyond the ballot box. "Of course the Communists will fight us," he said, "and of course we will fight them."

"The Communists are not a French party," declared this disciple of the corporate state. Once in power, under the formula of outlawing alien "communism," de Gaulle would smash the labor movement as did Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. But one thing de Gaulle would not touch—sacred capitalist property. "We must provide for full free enterprise," said the general. That's the tip off to Wall Street's lackies that this would-be French Hitler is on the beam so far as they are concerned.



DE GAULLE

"Dangerous Thoughts" in Hollywood Probed by Red-Baiting Witch-Hunters

By George Lavan

Sitting in Washington as prosecutor, judge and jury is the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee "investigating" the movies. The two-bit politicians in charge are well suited for the task of whipping up the red-hunt and grateful for the opportunity to bask in the limelight. In the name of "Americanism" of the 200% Ku Klux Klan variety they violate the basic civil liberty of freedom of thought, guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

This investigation is important because of the terrific publicity given it. It is and promises to continue for some time as one of the chief red-baiting instruments of the Wall Street-State Department combine.

Photographers' cameras flash, the television and newsreel cameras grind away. Batteries of microphones carry the proceedings all over the nation. Over a hundred reporters sit at special tables. The glare of klieg lights is so intense that many wear sun glasses.

SINISTER SIDE
But whipping up public hysteria is only one aspect of this Hollywood "probe." There is another sinister side. It is the official beginning of a conspiracy to totalitarianize first the movie industry, then the radio and the press. Everyone knows that these mediums are already well under the control of Big Business. But the drive for World War III demands the muzzling of the least dissenting or liberal opinion. The movies as a mass medium are first on the list.

One might ask what can the capitalist politicians possibly find wrong with the movies? Doesn't the silver screen serve its multi-millionaire owners and Wall Street well enough? Doesn't it give a false enough picture of the American people and their problems? If any European were to base his ideas on American movies, he would tell you that everybody in the U. S. lives in huge and luxurious homes. There are no class divisions because poor girls always marry rich men. The Negroes are perfectly content—all they ever do is laugh and sing. In brief, such tripe is all that Hollywood peddles. And what can possibly be communistic in it?

The contempt the Un-American Committee has for the intelligence of the American people can be judged by this charge that the movies are now chock-full of communistic propaganda. Ask yourself: "What pictures with communistic propaganda have I seen recently?" The answer is immediate, "None!" But Chairman Thomas and his fellow ward-healers believe

LABOR CANDIDATE



JOSEPH T. DESILVA

Endorsed by the Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Party as a step in the right direction is the candidacy of Joseph T. DeSilva, executive secretary of the AFL Retail Clerks Local 770, for Assemblyman from the 63rd district. Supported by the AFL, the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, DeSilva is campaigning as a labor man for election Nov. 4 to fill a vacancy in the state legislature.

many individuals who have been attacked in these committee sessions are able to cross-examine witnesses who accuse them. Why not? The meanest pickpocket in a police court has the right to cross-examine witnesses. In the "Un-American" kangaroo court, however, those nominated for the blacklist and stigmatized as "subversives" cannot even question their denouncers.

Can't they go into court, then, and sue if the testimony against them is false or slanderous? Again the answer is no! Congressional immunity covers the red-baiting committee and all its stage witnesses.

The victims of the red-hunt are thus deprived of the civil rights now being celebrated by the Freedom Train, by all the ads and speeches glorifying democracy.

The investigation may end with many in prison. For when a victim refuses to put his name on the blacklist by declaring he is a member of the Communist Party, or when he tries to answer more than yes or no to loaded questions, he is promptly cited for contempt. This has already happened to several screen writers.

MONSTROUS CAMPAIGN

Big Business has set out on the path for World War III. Civil liberties and the labor movement are the main obstacles on this path. To remove these obstacles, a monstrous campaign of red-baiting and violation of civil liberties has been going on for a year now. It has been marked by government strikebreaking, Supreme Court decisions limiting the Bill of Rights, the Taft-Hartley Act, purges of federal employees, deportation proceedings, and now we see it entering the phase of "thought control."

Union militants who hate Stalinism for its betrayals, must realize that this drive against the movies is not aimed at the Stalinists, who are the target and the victims at this stage. It is aimed against free speech and thought, just as red-baiting in the unions is really aimed at the trade unions themselves.

KINDLY BANKERS

They have listed a large number of movies supposedly communist in tenor. Among them is **Best Years of Our Lives**. The dangerous radical thought in it, according to the witch-hunters, is the portrayal of a banker as crusty and tightfisted. Apparently if the committee has its way all bankers must be shown only as kindly and magnanimous.

The truth is, Hollywood is "loyal"—not to the American people—but to Wall Street and the State Department. When World War II preparations started, Hollywood produced war propaganda films. When the White House and the Kremlin got together, appropriate propaganda films such as *Mission to Moscow* were ground out, giving the Stalinist version of the Moscow Trials, endorsed at that time by the State Department. As the current drive for war against the Soviet Union swings into high gear, we learn that Hollywood is already busy preparing anti-Russian films as its contribution to atomic destruction.

But obviously the fat boys and their hired hands, the politicians, want much more. The Hollywood "probe" started off with open recommendation from Representative Thomas to the Hollywood employers that they fire and blacklist all "communist" employees. Testimony from well-rehearsed witnesses was introduced that unions in Hollywood were "red." Walt Disney, notorious for his hatred of unions and strikebreaking efforts in his own studios, eagerly backed this charge. But neither the unions nor the

Truman Issues Storm Warning On "Boom-Bust" in Radio Talk

Last July Truman's Midyear Economic Report exuded optimism. Last week, Truman was compelled to change his tone. The precarious state of American capitalist economy, reflected in a galloping price inflation, can no longer be concealed.

In his Oct. 24 radio address on his call for a special session of Congress, Truman was forced to hoist a storm warning and to point to the black clouds of "a recession or a depression" now clearly visible on the horizon.

A year ago the capitalist propagandists were assuring us that "more production" would bring prices down. Now Truman is forced to admit:

"Although production is high, prices are shooting up. Although nearly everyone is employed, many people cannot afford essential items. Although national income has reached a new high, the buying power of many people is shrinking."

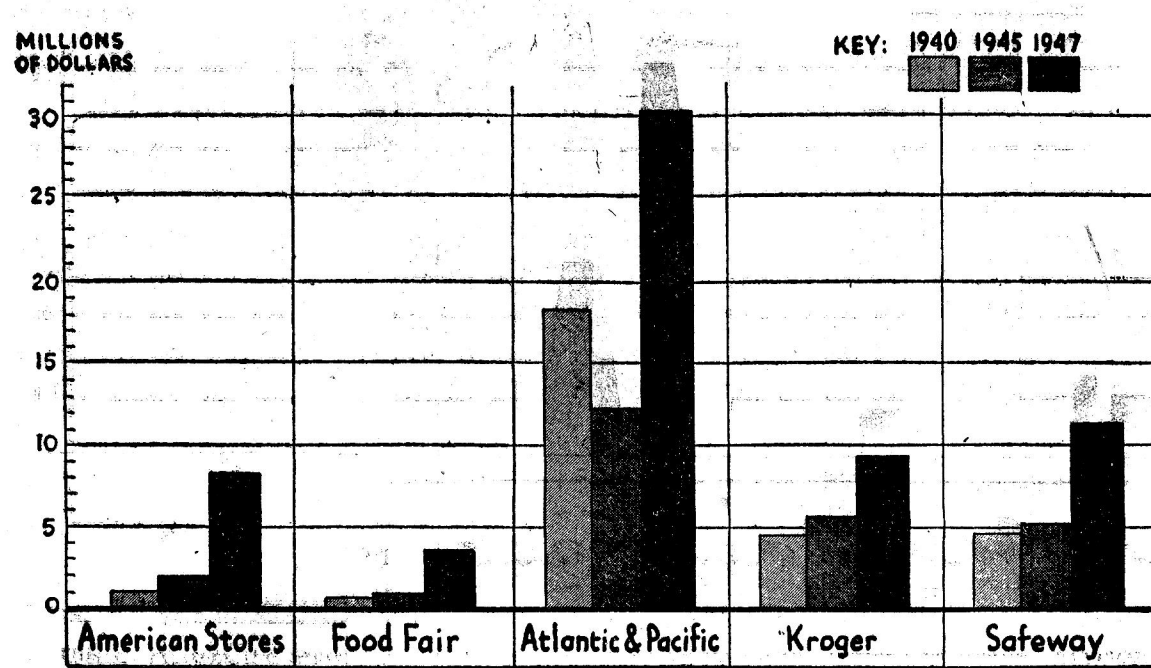
SIGNIFICANT FIGURE

He cited some significant figures on the extent and speed of inflation. Since June 1946, clothing prices are up 18%; housefurnishings, 18%; food 40%. Over-all prices have soared 23%. And that's a conservative figure.

Wholesale prices of textiles are up 30%; metals, 35%; and building materials, 41%. These rises, Truman warns, "affect every industry and trade and they will eventually be reflected in retail prices."

The working people are already suffering severely, Truman admits. "Millions of families of low or moderate income are already the victims of inflation. These families are using up their savings. They are mortgaging their future by going into debt. They are doing without things they should have."

Profits, after taxes, of 5 Food Chain Stores



This chart from the September CIO Economic Outlook points up the tremendous profits accumulated by the big five food chains. In 1945, for example, A & P's profit was about 12 million dollars. Today it is approaching three times that figure.

Congress Will Not Halt Inflation or Aid Hungry

(Continued from Page 1) however, as to his program to halt rising prices.

That he has no effective program in mind is demonstrated by his failure to say anything on the two key elements of such a program.

1. He said not a word about the need for higher wages to protect the workers' living standards, although he admitted that "for most of our people, increases in income are falling behind increases in the cost of living."

2. He was silent about the orgy of Big Business profiteering that has added jet propulsion to the inflationary spiral—a spiral already powered by the huge war debt and the scores of billions being spent for war preparations.

Truman stated just before his special call that he is opposed to rationing and price control, or any other form of restraint upon the profiteers. At the same time, he proposes to further swell inflation by pouring vast new government expenditures down the rat-hole of capitalist reaction in Europe and into the U. S. war machine.

Truman obviously intends to use the Congressional discussion on prices primarily as a means of foisting the blame for inflation exclusively on the Republicans. He wants to make political capital for the 1948 elections.

TIMED THE SESSION

Truman timed the special session to precede and coincide with the Foreign Ministers' Conference next month in London, where the disposition of Germany and occupied Europe will be discussed.

The "stop-gap aid" program is designed to strengthen Marshall's hand in the forthcoming Conference and lay a stronger basis for a U. S.-dominated western capitalist bloc against the Soviet Union.

The imperialist aims of Truman's "aid" program are concealed under his propaganda about "feeding the hungry" and "assisting free men and free nations." Such slogans are lies from beginning to end.

This is not a "feed the hungry" program, because it excludes aid to countries not under U. S. control. It is aid to the reactionary governments of certain countries under American domination.

Two-thirds of the money Truman proposes to spend as "stop-gap aid" until next March 1 will go to France and Italy, where the workers are best organized and conducting the most extensive class struggles in Europe today.

Second Series Of N. Y. School to Open on Nov. 17

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 — The New York Marxist Labor School will open its second fall series of Monday night classes on Nov. 17. Two sessions will be held at 116 University Place each Monday night through Dec. 8 at 7:30 and 9.

As a living guide to action by the workers today, the heroic struggles after the American Civil War will be studied in the first class each Monday at 7:30. Instructor Charles Carsten, organizational secretary of New York Local SWP and former secretary to Leon Trotsky, will review the inspiring revolutionary record of the American Negroes, one of the most important and most distorted chapters in U. S. history. In the first fall series of the school William F. Warde reviewed the class struggles leading up to the Civil War.

"Boom-Bust Ahead?" will be the topic of the second class each Monday at 9. Instructor John G. Wright, Associate Editor of Fourth International, will show the causes of capitalist crises, why another depression is unavoidable and will outline the working class answer—the coming American Revolution.

TWIN CITY FORUMS

"The Workers' Town Meeting" 1st Sunday of month ST. PAUL 540 Cedar St. 2nd, 3rd, 4th Sundays MINNEAPOLIS 10 So. 4th St. 3:30 p. m. Discussion Supper Admission free

Trusts Seek L. A. Transit Control

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 27—A slick scheme of several of the big monopolies for organizing a trust to take over the city's transit lines is in the process of being exposed in the courts here. The trust was organized in order to buy the products of each of the monopolists, and has been in existence for quite some time now.

Included in the corporations behind National City Lines, which is

Chicago Opens Forum Series Nov. 23; 'Labor's March to Power'

CHICAGO, Oct. 29 — American Labor's March to Power is the theme of six Sunday evening discussions of the Chicago Militant Labor Forum, to begin Nov. 23 at the SWP Hall, 777 W. Adams.

The series will trace the development of American trade unions and political parties through the last century and will outline future perspectives. Forum leaders will be M. Bartell, H. Anderson, Bob Cox, Manuel Terbovich, Roy Brown and Arne Swabeck, in that order. Open discussion will follow each lecture. Admission will be \$1 for the series, 25 cents per session, free to unemployed.

UAW Bell Local Urges Progressive Program

BUFFALO, Oct. 27—A fighting eight-month program for the UAW convention in Atlantic City next month was unanimously adopted by a membership meeting of Bell UAW Local No. 501 here.

As printed in the union's paper, 501 Organizer, the program reads as follows:

1. Inflation is growing steadily worse as prices shoot skyward, undermining our living standards and washing away our past wage increases. To protect our purchasing power we propose that every union contract contain a clause calling for a sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. Thus, every rise in prices would bring an automatic rise in our wages; and no subsequent drop in the cost of living would lower wages below a guaranteed minimum.

2. On the other side of the picture we propose that Consumers Committees, broad in scope, be set up under the leadership of the union movement, for the purpose of policing prices by picketing profiteers, examining the books of the corporations, and searching out the stockpiles of hidden foods and other scarce goods which speculators have hoarded for higher prices.

3. Side by side with the problem of prices, goes the problem of rents and housing. Like the other shortages, the housing scarcity is also an artificial one. Who does not remember the gigantic outpouring of war materials that was the result of unleashing the power of American industry? Why cannot the same effort solve the housing crisis? It could... but "Cost Plus" no longer exists, and private industry refuses to move without guaranteed super-profits. Therefore the government must do it. We must demand low rent government housing projects to end the shortages of homes for workers in general and veterans in particular.

4. How will such projects be paid for? The immense profits that the greedy monopolists have been extracting from the American public would be many times more than enough. A democratic tax program based on ability to pay would amply

meet the cost of such a project. In a word, let the super-profits of the corporations be taxed to the limit to solve the housing crisis.

5. Thus far, this program has struck primarily at the economic side of our problems. The political side is even more important. Reaching climax of its anti-labor trend, a majority of both Democrats and Republicans in the last Congress passed the infamous and oppressive Taft-Hartley slave law over the wishes of the vast majority of the American people. Where was labor's voice in the matter? Neither in the Senate nor in the House was there a representative from our ranks. We stress again at this time a point long advocated by Local 501: we call for the formation of an independent Labor Party based on the trade unions and divorced from both Republicans and Democrats. Put union men in Washington.

6. But in order to form a party of our own, labor's ranks must be closed. All labor must stand together in one compact, fighting mass. There must be no discrimination of any form against Negroes, Jews, or any other minority.

7. Just as Jim Crow and anti-Semitism are tools of the bosses to divide and conquer, to lay down a smokescreen to cover up the life and death issues facing us, so red-baiting is a bosses' tool of the same nature, employed by the companies, the NAM and the reactionary labor haters in the halls of Congress to cripple and eventually destroy the labor movement. Labor must reject all forms of red-baiting.

8. Finally, to close our ranks completely against our enemies, let there be an end to useless factionalism in the labor movement. Let there be united action of all unions, the CIO, the AFL, the R. R. Brotherhoods, and all bona-fide independent unions. Let us stand together in a common cause against our common enemy.

Our Program:

- Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
- Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
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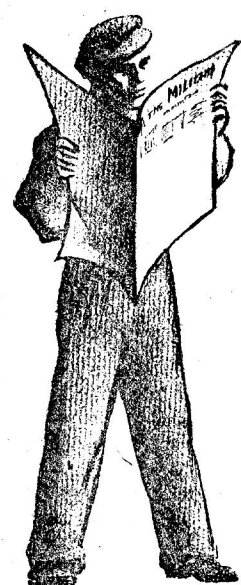
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30 YEARS AFTER RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

What Remains of the Great Bolshevik Conquest Under Lenin and Trotsky?

By Joseph Hansen

Thirty years ago, when the Russian workers ended the rule of the capitalists in Russia and set up a Workers' and Farmers' Government, the imperialists and their agents throughout the world unanimously predicted its early collapse. Measuring the colossal strength of world capitalism against the feebleness of this infant labor government, they were supremely confident that if it did not wither on the vine in a few weeks, they could grind out its life with a twist of the military boot.

Today the Soviet Union is rated by the capitalist statesmen throughout the world as exceeding in strength any of the capitalist powers of Western Europe, including Great Britain, and as second in world power only to the United States. Today even the powerful American imperialists stand in fear of the Soviet Union despite the fact that it was frightfully weakened by World War II, battered and devastated and hurled back whole decades in its development.

How to Explain?
How is this extraordinary change in the world position of the Soviet Union to be explained? How was it possible for one of the weakest powers in 1917 to emerge by 1947 as one of the strongest? What does this unprecedented fact in world history portend for the workers, and especially the workers in the United States? What should be our attitude toward it? The answer to these questions is of vital concern to every working class family in America. Wall Street is now preparing war with the Soviet Union. In Wall Street's blueprint the American workers are scheduled to bear the brunt of that projected conflict. We must decide whether to support these war preparations or whether to oppose them. To reach a correct solution to this crucial problem we must make a careful estimate of the Soviet Union — its origin, its development and where it stands today in relation to the labor movement.

The November 1917 revolution was the greatest single stride mankind has yet taken toward placing our social relations on a rational basis. When the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky were given government power by the Russian workers an astounded world watched this new revolutionary regime deliberately set out to end the blind anarchy and chaos of capitalism. For the first time in human history an entire country had taken the road leading to the establishment of reason and order in so-

ciety's production and distribution of goods. The long-debated program of revolutionary socialism as advanced by Marx and Engels was being tried out on a sixth of the earth's surface!

Ousted Capitalists

The Russian workers took over the industries, ousting the capitalists and making management responsible to the new workers' government instead of the former parasitic stockholders. The general house-cleaning and reorganization included the mines, mills, factories, transportation system, banks, and foreign trade. This nationalization of the economy made possible the integration of the country's entire industrial system and its operation according to an efficient overall plan.

At the same time the poverty-stricken field laborers and dirt farmers moved in on the giant estates of the absentee landlords, dividing them up, staking out their own farms.

The Bolshevik regime under Lenin and Trotsky was the most democratic the world has yet seen. The workers, farmers and veterans elected people from their own ranks to represent them on the councils (Soviets) that were organized throughout the length and breadth of the land to replace the old capitalist government apparatus. These

representatives were subject to recall at any time. They received no more pay than a skilled worker.

The new government passed model legislation. Women, for instance, were granted complete equality. All professions and trades were opened up to them. They received equal pay for equal work. Working women were entitled to paid leaves during the final months of pregnancy and free hospital care. Nurseeries, attached to factories, were organized.

Marriage and divorce laws were liberalized in accordance with the most advanced thought in this field. The youth were granted the legal right to regulate their own lives. They were entitled to a regular allotment in addition to free education while going to school.

People asked in astonishment, who were the leaders of this revolution? Where did they come from? The capitalist propagandists said that the Bolsheviks were "German spies," traitors to Russia, fomenters of un-Russian ideas. Then they said that the Bolsheviks were a manifestation of the dark and mysterious Russian "soul," fomenters of "oriental" ideas diametrically opposed to everything in Western civilization.

Truth Prevailed

But the truth about the Bolsheviks made its way. They were followers of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. They were well known in the world socialist movement as the most unyielding opponents of imperialism. Lenin had spent years building a revolutionary socialist party in Russia based on the principle of the widest possible democracy in discussion and iron discipline in carrying out decisions. Trotsky, the outstanding figure of the first attempt to overthrow the Czar in 1905, was the most brilliant theoretician since the days of Marx and Engels. He had foreseen the possibility of a socialist revolution in Russia 12 years before and had correctly predicted the course of the 1917 revolution.



LENIN



Other outstanding leaders were Sverdlov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Bukharin, Joffe, Burkharin — a whole galaxy of leaders whose names became household words among advanced workers everywhere. They represented the finest product of European socialism.

The Bolshevik revolution met with furious hostility from the capitalists in all lands. They tried by every means to aid and strengthen the reactionary forces in Russia.

It seemed impossible that the first workers' state in history could survive against the combined assault of the invading imperialist armies and the Allied quislings in Russia. The Bolsheviks themselves regarded their cause as doomed if the workers outside Russia did not come to their rescue. From their beleaguered fortress, they explained again and again that only if the workers in more advanced countries established socialism and united their economies with that of the Soviet Union could victory be assured. Otherwise it was only a question of time until capitalism would succeed in reestablishing its rule in Russia. They were not at all hopeful about their chances of being able to hold out a long time, for the war had ruined Russian economy, the transportation system was down, the wheels of industry were at a standstill, civil war was raging, famine and pestilence stalked the land.

A Great Vision

Those were harsh times. But the Bolsheviks had given the working class a great vision. The Russian workers performed miracles of heroism, forging the Red Army under Trotsky's dynamic leadership in the very maw of war. The workers elsewhere responded with a resounding battle cry: "Hands off the Soviet Union!"

Strikes and demonstrations in the Allied lands began pinching of the supply lines to the invading imperialist armies. Revolts flared up in the ranks of those armies. Working class revolutions broke out in Europe. The imperialists began to fear that if they continued their reckless course they would be unseated at home. They fell back thwarted.

The direct assault was postponed; but the "cold" war continued. The imperialist powers hoped to strangle the workers' state by tightening the economic noose. Credits were denied the Bolshevik government. The capitalists blocked access to the world market. They refused to ship desperately needed goods to the hungry, ragged Russian people. They refused to advance the machines required to reconstruct and expand the war-shattered industries. This economic war was accompanied by an unending barrage of abuse, slander, defamation and lies about the Soviet Union and the program of revolutionary socialism.

At the same time Wall Street pumped billions of dollars into Western Europe to stabilize capitalism there, strengthen reaction and stave off working class revolution. This policy paid off by bringing Mussolini to power in Italy, Hitler in Germany and Franco in Spain.

Sinister Figure

It also paid off indirectly inside the Soviet Union itself. A sinister figure advanced in the political arena there, a figure completely unknown outside small circles in the Soviet Union during the first five years of the Bolshevik regime. The name of this enigmatic figure was Stalin.

Already Stalin had given the Bolshevik Party trouble with his unprincipled factionalism and his envious hatred of those with greater talents who stood above him in the top leadership. He was bitter, ruthless and ambitious — prepared to hew his way to power with a bloody axe.

The heartening victory of the Red Army over the imperialist invaders and their quislings had by no means removed all the dangers facing the regime of Lenin and Trotsky. The long struggle had proved costly. The flower of the Russian working class lay dead on the battlefields of the civil war. Starvation and epidemics cut down millions more. The Bolsheviks were white with the prolonged struggle.

In 1922 when the Russian Communist Party numbered 386,313 members only 45,585 remained of those who had joined in 1917 or before; of these only 10,431 had joined in 1916 or before, that is, before the March 1917 uprising against the Czar. By 1925 only 8,249 of these pre-1917 revolutionists were left. These men and women constituted the tested political heart and brains of the new regime. Standing at the head of a population of some 150,000,000 people, they were like a tiny band on a raft tossed in a sea of perils.

The backwardness of Russia constituted an enormous dead weight pressing down on the government. Tens of millions could not even read or write. The country was predominantly agricultural. Machines of any type were novelties throughout entire regions. Highways were little better than trails. Locomotives still burned wood. Medieval superstitions prevailed on a vast scale. Raw, rude, rough, frontier Russia was at a stage of development comparable to that of America before the Civil War.

Race with Time

Worst of all was the low industrial capacity of the country. With all help denied from the outside world, how could the Russian workers hope to supply the enormous needs of the farmers for manufacturing goods? Wouldn't the farmers grow restless at forever sacrificing to feed the cities and try to upset the regime?

The Bolsheviks understood that Russia was far behind the industrial level achieved by the advanced capitalist countries. While they held the fort, pending rescue by socialist revolution in those countries, their only possible course at home was to try to catch up with the capitalist lands. This meant gearing the country to the most rapid possible expansion of basic industry. This meant continued hardship and sacrifice for everyone. But no other course was open. It was a desperate race with time. The distribution of the thin available trickle of goods meanwhile rested in the hands of the government. No profiteering or price-gouging was possible because the capitalists no longer ruled and therefore could not take advantage of the situation. Nevertheless, the pressure was felt of various groups trying to obtain more than their ration called for. Not the least of these pressures was that of the government officialdom.

The need to staff the government had enabled all kinds of careerists, Czarist bureaucrats, and former enemies of the regime to filter into posts. They saw no reason why they shouldn't get a bigger share. They found encouragement from an unexpected source. A man in upper Bolshevik circles was speaking their language — a man who fascinated bureaucrats seeking personal security — Stalin.

Left Opposition

Lenin and Trotsky were alarmed at the swift growth of this reactionary tendency. Lenin scented the danger from Stalin. "This cook," he said as early as 1921 "will prepare only bitter dishes." He had begun organizing a drive to reduce Stalin's power when he suddenly died in January 1924.

Trotsky carried on the fight against the degeneration that was undermining the workers' state. He organized a faction in the Communist Party called the "Left Opposition." This caucus stood on the platform of revolutionary socialism. Stalin's faction, on the other hand, revised the program of the Bolsheviks, raising the banner of "socialism in one country." This in reality meant giving up socialism completely and converting the Soviet Union into a paradise for the bureaucracy.

The Left Opposition understood that socialism, as Marx and Engels taught, can be built only as a worldwide society. The superiority of socialism over capitalism rests in the fact that it can produce more goods than can be done under capitalism even in the most advanced countries. This can be accomplished only by integrating industry on a world scale and guiding its operation according to an overall plan that permits each country to dovetail its productive capacities efficiently with the rest of the earth. The Left Opposition was han-

pered by the exhaustion of the Russian working class following the terrible years of war, civil conflict and famine. But Trotsky and his supporters did not yield to Stalinism. Their eyes were centered on the interests of the working class on a world scale.

However the issues in the struggle between the Stalinist faction and the Left Opposition were not well understood outside the Soviet Union. The entire Communist International which had been founded by Lenin and Trotsky in 1919 on the program of revolutionary socialism was infected by the virus of Stalinism. Workers unaware of what was going on in the Soviet Union trusted the advice of the Stalinists who were interested only in preserving and maintaining their bureaucratic positions in Moscow.

Derailed Struggles

Consequently the Stalinists were able to derail and defeat working class struggles in one country after another. These successive defeats strengthened Stalinism and weakened the Left Opposition. Finally in 1928 Stalin felt powerful enough to get away with crushing the Left Opposition. He staged a witch-hunt and arrested its leaders, including Trotsky. The founder of the Red Army was held first at distant Alma Ata and then exiled to Turkey.

Stalin later considered that expelling Trotsky from the USSR was his worst political mistake, for it enabled Trotsky to reveal what was happening in the Soviet Union without interference from Stalin's censorship. Stalinism, explained Trotsky, is paying the way for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. That is the essence of the process that is going on before our eyes. Stalinism is blocking the road to socialism for the workers outside the Soviet Union. That is the essence of the Stalinist role abroad.

In the Thirties, Stalin organized a purge after purge, completely liquidating the entire top Bolshevik staff organized by Lenin. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Radek, Rakovsky and all the rest of the major figures of the Russian Revolution disappeared in the prisons of the GPU or were shot as "fascist mad dogs" after fantastic frameup trials in which Stalin charged them with being "German spies." Stalin liquidated every possible leader who might conceivably head the resistance of the working class to his bloody dictatorship. In 1940 one of his GPU agents succeeded in sinking a pickaxe into the brain of Leon Trotsky as he was seated at his desk in Coyoacan, Mexico.

Today not one single outstanding figure of the top Bolshevik leadership that organized and led the November 1917 revolution remains in the Soviet government. They are either dead or their fate is unknown.

Fearful Cost

The cost to the working class of Stalin's triumph has been fearful. By his policy of sacrificing the socialist movement in other countries, Stalin permitted Hitler to come to power in Germany without a struggle. In Spain, pursuing this same policy of "building socialism in one country" only, the GPU executioners tracked down Franco's most militant opponents, shooting them in cold blood.

Through the catastrophic defeats of the workers in these countries, Stalin paved the way for World War II. On his head rests a major share of the guilt for this second slaughter, including the invasion of the Soviet Union by German imperialism.

The Soviet Union today does not make a pretty picture. All the progressive legislation passed by the Bolsheviks has been stricken from the books. The workers long ago lost control over the government. Stalin rules as uncrowned czar. The privileges of the bureaucracy are comparable to those of the capitalists in America. All opposition by the workers is ruthlessly suppressed. The dread GPU secret police carries on the tradition of the Czarist Okhrana with modern touches copied from Mussolini's Ovla and Hitler's Gestapo. Work-

ers and farmers suspected of harboring critical thoughts are condemned to prison and concentration camps, if not executed. Vast slave-labor armies numbering as many as 20,000,000 people toil under Stalin's lash.

What Remains?

What remains then of the mighty conquests of the November 1917 revolution? Aside from the monopoly of foreign trade and the destruction of the old capitalist class, there is only one thing — nationalized economy.

In face of the Stalinist degeneration it is easy to overlook the importance of this great conquest of the Bolsheviks. However, it has demonstrated its value under the most difficult possible conditions. Confined to only one country, an extremely backward one at that, twisted and distorted in the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, it has nevertheless demonstrated its colossal superiority over the capitalist system of chaos in industry. While the rest of the world stagnated in one depression after another, Soviet economy moved ahead with giant strides. On the basis of planned economy, the Russian workers were able to accomplish in years what had taken decades in the capitalist countries.

Then, against the most efficient and well-equipped imperialist armies that the European continent had ever seen, planned economy enabled the Russian people to organize a successful defense and finally mount a counter-offensive that astounded the militarists of the entire world. The Russian people demonstrated in action that despite all the evils of the Stalinist regime they are convinced from their own experiences under both systems that planned economy is far superior to capitalism.

On the basis of nationalized economy they can eventually get rid of Stalinism. If nationalized economy were destroyed, however, then they would have to begin all over again.

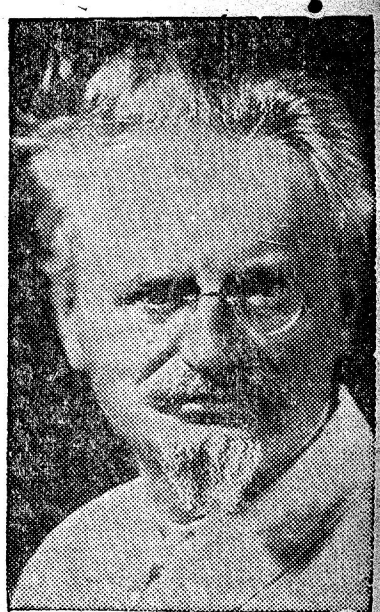
Source of Strength

Nationalized economy is, indeed, the source of the Soviet Union's strength. This "secret" and the possibility that workers in other lands will work out its formula, is what Wall Street fears — not the Stalinist regime.

That is why Wall Street is now preparing World War III. Wall Street intends to end nationalized economy in the Soviet Union and make that huge area part of the empire of American Big Business.

The Soviet Union, as Trotsky pointed out many times, can thus be compared to a trade union that has been over-ridden by a reactionary pork-chop bureaucracy but which is the target of a union-busting attack by the capitalists. It is not difficult to determine our attitude in such a case. Militant workers try to save a union in these circumstances by helping the rank and file get rid of the racketeer elements in the leadership and by telling the capitalists in no uncertain terms, "Hands off! Internal union affairs are our business."

This applies with even greater force in the case of the Soviet Union because the issues are far bigger than those involved in a



TROTSKY

single trade union. We must understand what is involved in the Soviet Union with absolute clarity. World imperialism is trying to reestablish capitalism there. The Stalinist regime facilitates this drive. It is the duty of the working class to oppose both the imperialists and the Stalinists.

Our Task

This means the following: (1) Helping the Russian people to regenerate the workers' state by clearing out Stalinism. In America the task is to end Stalinist influence in the trade unions. The Stalinists do not stand for socialism. Neither do they speak for the Russian workers. They are only mercenaries of the Kremlin bureaucracy, stooges in the pay of the counter-revolution that crushed the Bolsheviks, tore up their program and seized power. These elements, who acted as strikebreakers during the war, must be exposed and isolated.

(2) Preventing another war by carrying forward the struggle for socialism. The American workers must get organized on the political field and put their own government in power.

In this struggle we can learn much from the revolutionary heroes of 1917. They showed in practice what kind of party the workers must build to succeed in the struggle against capitalism. They proved the practical value of holding fast to the program of scientific socialism as worked out by Marx and Engels. They demonstrated how a resolute group of militant workers can eventually overcome isolation and persecution, to win the majority of the people to the program of revolutionary socialism.

They showed us by example that there is no better life than joining wholeheartedly in the great battle to end the chaos and anarchy of capitalism. They showed how the great ideal of world socialism can give purpose and meaning to our lives and save us from the intolerable monotony and drudgery of a wage slave's existence under capitalism.

They did their part. They began the task of reconstructing the world on socialist foundations. It is up to us to continue their work and bring it to a successful conclusion.

Lenin Had a "Magic Weapon"

By J. R. Johnson

It is now 30 years since the Russian Revolution electrified the masses all over the world with hope and the promise of a new and better world. In this week's column, I should like to take one example from the records of the revolution to illustrate why the Bolshevik Party was able to lead the workers to victory.

When the sly politicians and the office holders and the journalists and the professors, in other words, when the Bevin's and the Henry Wallaces and the William Greens of 1917 taunted Lenin with the question "Will the Bolsheviks dare to take state power?" Lenin simply and directly answered "Yes." What gave him the confidence to answer the "important" men of his time so directly was the fact that he knew the workers, he knew their strength. This was the source of Lenin's confidence. He said we have a "magic means" to make our state work: "This magic means is to get the toilers, the poor, to share in the day-to-day work of governing the state."

ONE EXAMPLE

Lenin took a very simple example of how "this magic means" would enable the workers' state to function. He took the question of the distribution of housing. The simplicity of the example is disarming. Actually, it reveals how the workers' state is not a question of "high" politics but of the very immediate needs of the masses.

"The proletarian state finds it necessary forcibly to install some needy family in the dwelling of a rich man. Our detachment of workers' militia consists, let us say, of fifteen people—two sailors, two soldiers, two class conscious workers (of whom only one, let us assume is a member of our Party or a sympathizer), one intellectual, and eight members of the toiling poor; at least five must necessarily be women, domestic servants, unskilled workers, and so on."

Note the careful and precise manner in which Lenin describes the personnel of the workers' militia. He begins with two sailors and two soldiers. These represent the armed strength of the workers. There is to be no possibility of misunderstanding that, if necessary, force will be used. The soldiers and

sailors have stored within them military skill and training. They also represent the poor farmers and workers who have been forced into the useless bloody sacrifices of the capitalist war, and who have been forcibly separated from the civilian population and organized into separate bodies of men. They have a deep hatred of the capitalist oppressors and they have the need to fuse their hatred with that of the rest of the masses in concrete actions which help the masses at the expense of the oppressors.

THE VANGUARD

Then there are two class conscious workers of whom only one need be a Party member or sympathizer. These represent the vanguard of the masses. They are the ones who know they can do a better job at their machines than even the best plans of the bourgeois managers can imagine. These are the workers who want to use their knowledge but refuse to use it to benefit the capitalism which only exploits them ever more.

But the majority of the detachment consists of the most oppressed layers of the masses—the unskilled workers. And, Lenin emphasizes: "at least five" of this group "must necessarily be women." If he had been explaining the action in the United States, he would have included Negroes, and particularly Negro women, in the detachment. This group, most exploited by capitalism, has never before been able to express its abilities and its skills. The revolution must unleash the enormous stores of energy in these layers and we will then be able to see what eagerness and enthusiasm they will bring to the reconstruction of society.

Finally, there is an intellectual, a student, in the detachment. His function is not to tell the workers what to do, nor to make the plan for them to carry out. The intellectual has a special skill, a special training. He can express himself in words. His function therefore is to write out the state order. He writes out what has come from the workers themselves, from the masses at large.

In this simple example we have the whole secret of the "magic means" on which Lenin based his complete confidence and all his

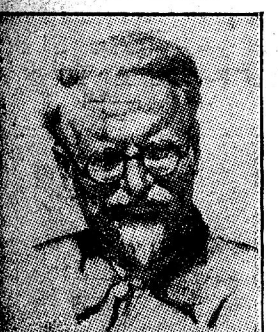
Scientific socialism is the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process; namely, the instinctive and elemental drive of the proletariat to reconstruct society on communist beginnings. These organic tendencies in the psychology of workers spring to life with utmost rapidity today in the epoch of crises and wars.
—Leon Trotsky, 1946

plans. But Lenin does not only deal with human forces. He gives a detailed description of how the detachment, with all the varied knowledge of the different layers of the masses, organizes the household.

"The detachment comes to the rich man's apartment, inspects it, and finds that there are five rooms occupied by two men and two women. 'This winter, citizens, you must confine yourselves to two rooms and place two rooms at the disposal of two families that are now living in cellars. For the time being, until with the help of engineers... we build good dwellings for all, you will have to put yourselves to inconvenience. Your telephone will serve ten families. That will save about a hundred hours' work in running to the stores, and so forth. Moreover, in your family there are two unengaged semi-abled workers capable of performing light service—a woman citizen of fifty-five and a citizen of fourteen. They will do duty for three hours daily in superintending the distribution of products for the ten families and in keeping the necessary accounts. The student citizen in our detachment will write out two copies of the text of this state order and you will be kind enough to give us a signed declaration that you undertake to abide by it faithfully.'"

In contrast, Lenin also describes the manner in which the bodies of armed men of the capitalist state must carry out such an assignment against a workers' family which has been unable to pay its rent. It requires an armed force to do this because of the anger which the eviction arouses in a workers' neighborhood against the capitalist state. But the capitalists are afraid that even the soldiers they must use may be sympathetic to the workers' anger and may become "infected" by socialism. The capitalists try to guard against this taking place by using soldiers from a distant district, hoping that the soldiers will be indifferent to the workers of a distant strange to them.

In this simple example we can see the difference between proletarian democracy and capitalist democracy. We can also see how proletarian democracy is the only way to solve the current immediate problems of the masses.



"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state—imperialist, colonial, workers—and the reciprocal relations between them as well as the inner contradictions in each of them enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy which would aid imperialism against the USSR. The defense of the USSR coincides in principle with the preparation of the world proletarian revolution. We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."
—Leon Trotsky, 1940

Campaign NOW for Labor Candidates

The 1948 national general elections are just one year away. But labor has less than 12 months left to mobilize its forces to oust the Slave Labor Law-High Prices Congress. The large and ever-growing number of workers who understand that the job is to kick out all Republicans and Democrats, have only about half a year left to place THEIR OWN candidates on the ballot.

Top union leaders like CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green deliberately duck the issue of 1948 candidates. They hope to evade it until after the Republican and Democratic national conventions next summer.

Then it will be TOO LATE, in most cases, to place independent labor candidates on the ballot.

The union leaders are now talking big about defeating all members of Congress who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. That means 350 incumbent Senators and Representatives to be voted out of office next November.

But what other Democrats or Republicans can the union leaders reasonably support as "friends of labor"? So few can be represented as "friends of labor" even in a remote sense, that the union

leaders are forced to keep mum right now about candidates.

If they did discuss available candidates, it would become immediately clear that the only chance labor has to win a genuinely progressive Congress is to run candidates FROM ITS OWN RANKS.

Therefore, the top labor leaders want to stall until it is TOO LATE to run independent candidates. Then they plan to plunk for those Democrats and Republicans whom they can palm off on the workers as the "lesser evil."

There is still time, however, for the militant, progressive ranks of the unions to halt this bankrupt policy before the 1948 elections.

Form joint labor political action committees on a local and state scale. Hold conferences NOW to select candidates from labor's ranks to run independently against Democratic and Republican Congressional candidates. Start the campaigns now to put labor's own candidates on the ballot in as many states and voting districts as possible.

That's the only realistic way to defeat the Taft-Hartley Act Congress.

Save the Factories in Germany

Dispatches from Germany continue to predict violent clashes between American troops and German workers. Washington is insisting that the industrial heart of Europe be torn out—has earmarked between 682 and 1,800 plants for the scrap heap—and the German workers are resisting this order.

The American military command has threatened to carry out the edict even at bayonet point if necessary. Should the German workers engage in strikes and demonstrations in trying to save these plants from destruction, then there is grave danger of bloodshed.

The German workers are correct in opposing the order to dismantle these plants. If we were in their place, we would do the same.

They have reached the limit of human endurance. They suffered the horrors of World War I, and then fascism. The main victims of Hitler were the German workers.

Then they were forced to undergo the frightful destruction and carnage of World War II. They suffered some of the heaviest casualties when the Allies dumped fire bombs on the working class districts of the crowded German cities.

Now facing another terrible winter of cold and hunger, they have been brutally ordered by the Allied conquerors to get to work—tearing down

their own factories, plants and mills. Who can blame them for resisting?

However, it is not only a question of the feelings and interests of the German workers. American labor too has a direct interest in preserving these plants.

We are being asked to sacrifice to help starving Europe. It is explained that production is down in Europe because of the war and that food and other goods are required at once as well as machines to restore production levels. Yet at the same time, Wall Street's political agents are going ahead with their insane plan to destroy some of the most modern and efficient factories in the world, located in the very area where production levels must be lifted!

Wall Street wants these plants scrapped to eliminate potential competition. It is a simple case of giving a competitor the boots after he has been knocked down.

It is self-evident that the interests of the American labor movement demand active support of the German workers in this question. Rescind the order to dismantle these plants. Insist on the withdrawal of American GIs from Germany. Let the German workers take over industry and bring it up to maximum production levels as quickly as possible.

What Does Red-Baiting Lead To?

What does red-baiting lead to? What will result from this weapon which is being increasingly used by the government, by the paid prostitutes in the editorial offices of the capitalist press and even by the union bureaucrats? The answers to these questions can be learned by studying the report of a Communist Party meeting violently broken up in Trenton, N. J., last week. (See story on Page 1.)

To quote New Jersey CIO President Carl Holderman, a "lynch mob spirit was displayed in Trenton when the entire police department stood impotent while vigilante terror reigned, property was destroyed, homes were entered, people were molested, a court order was treated with contempt and the Bill of Rights was openly trampled upon."

In other words, red-baiting leads to attacks on all those democratic rights it took labor hundreds of years to win. It creates the kind of atmosphere in which the pro-fascist rats feel free to come out of their holes and to begin practicing the tactics which will later be directed against the labor movement itself.

After the first World War, red-baiting, witch-hunts and deportations were successfully utilized to

divide and terrorize the workers; the result was the smashing of strikes and the busting of unions. Big Business and its government agents hoped to achieve the same result after World War II, but were stymied by the outburst of militant union struggles solidly supported by the working class veterans.

Now, however, a new atmosphere is being worked up by the red-baiting drive. Its aim is not only to stifle the Communist Party and other minority parties, but to intimidate, undermine and eventually 'crush all working' class opposition to lower living standards and a new world war.

That is why no worker should permit himself to be tricked or browbeaten into the use of red-baiting. The Stalinists must be opposed and their influence must be destroyed because their policies and practices have nothing in common with the interests of the workers here or abroad. But that cannot be done by destroying the rights of free speech, assembly and political association. Red-baiting is a bosses' weapon and it can safely be used by them. But it boomerangs on the workers.

Value of Roosevelt's Promises

Have you forgotten Roosevelt's insistence "again and again and again" that if reelected to a third term he would never send American boys overseas to fight in any foreign wars? That famous promise probably proved decisive in wheeling enough votes to keep this cunning Wall Street politician in the White House.

Apologists of Roosevelt, who share his guilt in plunging America into World War II, have been explaining ever since then that "circumstances" and "events beyond his control," etc., made it impossible to keep this campaign promise.

But on Oct. 23 of this year, Louis A. Johnson, former Assistant Secretary of War and close confidant of Roosevelt, testified under oath that Roosevelt knew as early as 1938—two years before he made his famous campaign pledge—"that war was coming and we could not stay out of it."

Johnson "had confidential information that war was inevitable" and he "discussed these matters" with Roosevelt. The "information" came from many sources, military attaches in Europe, Ameri-

can business men with factories and interests abroad who "understood what they saw and reported everything that was unfriendly to this country."

Then why didn't Roosevelt tell the people the truth about the looming war? The Socialist Workers Party did. Why was it the only party in America to tell the people the unvarnished facts—that war was inevitable if the working class did not intervene and put its own government in power?

Roosevelt knew that he would be overwhelmingly repudiated at the polls if he told the truth. He knew he could not drag America into the war if he revealed Wall Street's plans. And so he did what every capitalist politician does when he wants to snare votes. He camouflaged the trap and baited it with an attractive lie.

A majority of voters were taken in by the demagogue's promises. America paid for this trustfulness with more than 1,000,000 casualties. Let the dead and maimed of World War II serve to remind us "again and again and again" that you can't trust a capitalist politician.



Workers' BOOKSHELF

CRITICS AND CRUSAIDERS by Charles A. Madison, Henry Holt, 1947, 572 pp., \$3.50

Children in the schools are taught to revere "great men" of the nation's past. This is part of the indoctrination all of us suffer while being educated to be good submissive victims of capitalism. The great men selected by the schools are usually distinguished for their devoted service to oppression and exploitation. Yet our history teems with great men, whose greatness lies in their fearless, uncompromising resistance to injustice and the enslavement of man. This book is valuable for the service it does in calling attention once again to some of the many radicals who are the real heroes of American history.

It is possible to criticize the selection of some of the individuals described, and certainly the book falls far short of its apparent intent to give a panoramic view of American oppositionism. But if the reader accepts the individual sketches for their own worth, he will find most of them packed with suggestion and stimulation.

Madison attempts to summarize the life story and intellectual convictions of 18 men and women, grouped under six classifications: abolitionists, utopians, anarchists,

dissenting economists, militant liberals, and socialists. Not all the people chosen can be considered the most representative of their groups, however. A study of Josiah Warren would mean more than that of his pupil, Benjamin Tucker. On the other hand, it is good for the modern worker to understand the anarchism of Thoreau, so deeply rooted in American life, and still so influential (often under totally different names) in American thought.

Most refreshing of all, Madison makes no effort to glamorize his people, or to "sell" them by the cheap tricks of the contemporary school of fictionalized biography. His men and women are presented in the full dignity of their work and struggle, memorable and fascinating because of the drama of their rebellion against the evils of society. Nothing more than the truth is needed in telling such stories as these.

Madison's own views appear to be that of a socialist liberal. Though he obviously strives for objectivity, his critical comments betray him. Furthermore, the literary rebel has a strong attraction for him, so that he tends to give people like Margaret Fuller, Randolph Bourne and Brooks Adams rather more than their due.

At the other extreme, the intransigence of DeLeon, Debs, Veb-

len, and Garrison sometimes drives him to puzzled impatience at their inability to act like nice broad-minded liberals too. He is happiest when discussing Albert Brisbane, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Lincoln Steffens, and John Reed, even though the latter two did end up as sympathizers to Communism, each in his own way. The account of Reed is perhaps the most revealing in the entire book, both that he should be selected to represent modern Communism, and that scarcely any attempt is made to explain his politics, concentrating instead upon events of his life.

This is an unconscious comment upon both the subject and the author, though a little unfair to Reed. It is also significant that although Madison refers to Reed's account of the October Revolution, "Ten Days that Shook the World," it apparently doesn't occur to him to point out the vast difference between Reed's history and the fiction propagated by the Stalinists today. Nowhere in the book can we find any evidence that Madison is aware of the profound changes in the Communist movement that have occurred since the triumph of October under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. However faulty his political understanding, this book nevertheless will fully repay the time given to reading it.

—John Hudson

Will Labor Party Give Same Results Here As in Britain?

By John G. Wright

Millions of American workers were heartened when their brothers in Britain put the Labor Party in the government. On the other hand, they have been following and watching what the Laborite leaders have done since taking office. And they don't like it at all.

Today many of them are asking: Is that what will happen here, too, if we build a Labor Party? The capitalist press is trying to implant every possible doubt on this score in their minds. Big Business dreads a political division along class lines. They stand to lose a great deal.

For, to begin with, such a political division will deprive them of the long-standing monopoly of politics they exercise through their two-party set-up.

But a political division along class lines is unavoidable in the U. S. Workers stand only to gain from it. Their power as a class will thereby be greatly enhanced. They will then wield the most powerful weapons of all—the weapons of political struggle, of which they have been so long deprived.

When the Labor Party arises in this country, it does not mean that its leaders, whoever the first ones may be, will be able to automatically follow the same course or get the same grip on the masses as in England. The Labor Party here comes at a different time and under different conditions. Events today move at a far greater speed than ever before. Most important of all, in this connection, are the major differences between Britain and the U. S. in the condition of their respective economies and of their labor movements.

The British Labor Party was formed in the heyday of British capitalist growth. Ponderous parliamentary procedure still held complete sway. Under these conditions

the Labor Party with its conservative policies could take deep root because it could still gain reforms and contribute to the advancement of the working class as a whole. This made it very easy for the reformists to get a firm grip on the party.

In America, the Labor Party must come into being when capitalism, at home as well as abroad, is decaying, and lasting reforms are out of the question. Capitalist democracy is likewise in its senility. Far from being willing—or able—to yield economic or political reforms as were the British capitalists, the American billionaires find themselves driven to try to deprive labor of all of its hard-won gains. Therefore the division along class lines in politics will tend to assume sharp forms from the outset.

Finding lasting reforms out of the question, the workers will be impelled toward socialist solutions. They will move, once started, at a truly American pace in politics just as they have in the field of trade union organization.

British Laborites were able to resist mass pressure from below driving them to radical solutions. But there will be far greater pressures from the ranks in the U. S. Even the most case-hardened labor-faker is subject to such pressure and may disregard it only at his own peril.

Both the capitalists and the labor fakers know that they face a different labor movement here. American workers are not so weary and worn as the British workers have been since V-J Day. They have tremendous confidence in themselves, and are militant. As their whole history has shown, American workers incline to adopt in action the most drastic measures.

Again, this country's industrial equipment is far better and bigger and can be used to start building socialism right away, without waiting to rebuild it as in England.

This, too, will act as a powerful force, impelling the adoption of radical solutions and the acceptance of genuine revolutionary leadership by the workers.

It is one-sided and false to believe that high wages tend to make workers immune to revolutionary ideas. As the "Theses on the American Revolution" adopted by the Socialist Workers Party last November correctly explains: High wages act as a conservatizing factor "only under conditions of capitalist stability where a relatively high standard of living can be maintained and even improved. This is excluded for the future, as our whole analysis has shown. On the other hand, the workers react most sensitively and violently to any infringement upon their living standards. This has already been demonstrated by the strike waves in which great masses of 'conservative' workers have resorted to the most militant and radical course of action. In the given situation, therefore, the relatively high living standards of the American workers is a revolutionary and not, as is commonly believed, a conservatizing factor."

It is therefore by no means excluded that the Labor Party here may from the very beginning come under a revolutionary leadership with a socialist program. In any case, the formation of the Labor Party will represent an important forward step in the political development of the American workers, preparing them to accept the program of the revolutionary party, the SWP.

The above-listed considerations by no means exhaust the question of the Labor Party in the U. S. But they do suffice to underscore its highly progressive character at this stage in this country. That is why we Trotskyists advocate it so consistently and boldly.

(This is the last in a series answering questions raised by American workers about the British Labor Party.)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

Installment 2

THE HAYMARKET TRAGEDY

From 1880 on, I became wholly engrossed in the labor movement. In all the great industrial centers the working class was in rebellion. The enormous immigration from Europe crowded the slums, forced down wages and threatened to destroy the standard of living fought for by American working men. Throughout the country there was business depression and much unemployment. In the cities there was hunger and rags and despair.

Foreign agitators who had suffered under European despots preached various schemes of economic salvation to the workers. The workers asked only for bread and a shortening of the long hours of toil. The agitators gave them visions. The police gave them clubs.

Particularly the city of Chicago was the scene of strike after strike, followed by boycotts and riots. The years preceding 1886 had witnessed strikes of the lake seamen, of dock laborers and street railway workers. These strikes had been brutally suppressed by policemen's clubs and by hired gunmen. The grievance on the part of the workers was given no heed. John Bonfield, inspector of police, was particularly cruel in the suppression of meetings where men peacefully assembled to discuss matters of wages and of hours.

Employers were defiant and open in the expression of their fears and hatreds. The Chicago Tribune, the organ of the employers, suggested ironically that the farmers of Illinois treat the tramps that poured out of the great industrial centers as they did other pests, by putting strychnine in the food.

The workers started an agitation for an eight-hour day. The trades unions and the Knights of Labor endorsed the movement but because many of the leaders of the agitation were foreigners, the movement itself was regarded as "foreign" and as "un-American." Then the anarchists of Chicago, a very small group, espoused the cause of the eight-hour day. From then on the people of Chicago seemed incapable of discussing a purely economic question without getting excited about anarchism.

THE FIGHT FOR THE 8-HOUR DAY

The employers used the cry of anarchism to kill the movement. A person who believed in an eight-hour working day was, they said, an enemy to his country, a traitor, an anarchist. The foundations of government were being gnawed away by the anarchist rats. Feeling was bitter. The city was divided into two angry camps. The working people on one side—hungry, cold, jobless, fighting gunmen and police clubs with bare hands. On the other side the employers, knowing neither hunger nor cold, supported by the newspapers, by the police, by all the power of the great state itself.

The anarchists took advantage of the widespread discontent to preach their doctrines. Orators used to address huge crowds on the windy, barren shore of Lake Michigan. Although I never endorsed the philosophy of anarchism, I often attended the meetings on the lake shore, listening to what these teachers of a new order had to say to the workers.

Meanwhile the employers were meeting. They met in the mansion of George M. Pullman on Prairie Avenue or in the residence of Wirt Dexter, an able corporation lawyer. They discussed means of killing the eight-hour movement which was to be ushered in by a general strike. They discussed methods of dispersing the meetings of the anarchists.

A bitterly cold winter set in. Long unemployment resulted in terrible suffering. Bread lines increased. Soup kitchens could not handle the applicants. Thousands knew actual misery. . . .

The first of May, which was to usher in the eight-hour day uprising, came. The newspapers had done everything to alarm the people. All over the city there were strikes and walkouts. Employers quaked in their boots. They saw revolution. The workers in the McCormick Harvesting Works gathered outside the factory. Those inside who did not join the strikers were called scabs. Bricks were thrown. Windows were broken. The scabs were threatened. Some one turned in a riot call.

The police without warning charged down upon the workers, shooting into their midst, clubbing right and left. Many were trampled under horses' feet. Numbers were shot dead. Skulls were broken. Young men and young girls were clubbed to death.

The Pinkerton agency formed armed bands of ex-convicts and hoodlums and hired them to capitalists at eight dollars a day, to picket the factories and incite trouble.

THE HAYMARKET FRAME

On the evening of May 4, the anarchists held a meeting in the shabby, dirty district known to later history as Haymarket Square. All about were railway tracks, dingy saloons and the dirty tenements of the poor. A half a block away was the Desplaines Street Police Station presided over by John Bonfield, a man without tact or discretion or sympathy, a most brutal believer in suppression as the method to settle industrial unrest.

Carter Harrison, the mayor of Chicago, attended the meeting of the anarchists and moved in and about the crowds in the square. After leaving, he went to the Chief of Police and instructed him to send no mounted police to the meeting, as it was being peacefully conducted and the presence of mounted police would only add fuel to fires already burning red in the workers' hearts. But orders perhaps came from other quarters, for disregarding the report of the mayor, the chief of police sent mounted policemen in large numbers to the meeting.

One of the anarchist speakers was addressing the crowd. A bomb was dropped from a window overlooking the square. A number of the police were killed in the explosion that followed.

The city went insane and the newspapers did everything to keep it like a madhouse. The workers' cry for justice was drowned in the shriek for revenge. Bombs were "found" every five minutes. Men went armed and gun stores kept open nights. Hundreds were arrested. Only those who had agitated for an eight-hour day, however, were brought to trial and a few months later hanged. But the man, Schnaubel, who actually threw the bomb was never brought into the case, nor was his part in the terrible drama ever officially made clear.

THE STRUGGLE STILL LIVES ON

The leaders in the eight-hour day movement were hanged Friday, November 11. That day Chicago's rich had chills and fever. Ropes stretched in all directions from the jail. Policemen were stationed along the ropes armed with riot rifles. Special patrols watched all approaches to the jail. The roofs about the grim stone building were black with police. The newspapers fed the public imagination with stories of violence and jail deliveries.

But there were no uprisings, no jail deliveries, except that of Louis Lingg, the only real preacher of violence among all the condemned men. He outwitted the galleys by biting a percussion cap and blowing off his head.

The Sunday following the executions, the funerals were held. Thousands of workers marched behind the black hearse, not because they were anarchists but they felt that these men, whatever their theories, were martyrs to the workers' struggle. The procession wound through miles and miles of streets densely packed with silent people.

In the cemetery of Waldheim, the dead were buried. But with them was not buried their cause. The struggle for the eight-hour day, for more human conditions and relations between man and man lived on, and still lives on.

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Workers' Forum

No Funds for Relief But Plenty for War

Editor:
I came through the Hoover depression like so many others, and do not know how badly my organism has been hurt by undernourishment. These things really do not show up until later years when your body can no longer resist the effects of neglect and improper diet in youth.

During the days of Hoover the capitalist politicians in Washington said: "We cannot appropriate money for relief because we don't have the means. Prosperity is just around the corner. Besides we must balance the budget."

Yet in today's Vindicator, a Youngstown, Ohio, newspaper, they claim that they can provide \$20,000,000 for certain countries in Europe.

It gets me to wondering. If they have to, they can get the money to perpetuate the profit system and maintain their markets in Europe. On the other hand to get a few bones, millions of people have to start moving to scare the top bureaucrats.

But I can envision the time the old bone trick will fail the top bureaucracy and we will live under the system that the same bureaucratic outfit is spreading propaganda against and using the old red-baiting method to try to stop. Under this new system we will produce for use and not for profit and live like human beings.

No wars, no parasites; but an equal chance for all.

Joe Youngstown, Ohio

What Did We Gain From Imperialist War?

Editor:
The members of my generation have much in common. We have experienced two major threats to our existence—a depression and a world war. We survived, but are we sure that in another crisis we will be as fortunate?

Do you recall, as I do, the glorious promises made to us when we traded in our school books for a uniform and a gun. Have any of these promises materialized?

Where are we today, this once proud generation with its visions of personal success and security? Neglected in a "land of opportunity," discarded tools of a war for profit!

Today, two years after the end of the "war for democracy" our country, whose leaders have repeatedly pledged themselves to protect the democratic interests of all people in all lands, averts its eyes and ignores the fight for freedom and for life itself in which the oppressed people of the world are engaged.

In Indonesia, Greece, Indo-China, Palestine and many other lands, the working masses find American and British arms in the hands of their oppressors. These people with a cause as just as that of our forefathers in 1776, find their voices lost beneath the uproar of the UN, that farce which is now quibbling over the division of the spoils of this last global conflict.

How can we stand erect and proud once more beneath the accusing eyes of these people?

Are you willing to fight against the reaction that is in power now and join the struggle to establish a real government "of the people, by the people and for the people"?

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 want your name printed.

which can extend a helping hand to the working people of the world? If you are, fill out the application blank in this paper, or write to or visit the Socialist Workers Party headquarters nearest your home for full information; and join the party which stands for revolutionary socialism.

D. F. New York

What the Revolution Will Offer "Experts"

Editor:
In replying to B. L. Stafford, III, I would like to stress that his concern seems to be with the mechanical aspects only of the American Socialist Revolution.

What does he think is going to happen to the millions of experts now serving management? Are they going to oppose the production workers in a civil war until they (the experts) are wiped out? Will they be exiled, imprisoned?

Quite the contrary, in my opinion. The tremendous ideological sweep of the American Revolution will carry thousands of these experts into the ranks of the revolutionary party. I speak from observation in the mill where I work. The foremen who are most qualified in their work (who do not feel being showed up by "ordinary" workers) frequently show active sympathy toward real union militants.

For my second point, I want to remind Stafford that he has completely forgotten the organization of the workers' councils (or soviets). Since the revolutionary party will be the most democratic ever known, by and for the workers, this democracy will find expression in workers' councils inside the plants. These council sessions will amaze Mr. Stafford and his fellow docters, by the variety and advanced mechanical know-how which will pour from quite ordinary workers. The goal of the revolution will give us a reason for unleashing millions of ideas now suppressed by hatred of capitalism, fear of technological unemployment and so forth. Once the revolution is consolidated in America, I believe the party will never be threatened by bureaucratic strangulation. The would-be bureaucrats will be smothered by the productive avalanche of American workers.

As for jobs like elevator operators 5 and 10 cent store clerks, etc., such jobs can be eliminated in the first five years. The elevators can be automatically controlled by the same electronic devices now used to guide and control weapons of death. The former elevator operator will be released for productive work and education. Likewise the clerks can cease acting as guards for Woolworth's petty merchandise. It can be disposed through automatic vendors and as the productive capacity of the country is stepped up, the vending machine will likewise be eliminated.

In conclusion, the editors of The Militant are not guilty of overstatement. If anything, they understate the possibilities of a Socialist America in a Socialist world. Consider the case of the Soviet

Union. In 30 years, Soviet Russia fought a bloody civil war, went through terrible internal political struggle, fell into the clutches of a bureaucratic dictatorship, lost over twenty million people and inestimable productive capacity in the second World War, and yet stands today as the only challenger to the most powerful capitalist nation on earth, the United States. Yet Russia was the most backward nation in the capitalist circle when she entered upon the socialist road.

Stick around, Bert. You will find that revolution is the locomotive forged by American workers will be an instrument of unimaginable power. It will prove fully capable of lifting this nation and the world out of the bottomless morass of capitalist anarchy.

Militant Readers Urged to Help Celebrate 19th Anniversary

By Rose Karsner
National Campaign Director

Last week we sent a letter to all subscribers, enclosing a coin-card and asking for a donation on the occasion of the nineteenth anniversary of The Militant. A few have already responded, inserting coins or bills in the slots. We hope a good many more can be reported in coming issues of the paper.

ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS
McNamee \$1; R. Dworakowicz 25c; Steinberg 50c; Pauline Breitman \$2.20; M. H. \$1.12; Williams 85c; Kaufman \$1; Sunagren \$1; H. Anderson \$1.70.

A letter from Donald W. McKinley of Portland says: "I am sending herewith three one-dollar bills. Please renew my subscription. One buck for the Fund Drive, and send The Militant for one year to the following name... I voted for Debs in 1908 and was a candidate on the Socialist party ticket in 1912."

FROM THE BRANCHES
Almost all the branches of the Socialist Workers Party are busy at work on gala socials to celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the founding of The Militant.

Duncan Conway, Fund Director of Local New York, says: "We feel confident we will reach our 100% before the deadline. Just now we are at work on plans for an anniversary social. A skit is being written which will be a take-off on the editors of The Militant... Perhaps they won't appreciate the humor, but the audience will."
LYNN—"The enclosed is toward our Militant Ball for Nov. 15. We are having a dance band, refreshments and a floor show. With the preparations we're making I'm sure we're going to exceed our quota."
FLINT—Genora: "We are plan-

HOW NAACP CAN SUCCEED IN DRIVE TO MAKE-IT-A-MILLION

By Jean Blake

In two previous articles we have shown that the NAACP membership drive is lagging seriously and that the most important reason is the NAACP's internal weaknesses, organizational and programmatic. Analysis of these weaknesses also indicated how to solve them and make the NAACP a more powerful and effective organization.

Briefly summarized, the major needs are for democratization of the organization; struggles on issues which affect the masses most directly and in which the support of their most powerful allies, the unions, can be enlisted; and bringing into play the most decisive weapon of struggle today, independent political action.

We have already discussed the bureaucratic structure of the national organization, illustrated by the Board of Directors' rejection of the last convention's request for a revised and more democratic constitution. Bureaucratic practices of this kind not only thwart the will of the membership but also stifle their initiative and enthusiasm. The result is generally passivity, hopelessness, inactivity and indifference to the organization.

On the local level the NAACP would also be benefited by being given back to the members. Particularly in large branches, it is necessary to adapt the organizational structure so that the members can participate in discussions of policy and implementation of policy.

GOOD SUGGESTION

An excellent suggestion was made by one NAACP member in Los Angeles through an open letter to the local Negro press—the only method available to one who wants to make a suggestion that will get a hearing. He wrote:

"... one branch in a city the size of Los Angeles is not enough. In order to really carry on a struggle for the advancement of colored people here, use all volunteer workers, carry on neighborhood fights, we need neighborhood autonomous branches. It is physically impossible for one branch in Los Angeles to cover all the area and do a real job."

"These neighborhood branches should have elected delegates representing them in a central council composed of delegates of all local branches. The central council should be the governing body for the whole area. In this way our leadership would not be overworked and a job could be done all over the city."

"This idea of organizing the branch came from a study of the CIO Council and the Central Labor Council here. No matter where it came from, it will bring results and that's what counts."

PLENTY OF ISSUES

As for the program of the NAACP in this period, there is, unfortunately, no scarcity of issues. Discrimination in all its forms must be fought. Making a living is still the major problem of the Negro masses, however, and the growth of labor committees in NAACP branches expresses to some extent an increasing consciousness of this fact.

Support for FEPC legislation on a national state and local scale has become the rule with NAACP branches. But the FEPC fight is a political fight; it isn't enough to lobby on this issue; to win a political fight against the Democratic and Republican supporters of Jim Crow, independent Negro and labor candidates are needed.

It is true that in certain localities independent Negro and labor candidates are beginning to appear, and in some cases are being supported by NAACP branches and leaders. But most NAACP leaders resist this progressive movement, and even where they permit the branch to function as a thinly disguised election machine, they still insist on the "non-partisan" character of the organization, hampering its effective functioning in political struggles.

But the fight against this "non-partisan" policy has already begun and has been reflected at recent conventions. The energetic campaigns by practically every branch to register all members to vote will also assist in this process. Because the logical question that follows after registration is: "Vote for what, for whom?"

THE MILITANT ARMY

At 75, Still Gets Around To Sell Plenty of Subs

Every few days for the last several weeks, we have been receiving one or a few subscriptions from Kewanee, Ill., and vicinity, sent in by James W. Connerly. His comments, if any, were usually brief and only aroused our curiosity about the source of so many new readers in this community 60 miles west of Chicago.

In a recent "thank you" letter, we asked J. W. C. for more details about himself and his sub-getting. Here is his reply:

Dear Comrades:
Am sending another sub. You asked how I got the subs. Well, Fridays are pay days in this town. In three blocks there are 18 taverns, so on Friday evenings I go through them and most generally go to the best places, walk through and pick out someone who looks intelligent or not.

Whether I know him or not, I sit down by him and get him talking, ask if he is a union man and if

he is I go after him, ask him what papers he reads. From then on I don't give him a chance to get in a word for five or six minutes until I have told him about The Militant and how he can get the world labor news. Every once in a while I repeat that the paper is six pages filled with news from over the world and only \$1 a year.

I tell him he can't get a bargain like that very often, and I don't let him get in a word until I have finished. Often when I get through, even before I am through, they have their hands in their pockets and out comes the old \$1. Then get the name and address. That is all there is to it.

I am old, 75 years; can't get around like I used to, but go out town once in a while. Used to know everyone in town, but the war brought in a new population, so many are strangers. The last five subscribers I never saw before, but got the \$1. It is not hard.

Running short of paper, but I want to tell you a story. There is a good fellow, friend of mine, who takes The Militant. I have been trying to get him to go out for some subs. Last Saturday evening I dropped into a tavern. He was there talking to a man. When the man left for a moment, I asked my friend if he was trying to get a sub for The Militant. He said, "Oh, you couldn't get that fellow to take the paper."

So I waited for the man to come back and I started in on him. In about three minutes I had his sub. After I had the dollar and his address, he told me he had been a socialist for 10 years. So you see you never can tell who will subscribe. Too many people haven't got the guts. Lots of times—my fact pretty nearly every time, they will say "No, I don't want to take it," but you don't want to believe them. Make them see that if ever the people are going to be free they will have to organize. That is all.

James W. Connerly
Kewanee, Ill.

We are still receiving combination subs to The Militant and the Fourth International, because we still have to use the old subscription card which listed such a combination at \$2.50 a year. Since the Fourth International is now published only six times a year, every two months, its subscription rate is only \$1 a year. So when we receive \$2.50 for a combination we enter a Militant sub for one year and an F. I. sub for a year and a half, 9 issues.

Boston Agent Rena Breshi sent in 16 subs this week, 13 of them renews.

San Francisco also sent 16, half of them renewals obtained while contacting subscribers as part of the election campaign for Frank A. Barbara for Mayor.

Scoreboard For \$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 72	144
Flint	200	124	62
Milwaukee	200	123	61
Buffalo	600	359	60
Newark	500	288	58
Oakland	250	126	51
Youngstown	1,000	300	50
Twin Cities	1,000	490	49
New York	4,500	2,081	46
Philadelphia	300	125	42
Cleveland	250	100	40
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Akron	300	107	36
Boston	275	99	36
Pittsburgh	150	50	33
Seattle	300	92	31
Toledo	150	39	26
West Virginia	25	5	20
San Francisco	1,250	239	19
Detroit	600	100	17
Chicago	1,500	217	14
Lynn	125	15	12
Los Angeles	1,500	150	10
San Diego	100	8	8
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	5	7
Connecticut State	200	12	6
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
Reading	100	0	0
TOTAL THROUGH OCT 27		\$5,339	36%

much larger sum every week from now on so that our quota will be fulfilled by Dec. 15."

Members-at-large have sent the following remittances: Hansen sent an additional \$5; Baxter \$10; Hughes \$20 and \$5 was received from Texas.

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- NEW HAVEN**—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.
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- NEW YORK CITY HQ.**, 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149. HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m. BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TT 2-0101. BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433. CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.
- OAKLAND, Cal.**—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410-11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.
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- TOLEDO**—113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.
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Tickets obtained at

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Speaker:
Manuel Terbovich
Former District Organizer
CIO Stevedockers Union

Sat., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m.

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MILWAUKEE

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Entertainment Refreshments

Sat., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.

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Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m.

1739 Fillmore

Princess Elizabeth's Wedding

By Mary Wood

Whatever became of the austerity in Princess Elizabeth's wedding . . . of the tale that she would have a ceremony in keeping with the British workers' hardships? For a time it sounded as though she might dig out an old wedding gown from the royal attic, or at least stick to the legal ration of new apparel.

But her lavish gown alone, they say now, would take any other girl's coupons for six long years. And at least four other luxurious new costumes are shyly hinted.

Nor will she wear last year's dowdy sables. Taxes paid by workers in Canada are spent to give her one mink coat; impoverished Newfoundland is sending her a second mink coat.

All over the empire, the workers are paying in taxes and in wasted labor, for a royal splurge. The mayor of Twickenham, England, was inspired; he's searching out all girls named Elizabeth, Mary or Alexandra (has the princess no more names?) for special assessments to a "royal wedding fund."

Of course Elizabeth sadly needs these gifts. As the Canadian Press lamented on Sept. 26, "the familiar family budget is a problem" for her. Isn't it just like yours? Her state allowance of \$60,000 a year melts to "only" \$16,000 after taxes. But fortunately, the report added, the King's financial advisers are dunning Parliament for an increase.

What does Elizabeth do to earn her "wage"? She sits beside the King while he reads a speech written by the Labor Government. She nods while the British people are ordered to work longer hours,

to speed up, to eat less, to wear rags. And while she nods, so also do the Lords and Ladies, the capitalists, all the reactionaries including the Mosleys. The system of monarchy suits them well (in Italy, they must remember, the King invited Mussolini to march on Rome, over the bodies of the socialist workers . . .)

The Labor Party humbly bows before the royal parasites and wishes them well. A writer for Canada's "socialist" CCF sarcastically lambasts everyone who refuses to "indulge in a sentimental interest in Princess Elizabeth's trousseau, because British royalty is the wicked bastion of Wicked British Imperialism."

In 1933 an Independent Labor Party MP, James McGovern, shouted defiance at the King as Parliament opened. Other Laborites, groveling at the throne, were horrified. But McGovern said,

"I arrived at the bar of the House of Lords and gazed at the vulgar display of wealth — wonderful and expensive gowns, jewels and tiaras, worth hundreds of thousands of pounds. . . . I thought of the poor wretched people outside who are to be victims of future legislation and who, by their energy and sacrifice, provided all this wealth. . . ."

"Indignation overcame me when I recalled the human suffering outside, the Means Test, unemployment cuts, and the destruction of the social services. Something within me rebelled and I lashed out at the enemies of the people."

"Did I do wrong? Is there any worker who believes that I did not voice the feeling of every decent human being? I feel that I spoke for the working class whom I represent."

And that's my sentiment.

The Negro Struggle

Negroes and the Special Session

By George Clarke

Congress is meeting again, in a special session this time. Many Negroes, thinking over the record of Congress during the early part of the year, won't know whether to be glad or sorry that Congress is getting together again.

As Leslie S. Perry of the NAACP Washington Bureau put it, this Congress left "a sordid record; a record of money and politics being given precedence over human lives and democracy. Under the 80th Congress rich men became richer and poor men poorer. Under the 80th Congress basic civil rights of working people and minority racial groups were either lost or brazenly ignored. And this is what the majority of senators and congressmen intended."

There is no reason to believe that they have any different intentions now. Thinking that they are like expecting the leopard to change its spots. In other words, the way to approach the questions raised by this special session of Congress is to recognize that we are dealing with dyed-in-the-wool enemies of the Negro and working people.

The way to deal with your enemies is not to plead with them, not to beg them for the things that are rightfully yours, but to FIGHT them — to fight them without quarter, without mercy, and with every weapon at your disposal. Your enemies will never give you anything that you don't fight for; and if you stop fighting, they will take away some of what you still have.

Always remember how the wartime FEPC was initiated. Negro leaders signed petitions, sent telegrams and held conferences to beg Roosevelt for something like the FEPC. But he was not interested. He was not interested UNTIL the March on Washington Movement threatened to bring tens of

thousands of people to the capital in support of their demand and UNTIL he saw that the Negroes meant business.

That lesson should be studied and re-studied today by every Negro in this country. In it lies the answer to winning permanent FEPC legislation, anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws, abolition of Jim Crow in the armed forces and all the other measures the Negro people want.

The way to deal with this Congress is to bring the maximum pressure to bear on it through mass demonstrations involving the millions of Negroes and white workers who have equally strong grievances against Congress. In short, the members of Congress must be shown that they are going to have real trouble on their hands if they don't come across with the legislation demanded by the great majority of the people. There is no other way.

That is, not all, however. Besides fighting these enemies in whatever way we can while they are in power, we must also prepare now to drive them out of Washington next year. That requires political action.

Not the kind of political action practiced by Negro leaders in the past — switching from Democrats to Republicans and then back again, getting a crumb from one side and then a crumb from the other and being hungry all the time.

What is called for now is independent political action — a Labor Party embracing the unions, the poor farmers and the oppressed minorities, a Labor party running its own candidates and pledged to replace the rotten Jim Crow capitalist system with a Workers and Farmers Government.

The members of Congress are getting together to plan new measures on behalf of Big Business. Negro and white workers must get together too, to plan a new world.

Toward Mental Health

By Grace Carlson

In "The Human Mind," the eminent specialist in mental disease, Dr. Karl Menninger has given us this poetic and scientific definition of mental health:

"Let us define mental health as the adjustment of human beings to the world and to each other with a maximum of effectiveness and happiness. Not just efficiency, or just contentment — or the grace of obeying the rules of the game cheerfully. It is all of these together. It is the ability to maintain an even temper, an alert intelligence, socially considerate behavior, and a happy disposition. This, I think, is a healthy mind."

But millions of American men, women, and children do not possess "healthy minds." Nervous and mental diseases take a toll greater than cancer, tuberculosis and infantile paralysis combined. There are 625,000 patients in public mental hospitals in the United States. Mental illness strikes one in five families; one in thirteen persons. Psychiatrists estimate that over a million persons now living will find themselves in a mental hospital within the next ten years and another fourteen million will suffer from either a mental illness or a serious nervous breakdown sometime in their lives.

The neglect of the mental health of the American

population is only another aspect of the general picture of social neglect in this country. It is not different in kind. Considerable physical as well as mental illness could be prevented if all people had the benefit of early diagnosis and treatment at the first sign of illness. Dr. Menninger regards the following series of examinations as absolute prerequisites before a diagnosis of mental illness is made:

1. Physical examinations of the body itself — the head, the chest, the abdomen, genitalia, extremities, skin, pulse, temperature, blood-pressure, etc.
2. Neurological examination — a detailed observation of certain reflexes, movements and sensations, indicating the condition of the nervous system.
3. Chemical examination of the blood, urine, faeces, sputum, spinal fluid.
4. X-ray, electroencephalography and other special examinations.
5. Psychological examinations.

Rich people can afford these comprehensive examinations, and they can also afford the surgical, medical and psychiatric treatment needed in order to cure nervous and mental disorders. However, for the vast majority of American workers, the kind of medical advice that Dr. Menninger offers is completely impractical. But only if society makes this kind of diagnosis and treatment available to all will the American people travel the road toward better mental health.

Notes from the News

"ONLY WAY FOR LABOR" — Building its own party "is the hard way, but also the only way, as labor must eventually find out in the United States," say the editors of the Pittsburgh Courier.

THAT'S DIFFERENT — General Electric will discontinue next year the "profit-sharing" plan by which its 160,000 workers got \$3,000,000 (an average of less than \$20 apiece). But of course it will retain the "extra compensation" plan for executives, under which GE President Charles E. Wilson had \$90,000 added to his base salary of \$108,000 last year.

MINE LEADER DEAD — John J. O'Leary, international vice-president of the UMW, died of a heart attack last week. He was a union member for 50 of his 66 years.

MEAT STILL HIGHER — The Agriculture Department warns that next year's meat supply will be lower than this year's, and that prices "may go even higher."

WATCH YOUR TONGUE — Marine Maj. Gen. Clifton B. Cates celebrated Navy Day with a speech declaring there is "no room" in this country for

those who favor disarmament because they desire "chaos and revolution."

FOR UNITED ACTION — The National Maritime Union has called a national conference of maritime and longshore unions, AFL, CIO and independents, for Nov. 17, to fight the Taft-Hartley Act and agree on wage negotiations.

NOT A JOKE — A cartoon in the New Republic shows one girl telling another about her new boy friend: "He's a Republican and I'm a Democrat, so at least we don't disagree politically!"

TRAVESTY — The Georgia warden and four guards who slaughtered eight Negroes in a prison camp last July are being tried on the charge of "violating the civil rights" of the victims.

SOUNDS WORTHWHILE — Briggs UAW Local 212 in Detroit has a weekly study class on Labor Political Philosophies. It takes up such topics as the Utopians, Workingmen's Parties in the U. S., Chartism in Britain, Anarchism and Syndicalism, Money and Credit Philosophies, Marx and Engels Socialism, Leninism.

NEXT ATTACK — The U. S. Chamber of Commerce has opened a drive to get Congress to kill time-and-a-half pay for work in excess of 40 hours

THE MILITANT

UN Is Given NAACP Petition Protesting Negro Oppression

Organized Against Long Skirts



Organized in Los Angeles to fight against the long skirt style, the United Skirts of America has grown rapidly since it began a month ago. Holding some of the letters from all parts of the country are President Martha Gaddis, Vi Strom of the CIO Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and Collette Zertler. Federated Pictures

Labor Needs Its Own Party, Says Trainor

BOSTON, Oct. 28—Lawrence P. Trainor, candidate for the Boston School Committee, wound up his series of three addresses over Station WHDH last night with a militant appeal for the workers to break from the two capitalist parties and establish an independent Labor Party of their own.

Not much interest in the Boston elections is being shown by the voters. In some quarters this is being explained by the lack of "qualified" or "colorful" candidates. Trainor's speech last night showed the hollowness of such explanations by giving the real reasons: "There is a new development on the American political arena. It is an understanding on the part of the working people that the Democratic and Republican Parties are the tools of Big Business. The American people have come to the stage where they instinctively feel politically frustrated.

"We working people of this country are the only working class in the world that hasn't its own powerful party."

"We built our unions against the employers for our own protection. We don't allow them in our unions. Then why should we belong to their political parties? Why should we vote for their candidates and hirelings?"

"There are almost 16 million trade union members in this country. What a mighty force if these 16 million workers acted together! And we have many allies—the small business man, the shopkeeper, the working farmer, the white collar worker, the professional people and the minority groups.

"We have our unions to represent us in the factory and on the job. Why not have our own representatives in the city, state and federal governmental bodies? Why shouldn't we organize our independent Labor Party and put into office our own kind to represent us? That is the question intelligent working men



L. P. TRAINOR

and women should ask themselves. Not next year. Not next week—but right now . . .

"Working people of Boston: Why do I have the right to ask for your support? I am a printer by trade; a member of the Typographical Union. All my political life I have been a Socialist, a Trotskyist. As a volunteer organizer I have organized textile workers and auto workers into their unions. The Socialist Workers Committee entered me in this contest for School Committee because they believe that it is about time that the workers of Boston elected their own kind to represent them—instead of ambitious professional politicians and political parasites."

NEW YORK, Oct. 29—A petition protesting the Jim Crow oppression of Negroes in the United States was formally presented to the United Nations here last Thursday by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The document, submitted by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished scholar and research director of the NAACP, is a 155-page booklet drawn up under DuBois' editorship and containing chapters by him, Attorney Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, Milton R. Konvitz of Cornell University, W. Robert Ming Jr. of the University of Chicago, Leslie S. Perry of the NAACP Washington Bureau and Dr. Raymond W. Logan of Howard University.

It constitutes one of the most devastating indictments of American "democracy" written down in recent years. Here collected in one place, so that it can easily be studied by those interested in learning the true status of the American Negro, is a full and detailed picture of how 14 million people have been and are denied their rights as human beings and as citizens.

Parts of the document are devoted to explaining why the problem of Negro oppression is important to and directly affects the UN, and why the UN is empowered to discuss and act on it. These are the least important parts, although they too contain some useful material. For example, Dr. DuBois illustrates the magnitude of the problem by comparing the American Negro population with the whole population of other countries:

"We number as many as the inhabitants of the Argentine or Czechoslovakia, or the whole of Scandinavia including Sweden, Norway and Denmark. We are very nearly the size of Egypt, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We are larger than Canada, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Hungary or the Netherlands. We have twice as many persons as Australia or Switzerland, and more than the whole Union of South Africa. We have more people than Portugal or Peru; twice as many as Greece and nearly as many as Turkey. We have more people by far than Belgium and half as many as Spain."

Yet this great body of Americans has virtually no voice in the government of their own country, and no voice at all in the United Nations. The NAACP petition has been received by the UN, but it is not at all certain that its discussion will ever be permitted in the UN, although it is quite certain that nothing will ever be done about the matter by the UN even if a discussion does take place.

Legal rights denied. One chapter deals with the denial of the Negro's legal rights as defined in the federal constitution. It shows that this takes place in four ways: 1. by state laws; 2. by acts and conspiracies of private individuals (restrictive covenants and job discrimination); 3. by mob violence, lynching, vigilante terror, etc.; 4. by state and federal court decisions defining the constitution so as to limit and restrict Negro rights.

Another chapter demolishes the claim that while Negroes are deprived of their rights, at least the laws themselves are good. This chapter deals with inequalities that are legal and sanctioned by the courts and legislatures. It shows that "Congress has refused to pass laws to declare the poll tax illegal; to make lynching more effectively subject to federal law; to make discrimination in private employment in interstate commerce a crime; to define and guarantee civil rights in the District of Columbia. The Supreme Court has failed to declare Jim Crowism in interstate commerce unconstitutional; to outlaw segregation in schools as a denial of the process or equal protection of the laws; to outlaw the restrictive covenant in the sale or rental of property; to declare the poll tax an unconstitutional tax on a federally guaranteed right or privilege. The Supreme Court has placed the Negro at the mercy of the individual states; they alone have the power to define and guarantee civil rights. The Negro is a citizen of the United States, yet the threat that ties him to the federal government, when it is a question of protecting his life, liberty or property, is so thin that the government is compelled to admit its impotence."

The legal status of the Negro is demonstrated in another chapter to be "that of a minority whose physical presence is tolerated and whose rights receive lip-service, but who rarely secures the protection the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee to all within its jurisdiction."

Red Baiting Probe In Hollywood — See Page 2 —



FRANK A. BARBARIA

Good Vote Seen For Barbaria In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 29—With only a week before election day, the Socialist Workers Party here is moving in high gear in its campaign to bring in a strong vote for its candidate for Mayor, Frank A. Barbaria.

The three contending capitalist candidates have now opened the "dirty" phase of the campaign. Having exhausted their limited stock of small issues, they fill the air with charges and counter-charges of "ties with the underworld," "inability to hold office, and red-baiting. Barbaria, meanwhile has become recognized as the "labor and socialist" candidate.

In reviewing the campaign so far, Barbaria stated: "The response to our program has been amazing. In practically every union or organization to which I have spoken so far, the idea of fighting for a cost-of-living bonus, opening the books of the corporations, and building an independent Labor Party, have had enthusiastic reception."

The voters have had many opportunities to compare this program against those of his opponents. Barbaria has spoken at more than 15 unions, AFL, CIO and independent, shoppers leagues, civic organizations and public school meetings. In every case where he has spoken in competition with the other candidates, considerable interest was exhibited.

Barbaria is also using the platform of the Socialist Workers Party. A series of street corner meetings in the working class Fillmore area, plus a series of dock meetings on the waterfront brings him into direct contact with hundreds of workers. The campaign will end with a gala election social at the Socialist Workers Party Hall, 1739 Fillmore St., on Nov. 1.

The campaign has opened other avenues of propaganda. The San Francisco News has requested and been supplied with a 500 word statement on Barbaria's program, which will be printed in a special election edition.

FIGHT TO SAVE PR IS VITAL IN NEW YORK

By Robert Williams

SWP Candidate for State Senate 23rd Senatorial District, N. Y. NEW YORK, Oct. 29—As the campaign draws to a close, it should be clear to all working class voters in the city that

Proportional Representation has become the most vital issue in the 1947 elections.

The direct inspiration of the anti-PR forces comes from Wall Street. This is indicated by the virtually unanimous stand taken against PR by the newspapers and by the huge sums of money expended to whip up anti-PR sentiment.

Above all Wall Street's hand is revealed in the stand taken against PR by the Republican Party. The GOP was obliged to subordinate its party interests—since Tammany Hall will be the principal gainer from the abolition of PR—to the more important aims of its Wall Street master.

SHIFT BURDEN

Wall Street is determined to re-establish its bi-partisan dictatorship in City Hall. This determination is sharpened by the desire to shift the load of New York's one billion dollar budget onto the shoulders

of the city's low-paid working class population.

As long as PR exists, even the capitalist politicians in the City Council must be extremely cautious about raising the transit fares, or passing a new sales tax, or refusing an increase in wages to city employees. As long as PR exists, the capitalist politicians must restrain their anti-labor actions in fear of the independent political action of the trade unions which can sweep them out of office. The aldermanic system does not remove this danger entirely but it gives the capitalist politicians a much greater feeling of security.

If the labor movement is not today genuinely aroused to the significance of PR the fault must be

laid directly at the door of the ALP, the Liberal Party and the Socialist leaders. It was the strength of the labor movement that forced the enactment of PR under the LaGuardia administration.

But the leaders of the labor movement never used this strength, under the opportunities provided by PR, to establish a labor majority in the City Council. On the contrary, they bartered labor's interests for a few seats.

The Democrats, and to a lesser extent, the Republicans, made a handsome profit out of these deals. At a time when their influence was waning, they were elected time and again to the Council and to the Mayor's office by labor's votes.

Tammany Hall has been so strengthened by these deals that it now feels strong enough to discard its alliances with the American Labor Party. Tomorrow it will just as rudely dispense with the Liberal Party leaders who are trying to crawl into the place formerly occupied by the ALP.

The Democrats and Republicans were right in believing that the labor leaders were afraid to fight. O'Dwyer used the police time and again as strikebreakers—but the ALP and Liberal Party leaders con-

tinued to support him.

O'Dwyer put over a separation of referendum voting on PR and on the transit increase. This was a transparent device to insure the defeat of PR and the abolition of the five cents fare — one at a time. There was no protest from the labor leaders—or the Stalinists.

Thus instead of the organized labor



ROBERT WILLIAMS

movement now preparing to fight for a labor government in City Hall in 1949, it must fight defensively to protect its rights by retaining the system of PR.

AN OPENING WEDGE

This fight must be supported by every worker and by the entire Negro population. A defeat of PR can mean the untrammelled domination of the City Council by the Wall Street gang, the removal of all labor and Negro representatives in the city government. That will be only the opening wedge for further sales taxes, higher fares, more racial discrimination and police brutality and an increase of strike-breaking by the city.

The Socialist Workers Party therefore urges every worker to consider it a major duty to go to the polls on Nov. 4 and save PR by voting "No."

But above all the Socialist Workers Party raises the alarm: the labor movement will remain vulnerable to terrible attacks until the workers force the union leaders to quit their deals with the capitalist parties and begin the independent mobilization of labor's strength politically for labor's own independent candidates.