

MORGAN SPOKESMEN BACK ROOSEVELT

12 Trotskyists Still In Prison As 6 End Terms

By Joseph Keller

NEW YORK, N. Y., Oct. 20 — Beaming with joy as they were greeted and welcomed back by their old friends and still a bit dazed by their first unaccustomed hours of freedom after almost 10 months confinement in the Danbury, Conn., federal prison, Oscar Shoenfeld, Al Russell and Karl Kuehn, 3 of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, today visited the Civil Rights Defense Committee national headquarters here before proceeding home to their anxiously waiting families. They had been met at the prison gates this morning by George Novack, CRDC National Secretary, who drove with them by car back to New York after their release on the termination of their year-and-a-day sentences, with time off for good behavior.

Even before returning to their families, they desired first of all to express in person their gratitude to the members and leaders of the organization, the CRDC, which for the past 3 years has conducted a nation-wide fight on behalf of the 18 and for the repeal of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they were convicted. They requested the CRDC to convey their deep thanks to the hundreds of union and progressive organizations

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By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 20 — Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, two of the defendants in the famous Minneapolis labor case, released from prison at Sandstone, Minnesota, today, were greeted by their families, a throng of friends, and members of the Twin Cities Branch of the Workers Defense League on their arrival in Minneapolis. Crowding around the train exit, everyone waited impatiently for the train, which seemed hours late, to pull into the depot. Actually it was only a few minutes overdue. At last it arrived, the doors were opened and the passengers began to file in. Quickly, eagerly, every face was scanned in search of the two who were returning home. Almost the last ones, Harry and Clarence walked soberly into the waiting room.

First, of course, they embraced their wives, Sally and Evelyn, who were radiant and happy. Quietly and with dignity, warm handclaspings were exchanged all around with the many who had come to greet these two victims of a conspiracy to stifle the voices of socialists and militant labor leaders. Union members, representatives and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Defense League, per-

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Union Topples Open Shop In Large Douglas Plant

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 18 — On October 11 more than 90 percent of an eligible 11,000 production and maintenance workers of the Douglas Aircraft Plant at Santa Monica, California, voted in an NLRB run-off election between the United Automobile Workers (CIO) and the International Association of Machinists (AFL). The "run-off" was made necessary because a vote taken the week before (October 4) had failed to produce a majority between the IAM which received 36.5 percent of the vote, the UAW which received 38 percent, and no union, 25 percent. Despite an intensive campaign in the week intervening between the two votes, the UAW CIO failed to win the support of the "no-union" votes and even lost part of its original support to the IAM-AFL.

Thus the great Douglas open shop fortress finally fell after ten years of effort to organize this important plant. This significant fact stands out as the most important aspect of the election. It took three consecutive NLRB elections in 1942, 1943 and 1944 to swing the Douglas plant into the fold of organized labor.

The division in labor's ranks between AFL and CIO, the bitter rivalry between the IAM and UAW, coupled with the cunning policy of the company which used every trick to prevent unionization of its employees, had served to maintain the Douglas plant as an open shop preserve. The inter-union fight between the UAW and IAM last year brought victory to the non-union forces. In the 1943 election, the IAM, running a poor third to both the UAW and the no-union vote campaigned in the run-off urging its supporters to vote "no union." This resulted in a close victory for the no-union vote and stalled a possible UAW victory.

Thus the recent NLRB election again afforded the IAM a chance to contest the UAW. It emerged the victor by a decisive majority of almost two to one. The Stalinist CIO leadership in California had led its ranks to a feeling of complacent confidence in the victory of the UAW. The shock of the first vote destroyed this false optimism. Thoroughly alarmed by their failure on October 4, they mustered all the resources of the West Coast CIO, but were unable to turn the tide. The final result of the run-off was a crushing rejection of Stalinism under whose "Teheran" policies the proud and militant

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Now Is The Time!



Revolutionary Workers Took Lead In Paris Insurrection

This is the first in a series of articles on the revolutionary developments in France, based in large part upon information received from our Paris correspondent. Articles on the arming of the French workers, the policies pursued by the various parties, and the prospects of the revolutionary struggle in France will be published in subsequent issues of The Militant.

By Frank Lawrence

In order to understand what the real situation is in France today, and where France is heading, it is necessary to have a clear conception of the revolutionary upheaval which has taken place in that country since last August. The central and decisive event so far in this revolutionary process was the armed uprising of the Paris masses from August 19 to 24.

The capitalist press and the censors have from the very first tried to conceal and to suppress news of what happened during those six days and to distort or to deny its real significance. They have compelling reasons for doing so. For the insurgent masses not only drove the Nazi forces of occupation out of Paris but forced their capitalist collaborators to run for cover. The leading place occupied by the workers in the insurrection coupled with their social revolutionary actions have threatened to overturn the entire capitalist system in France. The totality of these events comprises the first stage in the new revolutionary offensive of the French working class.

This estimate of the French situation, presented in previous issues of The Militant, has been confirmed by a direct account of the Paris uprising we have received from a correspondent in France. This first-hand report is published in full in the current October issue of Fourth International.

POPULAR REVOLT

This report points out that the uprising was a genuinely popular revolt in which various class forces participated. The Resistance Movement embraced a number of diverse tendencies ranging from ultra-reactionary royalists on the right to the Trotskyists on the extreme left. Although the official leadership of the movement was vested in the de Gaullists, the French Communist Party was its most powerful organized group and exercised the widest influence over the masses. Its armed forces, the Francs Tireurs et Partisans, constituted the major portion of the FFI fighters.

All the political tendencies which took part in the uprising except the Trotskyists sought to direct the struggle along purely nationalist lines, to restrict it to the sole objective of "expelling the Boche," and to restrain the workers from settling accounts with the bosses and seizing power to promote their own class interests and aims. The Stalinists in particular did their utmost to give a purely nationalist and classless color to the uprising.

But, as the facts related by our Paris correspondent conclusively

prove, the efforts of the Stalinists, de Gaullists, and others were in vain. The movement of the insurrectionary workers immediately overflowed the narrow channels of the struggle for national liberation and acquired a profoundly revolutionary proletarian character. The class struggle at once burst through the fictitious envelope of national unity within which the bourgeois groups and Stalinists tried to confine it. The revolutionary workers not only went after the Nazis but also after the capitalist collaborators. They fought arms in hand not only to free themselves from Nazi domination but also from capitalist exploitation and rule. They reached out and seized as much power as they could under the prevailing circumstances.

WORKERS LEAD

The advanced workers played the leading role throughout the insurrection. The first step in the popular revolt was a general strike of the workers on August 18. On August 19 the Parisian

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WLB Stalls Plea Of Steel Workers For Wage Increase

By R. Bell

The recent decision of the War Labor Board in rejecting a resolution of the AFL members of the board requesting Roosevelt to modify the wage freezing Little Steel formula has a direct bearing on the steel wage dispute now before the WLB. For approximately ten months, the board has been "considering" the demands of the steelworkers for a wage increase of 17 cents per hour, along with a number of other demands. As the steelworkers have already received the "limit" allowed under the wage freeze, their demand for an hourly wage increase which goes beyond the Little Steel formula becomes subject to the decision of the WLB refusing to "recommend" a revision of the formula.

The steel wage dispute provides a classic example of the swindle perpetrated on the workers by Roosevelt and his henchmen on the WLB. As reported in The

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Our French Martyrs

We have just received word of the tragic fate of several of our French Trotskyist co-thinkers during the Nazi occupation. At the same time as we learned of the growing influence of the Trotskyist movement in France, we were informed that Jules Joffe, member of the French International Workers Party (Trotskyist), was shot in 1942 by the Nazis, and that two other comrades, Lucian Braslowski and Bella Lampert, were arrested at the same time. The exact fate of the latter two comrades is not known, but it is feared that they too paid with their lives for the cause of revolutionary socialism.

We dip our banner, dyed in the blood of so many working-class martyrs, in honor and memory of these French comrades who courageously carried on the struggle for socialist emancipation under the shadow of the Nazi terror. They join the immortal ranks of the many Trotskyist fighters, in Germany, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Poland, all Europe and the world, who have died to bring the program of Trotskyism, of Bolshevism, to the oppressed of the earth.

Their sacrifices have not been in vain. Throughout France and Europe, the ideas and movement of Trotskyism are gaining influence daily. The French proletariat, which has entered upon a revolutionary struggle against rotten capitalism, will avenge the foul murders of our heroic comrades. The triumph of the socialist revolution in Europe will vindicate their suffering and sacrifice.

Rumania Stalinists Maintain Alliance With Fascist Scum

The Stalinists attempt to justify their endless betrayals of the working class by referring to the need to unite all "democratic" elements for struggle against Nazism and fascism as the "main danger."

In "liberated" Rumania, however they have allied themselves openly with native fascists. When the Antonescu regime was overthrown in August, a government of reactionary generals was organized by King Michael. The Stalinists entered this government, their principal representative being Lucretiu Patrascanu, chairman of the Central Committee of the Stalinist Party.

Now, according to a N. Y. Times dispatch, Patrascanu has taken under his wing the former Premier George Tatarescu, who together with King Carol (now on his way back to Rumania from Mexico) organized the first semi-fascist dictatorial regime in the country. What's more, he is "protecting and supporting" Mihai Ralea, another Fascist who was a member of M. Tatarescu's dictatorial cabinet.

When the N. Y. Times correspondent asked Patrascanu for an explanation of the Stalinist alliance with the rotten fascist elements, he replied: "This political exigency."

The name "Communist Party," says the correspondent, is "misleading." In fact, the Rumanian Communists are no less bourgeois than the National Peasants or Liberals. There is practically no difference between the platform of the Communists and the National Peasants.

The Rumanian workers are doubtless beginning to discover the same thing.

Stalin is living up to the promise he issued last April to the parasitic capitalist-landlord ruling class scum of Rumania. When the Red Army first entered the country, Molotov issued a statement that "the existing social structure of Rumania" would not be altered. Today, the Red Army military authorities and the Rumanian Stalinists are seeking to preserve the totalitarian filth of the old exploiters and to frustrate the revolutionary aspirations of the workers and peasants.

Leading Wall Street Agents Switch From Republican Camp

N. Y. Times, Walter Lippman, Senator Ball Announce Support Of Democratic Candidate

By Lewis Jordan

With the approaching climax of the presidential election campaigns, the lack of any basic differences on major issues between the two capitalist parties and their candidates, Roosevelt and Dewey, becomes more heavily underscored. All their speeches confirm the position of The Militant that the two political wings of Wall Street and their chief banner-bearers have arrived at a virtual identity of program and policies on all fundamental questions, domestic and foreign.

The pro-Rooseveltian "liberals," trade union bureaucrats and Stalinists are desperately attempting to corral labor support for Roosevelt by fostering the myth of basic "differences" between Roosevelt and Dewey. This fiction

boils down to the reiterated claim that Roosevelt is a representative of the "common man" while Dewey is the White-Haired Boy of Wall Street.

This myth suffered further exposure during the past week when some of the leading spokesmen of Wall Street and the Republican camp itself switched from the Republican to the Democratic candidate.

American capitalism's most authoritative press spokesman and a leading mouthpiece of the Morgan financial interests, The New York Times, on Oct. 16 in a 3-column editorial announced its support of Roosevelt. This was followed by the pronouncement of the dean of Republican columnists, Walter Lippmann, political sage of the leading Republican newspaper, The New York Herald-Tribune, that his choice fell upon Roosevelt. Then influential Republican Senator Ball, of Minnesota, reneged on his seconding speech for Dewey at the Republican Party convention

and publicly stated his preference for Roosevelt.

These spokesmen for the most powerful sections of American finance capital obviously came to their choice because they are convinced of the reliability of Roose-

Canada CIO Rejects No-Strike Pledge

The Fifth Annual Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, meeting in Quebec on October 19, rejected a proposal backed by the Stalinists to commit the Canadian section of the CIO to an unconditional no-strike pledge.

Refusing to surrender their most powerful economic weapon of struggle against the anti-labor corporations and government, the delegates to the convention passed a resolution pledging the Congress merely "to do all in its power to avoid strike action" and demanding that "the employers and the Government... pursue a fair and reasonable industrial policy" to avert strikes.

velt in the defense of American Big Business and its imperialist aims and program. As they take pains to state, their choice is dictated by no fundamental differences on major policies.

It is precisely because of this fact that the N. Y. Times, Lippmann, the press voice of Thomas

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Stalinist Sheet Advises UAW Leaders To Stall Referendum

By Art Preis

The powerful rank and file upsurge in the CIO United Automobile Workers, which expressed itself at the recent convention by rolling up 36 per cent of the votes for scrapping the no-strike pledge and overwhelmingly endorsing a membership referendum on the no-strike policy, has reduced the scabby Stalinists to panic-fear.

Through its yellow press, Browder's Communist (Stalinist) Political Association is giving side-line instructions to the UAW-CIO leadership on the

best methods for stalling or preventing the referendum and stemming the rising tide of resistance to the leadership's unconditional surrender to the corporations and the government.

None other than Nat Ganley, chief Stalinist whip and hatchetman at the UAW convention, undertook the unsavory chore of giving the "low-down" to the UAW leadership. Ganley's contribution appears in The Worker, Oct. 8, under the misleading title of "What Happened at UAW Convention."

Although the article fails to live up to its title, it reveals what has happened to the Stalinists as a result of the pounding they took at the convention and the decline in influence they registered. They're in a white-heat of fear and fury, determined to block the referendum at all costs and by any means.

The main point of Ganley's fantastic version of the convention is to explain to the leadership ways and means of violating the mandate of the convention. As the first step, he counsels: "In order to devote full attention to the presidential election the referendum should be held in December and discussion of the is-

mandates of the convention." The Daily Worker office will be glad to provide free instructions on how to do this — "consistent" with that traditional regard of the Stalinists for the "democratic" rights of the rank and file and the "mandates" of conventions.

Not that the top UAW and CIO bureaucrats lack experience of their own along this line. The Michigan auto workers will recall how the UAW officialdom helped scuttle the mandate of the 1943 Michigan State CIO convention that a referendum be held on the organization of a labor party.

Not wishing to appear too agitated over the powerful development of the new rank and file caucus, Ganley reassures himself and his colleagues that this was just a "surface manifestation," that the "Reuther-Trotskyite forces have come out of the convention weaker than ever." (The linking of UAW Vice-President Reuther to the Rank and File Caucus is sheer fraud, as every convention delegate knows. Reuther connived with the rest of the leadership in an attempt to prevent a resolution for rescinding the no-strike pledge from coming to the floor and he joined with the Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist clique in supporting a motion for unconditional reaffirmation of the no-strike pledge.)

Ganley however adds that the militant ranks which are supposedly "weaker than ever" are also "more dangerous and more ruthless than ever before." They are

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

That offensive odor emanating from the international headquarters of the CIO United Automobile Workers comes from the dish the top leadership has been trying to cook up ever since the UAW convention voted to conduct a membership referendum on the no-strike policy within 90 days of convention adjournment. The officialdom is stewing over some shyster schemes to violate the convention mandate and stall or prevent this registration of the will of over 1,300,000 members.

Meanwhile, the rank and file militants aren't just sitting patiently waiting for the leadership to bury the issue. Agitation for scrapping the no-strike pledge has begun. An example is the educational leaflet put out recently by the Educational Committee of Chevrolet Local 659, Flint, Mich. Headed, "You Need My Support! Through Local 659," the leaflet, speaking as the voice of the American Labor Movement, tells in popular language the historical background, aims and development of the labor struggle, and links this to the fight of the auto workers to regain the strike weapon.

In the leaflet, "The American Labor Movement" tells the auto workers, "The 1944 Convention of the UAW-CIO has given to you the power to return to me the Right to Strike, the strongest weapon and only weapon that will keep my strength. The return of that weapon will once again establish my prestige. Then and only then will I be management's equal. Big business is up to its old tricks again. The Big Shots, according to the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, are preparing to do a job on me. After the last war they put on an all-out open-shop drive in the name of the 'American Plan.' This time I guess they will put on an even nastier campaign in the name of 'Free Enterprise.'"

Now that the WLB has refused, after a year's "study," to recommend a revision of the Little Steel Formula, we would like to recall for the record the part played by CIO President Philip Murray in initiating the rumor and impression that such revision was an assured fact.

Murray, as the auto convention delegates will recall, first used this piece of false information in his hour and a half endeavor to beat down the powerful opposition to the no-strike pledge. A clever actor and orator, Murray deliberately attempted to convey by inflection and expression the idea that he was speaking from "inside" knowledge that the Little Steel Formula was slated for speedy modification. Referring to the forthcoming WLB panel report, Murray with slow, emphatic voice declared: "I am just as sure as I am living that the Little Steel Formula is going to be revised. . . I have every reason to believe that the reasoning of the panel substantially supports the position of the United Steelworkers of America in asking for an upward revision of the so-called Little Steel Formula."

Some persons may attempt to argue that Murray himself had been "taken in." If so, he was quick to use this bit of fakery at the most convenient time, when it could be used as an argument

to persuade the militant auto workers not to scrap the no-strike pledge because the Roosevelt administration was preparing to concede wage increases anyway.

Murray's abject servility before Roosevelt has taken on striking form since the WLB's decision against making any recommendation on revising the Little Steel Formula. The rash threat of the CIO officials that they would put the issue up to Roosevelt squarely before the elections has already vanished into the limbo of the many other "bold" declarations made previously and unfulfilled.

This recalls Murray's fearful counsel to the United Mine Workers board back in 1941, before American entry into the imperialist war, during the captive mines strike. Murray made plain then that "President Roosevelt was the most vindictive man in public life and that, if the UMWA did not yield to the President in the captive mine controversy, President Roosevelt would break the miners' union."

Roosevelt didn't then or afterward break the miners' union, which stands strong as ever today. But he has surely succeeded in breaking any last weak effort of resistance from Murray to the schemes of the corporate interests and government to disarm and paralyze the union movement.

President Sherman Dalrymple of the CIO United Rubber Workers has climaxed his bureaucratic and anti-democratic acts against the militant members of his union by an attempt to levy fines totalling \$6,000 against 500 striking members at the United States Rubber Company plant in Detroit.

In order to break the strike last week Dalrymple fined each member of Local 101 the sum of \$12 and arbitrarily gave the local's president John Marmon one month to collect the fines and forward them to Dalrymple's headquarters.

Dalrymple had a stiff fight on his hands at the recent URW convention because of his previous violations of union democracy. The delegates from the militant heart of the union in Akron, O., led the fight against his policies and rolled up a third of the convention votes to rescind the no-strike pledge and forced him to retreat on several measures of reprisal previously taken against union militants. We are certain the rank and file rubber workers are not going to let this latest ruthless bureaucratic blow at their best fighters go unchallenged.

The CIO News, official CIO weekly, has a mouthful of mush in dealing with the conniving of Roosevelt and his War Labor Board to stall and sidetrack the demands of organized labor for a speedy upward revision of the Little Steel Formula.

In the lead editorial of the Oct. 16 issue, "The Facts Cry For Action," the only crying comes from the editors who whine and complain about "the Board's endless delays and evasions, its buck-passing and sometimes deliberate stalling, and its timid reluctance to exercise the full responsibilities that are vested in it."

But there isn't a word about the fact that the WLB is just the instrument of Roosevelt's policies and anti-labor maneuvers. The editorial call for "action" resolves itself into another plaintive plea that the Board "repair some of the damage it has done" by its refusal to make a recommendation on the Little Steel Formula with an "expeditiously made" report setting forth "honestly and accurately the full facts relating to wages, prices, profits and economic stabilization." As if Roosevelt doesn't know them!

Over Half Of Pamphlet Quota Sold

By The Campaign Manager

With over 50 percent of the pamphlet quota already filled, branches are sending in suggestions of new ways to extend the sale of the pamphlet sets. Comrades have been selling them at union and political meetings and placing the sets on the newsstands which sell The Militant. Most of the sales listed, however, are the result of visits made to The Militant's new subscribers, who are familiar with the Minneapolis Labor Case, and want to understand more fully the socialist ideas for which the 18 were imprisoned.

The set of pamphlets, including James P. Cannon's "Socialism On Trial," Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," the CRDC pamphlet "Who Are the 18 Minneapolis Prisoners," and "Why We Are in Prison," are such an excellent introduction to the principles of Marxism, that one Brooklyn reader of The Militant purchased two sets so that fellow-students in her sociology class could also learn the truth about socialism.

FROM OUR MAIL BAG

Los Angeles: At the present time, with one month of actual work behind us, we have sold over 1200 pamphlets (not all of the reports are in). We sold 60 of the pamphlets at a Norman Thomas meeting last week.

Detroit: Our branch mobilization Sunday was a real success and everyone was so enthusiastic about it that we are going to have another one next Sunday. One of the mothers took care of all the children, so the others were free to go out visiting Militant subscribers. We prepared lunch at the hall, and comrades discussed experiences and exchanged suggestions while they ate. We can foresee real gains for the party as a result of this literature campaign, as these comments, jotted down by the comrades after visits to Militant readers, will testify: "A building committee, very friendly. . . bought pamphlets and 'History of American Trotskyism.'" "Very interested in ideas of our paper. Will come to meetings."

Reading: The 80 pamphlets sold this week were bought by trade union members, including carmen, machinists, boilermakers, and blacksmiths. One young Socialist Party member bought twelve pamphlets—six of the Cannon pamphlets and six of Goldman's—from a comrade working in his shop. These twelve are not included in the totals we are sending, since they were sold as "singles."

Cleveland: We received the second order of pamphlets and have already dug into it. All in all we have had excellent results in this literature campaign. One comrade has a record of 100 percent—no subscriber has refused him! He has sold 40 pamphlets, and obtained four subscription renewals, including one combination sub for The Militant and Fourth International. The healthiest aspect of the campaign, however, is not the number of subs or pamphlet sets sold. It is the spirit in which the comrades are participating. Their ardor is not the kind which burns out quickly in a flash of activity, but the ardor born with the realization that this campaign is a means to build a bigger, better proletarian party.

Minneapolis: A number of comrades distributed at a UAW meeting the issue of The Militant which carried a story on the UAW Convention. While several comrades gave out the paper, others displayed the pamphlet folders. We sold 64 pamphlets to the auto workers that night. The previous evening several comrades had sold 32 pamphlets at an AFL meeting, while The Militant was distributed.

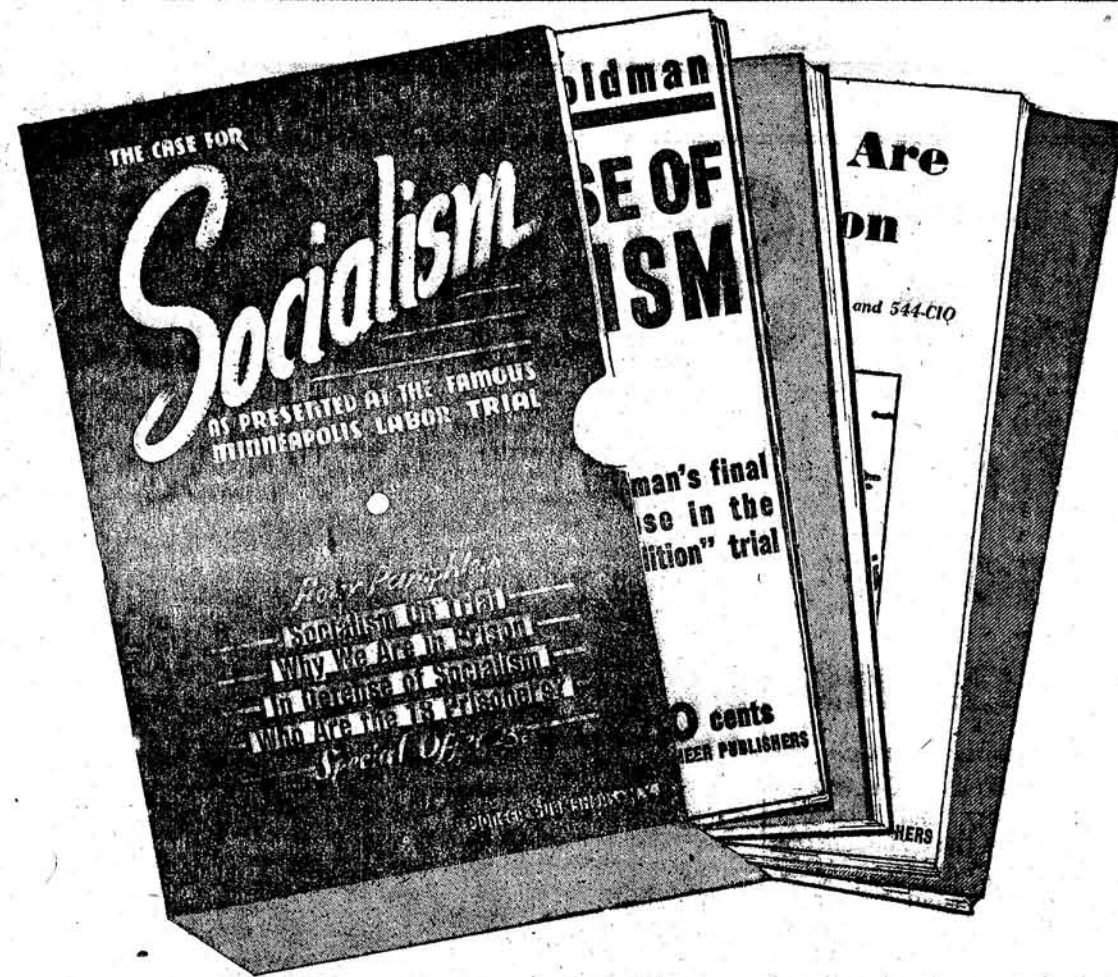
New York: The New York Local has obtained 254 subscription renewals, including one 2-year sub, secured 147 premium subs for friends of The Militant, and sold 1204 Minneapolis Case pamphlets.

One comrade reported an interesting visit which shows how glad readers are to discuss our ideas with comrades. She says, "I knocked on the door of a new reader in Harlem. The subscribers were very anxious to have us come in and were evidently expecting us. They have been around the Stalinist movement for about a year. They wanted to know what we thought of the war. We answered that it is a bosses' war."

"The wife replied that she had said the same thing, and had been told she was wrong; the Stalinists had told her she was 'a good radical, but too radical.' The husband asked us to explain how the differences between Stalin and Trotsky came about. We showed them the pamphlets, explaining that reading them and attending our lectures would give them a fuller understanding than we could give in a brief visit, and we promised to return for another discussion in the future."

SCOREBOARD

Reading	Quota	Sold	Percent
Toledo	90	152	169
Chicago	160	224	140
Milwaukee	80	104	130
Cleveland	200	200	100
Buffalo	400	372	93
St. Paul	140	128	91
Flint	10	8	80
Los Angeles	1500	1200	80
Philadelphia	80	64	80
Minneapolis	330	228	69
Seattle	500	256	51
New York	2800	1204	43
San Francisco	350	152	43
Rochester	140	60	43
Chicago	700	284	41
Youngstown	120	44	37
Detroit	1000	244	24
San Diego	80	24	30
Bayonne	180	44	24
Boston	220	40	17
Akron	70	12	17
Newark	700	84	12
Allentown	40	0	0
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	80	0	0
Total	10,000	5228	52



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

Stalinist Sheet Tells How To Stall UAW Poll

(Continued from page 1) particularly "dangerous" because they want "to disrupt war time and postwar national unity by advocating the formation of an anti-Roosevelt Third Party after the elections" and "utilize the referendum . . . to develop a wide-spread anti-Roosevelt agitation in the shops."



Our agents are not overlooking the opportunity of getting subscriptions to The Militant at points of distribution. The reports are interesting.

Seattle: "This sub was gotten at a distribution at the boiler-makers. This person used to subscribe and was glad to get the paper again. He said he knew Farrell Dobbs well, heard James P. Cannon and Albert Goldman, etc. speak. Evidently he is a truck driver from Minneapolis."

San Pedro: "We sold eight subscriptions during a distribution at the Longshore Union last night."

The Militant has been placed on two more newsstands. Philadelphia: "Good news from Philadelphia. The Militant is now on sale at Germantown and Lehigh Avenues. Please mention this in the paper."

Buffalo: "The Militant can now be bought at the newsstand on the Southeast corner of Main and Mohawk Streets. Will you put that in the paper? We hope to get more newsstands to take it soon."

The experiences of our agents in their call-back work to obtain renewals of 3-month introductory subscriptions are inspiring.

New York: "The subscriber invited us in the house. These were two fellows and two girls. Both of the fellows were in the Merchant Marine. One had been discharged from the Navy because he signed up as a gunner and they made him be a messman. He beefed so much about being discriminated against that they discharged him. The other fellow is an English seaman. I showed him The Militant. He exclaimed that it resembles the paper he had seen in England and referred

to the Socialist Appeal (organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Fourth International). He said he thinks that 75 per cent of the workers in England are for Socialism."

Toledo: "One comment I have to make about the campaign is that we have had very good luck in getting our subscribers and friends to sell subscriptions and pamphlets. The only 'trouble' with this is that as soon as these people get to selling The Militant and pamphlets they have a tendency to want to join the party. It is very difficult to keep a contact list going when the best people on it keep joining the party."

"We visited one plant committee and after discussing union affairs and the difficulty of settling grievances, etc., we asked him what he thought of the program of The Militant. His reply was immediate and emphatic, 'I agree with the program of The Militant 100 per cent!'"

Comments from our subscribers are interesting. We quote a few: "One of our readers said she has a 12-year old son who looks forward to the weekly appearance of The Militant, reads it thoroughly, and often cuts out articles to take to school with him."

"A woman subscriber said she likes The Militant because it tells the truth about things. 'It's about time somebody did dare to tell the truth,' she said."

"I like the paper very much. Both my husband and I read it. It is the only paper that tells us the truth."

"The People's World (Stalinist paper) pretends to be a friend of the Negro people, but tells us to do nothing till the war is over."

"Diary of a Steel Worker is very good — I read it all the time."

Open Shop Beaten By NLRB Election At Douglas Plant

(Continued from page 4) "disorganize" already established unions — it offers very little inducement for unorganized workers to join a union.

The reactionary policies of Stalinism served to nullify the more progressive national character of the UAW-CIO and drove the workers into the fold of the IAM-AFL. An additional factor favoring the IAM on the west coast was the fact that it was the workers of Boeing and Lockheed, under jurisdiction of the IAM, who displayed a willingness to fight in the aircraft dispute of two years ago at a time when the Stalinist leadership played the role of strikebreakers. At that time great sympathy existed among many workers of this area for the Boeing and Lockheed struggle for wage increases. As a result of these actions, Boeing Aircraft Corporation was forced to install the highest wage-scale in the industry on the west coast.

All these factors, plus the widely known fact that the Stalinists dominate the CIO in California, broke the situation in favor of the IAM. The workers of Douglas Santa Monica, moving forward in their first big step towards unionism, chose the IAM as their collective bargaining agent in preference to Stalinist reaction. At the time this report is written, workers are streaming into the IAM by the hundreds. Large numbers of CIO supporters have taken the logical step of entering the union chosen by the majority. There is a general desire to have unionism go to work at once to negotiate a contract. There is little sign of any antagonism between the workers as a result of the bitter campaign between the two unions.

It is necessary for all Douglas workers to enter the IAM-AFL which has been chosen by the majority as the union representative and conduct a vigorous struggle to compel the Douglas Corporation to agree to a strong union contract. By breaking completely and decisively with the policy which Stalinism represents in its crudest form, that is, the policy of subservience to the bosses and by embarking on the road of militant independent action the workers of Douglas Santa Monica can go forward and build a strong union capable of defending their rights and advancing their interests.

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legates voted down both the Ades-Stalinist and Reuther resolutions reaffirming the pledge on the third and fourth days of the convention, every convention delegate must surely wonder how even a Stalinist can attempt to pass off such an obvious whopper. It is just such lies, however, constructed into a system, which constitute one of the principal weapons in the arsenal of Stalinism.

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Big Crowd Hears Election Analysis At N. Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — "The Presidential Election and What It Means for the American Workers" was the subject of the third lecture in the series of October Sunday Night Forums conducted by the New York School of Social Science at 116 University Place. The audience showed real appreciation of the analysis made by Comrade C. Thomas.

Literature sales included a number of copies of Fourth International and pamphlets on various subjects. The next lecture in the October series will be delivered Sunday, Oct. 29, with Comrade John G. Wright speaking on "What Is Happening in Germany?" Readers of The Militant are invited to come, and to bring their friends and shopmates. The forum will open at 8 P. M.

SAN FRANCISCO

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October Revolution

SEE . . . LENIN and TROTSKY in action!!

the authentic film of the Russian Revolution

"TSAR TO LENIN"

taken from newsreels of that period

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5 - 8 P. M.

305 GRANT AVENUE, at SUTTER, 4th floor

Auspices - San Francisco Socialist Workers Party

6 Of 18 Imprisoned Trotskyists End Frameup Sentences

(Continued from page 1)

and their over 3,500,000 members who have supported the campaign to win unconditional presidential pardon for the Trotskyist and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders, who were railroaded to prison for their revolutionary socialist opposition to the imperialist war and their militant defense of labor's rights.

After the first warm and emotion-filled exchange of greetings between the 3 ex-prisoners and their comrades and well-wishers, and before beginning an interview with the press representatives, the thoughts of the three turned immediately to their 12 comrades still remaining in prison under longer sentences and to the 3 other comrades, Harry DeBoer, Edward Palmquist and Clarence Hamel, also released to day from the federal penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn. They drafted a telegram to the latter declaring their solidarity and pledging themselves to do all in their power to aid in the continuing fight to free the 12 still in prison.

Dressed in the shoddy, ill-fitting suits, black ties and clumsy shoes provided them or their departure from prison, the three sat around a table and answered the questions shot at them by reporters, including representatives of the N. Y. Times and the Jewish Day. The inarticulate expression of their emotions at once more seeing their old friends and supporters was quickly transformed into firm and clear reaffirmations of their views after 9 months and 21 days first-hand experience with capitalist "justice."

THANK CRDC

The three release victims of the Smith "Gag" Act and the political persecution of the Roosevelt Administration especially commended the work of the CRDC on their behalf. "It was the most important thing in keeping up our morale in prison and helping us hear the imprisonment to know that our wives and children were being taken care of by the

CRDC. You don't know how much that helped our peace of mind, to know our families weren't in need," Oscar Shoenfeld stated with deep feeling in his voice.

They joined in expressing through the CRDC their earnest appeal to the labor movement and friends of civil liberties everywhere to aid liberally in the present campaign of the CRDC to raise funds for the continued maintenance of the dependents of the remaining 12 prisoners. This fund campaign has been endorsed by 8 nationally-prominent trade union and progressive leaders in a signed letter addressed to all labor organizations.

"You call your case a labor case, but how do you think your fight has helped the labor movement?" was one of the first questions asked.

"Our going to prison and the campaign to free us," answered Russell, "has called attention to millions of organized workers that their civil liberties are imperiled when it is possible for 13 people to be put in prison for defending the ideas of socialism and the rights of labor. That is a great danger to the whole labor movement."

Shoenfeld added: "We're more glad over the fact that over 3,500,000 workers have come to our support than anything else. That means that a great body of workers now realize what a vicious law the Smith 'Gag' Act is and how dangerous it is to the interests of labor."

"If because of our going to prison millions of workers have come to understand the anti-labor character of the Smith Act, this represents a tremendous step forward for labor's civil rights, which more than repays us for the personal sacrifices forced upon us."

CRDC PLANS

To the question of what their immediate plans are with respect to the case, Russell declared: "We're going to participate in the efforts to win an unconditional pardon for all of us and the immediate release of the 12 still in prison. We're going to do all we can to bring attention to this violation of civil liberties and fight for the freedom of the rest."

When one reporter asked how they proposed to conduct this fight, the three referred to the program of the CRDC. CRDC Secretary Novack, asked to explain this program, stated: "We plan to mobilize the many labor organizations which support our campaign to compel the President to act on his own initiative and pardon the 18. Since the subordinate agencies of the White House have stated they are not 'warranted' in recommending a pardon, we are demanding that Roosevelt himself go on record, since he was personally instrumental in initiating this prosecution."

REAFFIRM IDEAS

To the question—"How do you stand now on the ideas you upheld at the Minneapolis Labor trial?"—they gave vigorous answers.

Shoenfeld, thin, somewhat sallow from his long confinement and the monotonous prison fare, leaned forward and declared with intensity: "I stand behind the beliefs we upheld at the Minneapolis trial. Events have since corroborated our views 100 percent. We retract nothing!"

Russell, father of a baby born while he was in prison and whom he had not yet seen, immediately



Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, after release from Sandstone penitentiary, are welcomed by friends and relatives upon their return to Minneapolis. Mrs. DeBoer is to the left of Harry, and Mrs. Hamel is at her husband's right.

added: "Our imprisonment hasn't weakened our convictions. It has only strengthened them. We are more convinced than ever it is necessary to carry on a constant struggle in defense of the workers' rights and for a workers' world."

Kuehn, father of 7 children, asserted: "We are absolutely firm in our beliefs in Trotskyism, as the only program which will avert further social disintegration under a dying capitalism. The workers themselves must study and put into effect this program."

After patiently answering all questions, these three courageous defenders of Trotskyism and the rights of labor left for their homes, wives and children from whom they had been unjustly separated for so many months. On Friday evening, October 27, they are scheduled to receive a public welcome at the Mass Meeting called by the CRDC, to be held at the Manhattan Center, 311 W. 34th St., in protest against the refusal of the Roosevelt administration to pardon the 18.

Trotskyists In Michigan Back Independent MCF Candidate

The Michigan branches of the Socialist Workers Party are supporting the complete slate of six candidates of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation in the November elections. We call on all our members and friends living in the districts where these six MCF candidates are running to vote for the following.

For U. S. Congressman in the 17th Congressional District of Wayne and Oakland Counties, Matthew Hammond; for State Senator in the 5th Senatorial District, Wayne County, Ben Garrison; in the 2nd Senatorial District, Wayne County, Walter Homiez; in the 11th State Senatorial District, Lapeer, Macomb and St. Clair Counties, Carl Giese; for State Legislature in the 1st Legislative District, Genesee County, Andrew Michelson; and in the 1st Legislative District, Ingham County, Elton Hansen.

The Socialist Workers Party supports every step forward in the direction of labor's independent political action. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation, by running its own candidates on the basis of its own program, has taken the first step toward breaking labor away from the political domination of the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican Parties.

Most of the founders and members of the MCF, which was formed just a few months ago,

ReadingSWPGives Critical Support To SP Candidates

The Reading branch of the Socialist Workers Party in Pennsylvania is giving critical support to the local candidates of the Socialist Party in the November elections. By "critical support" the Socialist Workers Party underscores the fact of its deep-going and fundamental differences with the SP on all the important political questions of the day. The SP screens its support of the imperialist war by pacifistic agitation. It seeks to pervert every movement in the direction of an independent labor party into an all-inclusive and impotent "peoples party" conceived in its own image. It constitutes an obstacle, albeit not a very formidable one, on the road to the revolutionary development of the American working class.

Nevertheless, in Reading, the SP has the support of certain sections of the labor movement. Many workers in Reading still believe that the SP represents, in some vague sort of way, the idea of "socialism." In going through the experience of the election with the advanced workers of Reading the Socialist Workers Party does not cease its irreconcilable criticism of the policies and program of the SP. It will utilize the campaign to convince the workers of the need for a genuine independent labor party based on the trade unions.

Three 'Gag' Act Victims End Term At Sandstone

(Continued from page 1)

sonal friends, pressed close to say, "Hello, Harry. Hello, Clarence. It's good to see you again."

As the two stood to have their pictures taken, their friends could study them more closely. Both look well, but are noticeably thin. Clarence, normally weighing a good 250 pounds, has lost a lot of weight. But the telltale marks of a long incarceration, away from the stimulation of their work in the labor movement, to which they have devoted most of their adult lives is in their eyes. The strain of living behind bars, away from those they love, cut off from the

work which means everything to them, shows unmistakably in their faces.

Soon the greetings were over and Clarence and Harry left with their families to enjoy the privacy of dinner in their own homes and the company of those nearest to them. The joy of those who met them was mingled with sadness at the thought of the twelve who still remain in prison—eleven in Sandstone and Grace Carlson in Alderson, West Virginia. Most of the people left the station to take up their work of preparing for the buffet supper on Sunday night, the official celebration of the return home.

Ed Palmquist, the third of those released from Sandstone, did not come to Minneapolis with the other two. He was met by his wife, Rose, at Sandstone. Only a few days before, Rose had buried her sister who died this week after a lingering illness. Rose, who has been working her mother's farm in northern Minnesota, remained close to her family until almost the hour of Ed's release. Both, however, are expected in Minneapolis soon.

must come from the trade union militants active in the Michigan labor movement. It is their task TODAY to get out the vote so that TOMORROW they can build on firmer foundations.

The results of the Michigan elections will be closely watched by the entire labor movement. A vote for the MCF, therefore, is not only a vote cast in favor of an independent labor party in Michigan but a vote for labor's independent political action on a national scale.

STEEL WORKERS DEMAND FOR WAGE INCREASE IS FILIBUSTERED BY WLB

(Continued from page 1)

Militant last week, the WLB declared that it refused to recommend an upward revision of the Little Steel formula because the "board is not sufficiently informed as to the possible effects of a modification of the Little Steel formula on the price structure..." But in the hearings on the steel case, the union spokesmen introduced a report from the OPA which established the fact that the steel corporations could well afford to grant the 17 cent wage increase, without an increase in prices.

The WLB refused to admit the OPA report as evidence on the flimsy pretext that it had not yet been released to the public!

This is only a small part of the story of the runaround the steelworkers are getting from Roosevelt and the WLB. When the contract of the steelworkers expired in December 1943, the corporations, backed up by the WLB, refused to grant a clause making any wage increase obtained retroactive from the date of the expiration of the old contract. The steelworkers refused to extend the contract without the retroactive clause and struck the

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"It is not generally understood," writes Louis Stark in the New York Times, (October 9) "that Murray faces a big gamble

in connection with the retroactive aspect of his demand for a 17-cent-an-hour general wage increase, admittedly beyond the 'Little Steel' formula. If a way is found to award the steel workers a general wage increase by any other name and a way is found to say it is within the National Wage Stabilization Policy, the 800,000 steel workers will be entitled to retroactive pay dating back to the expiration of the agreements many months ago."

"However," continues Stark, "if, following Nov. 7 the President should decide to make a change in the General Wage Stabilization policy," then "no retroactive pay would be forthcoming to the CIO workers, although the steel workers, in many cases, according to reports, have 'spent their back pay already.'" In other words, under Roosevelt's tricky retroactive clause, the steel workers would not be entitled to retroactive pay in the event of an upward revision of the Little Steel formula. The labor bureaucrats have foisted the same fraudulent retroactive clause on a number of other CIO unions whose wage demands are pending before the WLB.

Murray has led the steel workers into a blind alley and is now pleading with his "friend" in the White House for some face-saving formula to ward off the anger of his membership when they discover that they have been betrayed. In describing Murray's position, one authoritative observer remarked that "Murray is not out on the end of a limb; he is two feet off the end of it." Louis Stark reports that because of "dire predictions" that are being made in union circles "as to what might happen if Mr. Murray should be left empty handed," Roosevelt "may wish to give Philip Murray, president of the CIO and also the steel workers' union some concession that would help him hold his members in line."

It is predicted that such "concessions" will take the form of "trimmings" or more appropriately, crumbs, in the form of vacations, shift differentials, etc. In view of the reduction in real wages which the steel workers have suffered because of the rise in the cost of living, cutbacks, elimination of overtime, downgrading, etc., any "crumbs" that Roosevelt and the WLB may offer will only add insult to injury.

The workers can put a halt to the whole miserable business of buck-passing, stalling, trickery and face-saving, which is designed to make fools of them and "keep them in line" by: (1) demanding that the labor representatives resign immediately from the employer-controlled War Labor Board, (2) by rescinding the no-strike pledge, and (3) by demanding a nation-wide conference of all unions to map a program of independent action to smash the wage-freeze.

CRDC Secretary Greeted Released Prisoners



Three defendants in the famous Minneapolis Labor Case are greeted by CRDC National Secretary George Novack, in the National Headquarters of the CRDC, 160 Fifth Avenue, after their release from Danbury penitentiary. Left to right: Karl Kuehn, Alfred Russel (shaking hands with Mr. Novack) and Oscar Shoenfeld.

NEW YORK MASS MEETING

Protest the Denial of Pardon for the 18
Friday, October 27

Chairman George Novack, National Secretary, CRDC

Speakers:

Thomas De Lorenzo, Pres. Brewster Local 365, UAW-CIO

Theodore A. Jackson, Eastern Regional Director, Dining Car Employees, AFL

Henry Fruchter, Educational Director, URWDSEA-CIO

Roger Baldwin, National Director, American Civil Liberties Union

MANHATTAN CENTER

311 West 34th Street

8:15 P. M.

Negro Soldiers Believe They Have Been Sold "Rotten Bill Of Goods," Crisis Magazine Says

The following personal observations on the treatment of Negro soldiers in the U. S. Army are reprinted by permission of The Crisis, official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They are excerpts from an article by Grant Reynolds in its October issue entitled: "What the Negro Soldier Thinks About the War Department."

The War Department has sold the Negro soldier a rotten bill of goods. The Negro soldier not only resents its putrid odor, but equally resents being made the victim of what many soldiers consider a foul and debasing trick. . . . The Negro soldier thinks the War Department itself is prolonging this war and he is convinced by multitudinous evidence that he is right. . . .

The Constitution and its accompanying Bill of Rights have been literally torn up and the bits insultingly thrown into the Negro soldier's face. Yet these sons of American mothers are expected to die and are dying in the face of such indignity. It is a widely known fact that Nazi prisoners of war receive better treatment in this country than do hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers. Stripped of his constitutional rights, bereft of any particular concern for his welfare, denied the right to die honorably in his country's crusade, subjected each day to conditions which contradict every claim of democratic principle, the Negro soldier has been betrayed by the very agency which controls his destiny—the War Department. As it prepares him for death on the foreign battlefields of the world, and actually sends him to his death, it winks at conditions which torture him physically and which mob and lynch his spirit. Under these conditions the War Department sends the sons of American mothers into battle ill-prepared indeed. It is small wonder that among many Negro soldiers, there is the feeling that the War Department itself is helping to destroy their lives.

"Chaplain, how can we get a decent break in this war when our bitterest enemies are running the show?" Such was the question put to me by a group of Negro soldiers who followed me to my office one Sunday morning after my sermon. "What do you mean by such a statement?" I asked.

"Well, just take a look at the military big-shots. Practically every one of them comes from the south. In fact the Army and Navy are lousy with southerners and their leaders give us reason to believe that they would rather lose this war than see us have equality. And judging from the way these crack officers treat us, they're not fooling either. Now, sir, can you say that these people are not our enemies?"

Army Run Like a Plantation

I found words difficult as I stuttered and spluttered in an effort to provide the right answer. Before I could do so another soldier opened up with still another broadside. Declared he, "The War Department is running a plantation as far as Negroes are concerned. Just look at this post. The commanding officer by his disregard for us soldiers is an excellent example of a plantation boss. And don't forget, he's a 'red-neck' from Tennessee. That's bad enough, but anyone who is not blind will immediately recognize how subordinate every Negro must be in order to stay here. It makes me sick!"

"Listen, fellows," I said, "don't let such things get you down. And if I were you I would be more careful about expressing such thoughts." Immediately one of them spoke up: "Chaplain, you haven't turned 'long-coat,' have you?" There was a dreadful silence as each man glued his eyes upon my face. "Now what do you think?" I replied. After a pause the expressions of

wounded suspicion left their faces. I, too, felt relieved. . . .

The statement charging the War Department with running a plantation returned to my mind. I began to make mental notes about the Negro's treatment in that particular post. I thought about how rigidly the doctrine of white supremacy was upheld there, making itself manifest in the Jim Crow school system and in the post commander's refusal to place a white officer in any position where he might be subordinate to a Negro officer. In fact a bulletin was published on one occasion by this post commander declaring that a white officer in the grade of 1st Lt. would be superior to a colored officer in the same department who had the rank of captain. The white officers on the post, who were numerically inferior to Negro officers, could find comfort from the Arizona heat by cavorting in a beautiful swimming pool. . . . But Negroes, regardless of their educational background or their outstanding achievements in the professions, could do no more than pass by and see the white folks enjoy themselves. . . .

The Case of Pvt. Tommie Thompson

On one occasion I had made myself persona non grata with the commanding officer of this post when I refused to accept this explanation ("hoodlumism") as the reason for the stoning by colored soldiers of an automobile carrying high military officials. He had just made a speech to an assemblage of the post chaplains, directing that we use extreme care in listening to soldiers who complained about having been abused by their officers. I told the officer about the case of Pvt. Tommie Thompson, who died before he could learn to shoot a gun, because I had been unable to convince his white company commander at another post that the man was sick.

Tommie, supported by two soldiers, was sent to my office because he was thought to be "gold-bricking." After a brief talk with him I was convinced that he was a sick man in spite of the fact that he had just been discharged from the hospital. I therefore called the company commander by telephone and recommended that the soldier be sent back to the hospital at once. But, following the prevailing attitude too frequently found among white officers that all Negro soldiers are lazy, this company commander sent Tommie away that night on a troop convoy. When the train, carrying him to Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, reached its destination, Tommie Thompson was dead.

One of the pillars of democratic government is the fair administration of courts of justice. Without fair judicial procedure the democratic principle of equality before the law becomes a farce. . . . However, the treatment accorded too many Negroes in this respect holds up to mockery and shame the ideal of judicial behavior. Too often these (military) courts, which correspond to civilian juries, are comprised of prejudiced officers with preconceived notions of the guilt of Negro defendants, which outweigh any testimony to the contrary. . . .

Colored soldiers are being trained each day to the latest and most diabolical techniques of destroying life that the mind of man can evolve. He not only learns to kill with the rifle, the hand grenade and the bayonet, but with his bare hands is taught to mutilate and dismember the body of an enemy. The War Department thus is making deadly killers of Sam Jackson and Henry Jones and the nice boy who once lived in the next block.

When these men return from participating in the global struggle they will have paid the price of freedom and decency. If they are denied these privileges guaranteed all American citizens and if such denial prompts them to engage in bloody conflict, much of the responsibility must be laid at the very door of the War Department.

"Our Bitterest Enemy"



SIU Race Discrimination Endangers Hiring Hall

By F. J. Lang

Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee, after six months of investigating charges of discrimination by the Seafarers' International Union (AFL) against Negro seamen, recently held open hearings on this question in New York City. These hearings are not the first of this kind. An investigation of the union's shipping practices was conducted by a similar New York State committee last year.

All the investigations and hearings to date—and the probe is hardly more than begun—have leveled an attack against the union which cannot be answered so long as it continues to discriminate against Negro seamen. The FEPC has accused the SIU of "discriminating against both white and Negro seamen" because it ships Negroes only in the steward and engine departments and refuses to ship white workers to jobs aboard ships assigned to the Negroes. According to Emanuel Block, FEPC attorney, "This disrupts the orderly and efficient use of the already short supply of manpower in the industry."

Unable to answer these charges of discrimination, John Hawk, first vice-president and secretary-treasurer of the SIU, refused to participate in the FEPC hearings and issued a statement that the charges are "absurd on their face, because they allege discrimination against both races. The most casual inquiry would have satisfied this committee that in none of the instances set forth as charged has the war effort been affected."

Thus an attempt has been made by both the FEPC and the SIU leadership to shift the argument to a question of whether discrimination against Negro seamen impedes the war effort. Again "the war effort" serves to screen an attack against unionism. The whole question boils down to the fact that discrimination against Negro seamen by the SIU endangers the union hiring hall. These discriminatory practices by maritime unions invite intervention by government agencies and provide an excuse for government control of merchant shipping.

Merchant seamen in this country have waged a defensive struggle against the persistent government drive to abolish their union hiring halls since passage of the Merchant Marine Act in 1936. The government, through the various wartime agencies established under the powers of the U. S. Maritime Commission, is now preparing a showdown on this question: Will seamen ship through their union halls or will they be regimented in a government shipping pool?

Seamen face this question with deep divisions in their ranks. The divisions occur along programmatic, organizational and racial lines. The basic division is programmatic. It is determined, in the final analysis, by the attitude of the leaders in the seamen's unions on the question of government control of shipping. The organizational divisions follow, and in general reflect, the programmatic differences between the leadership of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and the Seafarers' International Union (AFL) on the one side, and the Stalinist leadership of the National Maritime Union (CIO) on the other.

of Negro seamen in the industry. They cannot be expected to fight for unions that relegate them to the steward and engine departments on a limited number of ships or attempt to drive them from the industry entirely.

The fight for defense of the union hiring hall is doomed to failure if one section of the seamen think they can win for themselves a "lily white" job trust. Any attempt in this direction only serves to divide the entire labor movement and further weaken the maritime unions before the real showdown for control of hiring is demanded by the government.

This showdown is not far off. The government drive to abolish the union hiring hall has received new impetus from the campaign of the Stalinist leadership in the National Maritime Union. Here the largest union in the industry, after substituting the wartime shipping rules of the War Shipping Administration's Recruitment and Manning Office for the union system of rotary shipping, is openly campaigning for the government flunk hall.

The Stalinist leaders in the NMU are now concerned with the question of Negro rights primarily in connection with their drive to discredit and smash the other unions in the industry. The leaders of these unions, imbued with race prejudice, make it possible for the Stalinists to conduct their campaign in part around a progressive issue and thus appear as the champions of "equal shipping rights."

The only place where seamen have ever had equal shipping rights is in their own union hiring halls under the system of rotary shipping, never in the government pool.

A successful fight against government regimentation through the pool requires the solidarity of all seamen. No union can stand up against the pressure of the boss if it does not organize and protect every worker in the industry.

Seamen today must win the whole-hearted support of the entire labor movement in their struggle to defend the union hiring hall. Workers in other industries are facing a similar problem. They feel the pressure of government regimentation. In the maritime industry the problem is more immediate and acute than elsewhere. The shore-side workers understand the importance of protecting the union hiring hall against government intervention. But they will not tolerate union Jim Crow practices and they will not rally to the defense of a union that lays itself open to government intervention by discriminating against Negroes.

DETROIT

Commemorate the 27th Anniversary of the

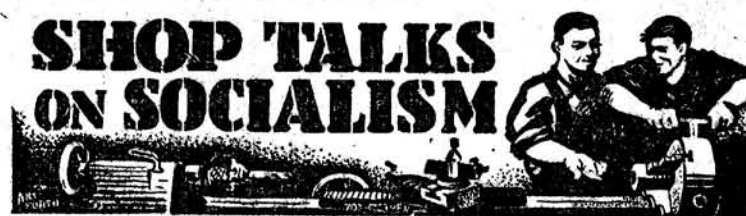
October Revolution

With the Detroit Branch, Socialist Workers Party

Speaker:

Joseph Andrews

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 5 - 8 P. M.
3513 Woodward Avenue - Room 21



By V. Grey

Scissorbill Sam, the bosses' man, is down at our end of the shop again. Poor Scissorbill—he couldn't make anything on his piece-work job because his helper today was a woman, so he said he'd rather work on day-work with us guys. (He didn't ask who we'd rather work with.) It seems the girl couldn't keep up with him. The work was a little too heavy for her. Not many women can feed thirty pound steel plates into the punch press at the rate of two hundred seventy five per hour—which is what you have to do to make money on that job.

So Sam is all burned up about it and he says he'll be glad when the women go back to their kitchens, where they belong. He wouldn't let his wife work in here, by God, etc., etc. And when anyone talks like that, poor Ed Barnes looks kind of funny because his wife works right here in the same shop with him. The fellows sometimes kid Barnes about how he can't whistle at the girls because his wife's around. But after all, most of their wives work in shops too—other shops, like auto or aircraft or small arms plants. It's pretty hard for a family to get along these days on one person's wages, especially in he's a steel worker.

You have to give Scissorbill Sam credit for one thing, though. He is consistent. He thinks women should work in the kitchen. And that's where his woman works all right. Sophie, the spotwelder, who lives near him, says that Mrs. Scissorbill takes in washing and stays up until all hours with it while Sam is snoring on the couch under the evening paper. But he's too proud, you see, to send his wife out to work.

"I suppose under Socialism," Scissorbill would sneer, if he ever thought about it,—"I suppose that women will get out of the house whenever they feel like it. Have the same income as a man, eh? Why even now, I hear, some of them set up the drinks." (You can bet they don't buy him a drink.) "Do you call that right?"

Well, not being women ourselves we fellows don't know just how a woman feels about it all. But it seems as though a woman must have the same needs as a man. She gets hungry, thirsty and cold. She laughs and cries as men do, and lives to be about the same age as a man—if her kids don't drive her into an early grave. In other words a woman seems to be pretty much a human being. But most women are cooped up in a steaming kitchen, not eight hours a day, but most of their lives. Do you call that right?

It's true that on some of these heavy jobs that are fast too, a woman can't keep up with a man. But they out-produce men at lots of jobs. And they do things today that no one ever dreamed a woman could do. Knocking the fire-brick off the "hot top" ingots, for instance, after they come out of the Open Hearth pit—a sweltering job, that calls for plenty of elbow grease. They get tired, too, like a man does. And maybe some of them take a drink on pay-day like some of the boys do.

SOCIALISM WILL EMANCIPATE WOMEN

But it's funny how many people think that women just go out to work so they can raise hell. How a woman can have the energy to raise hell after she cooks a couple of meals, cleans house, gets a kid or two off to school, and then works eight hours a day in a shop, isn't exactly clear. By and large people work today because they have to. That's why women work, too. And the way the cost of living is these days, they usually have to hold down two jobs—one at home and one in the shop.

We're going to change all that. Instead of a vicious profit system, where her husband sees the product of his labor slip through his fingers into the claws of the bosses, where she has to go out to work to make up for this, we're going to start a new system where working people as a body will get the full return on all things produced. No woman will be forced to have two jobs.

Some women prefer shop work, including the oil and grease, to house work. Some are crazy about babies, and would like to run day nurseries. The way things are now, neither group can enjoy themselves doing the things they like to do, because the sun total is too much for them. But the way we're going to fix things under socialism, all the women will get a break. It will be our own workers' society, and we'll give people the jobs where they'll be happiest.

More will be accomplished that way—in every direction. Things will be done better, because they are done with more interest and care. Babies will be nursed, and children minded by people who not only love them—but don't have the worries of bill collectors to interfere, or the factory whistle to call them away while the children play on the street. On the other hand, the new airy modern shops we are going to build will be swell places—healthy, clean and bright. They will appeal to many of the women who work there.

Yes, Socialism is going to make women more independent. It's going to make us all more independent. But if we fellows want them to fight side by side with us for a better life, it's only right that women should choose what they want out of this better life. Women have already begun to fight. They're signed up one hundred per cent in the union at our shop. Throughout the country hundreds of thousands have joined up.

Wives used to nag their husbands for their union activities. Now they have to join the union themselves, to protect their rights. A woman's mind isn't in the corners any more, where the dust is. And whether they choose a turret-lathe or a cook stove, there'll be no more of this seventy-two-hour-week-in-the-kitchen stuff. Our socialist inventors will soon get busy with dust-proof pianos and dinner tables with built-in dishes that wash themselves out.

EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES BAN TROTSKYIST ORGAN

An Egyptian Trotskyist paper, the *Al Majda Al Jadida*, published in Cairo in the Arabic language, has been permanently suspended by order of the Egyptian government, puppet of British imperialism, according to the Bulletin of the Council on Jewish-Arab Cooperation, issued in New York.

In ordering suspension of the Trotskyist publication, the authorities made it clear that suppression was not due to any violation of the censorship laws, but to the political views expressed in the paper. These were placed under official ban "especially in view of the growth in importance of the small leftist groups which are active in Egypt."

The first copy of the Egyptian Trotskyist organ was received in this country about ten months ago. It contained 24 pages of

articles concerning developments in the Middle East, China, Canada and Great Britain. That the Egyptian ruling class has suppressed the paper is testimony to the fear which the revolutionary working class ideas of Trotskyism inspire in them and their British patrons.

This attack on Trotskyism, significantly enough, coincided with the release in Cairo of several active leaders of "Young Egypt," a fascist-type organization. The fascists were also given permission to publish their paper, Call for Freedom. Their leader, Ahmed Hussein, combines demagoguery ("abolish private property") with nationalistic propaganda ("Greater Egypt"), with agitation against foreigners and Jewish speculators. In August, 1939 he suggested to Hitler that he become converted to Islam in order to increase Nazi influence in the East.

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Refreshments

The Negro Struggle

By Charles Jackson

From 'Boss Friend' To Union Fighter

Last week we reviewed the infamous role that the Southern Bourbons have played in regard to the Negro population of the South. We also mentioned that this would have not been possible after the Civil War if the Northern industrialists had not made a deal still in effect with the defeated Southern ruling class whereby the fate of Negro rights was turned back over to the former slaveholders.

On top of this during recent years with the influx of Negroes to the Northern industrial center, with the headaches of an American depression, and the growing strength of the labor movement, the powerful big business interests of the formerly "liberal" North have themselves embarked on a well-organized campaign of anti-Negroism. This anti-Negroism, as far as they are concerned, is mainly used because it has been one of the cheapest and most effective weapons of anti-unionism.

After the last war, Negro labor was largely used in the North as insurance against unionization of the workers. Negroes were used largely as scabs or potential scabs to break the strikes of the more politically advanced workers for better wages or shorter hours. Regardless of their anti-working class role, it is not hard to understand the great northern in-migration of the Negro people — hounded as they were by the vigilante bands of the former slaveholding Southern autocracy. Lured by the promises of "high wages" and "complete equality" it is no wonder that they trekked by the millions to centers like New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Gary and Chicago. They didn't know, of course, that they were coming to work for the same ruling class that willingly bargained away their rights and turned them over to the southerners to sacrifice on the altar of racial prejudice.

From the time of World War I up to the rise of the CIO, employers were able to make Negro labor serve the purpose of the financial interests by employment as potential scabs who were "friends of the boss." There was little enticement for them to line up with the labor movement because as a rule the old AFL unions carried on a discriminatory policy. In reality, then, although it meant better paying jobs than most Negroes had ever had, the industrialists were able by means of this Negro "strike insurance" to maintain relatively cheap labor and to frustrate the militant tactics of the white trade unionists who comprised by far the majority of the labor reservoir.

During the most recent of the capitalist depressions, however, both the Negro and white workers made great strides in political thinking. They had learned some facts from that greatest of all teachers — experience. The Negroes saw that to be the "boss' man" did not mean job security. When the plant closed they were out of a job too. In fact, they lost their jobs first with the exception of work that was so heavy or so dirty that most whites did not want it. At the same time many white workers, after having been laid off, had time to think of the class struggle with less prejudice and more clear-cut methods of analysis. The had fought for the illy-

white union against the boss but the boss maintained his open shop by coddling the Negro worker. And all this time the union had refused admittance to a fellow worker if his skin was the "wrong color." Then the great truth dawned on him that working class solidarity, regardless of race, is necessary to conduct a successful fight of the working producer against the profiteer.

Largely from this type of advanced thinking flowed the CIO split from the AFL. The new unions organized the Negro workers on an equal basis.

Its rapid growth as a factor in the labor movement testifies to the truth of the old adage "where there is union there is strength." The CIO began, and has recently intensified a genuine fight against discrimination in industry. For these reasons class-consciousness developed in many a Negro worker who had previously been strictly and exclusively interested in only his job and only his welfare. What happened, of course, is that this worker saw that precisely those two considerations would be nurtured only by advancement of the entire working class.

Then came the change in the international picture with the frenzied preparations for another colossal imperialist slaughter. The "defense" program with its boom of the heavy industries and need for more manpower in the production of the vast array of scientifically perfected instruments of destruction. The Negroes again flocked to the Northern industrial centers seeking economic security and equal rights as citizens. But this time they could not be used as company scabs. Those already here told the newcomers. Not Henry Ford but the CIO was the "Great White Father." In fact, largely because he failed to get the support of the Negroes did Henry Ford fail to break the militant '39 CIO strike which unionized the plant and gave the worker an official voice whereby his grievances could be heard above a whisper. Workers regardless of color stuck together. They joined the union together; they went out on strike together; they walked the picket line together. But for the fate of the Negro minority and of the class struggle in America, the important fact was: The Negroes went with the union. And the union won.

This, and similar instances, marked a climax in the political awakening of the Negro in the North. He now knows the labor movement needs him in a very practical way. He also knows that he needs the labor movement. Today the Negro worker is drawn relatively more close to the union movement than the average worker. It is no longer religion or any of the beliefs or customs indoctrinated by the ruling class; it is no longer Lincoln and the Republican Party or Roosevelt and the Democratic Party whom the average Negro worker will defend with the most fiery loyalty. Just talk about the CIO or any other militant union — then you will have something on your hands.

Has this caused the ruling class to drop this weapon of racial oppression and working class division? Quite the contrary. What is the CIO doing about it? Let's look at some facts along this line next week.

Workers Play Leading Role In Parisian Insurrectionary Struggle Of Last August

Armed French Workers



Members of the FFI arm themselves with guns and ammunition captured from Nazi troops in the first days of the French uprising.

(Continued from page 1) masses rose up against the Nazis and in six days succeeded in expelling them from the capital. The actual street fighting was done largely by the FFI forces in the city itself, aided on the barricades by such middle class elements as local shopkeepers, functionaries, housewives, etc., and by the workers in the proletarian districts.

From the first day of the insurrection, we now learn, the working class of Paris "basing itself on the factories, 'spontaneously' threw up its class organs — factory committees, factory militias, etc. — and began to put forward class demands, thus creating the elements of dual power." Through the Resistance Movement and alongside of it the workers tried to carry out their own social revolutionary program. They sought to solve their pressing economic problems and satisfy their most elementary needs, food, clothing and shelter, by seizing the industrial plants, electing factory committees to organize production, and establishing control over the factory canteens for the distribution of food.

These workers' committees had originated out of struggles carried on under the Nazi occupation. As the food situation became more acute, the factory canteens grew in importance until they became the centers of life in the working class sections. "Not only the workers but their families ate there," writes the Fourth International correspondent. "A large proportion of the disputes and strikes that had taken place in the weeks prior to the capture of Paris were related to the feeding and canteen arrangements, over the quality and quantity of the food, the prices, etc. Thus, during the insurrection, the canteen and the control of it became a vital issue. To obtain food the workers had recourse to direct requisitioning. Black market stocks were requisitioned by organized detachments sent out by the factories to supply the canteens. In the districts housewives' committees sprung up to fight the black market and ensure the distribution of captured German food stocks."

Having organized their own committees for the distribution of the limited food supplies, the factory workers simultaneously

tackled the job of replenishing and increasing their scanty stores. This required operation of the factories in order to produce commodities for exchange. During the uprising the workers committees took over many of the major factories in the Paris region.

SEIZE PLANTS

"The workers of the big factories, Renault, Citroen, SNAC, Gnome et Rhone, etc., did not in general descend into Paris. They intervened in quite another way," relates our correspondent. "They occupied the factories, arrested or forced the arrest of the collaborating factory personnel, and in the most advanced cases prepared the given factory to start production again under their control." The well-known French journalist Genevieve Tabouis states in the October issue of Local 338 News, CIO Retail, Wholesale & Chain Store Food Employees Union, that collaboration of the French industrialists with the Nazis has induced "the workers to seize six of the greatest automobile plants in Paris, including Berliet."

In most of these factories the initiative was taken by rank and file militants. For example, about 15 workers assembled at a plant employing over 1,000 workers. Among these 15 were about 10 Communist Party members and supporters and 2 or 3 Trotskyists. They occupied the deserted factory and then sent messages to call the workers to a factory meeting in order to elect a workers' committee to take charge of affairs.

The workers' committees "appointed new directors, foremen, technicians, etc., to work under their control and prepare the factories for the resumption of production. . . . Even in the Paris Metro (subway) the staff on their own initiative drew up a plan and time-table for the trains, made the necessary repairs, and said to the authorities: 'Let us run the Metro.'"

At the same time the workers in the factories drew up "Cahiers de Revendications" (lists of demands) which, although varying from one plant to another, usually included demands for wage increases, workers' control and inspection of the employer's books, workers' control of employment

and exchange, control of the factory canteen, etc.

NEW POWER

At the factory meetings where the workers organized and elected their supply, management, and defense committees, they also selected a special committee known as the "Commission d'Epuration" (Purging Committee). The duty of these committees, according to the account in Fourth International, was "to 'try' all the collaborating managing personnel, directors, managers. . . . That is why big industrialists like Renault, the Henry Ford of France, either went into hiding or sought refuge in the protective custody of de Gaulle's Commissioner of Justice, Francois de Menthon."

As the workers took over one factory after another, the movement began to develop its own centralized authority. "In some suburbs the different factories joined forces and called inter-factory delegates' meetings representing several factories, in the district, democratically elected by secret ballot." These meetings represented the beginnings of the creation of a new sovereign

power — the power of the workers' councils, the Soviets.

Both the de Gaulle government and the old-line leaders of the French Confederation of Labor, returning from Algiers with de Gaulle and the Allied armies, tried to head off the development of these revolutionary workers' committees or to reduce them to impotence. "One example will illustrate the mood in which they were received," writes our correspondent. "At a meeting of district factory delegates in a Paris suburb an official of the CGT (French Confederation of Labor) intervened and declared that the meeting has no authority, was not properly constituted and represented nothing."

"Whereupon one delegate not belonging to any party, jumped up and exclaimed: 'And who the hell do you represent? I represent the . . . factory. I was elected by so and so many workers. Who elected you? I have paid my trade union dues for 15 years and the CGT has done nothing for us at all.'"

"He was loudly applauded by the rest of the meeting. The CGT official had to withdraw."

Leading Wall Street Spokesmen Switch Over To Roosevelt Camp

(Continued from page 1)

Lamont of the House of Morgan, and Senator Ball find it possible to shift over from opposition to Roosevelt in 1940 to his support in 1944. The fundamental identity of program and policies of the two candidates permits them to make this swing from one candidate to another and one party to another, without doing violence to their own principles and interests.

The N. Y. Times, which four years ago virulently opposed Roosevelt on the score of his domestic policies, contemptuously dismisses any attempt now to distinguish between Roosevelt and Dewey on the basis of the early "New Deal" or present domestic issues. On the "New Deal" measures "there is no debate now, though there was then. . . . Both parties now support

themselves were expelled, they began with far more numerous forces and resources than we did. They made a much more imposing appearance in the first days.

But they didn't have a correct program and didn't try to develop one. They thought they could cheat history a little bit; that they could out corners with principle and keep larger forces together by compromises on the program question. And they did for a time. But in the end this group, rich in energies and abilities, and containing some very talented people, was utterly destroyed in the political fight, ignominiously dissolved. Today, most of its leaders, all of them as far as I know, are on the bandwagon of the imperialist war, serving ends absolutely opposite to those which they set out to serve at the beginning of their political work. The program is decisive.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 80-81. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth \$2.75, paper \$2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 8, N. Y.)

them." As for current and future domestic issues, "the further the subject is pursued the more difficult it becomes to see any sharp distinction. . . ."

What is decisive for American capitalism is the international issue "which far overshadows the domestic issue in importance." It is on this score that the latest recruits to the Roosevelt camp find a "difference", not, to be sure, in fundamental imperialist aims or program, but solely in the ability of the opposing candidates to further these aims most consistently and effectively.

Summing up the established record and accomplishments of Roosevelt in carrying out the basic war-program of American imperialism, the Times concludes "it is safer to trust to the Democratic party, more united and consistent on this issue." Dewey, whose views on foreign policy tend "wholly in the right direction," nevertheless "has failed to drive home the issue hard enough to discourage even the more extreme wing of the Republican isolationists from giving him his warm support." Roosevelt, backed by "stronger party unity" is "more capable of prompt and decisive action" on foreign policy.

Thus, the fact that Dewey has not vigorously enough repudiated the dwindling Republican "isolationist" wing is sufficient reason for the Times to endorse Roosevelt. At this critical juncture in its course of world domination and plunder, American imperialism fears even the remotest possibility of political mishandling of its foreign affairs. It prefers to take no chances on Dewey, whom Lippmann termed a "complete amateur."

The support of these capitalist organs and spokesmen for Roosevelt is not, however, unconditional. It is outspokenly critical. Lippmann urges his choice "reluctantly" and in spite of "all his (Roosevelt's) faults." The Times extends its endorsement "only with deep reluctance and strong misgivings, and solely as being justified by the alternatives actually presented to us in a year of war and crisis."

These agents of the ruling capitalist class, well-understanding who is the master and who the servant, do not eat out of Roosevelt's hand, but rap it sharply when so minded. What striking contrast to the abject slavishness and fawning of the labor bureaucrats toward the White House!

While some of the most outspoken capitalist interests reveal the real character of Roosevelt's program, Roosevelt's labor lieutenants seek once more to mobilize the workers' votes for Roosevelt on the basis of fictitious social reforms. The labor fakery must fall back upon recollections, and entirely exaggerated ones at that, of the early "New Deal" reforms, those limited concessions which the workers wrested in bitter struggle from the capitalist regime of Roosevelt. While they engage in the sterile task of trying to point out that Roosevelt had less to do with the past depression than Hoover, the N. Y. Times and Lippmann, all conscious capitalist sponsors of Roosevelt, are convinced that his program for the future is strictly in accord with the well-defined program of Big Business.

But, as the 1942 Congressional election clearly revealed, the "New Deal" myth as expounded through the loud-speakers of the official Democratic Party no longer sufficed to rally the workers behind Roosevelt. The tremendous decline in votes in 1942 disclosed a growing apathy among the workers to the Democratic Party. Their wholesale abstention from voting constituted, in effect, a repudiation of both capitalist parties. In New York and Minnesota, where labor or farmer labor parties existed, these registered a greater outpouring of labor votes than in many previous years.

PAC SET UP

The CIO leaders in particular were confronted with the necessity, if they were to successfully continue to tie the workers to Roosevelt and his war program, of establishing a new political apparatus. Through this new set-up they could pay lip-service to independent labor political ac-

tion while dragging the workers back into the capitalist political camp. That became the function of the CIO Political Action Committee.

Even with the mechanism of the CIO-PAC, the apathy of the workers toward the current elections has been so pronounced, that the Roosevelt cohorts have been compelled to undertake a frenzied campaign to get the workers out to register and vote. Roosevelt himself, in his first radio campaign speech, was forced to direct an urgent appeal on this score. For the Republicans are counting on a small vote, with increasing support from the lower-middle classes, to help bring them victory, while the Democrats know unless they can push the reluctant workers to the polls once more, Roosevelt will be defeated.

The 1944 presidential elections points to the weakening of the mechanism of the capitalist two-party system. That system in the past has served effectively to channelize mass discontent back and forth between the two "safe" political factions of the capitalist class. The traditional cry of "Turn the rascals out" was the slogan of repudiating one gang of capitalist political bosses for another.

But the further inevitable disillusionment of the workers in Roosevelt, whose prestige has been fostered by his demagoguery and protected by the cover of the labor bureaucrats, will impel the workers to a decisive break not only with the capitalist parties but with all such spurious "friends of labor" as Roosevelt.

The American workers are drawing closer to the end of the road of the capitalist two-party system, which offered them only the "choice" between political spoils-masters of the capitalist class. The slogan "Turn the rascals out" is more and more beginning to take on a class meaning. It will come to signify the repudiation and dispossession from political power of the capitalist class as a whole and all its political parties and agents.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalsky

The word, "Socialism," means a lot of different things to different people, but what it means to me I can write down in just a couple of words. It means peace and plenty for all; it means sunshine and the laughter of children.

I guess it's the kids that interest me mostly. I know I've written things here before about the kids, but that's natural. I'll probably write a lot more about them, too, because I feel that I'm fighting mostly for them. In a way, I feel as if writing words like these were sort of a monument for Little Dick. . . . as if all the time I was saying, "Look, little fellow, this is for you and all the other kids that you used to play with. This is the sunshine, and the forests, and swimming holes, and the meadows that you never had a chance to see. This is the life that you might have had, the opportunities that you and all the other dirty-faced, scampering little fellows never found."

"If you had lived longer, you'd have seen life get a lot tougher. More and more you'd have felt the hardships which bend the shoulders of the poor. Maybe you'd have found a girl to share your life, but if you had, you'd have seen that the joy of loving loses its sparkle in most cases when poverty keeps gnawing and grinding at it, and when worry keeps scraping at it like the persistent hurt of a hungry stomach."

"You'd have wandered through the gray streets searching hopelessly for work. You'd have stood in lines with other gaunt and ragged men waiting, waiting and thinking, 'Please, Lady Luck, please, just this once. . . .', and you'd have struggled home again looking for some different way to say, 'I didn't find a job!'"

"So I'm using my big fists now harder than ever, because your little fists are lying still, down under the grass and earth, and they'll never be lifted to defend yourself and your comrades."

"Little Dick, I go out each day like one of the structural steel workers or bricklayers putting up a great building. It is the home of the people of the future that we're building. It is Socialism."

"Here men will approach each other not with a lunging bayonet, but with the helping hand of friendship, not bitter competition, but organized, fruitful cooperation."

"There will be great laboratories here. Would you have wanted to be a chemist? Here you could be. Our chemists will be chosen not by the weight of their gold, but by the keenness of their brains and by the intensity of their desire to serve the human race. And what will they do? Poison gasses and explosives to bring death, destruction, and misery to the people of the world will no longer be needed."

White-coated men and women will wage relentless and unceasing war upon disease. Boiling test tubes and steaming retorts will contain the weapons of the people's army, which we'll muster to fight against the enemies of mankind, polio, tuberculosis, syphilis, and even the common cold. And we'll defeat them all."

"You and your pals wouldn't be driven to steal guns and prow about in the darkness, waiting to prey upon a fellow creature so that you might live, answering one violence with another and you might keep a little self-respect. No, and there'd be no more broken fathers like old man diRosa, who buttonholes you every chance he gets to tell you that 'Angie was a good boy. The cops, they shoot my Angie, but he's no bad boy. . . .'"

"We'll need no more Father Mulligans to tell us, 'Patience, my son. The poor we shall always have with us. Be patient, and you will be rewarded in heaven. Remember that whom god loveth, he chasteneth.' With our sweat, with our brains, yes, with every last drop of our blood, we'll tear heaven out of the skies. We'll rip it out of the dreams of the dreamers and rivet it into the concrete foundations of our cities. No longer will suffering and hatred, fear and prejudice be god; Man will be god and kindness and helpfulness will be real and not pretended morality."

"We'll work. All of us will work, but we'll do it cheerfully and proudly, knowing that we serve ourselves and our brothers. That we produce and create every day new products that will help make life better for all the peoples of the world. People of all races, of all nationalities will live in brotherhood and mutual respect. Heroes (perhaps you might have been one of them, Little Dick) will gouge out the minerals from the poles of the earth and gather the herbs and drugs of the tropics, and we'll take them, and with them, we'll raise life to an even higher level."

"And my part of this proud building that I go out to build day by day, girder upon girder and brick upon brick, will be a great, white monument glistening in the sunshine. On it will be written, 'In memory of Little Dick, who had to die July 14, 1936, because poverty forced him to play in the busy streets and in memory of all the other children who had no sunshine and no opportunity.' And this monument will be dedicated to the youngsters of the new world and will be a testimonial to health and happiness, peace, and the laughter of children."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

OCTOBER 27, 1934

SPAIN—A special bulletin to The Militant reported that in the front ranks of the workers victimized by the Spanish Government during the two weeks of struggle against its regime, were "most of our comrades of the Madrid section" of the Trotskyist movement. The Trotskyists were arrested at the Madrid Armory. Comrade Fersen, one of the leaders of the organization, faced court-martial on charges of high treason. The fate of many other leading Trotskyists participating in the events was still unknown.

NEW YORK—First draft of the joint programmatic statement issued by the negotiating committees of the Communist League of America (Trotskyist) and the American Workers Party (Musteite) appeared in full in The Militant. The program, subject to ratification by the membership at its National Convention, was to form the basis for unification of the two parties. This unification proved to be the first great step taken by the American Trotskyist movement toward extending its influence to wider layers of politically advanced workers in the American labor movement.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE TWO DECISIVE QUESTIONS FOR EVERY POLITICAL GROUP

The fate of every political group—whether it is to live and grow or degenerate and die—is decided in its first experiences by the way in which it answers two decisive questions.

The first is the adoption of a correct political program. But that alone does not guarantee victory. The second is that the group decide correctly what shall be the nature of its activities, and what tasks it shall set itself, given the size and capacity of the group, the period of the development of the class struggle, the relation of forces in the political movement, and so on.

If the program of a political group, especially a small political group, is false, nothing can save it in the end. It is just as impossible to bluff in the political movement as in war. The only difference is that in wartime things are brought to such a pitch that every weakness becomes exposed immediately, as is shown

in one stage after another in the current imperialist war. The law operates just as ruthlessly in the political struggle. Bluffs do not work. At most they deceive people for a time, but the main victims of the deception, in the end, are the bluffers themselves. You must have the goods. That is, you must have a correct program in order to survive and serve the cause of the workers.

An example of the fatal result of a light-minded bluffing attitude toward program is the notorious Lovestone group. Some of you who are new to the revolutionary movement may never have heard of this faction which once played such a prominent role, inasmuch as it has disappeared completely from the scene. But in those days the people who constituted the Lovestone group were the leaders of the American Communist Party. It was they who carried through our expulsion, and when about six months later, they

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
5. A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
6. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
7. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
8. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.
9. The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

The 1944 Election

When the mighty working-class of America goes to the polls on November 7 the labor officialdom will confront them with the choice of voting for the presidential candidates of one or the other of the capitalist parties.

The programs of the Democratic and Republican parties are abundantly clear. In the platforms, as in the spate of speeches of the "rival" candidates, there has been revealed a virtual identity of views on all essential issues.

In the domestic policy, both Roosevelt and Dewey stand for the preservation of capitalism with its vicious exploitation of labor, its crises and unemployment, its hunger, its breadlines, its poverty—and its lush profits for the parasitic bosses.

Abroad, both are committed to the reactionary and predatory imperialist aims of Wall Street, which is bent on world domination. Both stand for the Roosevelt formula of "keeping the peace by force," which lays the foundations for yet another and more terrible war.

The Wall Street plutocrats are only too well aware of the similarity of the Democratic and Republican candidates. As *Business Week*, the Wall Street organ, remarked: "Each says merely that he would do the same things better." No wonder Wall Street is largely indifferent to the outcome of the election! It wins either way!

But what about the great working-class electorate? All reports point to a widespread apathy among the workers. Large numbers of workers have come to realize that for them, too, the choice offered is merely a choice between Tweedledum Roosevelt and Tweedledee Dewey. Just as Wall Street knows that it will win either way, class-conscious workers know they will lose either way. Neither of the parties, neither of the Presidential candidates stand for their interests.

Because they have no party and no candidates of their own, many workers will not cast their ballots on November 7. Because of many difficulties and obstacles, the Socialist Workers Party is unable to place its own candidates in the field, candidates who would advance and fight for a program

corresponding to the needs of the country's millions of toilers.

Meanwhile, from the commencement of the present electoral campaign we have continued and intensified our agitation for the formation of an independent Labor Party, based on the trade unions and armed with a militant program of struggle for the defense of the workers' living standards and their democratic rights, a program which alone can assure a true and lasting peace by ending capitalism and establishing the socialist rule of the working-class.

In Michigan, the Trotskyists are backing the slate of six candidates put forward by the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, because this slate represents a step in the direction of independent political action by the workers and points up the growingly urgent need for labor to build its own political party. In Reading, Pa., the Trotskyists are supporting critically the local candidates of the Socialist Party for reasons explained elsewhere in this issue.

The workers have nothing to gain by casting their ballots for any of the capitalist candidates of the two big parties. The election will be profitable for the workers only if from it they realize the urgent need for a party of their own based on the trade unions and proceed without delay to create one. The advanced workers don't want to vote for the political representatives of Big Business, but the labor lieutenants of the boss class have side-tracked their growing sentiment for a party of their own into a campaign for the capitalist candidates, and above all for Roosevelt.

The workers want to vote labor. But to vote labor they must have an independent Labor Party. The time to start building it is NOW!

Dealing With WLB

About one year ago, the coal miners ended their fourth strike after gaining resounding victory over the combined forces of the coal operators and the Roosevelt administration. From the beginning of their negotiations, the coal miners refused to place the fate of their wage demands in the hands of the employer-dominated War Labor Board. John L. Lewis thundered: If I had a yellow dog I wouldn't trust his standard of living to the zombies on the War Labor Board. The WLB denounced the coal miners, tried to foist a yellow-dog contract on them, knifed the union at every turn.

Among those who condemned the coal miners for not submitting to the domination of the WLB was Philip Murray, ex-official of the United Mine Workers, president of the CIO and of the United Steel Workers. Despite the opposition of the Roosevelt administration, despite the hostility of the entire capitalist press, despite the treachery of the top leadership of the CIO and AFL, the coal miners fought through to victory. Just two months after the fourth coal strike, the contract of the United Steel Workers Union expired. Murray proceeded to steer the wage demands of the steel workers into that graveyard of grievances commonly known as the War Labor Board.

Eleven months have now elapsed since the expiration of the steel workers agreement. Eleven months of stalling and filibustering against the wage demands of the union. In August Murray whined: "We have suffered the inequities of frozen wages for some three and one-half years. We have had wage regimentation since January 1941. The only portion of the national population which has suffered the effects of these atrocities are the wage-earners, and particularly those in the steel industry." Whining, belly-crawling and complaining, Murray has led the steel workers ever deeper into the blind alley of compulsory arbitration. There is no way out along the road chosen by Murray. The steel workers can win their wage demands only by following the example of the coal miners. The wage-freeze can be smashed only through independent action, only by depending solely on the strength of the organized labor movement.

Remember Lidice?

On September 14 the German village of Wallendorf, northwest of Trier, was put to the torch and burned to the ground by order of the commander of the American First Army. The following day a neighboring village, unnamed in press dispatches, was likewise burned off the map. Both places had already been captured by American troops. The excuse given for these vicious acts of incendiarism, as reported by the Associated Press, was that "vicious sniping was going on and that it was necessary to burn them out."

Precisely the same type of excuse was advanced by the Nazis when they put the torch to the Czech village of Lidice. The press of the "democratic" imperialists then indulged in an orgy of hysterical invective against the Nazi barbarism. The same press has found only words of approval for the barbarism perpetrated at Wallendorf. The *British Sunday Dispatch* noted with evident satisfaction that Americans were using the "iron hand" in Germany.

Wallendorf and Lidice—both are samples of the savage cruelty of imperialism which brings only torture and ruin to mankind. The villagers of Wallendorf had as little responsibility for the war as the villagers of Lidice. Both were victims of imperialist savagery and lust for profits.

In burning villages the "democratic" Allies are only returning to a not so remote past. The British Black and Tans did it in Ireland. Within the past decade the British Air Force has burned down villages on the Northwest frontier of India and in Iraq.

There is only one way to insure against future atrocities of this kind—abolish capitalism with its barbarous wars and institute a socialist society.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.

Who's To Blame?

Editor: The reward gained by Jesus Christ for championing the cause of the poor and lowly of that day was a cross given with the approbation of those whom he sought to serve.

The reward gained by William Lloyd Garrison, who sponsored the cause calling for the liberation of the Negro slaves, was a ride through the streets of Baltimore, dragged at the heels of a running horse.

The reward gained by Eugene Victor Debs whose life had been spent in service for the down-trodden in America, was a cell in the Federal Prison at Atlanta; this reward was given him with scarce a ripple of protest from those whom he had served.

Last year a group of eighteen workers at Minneapolis for daring to stand on their rights as workers and American citizens, were awarded prison cells in which they still languish. The bulk of American workers are unconcerned.

Ingratitude, indifference, ignorance—the blackest curses that have ever afflicted mankind.

R. H. M.
Carbon, Ind.

EDITOR'S NOTE: We can understand the indignation and patience of R.H.M. at the shameful spectacle of 18 fighters for the workingclass going to prison in this "land of the free." But we cannot agree with his statement that the workers have met this blow at their rights with "ingratitude" and "indifference." The protests of labor organizations representing over 3,500,000 workers against the imprisonment of the 18 is far from an attitude of utter indifference.

It is true that the ruling classes, controlling the means of

education and information, always seek to keep the exploited in ignorance. We condemn the capitalist system and its upholders who are responsible for attempting to keep the workers in ignorance not only about the Minneapolis Labor Case but about every other issue vitally affecting their real interests. The task of The Militant is not to blame the workers for the ignorance imposed on them by the present system but to help them overcome this ignorance and all the other curses of capitalism by fighting for a socialist world where ignorance, superstition, falsification and bigotry will be forever vanquished.

Ford Elections

Editor:

During the recent elections for the General Council of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, Robert Lieberman, Stalinist editor of the local's paper and so-called "unofficial president," was defeated for reelection as a delegate to the council from the "B" Building.

His defeat is a victory for the "B" Building workers in particular and a gain for the Ford workers in general. It constitutes a blow to the Stalinist strike-breakers, whose stock is in decline as this event indicates.

Lieberman has been a permanent pork-chopper in the local since it was organized. Lacking even elementary journalistic qualifications, he was appointed several months ago as editor of the local's paper by W. G. Grant, Local 600 President and well-known as Lieberman's "front man." This appointment was subsequently ratified by the old General Council which was Stalinist-dominated.

Under Lieberman's editorship,

the paper, with a bi-monthly circulation of 100,000 copies, has degenerated into a campaign rag for Roosevelt and Truman, while from the standpoint of union news and views it has become one of the poorest papers in the entire UAW-CIO.

Needless to say, the Stalinists are highly perturbed by Lieberman's defeat, which reflects the mounting opposition to Stalinism among the militant Ford workers. They are desperately attempting to mobilize their forces and consolidate their control. In the Press Steel Building, where the workers recently struck against the "disciplining" by the company of two committeemen on trumped-up charges, the Stalinists succeeded in electing 20 out of 22 candidates to the General Council.

This is by no means the victory it might appear on the surface. Only 600 workers voted out of a membership of nearly 9,000, several thousand of whom had participated in the recent strike (See The Militant, Oct. 7, 1944). Unfortunately, they expressed their disgust with the treacherous Stalinist leadership solely by refusing to come out and vote.

It is significant that 200 votes were cast for the 2 candidates out of a field of 38 who ran on a platform calling for the rescinding of the no-strike pledge and the formation of an independent labor party. When a third of those who voted—and they were largely those most under Stalinist influence—express themselves opposed to the Stalinist fink policies, it can be confidently predicted that the end of the Stalinist misleadership and union-wrecking in the Ford local is in sight.

D. A.
Detroit, Mich.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SWEDEN

Leftward trends in the working-class throughout Europe were reflected once again in unmistakable fashion in the Swedish general elections which took place on Sept. 17 when the Stalinist Party won 15 seats in the Lower House, a gain of 12 over its previous position. Stalinist gains were made entirely at the expense of the Social-Democrats. The comparative position of the parties is as follows:

	1944	1940
Elect.	115	134
Social Democrats	39	42
Conservatives	36	28
Farmers' Party	25	23
People's Party (Lib.)	15	3
Stalinists		

Explaining the electoral successes of the Stalinists, the *Manchester Guardian* says that the leftward swing of the workers is due to their dissatisfaction "with the economic policy followed by the Social Democrats, who are bound by their political truce with the other non-Socialist parties forming the Government coalition. This is especially noticeable in the case of the freezing of wages. The Communists (Stalinists) have viciously attacked the Social Democrats for their resistance to wage increases, and the reply that giving way on this point would infallibly entail the end of price controls and rapid inflation failed to make an impression on the more radical elements among the workers."

The Swedish Social Democrats, like their colleagues of the British Labor Party and the labor skates in this country, have joined with the capitalist rulers to hold the workers down and prevent them from fighting for higher wages to meet the spiraling cost of living. They are the largest party in a national coalition which includes the Conservative, Farmers' and People's parties, and excludes only the Stalinists.

The Stalinists are thus the sole sizeable opposition party. To gain influence over the broad masses of the workers disgusted with the Social-Democrats they find it expedient to voice their revolt against the wage freeze and to appear before the workers as more militant representatives of their class interests. In England and America the Kremlin's alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists has led the Stalinists to abandon entirely any defense of the workers' interests and to align themselves openly on the side of the capital-

ist exploiters of labor. Since Sweden at the moment is of little importance in the foreign policies of the Kremlin gang, the Swedish Stalinists are permitted to play the radical a bit.

ENGLAND

The wave of militant working-class struggle is rising again in this classic land of capitalism. Grasping the effective weapon of the sit-down strike forged by the French workers in 1936 and used with magnificent results by the auto and rubber workers here in the following year, 17,000 workers at the Austin automobile plant in Birmingham staged a five-day sit-down last month.

Conversion of part of the plant to production of a peace-time model car, with a drastic slash in piece rates on the new production line as compared with the war production lines, was the cause of the sit-down. The Shop Stewards Committee in the plant demanded a 75 percent increase in piece rates fixed for the new car.

The management lyingly denied that a conversion to peace-time production was being made and refused to negotiate with the Shop Stewards Committee on the ground that the Committee had no authority to demand or negotiate wage increases. The demand for higher piece-rates, however, was in fact merely a demand that existing wage-scales be maintained.

The Committee correctly described the management's attitude as an attempt to smash the Committee and weaken the shop organization of the workers.

The Austin sit-down is a sign of the times. Without a clear settlement of the issue, the men resumed work on the fifth day, but their action served notice on all the capitalists that British labor intends to fight their post-war starvation plans.

When the Austin men began their sit-down, some 1,800 workers at the Albion Motor Works on the Clydeside had already been on strike four weeks to press a wage demand which had been the issue in negotiations with the employer for about four months. And a few days after the Austin strike ended, fresh sit-downs occurred in two plants of the Fairey Aviation Company. There were also isolated work stoppages in the coalfields of Durham, Lanarkshire and South Wales, indicating that the miners, who were engaged in country-wide strikes earlier in the year,

have lost none of their militancy.

INDIA

The Indian Stalinists, toadies and lickspittles of the British imperialist oppressors of 385 million workers and peasants, can give points to Earl Browder's Wall Street boys in their craven servility to the bosses and rank betrayal of the workers. They reveal this in a document, "Working Class and National Defense," adopted by the Congress of the Communist Party of India in May of last year.

Describing the situation in India, the document states: "There were strikes for food and dearness (cost of living) allowances. There were strikes in railway workshops producing for war; in textile factories, in engineering shops, working for war; in dockyards and goods yards in the train services. Workers in backward industries on strike; workers in organized industries on strike."

Did the Stalinists perhaps lead the just struggle of these workers? "We prevented strikes from spreading or intervened in spontaneous strikes and speedily settled them. The workers were persuaded to go back without any change for the better." What a cynical admission!

The efforts of the Stalinists helped drive workers back to work after they had struck, but they were powerless to prevent strikes which sprang from soil reeking with poverty and oppression. They sought to stem the militancy of the workers by phony appeals to jingoistic hatred—but they failed, as their own document admits:

"We failed to whip up anti-Japanese hatred, failed to whip up anti-fascist hatred even though a bald account of the atrocities committed by the Axis powers would have roused the hatred of any man."

The Indian masses, of course, don't have to look beyond the borders of their own country for atrocities. The British slaughter of unarmed people at Amritsar has not been forgotten. Nor the atrocities of Sholapur and Shitlagong. The Royal Air Force has razed Indian villages, just as the Japanese imperialists have razed Chinese villages. Hostages have been shot in the very best Nazi style. The Whipping Act is still in force.

The Indian workers are right. They know that the MAIN ENEMY is in THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

Auto Barons Demand High Prices For Civilian Cars

Before, during and after the war, the all-absorbing interest of the corporation owners is profits. The automobile moguls, following the action of the steel industry, are pressing for a policy of low output and high prices in the coming period.

The auto industry recently turned down an OPA proposal to reduce prices to the 1942 level on civilian production. Even at the proposed level, the industry would be permitted to sell cars at enormously higher prices than before the war.

According to the CIO United Automobile Workers' reports, the auto industry is insisting instead on price increases for new cars of from 25 to 40 per cent. At such prices, taken together with the inevitable reduction of mass purchasing power, the market for cars would be limited and the industry would operate at a low capacity with tremendous unemployment.

The industry representatives have already informed the government that they are prepared to produce 6,700,000 cars a year—with 40 per cent less workers than now employed in the industry. This is an admission that labor productivity, the amount of production per man-hour of work, has increased 26 per cent during the war, without a corresponding increase in hourly wage rates. The vast increase in productivity has gone into the pockets of the auto monopolists as profits.

General Motors, for instance, which is spearheading the drive for higher prices, lower wages and reduced employment, increased its cash assets alone since 1939 from \$155,000,000 to \$287,000,000. Its "net quick assets," like short term notes and accounts receivable, blossomed from \$183,000,000 to \$652,000,000.

Ex-WLB Public Member Exposes Some Conniving

"When thieves fall out, the truth will out," is a saying particularly applicable in capitalist politics. Wayne L. Morse, one of Roosevelt's original appointees as public member of the War Labor Board, recently "spilled the beans" about the dirty manipulations between Roosevelt and the eight public and industry members of the Board against organized labor's demands.

We can disregard Morse's motives in making his belated revelations, timed to invite labor support for Dewey. But his specific charges bear the earmarks of truth, substantiated by the actual anti-labor practices of the Board. Morse declared recently that "political influences entered into War Labor Board decisions," and cited as "outstanding examples" the "political manipulation of the Board's decisions . . . (in) the United Mine Workers' coal case and the West Coast aircraft case."

"In the aircraft case I found on returning to Washington that the Board's opinion had been written before the Board had even considered the case." Contrast this decision made in advance to deny wage demands of the railroad workers with the latest refusal of the Board, after one year's "study," to recommend revision of the Little Steel Formula to Roosevelt!

In the railway wage case, Morse discloses, "great and unjustifiable damage was done to railroad labor," who "were forced" to threaten strike action "in order to bring the case to final determination."

"The President told his secretary, Gen. Watson, that he approved a 7-cent increase," but Watson conveniently "forgot" to "pass the word along to Fred Vinson, the Director of Economic Stabilization, until after Vinson had given his decision denying the raise."

AFL Economist Predicts Catastrophic Crisis

Contrary to predictions from various administration sources that unemployment following the end of military operations in Germany will increase to "only" 4,000,000, Boris Shishkin, conservative AFL economist, declares in the October American Federationist, official monthly organ of the AFL, that the unemployed army will reach 11,000,000.

While a minor portion of these may secure employment eventually in low-pay consumers goods industries, the end of the war with Japan will shoot unemployment up to at least 20,000,000, Shishkin declares.

The AFL economist bases his forecast on the fact that wholesale unemployment through the shutdown of war industries, together with reduced working hours, elimination of overtime pay and downgrading to lower-paying jobs, will slash workers' mass purchasing power by 40 per cent.

This will "knock the bottom out of the civilian market" and catapult the country into a "deadly depression" unless "steps are taken immediately to forestall such a catastrophe." Such steps must "achieve a level of production without precedent in the past. Turning back to pre-war levels would spell disaster."

Shishkin confesses that "no comprehensive program is ready to be put into operation to hold employment at high level and assure stability in transition."

On the contrary, Big Business has pushed through Congress and gained Roosevelt's signature to the George Demobilization and Reconversion Bill. This is the bill to ensure the unrestrained piracy of capitalist "free enterprise"—that "free enterprise" which constitutes the first plank in the program of AFL President Green and his bureaucratic henchmen.

Like the rest of his colleagues who complain loudly about the bleak future for labor, Shishkin lamely proposes as a solution for the impending economic crisis the utopian idea of "high wages, full production and low unit profits" under the rule of monopoly capitalist "free enterprise." But the plan of the capitalists, as embodied in the George Bill, envisages "pawning under" the billions in new government plants, low production, high monopoly prices and starvation wages.