

10 Years After The Memorial Day Massacre

The rights of the American working people—now threatened by the Hartley-Taft bills in Washington—were won in struggle over many years, struggle for which workers often had to pay with their blood and lives. One such battle, the memory of which should inspire us to greater efforts against the anti-labor forces of today, took place ten years ago—on Memorial Day, 1937—when a peaceful demonstration by striking CIO employees of the Republic Steel Company was turned into a bloody massacre by the police in South Chicago.

Paramount Newsreel happened to have a photographer present on that occasion, when ten defenseless workers were murdered and scores severely injured. Copies of the film were privately exhibited to members of the Senate's La Follette Civil Liberties Committee; the full film was suppressed from the public but a report of what it showed was printed in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, June 16, 1937. Excerpts of that report are printed below.

Read it and remember: The same Big Business interests that ordered the Memorial Day Massacre are behind the current drive against labor's rights and interests.—THE EDITORS.

The first scenes show police drawn up in a long line across a dirt road which runs diagonally through a large open field... Behind the line and in the street beyond, nearer the mill, are several patrol wagons and numerous reserve squads of police.

Straggling across the field, in a long irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300—approximately the same as the police—although it is known that some 2,000 strike sympathizers were watching the march from a distance.

VIVID CLOSE-UP

A vivid close-up shows the head of the parade being halted at the police line. The flag-bearers are in front. Behind them the placards are massed. They bear such devices as: "Come On Out—Help Win the Strike;" "Republic vs. the Peo-



Scene Of The 1937 Massacre

ple;" and "CIO." Between the flag-bearers is the marchers' spokesman, a muscular young man in shirt sleeves, with a CIO button on the band of his belt.

He is arguing earnestly with a police officer who appears to be in command. His vigorous gestures indicate that he is insisting on permission to continue through the police line, but in the general din of yelling and talking his words cannot be distinguished. His expression is serious, but no suggestion of threat or violence is apparent. The police officer, whose back is to the camera, makes an impatient gesture of refusal, and says something which cannot be understood.

Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots, and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. The camera catches approximately a dozen falling sim-

ultaneously in a heap. The massive, sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds.

Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flying. At the same time tear gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and

clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. The only discernible case of resistance is that of a marcher with a placard on a stick, which he uses in an attempt to fend off a charging policeman... he goes down under a shower of blows.

The scenes which follow are among the most harrowing of the picture. Although the ground is strewn with dead and wounded, and the mass of the marchers are in precipitate flight down the dirt road and across the field, a number of individuals, either through foolish hardihood, or be-

cause they have not yet realized what grim and deadly business is in progress around them, have remained behind, caught in the midst of the charging police.

In a manner which is appallingly businesslike, groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals, and go to work on them with their clubs. In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would wield a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head, and still another is whipping him across the back.

These men try to protect their heads with their arms, but it is only a matter of second or two until they go down. In one such scene, directly in the foreground, a policeman gives the fallen man a final smash on the head, before moving on to the next job.

In the front line during the parley with the police is a girl, not more than five feet tall, who can hardly weigh more than 100 pounds. Under one arm she is carrying a purse and some newspapers. After the first deafening volley of shots she turns, to find that her path is blocked by a heap of fallen men. She stumbles over them, apparently dazed.

The scene shifts for a moment, then she is seen going down under a quick blow from a policeman's club, delivered from behind. She gets up, and staggers around. A few moments later she is shown being shoved into a patrol wagon, as blood cascades down her face and spreads over her clothing.

Preceding this episode, how-

ever, is a scene which, for sheer horror, outdoes the rest. A husky, middle-aged, bare-headed man has found himself caught far behind the rear ranks of the fleeing marchers. Between him and the others, policemen are as thick as flies, but he elects to run the gauntlet. Astonishingly agile for one of his age and build, he runs like a deer, leaping a ditch, dodging as he goes. Surprised policemen take hasty swings as he passes them. Some get him on the back, some on the back of the head, but he keeps his feet, and keeps going.

The scene is bursting with a frightful sort of drama. Will he make it? The suspense is almost intolerable to those who watch. It begins to look as if he will get through. But no! The police in front have turned around, and are waiting for him. Still trying desperately, he swings to the right. He has put his hands up, and is holding them high above his head as he runs.

It's no use. There are police on the right. He is cornered. He turns, still holding high his hands. Quickly the bluecoats close in, and the night sticks fly—above his head, from the sides, from the rear. His upraised arms fall limply under the flailing blows, and he slumps to the ground in a twisting fall, as the clubs continue to rain on him.

BRAINS BEATEN OUT

CIO officers report that when

one of the victims was delivered at an undertaking establishment, it was found that his brains literally had been beaten out, his skull crushed by blows.

Ensuing scenes are hardly less poignant. A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist... He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground.

A man over whose white shirt front the blood is spreading perceptibly, is dragged to the side of the road... There is plain

intimation that he is dying.

The scene shifts to the patrol wagons in the rear. Men with bloody heads, bloody faces, bloody shirts, are being loaded in. One who apparently has been shot in the leg, drags himself painfully into the picture with the aid of two policemen. An elderly man, bent almost double, holding one hand on the back of his head, clammers painfully up the steps and slumps onto the seat, burying his face in both hands. The shoulders of his white shirt are drenched with blood... out of the babble there rises this clear and distinct ejaculation: "God Almighty!"...

A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks into a sudden grin, he makes a motion of dusting off his hands, and strides away. The film ends.

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The Working Class Fight Against Stalinism

By James P. Cannon

(Ed. Note: This is the eighth of a series of articles on American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism.)

The preamble of the old IWW, on which a whole generation of worker-militants was raised and taught the class struggle, began with the declaration: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." This is certainly true as far as social interests are concerned.

The struggle between the classes never ceases and cannot cease until the workers are completely victorious. The social evils which plague the world today, and even threaten the continued existence and future development of civilization, are due fundamentally to the fact that the international proletarian revolution, the necessary precursor of world socialism, has been unduly retarded and delayed. Outlived and decadent capitalism is stretching out the period of its decline — or rather, its death agony — for too long a time. Capitalism is the root of the evil.

The overthrow of capitalism is the historic mission of the working class, and all of its daily struggles are instinctively directed to this end. When this struggle becomes conscious and properly organized and led, the downfall of capitalism and the beginning of socialism will be equally assured. Power is on the side of the workers, thanks to their numbers and their strategic social position. They cannot fail to be victorious once they get a clear view and understanding of the central requirement: that their policy be anti-capitalist, and that their organizations and their activities be independent, free from capitalist influences and agencies. This is the core of what Marxism teaches us about the politics of the working class.

The foregoing considerations fully apply to the problem of Stalinism, which is one of the agencies of capitalism in the labor movement, and the fight against it. The advanced workers above all must give thought to this problem and work out their policy from an independent class standpoint. Stalinism helps the capitalists by introducing disruption, confusion and demoralization into the labor movement, and sells its services to the capitalists in this destructive capacity. To be sure, Stalinism tries to drive a hard bargain with the imperialists. The bargaining over the terms of betrayal sets up conflicts and irritations, as at the present time in the United States, which give the false appearance of a revolutionary struggle.

Stalinism Agency Of Imperialism

This, however, does not change the essential fact that Stalinism is essentially an agency of world imperialism in the labor movement of the advanced countries, as well as in the colonial world. But for Stalinism, all of continental Europe would long since have been united in a Federation of Socialist Republics. Even today, after all that has happened, after all the harm that has been done and all the destruction that has been wrought, not a single capitalist regime would stand up for a month in continental Europe unless it was propped up and supported by Stalinism, the "loyal opposition."

It is from this point of view that the fight against Stalinism must be conducted—as an integral part of the general fight against capitalism. It should be clear that the advanced workers need a class policy for this fight as for all others, and one that is completely independent. For this fight the workers need and can expect no help from the capitalists; it is stupidly incongruous to speculate on it for a moment. The workers need rather to get rid of the agents of capitalism — and that means all of them. "Class against class" must be the guiding line for the fight against Stalinism, as for all other fights of the workers.

The current red-baiting campaign is inspired and directed by the exploiters of labor. They are more class-conscious than the workers and always try to keep their class interests in mind in elaborating any policy. Ostensibly directed against the Stalinists alone—or the "Communists" as they falsely label them, partly through ignorance and partly through the design to confuse—the witch hunt is in reality directed against labor and the rights of labor in general. Notice how intimately it is tied up with the program of war preparation and anti-union legislation now being railroaded through Congress. That is no accident.

In part the red-baiting campaign is designed also as a diversion to distract attention from the ripening disturbances of the American social system and the mounting inequalities, injustices and deprivations inflicted upon the mass of the people. "Don't look at the harsh realities of American life. Don't think of your real troubles. Look at Russia and the 'reds'." To fall for this transparent fake requires a rather high degree of gullibility. For the American militants and trade unionists to join in a "united front" with the American exploiters for the prosecution of the red-baiting campaign would simply be to adopt a severely efficient method of cutting their own throats.

Labor Fakers Back Red-Baiting

Some labor leaders who understand or partly understand the truth of the matter are taking part in the red-baiting campaign stemming out of Washington, in the hope of buying immunity for themselves. Besides being unprincipled, that tactic is sheer folly. The campaign is aimed at all the organizations of the workers and will strike them all with increasing violence as it gathers momentum. The appetite of the red-baiting reactionaries grows by what it feeds on. They become more aggressive with every attempt at unprincipled appeasement offered to them by one section of the labor leaders or another.

Evidence is accumulating that the rank and file workers in the more progressive and democratic unions are getting the pitch. They are taking a somewhat reserved, and in some places, even a hostile attitude toward the anti-red campaign, to the consternation of some short-sighted "progressive" labor fakers who thought they could easily dispose of their rivals and get themselves elected simply by raising the red scare.

In the recent election in Ford Local 600 of the UAW, the largest local union in the world, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the Roman Pope's foreign legion in the American labor movement, led a well-organized, boastful and confident "anti-Moscow" campaign. They suffered a completely unexpected disaster. The Thomas-Addes slate backed by the Stalinists swept the elections by a majority of 3 to 1. In the last convention of the CIO Electrical Workers, likewise, the red-baiting office hunters got a brutal and well-deserved beating.

The workers in the plants apparently took a more serious view of their problem as a whole than the red-baiters counted on. They apparently linked the anti-red drive with the drive against labor in general, and decided by their votes to give a rebuke to the opportunist labor politicians and reactionaries who tried to fish in the troubled waters without bothering to present a serious program on union issues.

Unfortunately, the Stalinists profited by the confusion

in these cases. That is not to be desired, for they are a real menace to the trade union movement and must be fought tooth and nail. They try to stigmatize every criticism of their wrecking activities as "red-baiting," but this dodge is playing out. There is no reason why we should take their definition and refrain from the struggle against them just because some stupid reactionaries are also fighting them, from another point of view.

The thing is to put the fight on the proper basis and conduct it from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. That means to fight the red-baiters without covering up or shielding the criminal record of the Stalinists. It means, no less, to fight the Stalinists without falling into the booby-trap set by the reactionary red-baiters. This discrimination is not so difficult as it may appear. It has been done. From all indications it is being done right now with very good results in the National Maritime Union.

The Stalinist machine has controlled the NMU since it was first organized ten years ago. They have run things there, as they do in every union that falls under their control, with brutal disregard for the wishes and interests of the workers. The union was converted into a political instrument of the Communist Party, and made to serve every zigzag of policy in conformity with the interests and demands of the Kremlin. At the same time, the union apparatus was converted into a happy hunting-ground for careerists and bureaucrats. The chief qualification required to secure their places on the swollen payroll was that they be always ready to carry out any and every policy dictated by the Stalinist machine, regardless of how it might affect the interests of the workers who paid the dues.

Stalinist Treachery Provokes Revolts

The treacherous policies and bureaucratic brutality of the Stalinist machine in the NMU provoked more than one revolt in the ranks in the past, as has been the case in all other Stalinist-dominated unions and will always be the case in the future. But these previous revolts, inspired in the main by the justified resentment of honest workers, fell under the leadership of ignorant, reactionary, red-baiting place-hunters. They simply made good punching-bags for the Stalinist demagogues in the "ideological" struggle, and couldn't even hold their own in the physical struggle which they, like so many of their breed, imagined could accomplish everything. They found out that muscle-stuff is a game that more than one side can play at, just as the Stalinists, who are addicted to the same theory, are finding out now and will find out increasingly, as the tide of revolt rises against them.

The Stalinists, following their regular procedure, manipulated the expulsion of their leading opponents. All opposition was driven underground. For a long time the CP stranglehold on the union seemed to be absolutely unshakable. But the logic of the class struggle proved to be stronger than the bureaucratic machine of Stalinism. The anti-worker policy followed by the leadership of the NMU during the war went to such monstrous lengths of cynicism and betrayal that it stored up a tremendous reserve of resentment in the ranks. Finally, this brought about a split even in the Communist Party fraction which dominated the union. With that, came a split in the union apparatus and the creation of conditions for the real sentinel of the rank and file to assert itself.

The new opposition attacked the Stalinist machine not for its radicalism but for its conservatism, for its betrayal of the interests of the workers in the trade union fight against the shipowners. President Curran, who had long been a fellow-traveller of the Stalinists, took the leadership of the fight; and to his credit it must be said that on the whole he has led it wisely and effectively, abstaining from stupid and reactionary red-baiting, and fighting on issues of vital concern to the seamen in their daily struggle. The rank and file of the union were only waiting for the signal, and have rallied around the anti-Stalinist leadership in what appears to be a very substantial majority. If the fight is continued along these lines, there is every reason to be confident that victory will be assured and that an important union with a great future will be cleansed of the Stalinist pestilence.

Two important lessons can be drawn from the ex-

Germany 1947:

Four Flags Over A Ruin

By Ernest Germain

The Swiss weekly paper *Die Weltwoche* recently published a photograph of a completely destroyed section of Berlin. In the shapeless mass of ruins that stretched as far as the eye could see, the front of a building several stories high remained standing. Behind, the building had crumbled long ago; but the wall was proudly surmounted by the flags of the four occupying powers, flags which dominated the scene of desolation. Four flags over a ruin: this is the symbol of Germany 1947, this is what world imperialism and criminal Stalinism have done to the most advanced country in Europe.

Many American workers may believe that the economic and cultural collapse of Germany resulted directly from war destruction. They should get rid of this illusion.

Despite the disastrous effects of "area bombing" and the tremendous concentration of Russian artillery against the cities of Eastern Germany, 80% of the German industrial potential remained intact at the time of the armistice. The German construction industry at that time was strong enough so that, in the space of a few years, the rubble could have been cleared away and the factories and houses rebuilt.

But after the bombing and the shelling, the imperialist and Stalinist master-pillagers fell upon Germany like a swarm of locusts. In Berlin the Russians grabbed every last piece of equipment, including those used to clear and build roads. Instead of providing the German masses with new dwellings, even temporary ones, they requisitioned thousands of buildings which had escaped destruction, using them to house the personnel and families of the occupation administration.

Along with the decomposition of Germany's productive system and the physical sapping of her population, there is a corresponding disintegration of the economic and financial system. In the American zone—which is not the worst—seven tons of merchandise go for every three tons that reach the "official" market. The mark has lost all value and is no longer good for anything but the purchase of rationed goods, the distribution of which is becoming more and more rare.

The best illustration to the German worker of how his labor power has gone up in smoke is that the most prevalent measure of value has become—the cigarette. Where any administration of the economy exists, what it does is to rigidly organize the poverty. In the office of the provincial provisioning service in Hanover one can see a remarkable placard with 35,570 requests for a ration ticket for shoes. And there were exactly 980 pairs of shoes in the "official" stores.

The outward and visible ruins of Germany are mirrored no less depressingly in the spirit of the people. The great majority of ordinary men and women have no other concern than getting bread or margarine for tomorrow. Children beg or steal—the schools are closed, and why work when the marks one gets in wages can't buy even a half-pound of butter?

For every 100 pregnant women in the hospital in Frankfurt, 50 have miscarriages, either intentionally or through weakness. There are already too many children with rickets, tuberculosis, or wasting away by starvation edemas. Prostitution and the moral degradation of the population have reached a degree unprecedented in history. No one has any illusions about the present, and there are very few who preserve a feeble hope in the future. They had known the Germany of Hitler. Now they are learning what the Germany of the Big Four means.

(The above is the first in a series of articles on Germany 1947. Next week: The Four Germanies.)

ROBERT SHELDON HARTE

1915-1940

May 24 marks the 7th year since Robert Sheldon Harte, 25-year-old member of the Socialist Workers Party, New York Local, was kidnapped by Stalin's GPU and murdered near Mexico City.

Harte, one of Leon Trotsky's guards, was on duty the night of May 24, when a gang of Stalinists headed by David Alfaro Siqueiros, raided the Trotsky household in Coyoacan. The gang machine-gunned the bedroom where Leon Trotsky and his wife Natalia were sleeping, but by accident did not succeed in killing the aged revolutionary couple.

When the Stalinists fled, they kidnapped Harte and took him to a lonely cabin in the mountains. They killed him there to prevent him from later identifying the assailants.

On this 7th anniversary of Harte's death, *The Militant* again salutes his memory. He fell victim in the struggle to build a better world; but his devotion to the socialist cause has served to inspire our entire movement and to help steel our ranks in carrying on the fight for which he gave his life.

experience of the NMU: (1) The masses are stronger than any bureaucratic apparatus, whether it is a trade union apparatus or any other kind, and demonstrate it every time when they find an opening to break through and have proper leadership. (2) The workers who mistakenly follow the Stalinists are also their victims, and by the logic of the class struggle must come into conflict with the bureaucratic betrayers. Many of them can be counted upon as reserves for the future in the victorious struggle against perfidious Stalinism—provided they are approached with a worker policy, not a pro-capitalist one.

Stalinism can and will be defeated and cast out of the labor movement. But the workers themselves must do it.

(To be concluded next week.)

The Arab Revolution And The Zionist Labor Movement

(Ed. Note: This is the third in a series of articles on The Palestine Question.)

By H. Vallen

Neither the Jewish terrorists, nor the leaders of the Jewish Agency nor the heads of the Arab parties are capable of leading a consistent anti-imperialist struggle. Yet, in Palestine an extremely powerful and advanced Jewish workers' movement lives and grows. Shouldn't it lead the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the masses?

The Jewish labor movement in Palestine was constructed on a base of racial and national exclusiveness. This racial exclusiveness is based, in its turn, on the "closed Jewish economy" which the Zionists have attempted to build in Palestine and which completely separates the Jewish community from the Arab community.

For this reason the Zionist labor movement has been in the forefront of the struggle for unlimited Jewish immigration, inasmuch as the cessation of the flow of foreign Jewish immigrants and capital threatens to lower the standard of living of the Jewish masses to the level of the Arab masses.

For this reason the Jewish labor movement has gone so far as to force Jewish employers to hire Jewish labor exclusively and to prohibit the hiring of Arab workers in Jewish industries.

The Jewish labor movement since its beginning has had as its essential function the defense of this high standard of living not only against Jewish capitalist exploitation but also and especially against Arab "penetration" into Jewish industry.

The objectives of the Arab revolution not only against Jewish capitalist exploitation but also and especially against Arab "penetration" into Jewish industry.

natural that the Zionist labor organizations have taken no steps up till now to organize, assist or unleash the revolution of the Arab masses and that they still remain terrified by this perspective. The joint Jewish-Arab strike which took place last year was organized by the Arab unions, and the Jewish workers who participated in them were forced to do so because they were a minority and the action was confined exclusively to that tiny group of Jewish workers employed and exploited by British imperialism. The great majority of the Jewish proletariat employed by Jewish companies remained passive and even hostile to these strikes.

The expulsion of imperialism from the Middle East is the primary objective that the revolutionary movement must pursue in that part of the world. It should be clear to every advanced worker who analyzes the situation without prejudice that this objective can be realized only through the Arab revolution and under the leadership of the Arab workers' movement. Under these circumstances the Jewish labor movement of Palestine confronts the following dilemma:

Whether to abandon its Zionist illusions and integrate itself fraternally in the Arab revolution;

The expropriation of all enterprises owned by foreign capital, and the closing of the country to the import of capital—this slogan runs up against the savage opposition of the Zionist organizations, because it would put an end to their dream of colonization and also to their privileged standard of living.

Consequently, it is therefore

party and Jewish-Arab trade unions; rooting out all prejudice and all "paternalism" toward the Arab masses; opening up Jewish industry to Arab workers; and forging a genuine fighting unity on the basis of common interests.

This first road demands enormous immediate sacrifices of the Jewish workers in Palestine, but it protects their existence in the future and lays the foundation for harmony between Arabs and Jews.

The second road, which has already arrived in a blind alley in the negotiations with imperialism, will lead the Zionist labor movement further and further into terrorism, as ineffective as it is reactionary. While such desperate actions are carried on by the most active minority, the majority will tend more and more to accept miserable compromises offering only shreds of the Zionist dreams.

This second road could very well lead to the complete extermination of the Jewish community in Palestine during the explosion of the coming Arab revolution.

(To be concluded next week.)

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"We have entered an epoch when the periods of economic revival are short-lived, while the periods of depression become deeper and deeper."

Leon Trotsky

An Emergency Appeal

We wish to call attention to the current campaign of the American Committee for European Workers Relief to cable food packages to the starvation zones in Germany. The Militant endorses this campaign and asks all its readers to do everything they can to support it.

In many working class districts in the industrial areas of Germany the ration is now below 650 calories a day. This is about two medium-sized slices of bread, three times a day—less than the bread and water diet inflicted in some American prisons as a cruel punishment for infractions of discipline.

The German workers suffering under this hunger regime are the same ones who were victims of the Nazis for 12 years. Most of the workers receiving aid from the American Committee for European Workers Relief, for example, are former concentration camp prisoners. After five to ten years in the Nazi holes, their health is so shattered they cannot long endure starvation.

The answer of the American military authorities to the piteous cries of the German workers for food is a brutal warning that the death penalty will be inflicted if these victims do anything more than die quietly. The answer of the American workers to the appeal of their class brothers for food must be a generous and warm-hearted response.

Speed is essential. Consequently the ACEWR has arranged to cable food packages. Companies now holding food stockpiles in Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and Germany itself will deliver food packages containing ten pounds of high-calory foods for \$13.50. These emergency packages can mean the difference between life and death for many survivors of the Nazi concentration camps.

All checks and money orders should be sent to the American Committee for European Workers Relief, 130 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Oakland Lessons

The workers of Oakland, Calif., are teaching valuable lessons to the entire American labor movement. They are showing—in action—how to fight the anti-labor offensive and, what is more important, how to beat it on both the economic and political fields.

When the corrupt Republican city machine provided police protection for professional strike-breakers in the Kahns and Hastings department store strike last December, over 100,000 workers in the city quit work. Their magnificent two-day general strike forced the city administration to back down and withdraw escort for the strikebreakers.

Labor solidarity, backed by militant demonstrations of power—this is the way to answer the enemies of labor. But the Oakland labor movement did not stop there. Its members understood that while they had compelled the corrupt city machine to retreat, they could expect new attacks so long as the Boss politicians held power in City Hall.

So the unions, united in the Joint Labor Committee to Combat Anti-Labor Legislation, took the next logical step. They entered the political struggle by helping to sponsor the Oakland Voters League and a slate of candidates for the City Council.

Despite a fierce red-baiting campaign launched by the incumbent machine and the press, the unions were able in last week's election to kick out four of the Republican Council, including the Mayor, and to elect four candidates on the Voters League slate.

The labor campaign suffered from a number of shortcomings—it was hastily organized; its program did not go far enough; the rank and file did not have sufficient control over



the actions of the candidates, such as they could have exercised through a labor party.

Nevertheless, the challenge to Big Business domination of politics inspired the workers to participate actively in the struggle. And even though this was their first campaign, they missed winning full control of the nine-member Council by only a very small margin.

Correctly applied, the lessons of Oakland point the way to meet the anti-labor offensive in Washington. A 24-hour nation-wide general protest strike would proclaim in language that Congress and the White House could understand that the workers will not tolerate slave labor laws. Such a protest demonstration would be a hundred times more effective in anti-labor legislation than petitions, letters to Congressmen and radio speeches.

And along with these mass demonstrations the labor movement should proceed at once to organize its own political power and kick out the Democratic and Republican politicians whose subservience to the corporations constitutes an ever-growing threat to the very existence of a free labor movement. That means the creation of an independent labor party, based on the unions, and responsive to the desires of the masses.

Class Legislation

When Truman signed the anti-portal pay act, he put his name on one of the most bare-faced pieces of class legislation that has been passed in some time. This measure robs the workers of the money they had coming for work already performed. It outlaws most future claims and seriously cripples the possibility of filing even such claims as are still legally permitted.

What particularly underlines the class character of this legislation is its contrast to such notorious measures as the tax refund bill. Where billions of dollars in profits were involved, Congress opened up the sluices of the public treasury for the capitalists who had already heaped up the greatest war profits in all history.

Truman signed the anti-portal pay act precisely when current profits have soared to new and unprecedented levels. The day before Truman put his signature to the measure, the *Wall Street Journal* announced a survey showing that the profits of 149 companies in 15 industrial groups averaged 282.7% for the first quarter of this year over the phenomenal profits for the same period of last year. The profits of 19 iron and steel companies were up even higher—370.4%! General Motors alone raked in \$103,393,634 in the first three months of 1947.

While the capitalist profit-gougers thus stuffed their bank vaults, Congress and President Truman took away billions of dollars earned by the workers.

The passage of the anti-portal pay act once again demonstrates how the capitalist government legislates in accordance with the principle of soaking the poor and rewarding the rich.

Freedom From Fear'

During World War II, the capitalist propagandists made a number of glowing promises about the kind of postwar world Wall Street intended to build. One of their promises was "freedom from fear."

Two scientists have just released a report on germ-warfare which shows just how much this promise was worth. This report has been "voluntarily" withheld since 1942. Only five years later are the people permitted to know the dreadful horrors in store for them in a new war.

Doctors Rosebury and Kabat have compiled all the known diseases and bacteria. They have carefully selected the most deadly, easily-spread plagues, capable of infecting entire cities and industrial areas. Out of a total of 60 known germs and viruses, these specialists single out 33 capable of reducing whole populations to a pile of corpses.

Botulinus toxin, 10,000 times deadlier than potassium cyanide, is the "most potent of all gastro-intestinal poisons," which could be dropped by planes to infect water supplies and cause a mortality of 82% of all infected.

Leptospira germs causing fever and jaundice "could be maintained and transferred in the field" to contaminate foods and water supplies.

Anthrax bacillus is considered as "surpassed by few micro-organisms in infectivity." Pneumonic plague could be transmitted by air to start a "devastating epidemic" and for these reasons may be considered "superlative."

Wholesale spreading of influenza "may serve as an effective weapon." The viruses of measles and mumps are "almost ideal choices."

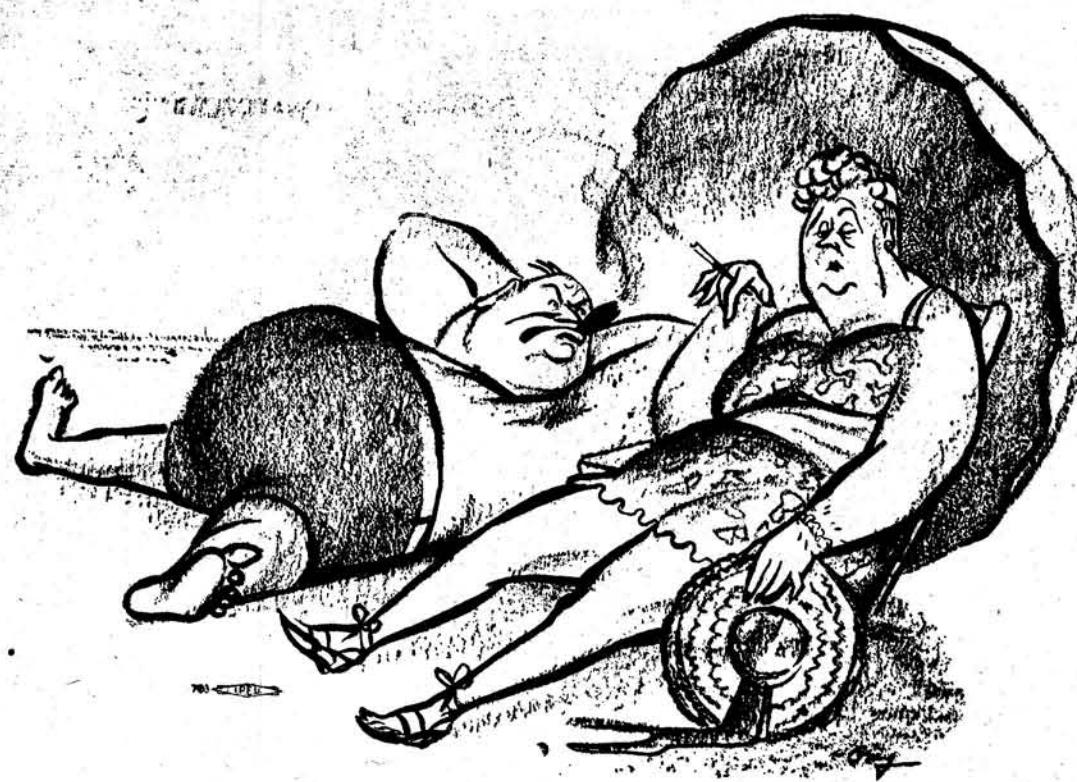
Among "the most useful agents of bacterial warfare" are listed: psittacosis, or parrot's disease; mysterious glanders afflictions which attack the skin, bones and lungs; such fevers as tularemia, brucella melitensis, yellow fever, dengue fever and spotted fever.

All these are proved mass killers and labelled as "superlative." Others are still in process of investigation and elaboration, and, since this 1942 report, have been "improved."

The War Department has been "perfecting" all these germs for use in the war they consider inevitable. The germ killers which in 1942 were "possibilities" have already become realities.

Such is American capitalism. Such is the outlived system which now enlists, as adjunct to the atomic bomb, the worst diseases and viruses for use in a Third World War.

Capitalism thus serves notice of its utter incapacity to guarantee security. It serves notice that only the destruction of this bankrupt system can save the people from these new and frightful means of mass destruction. Only a Socialist society can save mankind from the horrors of atomic and bacteriological warfare.



"I've got my belly full of listening to those workers' complaints!"

Workers BOOKSHELF

THERE ONCE WAS A SLAVE

by Shirley Graham, Julian Messner, Inc., 1947, 305 pp. \$3.

Shirley Graham, a young Negro author, has done a commendable job with this new biography of Frederick Douglass. It is superior to another recent book about Douglass, *A Star Points North* by Edmund Fuller. Although Shirley Graham starts her work at the same point as Fuller—the experiences of Douglass with the slave-breaker, Covey, she presents a more rounded picture of the ideas of Douglass the fighter for the abolition of slavery. She relies extensively upon direct quotations from Douglass's speeches and writings to make her portrait of this truly great Negro a life-like work.

Douglass was the foremost exponent of political action as a means of abolishing slavery, as opposed to the moral persuasion methods of Garrison. Moreover, the fight for freedom from slavery brought him into contact with, and later leadership of, the struggle of other sections of society. He was in the forefront of the fight for women's suffrage, universal free education and rights for national minorities. Douglass devoted his whole life to the struggle for the rights of the downtrodden and oppressed everywhere, including participation in the struggle for the Irish for independence from England.

After the abolition of slavery, he devoted much of his time to the Colored National Labor Union and became the editor of *The New Era*, its weekly paper. He continued his struggle for a united labor movement of white and black. In this connection, he said, "The future of the freedman is linked with the destiny of labor in America. Negroes, thank God, are workers."

Apparently the author is not too familiar with this phase of the life of Douglass for she sows some confusion on this point. She intimates, for instance, that it was Douglass who steered the Republican Party away from unionism. This is not true. All

though duped in many ways by his associates in the Republican Party, during his later years, he always fought courageously and fearlessly for what he believed to be right. His advocacy of revolutionary political action to gain social reforms still serves as a guide in the struggle for full economic, political and social equality for Negroes.

The book can be profitably read by workers who wish to gain an understanding of the life and struggle of Frederick Douglass; they will find the reading interesting and vivid.

The banner of John Brown, which he left to Douglass to be unfurled only when the Negro people have been fully liberated and attained full social equality, still lies in its casing. Douglass did not fit it in a country still in the grip of Jim Crow, and since this grip has not relaxed till this day, it remains a challenge to the fighters, white and Negro, for a fully free, that is, a socialist America.

—John Fredericks

Fate Of Europe Now Hinges On French Working Class

By Arthur Burch

France has become the testing ground between the forces of imperialism and the revolutionary working class. Out of the unfolding deep economic and political crisis will emerge either the Socialist United States of Europe or a continent submerged under the heels of capitalist dictatorship.

Just as the failure of the German workers to take power after the first world war led to the rise of Hitler and the second world slaughter, so would the failure of the French workers to take power in the coming period fortify world reaction and encourage American imperialism to usher in World War III.

The French workers had power in their grasp in 1944 when Hitler's armies were driven out of the country. Many French capitalists fled or went into hiding. Armed workers took over many cities and factories and were in a strategic position to seize the balance. But treachery within the working class enabled the French industrialists to regroup their forces and hold on to power.

BACKED BY FORCE

On the one hand U. S. imperialism today attempts to bribe the French workers with food and supplies—but it holds the cannon in reserve. Washington plans to repeat in France the dastardly crimes enacted by Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. Under no circumstances will it permit France to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. It will do everything possible to assist de Gaulle in promoting his dictatorship.

The French Communists, which then controlled and still dominates the strong French trade union movement, strangled the insurgent working class. Under the terms of Stalin's deal with Roosevelt and Churchill, the CP idolized the fascist-minded de Gaulle, rallied the workers behind his banner and forced the workers' militias to give up their arms and disband. The Stalinists thus became ministers in the government of the same de Gaulle. It will do everything possible to assist de Gaulle in promoting his dictatorship.

The proclamation of the Truman Doctrine has already produced a profound political realignment in France. De Gaulle is now speaking more openly and boldly of dictatorship while the Socialist Party leaders have screwed up courage to oust the Stalinist ministers from the cabinet. Since the new government does not have the allegiance of the working class, its life-span will be brief.

What now for the French workers? Is their cause hopeless? Or will new opportunities present themselves as in Germany in 1932? All signs indicate that a second chance is close at hand. French economy is in a critical condition, suffering from low productivity, lack of raw materials and an unstable currency. Capitalism thus serves notice of its utter incapacity to guarantee security. It serves notice that only the destruction of this bankrupt system can save the people from these new and frightful means of mass destruction. Only a Socialist society can save mankind from the horrors of atomic and bacteriological warfare.

part and sharpen the class struggle.

The main obstacle holding back the French working class is Stalinism. The French workers have had considerable experience with this monstrous deformity in the labor movement, more than the German workers before Hitler's rise to power or the Spanish workers at the time of the Civil War. The advanced French workers have not only witnessed the betrayals of Stalinism in those countries but have just gone through some sad experiences of their own. They recall the Stalinist sellouts in the pre-war days of the Popular Front, their recent treachery against the Indo-Chinese masses, and above all against the French workers at home.

The Stalinists still hold the dominant position in the trade unions; although they utilize the workers' struggles merely as pressure on the imperialists to make another deal with the Kremlin, they still strive to maintain leadership of strikes they cannot head off.

HOLD IS WEAKENING

But the Stalinist stranglehold on the French workers is weakening. This was most dramatically demonstrated by the Renault strike which was initiated and carried through by shop leaders in direct opposition to the Stalinist stooges in the trade union leadership and in the management of the nationalized plant. Among these rank and file leaders were several Trotskyists.

In their desperate attempts to suppress the strike movement, the Stalinist bureaucrats at a crucial meeting labelled the strike committee leaders as "Hitler-Trotskyists." This time their poisonous accusations boomeranged. The 20,000 workers present angrily shouted down the Stalinist slanders and drove them out of the hall.

This incident shows that the advanced workers in France have drawn important conclusions from their experiences since the "liberation." They are beginning to turn upon the Stalinist betrayers and look for guidance to the program and ranks of the Fourth International.

Herein lies the great hope for the future of the French labor movement and the struggle for socialism in Europe.

Fear Grips Wall St. As Stocks Nosedive

By John G. Wright

Wall Street has the jitters and has them bad. After sagging for many weeks, the stocks plummeted last Friday and Saturday to new lows. This latest crack-up has sent averages slithering below the panic levels of last October, when the stock market "discounted" the impending depression in a selling wave that sliced off 20 billion dollars from the total value of listed stocks.

Last year's stock market crash was Wall Street's vote of non-confidence in any lasting continuation of the frenzied postwar boom. The current crash is still another vote of non-confidence. If last year these financiers had no confidence at all that their own system could possibly avert a depression, then this year, with the depression already in its initial phase, these same financiers express their utter lack of confidence in the predictions of their own experts that the maturing crisis will be short-lived and relatively mild.

While admitting an unavoidable "recession," Wall Street prognosticators have claimed that nothing more will be involved than an over-all decline of production of less than 20% and a corresponding drop in price levels. Moreover, according to them, the whole process should spend its force by the beginning of 1948 when a new revival must set in. According to capitalist theory—and practice—the stock market is supposed to take into account economic developments approximately one year in advance. Consequently, having already "discounted" the depression last October, the stock market should now be booming (or at least be stabilized) in expectation of the prosperous days to come in 1948. Yet we witness just the opposite.

Wall Street does not trust its own prognosticators because it is haunted by the memories of 1929 when it proved impossible to find any way out of the depression through the "normal" operations of the capitalist system. Today it sees no guarantees whatever that the same situation will not be repeated.

On the other hand, Wall Street is well aware that most of the conditions underlying the postwar boom (war-time shortages and scarcities, unprecedented prosperity in agriculture, relatively high purchasing power of the masses, etc.) will indeed not be repeated in the next period. Yet despite these highly favorable conditions, the first signs of the liquidation of the boom appeared less than seven months ago. This brief interval sufficed to glut the market in the non-durable consumer goods (textiles, shoes, clothing, household appliances) and to cut the ground from under capital construction (housing, plant expansion, construction in general).

An economy that proved so vulnerable in prosperity could readily lose all of its vitality with the onset of adverse conditions.

Wall Street is affected not only by dire forebodings of what the future may bring but also by more immediate considerations. Even a 20% cut in production may mean slashes of 50% and much more in profits. Before the depression has fully set in, several corporations have already suspended payments of dividends. What then will happen on the morrow?

While awaiting a definitive answer to these key questions, Wall Street obviously prefers to lay heavy stress on the unfavorable factors. This will determine its general trend, amid minor fluctuations, in the next period, namely: downward, and at an ever dizzier pace.

Abortions This Year Will Kill 15,000 Women

By Leigh Ray

In an article called "Abortion Is An Ugly Word," Patricia Lockridge reports that out of about 4 million pregnancies in the United States this year 700,000 will end in self-induced, or illegal, abortions. As a result, 15,000 women will lose their lives and many thousands more will suffer sterility and permanent injuries. (*Womens Home Companion*, March, 1947.)

The author says that "90% of all illegal abortions are induced by married women between the ages of 25 and 35 who are already the mothers of two or three children." Overcrowded housing conditions, insufficient family incomes to care for the children already born, drunken and brutal husbands, and desertion are the specific reasons listed for the bulk of these abortions.

What can be done to help these women? The article proposes to stop the sale of dangerous abortifacients, forbid the sale of other drugs without a doctor's prescription, and publicize the dangers of self-attempted abortions at home. But police regulations will not solve the problems; they will only make them worse.

In a society where graft and greed rule, such rules will be evaded. Under prohibition enormous profits are made from the illicit liquor traffic. And recent experience with rationing has shown to what lengths people will go to get what they consider necessities, even at exorbitant prices.

Today these desperate women face possible loss of health and life, pay up to \$500 for illegal abortions, and waste millions each year on useless medicines to avoid any addition to the already heavy

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

White-Negro Unity In Telephone Strike

Editor: At a strike meeting last week our counsel, Henry Mayer, reported that Southwestern Bell Co., had offered the union a contract which would cover only white employees. Since the colored telephone workers had helped to build this union, this Jim-Crow contract was indignantly rejected by the Southwestern Telephone Union. The contract which was finally signed covered all workers and this attempt by AT&T to divide and weaken the union turned out to be a dud, due to the correct stand of the union.

This is an example of the new labor solidarity which is making headway in the South. Working together in their unions, the black and white workers are changing the South from the open shop haven it used to be for all the big manufacturers.

A Western Electric Worker Kearn, N. J.

San Diego Cops Beat Negro War Veteran

Editor: The Lighthouse, a San Diego Negro newspaper, reports another shocking case of police brutality. On April 19, five policemen, Bruno, Webb, Bradshaw, R. A. Ritchey and one more as yet unidentified, entered Patrick's Cafe on 4th and F Streets. They took Paul Jackson, trumpet player of Benny Waters' Band, directly from the bandstand, although they had no specific charge against him. At a secluded spot near the bay, they took turns beating him.

"They accused me," said Jackson, "of being too familiar with white women because of the many friends I have acquired since coming to San Diego as a musician."

Bruno, after striking Jackson, asked, "Now do you think you can go back and play that horn?"

Jackson, who is a veteran wounded in World War II, answered, "Yes."

Another cop hit him in the mouth. "We don't need you black bastards in town. You should be down in Louisiana picking cotton."

Webb, who has an unsavory record of similar brutalities, swore at Jackson: "You black son-of-a-bitch, we'll teach you to play around with our women."

After an hour and forty minutes of this torture, Webb said: "Let's take the black bastard down and book him on something."

The "something" finally agreed upon by the five cops was "conspiracy." This complaint, together with "vagrancy," constitutes the favorite charge of California cops for jailing innocent Negroes and "reds." Jackson should be built.

"Southern Justice . . .

He asked for very little. The right to watch a lark A tumbling in the heavens. When twilight turns to dark . . . The beauty of magnolias Deep drowsing in the sun, The dew-drenched hush morning Before a day's begun . . . Now, these are only men's: Along with velvet skies, Whose stars were off reflected Within his wondering eyes . . . His world, eternal blackness, Long, everlasting night— The gift of heartless creatures: Who took away his sight . . . But though a man is tortured His cause cannot be slain, And we'll demand grim reckoning For Isaac Woodard's pain!

—Eddie Dumaine

son was held incommunicado for 72 hours and then released on bail.

This case is only the latest of a series of such outrages during recent months. Letters protesting the tactics of the police, are apparently dumped into Police Chief Peterson's waste basket. And the capitalist press, including the "liberal" Journal, has maintained a conspiracy of silence.

A Reader San Diego, Calif.

Mayor Of Havana Sets Worthy Example

Editor: Last week in the city of Havana, Cuba, a politician broke all precedents when he committed suicide because he was unable to fulfill his campaign promises. This exemplary devotion to the public deserves to be imported to America.

This Cuban trail-blazer took his life over a comparatively unimportant issue: he promised to build a new water works. When City Council members thwarted his plans he did the only honorable and logical thing: he shot himself squarely in the heart.

Should the noble act of this pioneer become a custom in America, as it should, the city halls, state legislatures, Congress and even the White House, to say nothing of the courts, would soon be littered with the carcasses of the multitude of politicians-of-the-promise who do not match the word with the deed.

Unpleasant as this sight might be to some, the only result would be the complete self-annihilation of the Democratic and Republican parties. Meanwhile, just in case this commendable deed fails to find imitators among present American office holders, we believe that a party of labor based upon the principle of strict obligation to the promises made should be built.

We hope that the politicians who have promised us peace, freedom from want, freedom from fear and numerous other unimportant benefits will now begin to search their souls, lest the ghost of the late Mayor of Havana haunt their slumber and cast a fearsome shadow on their waking hours.

Joseph Andrews Milton Genecin Akron, Ohio

Finds Storekeeping Is No Easy Life

Editor: Because of the recent death of my father, I've been forced to run a small candy store with my mother. I've come to learn that the life of the small store-keeper is almost as bad as that of the average worker.

Together my mother and I manage to make a living by working 108 hours a week. (A few years ago, the hours were reduced from 125.)

Running a store from 6 a.m. to midnight has its bitter moments. It is pitiful to see so often during the day — mothers who cannot buy a malted milk at 20¢ for their children; and grown children who are allotted 5¢ or 10¢ a day to have their fill of "luxuries." Spending money, it's called.

Very frequently housewives are forced to ask for a few cents credit till "my husband finds a job."

Well, here I am worrying about these poor people who come into the store, but it won't be many months before we've been squeezed out of business too.

George Rock Brooklyn, New York

Union Papers Run Ad For Ohio Bell Tel.

Editor: The recent issues of the paper have been especially good. I'm glad, too, that J. P. C.'s "Notebook of An Agitator" has made its reappearance. I've always enjoyed it and readers that I've polled say these spicy articles add much to the paper. We all hope that J. P. C. will "keep 'em coming."

Looking through the union papers last week, the AFL Cleveland Citizen and the CIO Union Leader, I was surprised to find a large ad by the Ohio Bell Telephone Co., offering \$1,000 reward for information leading to the apprehension of persons damaging their cables!

Both unions voted to support the strike of the telephone workers for decent wages. As a union member, I'm ashamed to see union papers take up the cudgels for the Ohio Bell Telephone Co. Or must union principles be sacrificed for the almighty dollar?

D. Cooper Cleveland, Ohio

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers

At these Local Activities of

The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—2nd floor, 8 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.

BOSTON—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960. Open every afternoon except Sunday.

Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 3 p.m.

FLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Flint, 3. Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publishing Assn., 316½ W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.

Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square,

Oakland Labor Movement Deals Stiff Blow To Long-Entrenched Republican Machine

(Continued from Page 1)

tion" and to emphasize the dangers of the "left coalition." The Communist Party, however, refrained from officially endorsing the Voters League slate.

Big money was spent by the machine on every type of printed material, radio ads, billboards, sound trucks, etc. Station KXL, owned by Knowland, which carried frequent blurs endorsing the incumbents, has been charged with illegal action for refusing to sell time to the Voters League.

CLEAN CAMPAIGN

The Voters League, on the other hand, conducted a straightforward campaign designed to get out the maximum labor vote. Unions donated funds and furnished full time election workers. A Negro Labor Committee was set up to bring the issues to the large Negro population of West Oakland. Mailings, sound trucks, speeches before unions and personal contact completed the electioneering work.

The union campaign was climaxized by a huge election eve auto caravan, which took 45 minutes to pass a single point. Headed by the Warehouse Local 6 Drum Corps, the sound trucks, the floats representing many unions and the Negro Labor Committee, the colorful flares and banners, all gave the demonstration a spirit which no artificially built old style political display could match.

The union campaign was acknowledged the severe defeat of the old-guard machine, and immediately turned their efforts to splitting the new councilmen. The Tribune carries a story that Lantz and Pease have been generally regarded as extreme left-wingers of the new group. Whether Smith and Weakley will continue their campaign affiliations remains to be seen.

All political circles are buzzing about the "labor victory." The shock was felt in the state capitol, where Governor Warren has been debating whether or not to sign the anti-labor "hot cargo" bill passed by the legis-

lature. Implicit in all the discussions in the capitol is how far this new power, the joint political action of the labor movement, will go to weaken or defeat their anti-labor plans. The old line politicians have been dealt a strong blow.

WHAT NEXT On May 10, three days before the elections, the Retail Employers Association capitulated and came to an agreement with the striking union. An interim agreement was signed, giving the union exclusive bargaining rights, maintenance of seniority right. Wage increases still under negotiation are retroactive to May 9. Thus the effectiveness of political action in achieving economic gains was dealt a strong blow.

WHAT NEXT

Workers in the plants have also been discussing the victory. They are already turning over in their minds the question of what next. General reaction is: "We've got to watch them." The Voters League will remain on the scene as a political organization, and the next period will be occupied with shaping the permanent organization. On this question some sharp battles can be expected.

Some sections of labor, including the Stalinists, will undoubtedly want to attach the Voters League to either the Republican or Democratic Party. Union militants, on the other hand, are stressing the need to establish a permanent political organization based on the trade unions.

Using the lessons of the past weeks they point to the fact that labor, and only labor, is able to organize the defeat of the capitalist parties and machines. What they want is greater local union representation and control over the policies and activities of the Voters League.

As the debate sharpens over policy on these vital questions, participation by the ranks, already increasing, will grow rapidly and result in a greater maturity in solving the problems facing labor. This great working class is moving forward rapidly. Oakland is a milestone on the road.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Finds Spot Mobilization A Success



"The membership of New York Local mobilized last Sunday morning in the first lap of its new-type subscription campaign," reports Harry Gold.

"This plan calls for one city-wide mobilization a month, concentrating all forces in one designated area of the city.

"At the end of the morning's work in the Harlem area, the score was 93 six-month subs, 9 one-year, and a one-year combination sub to The Militant and Fourth International, making a grand total of 103 subs. In addition, 83 pamphlets were sold.

"Prizes to the top-scoring branch and the three high-scoring individual comrades are to be awarded on a three-month basis.

"The East Side branch made high score among the branches with 28 subs. Miriam Gae (East Side) coppered first place with 6 subs. She was closely trailed by Sid Winn (Bedford-Stuyvesant) with 5 subs and Viola Charles and Edith Green of the Trotskyist Youth Group who combined for a total of 10 subs."

According to a report from Al Lynn, who is again handling the business end of The Militant for Los Angeles Local, the newly formed Watts unit of the South-side branch is going to town. The comrades in the Watts unit have already placed The Militant on two newsstands and are making a name for themselves in sub-getting. Comrade Lynn states that "this new unit is a very active one, its composition being mainly industrial."

The comrades in the Bay Area are doing a job on subs these days. Comrade Lambeth of San Francisco sent in 6, remarking that although they didn't quite reach their goal of 50 subs for April, they hope they will make it during May.

Beverley Wise of Oakland says: "We are hitting renewals in Oakland where the Socialist Workers Party is participating in the election campaign of the labor movement against the Republican machine."

Recently we appealed for financial aid to a number of Militant boosters who have shown in the past how highly they value a working class paper that tells the truth and consistently battles for the program of revolutionary socialism.

We sent these tested friends a letter telling them how difficult it has become to get out The Militant since a series of steep rates in paper and printing costs went into effect. Without any of the high-paid advertising that keeps the capitalist press going, The Militant needs every nickel, dime and quarter class-conscious workers can spare.

The response to this request renewed our fighting energy. A number of these old friends of The Militant immediately sent in what they could. For many this meant real sacrifice — most workers' families are having a tough time keeping up with the jumps in the cost of living. These contributions, therefore, are real proof of their understanding of the great role The Militant plays in the fight for a better world.

We want to especially acknowledge our thanks to W. S. of New York City, who sent us \$1 and to S. H. of Spring Valley, N. Y., who sent in a check for \$5.

And our thanks to W. T. of Buffalo who made a pledge to send \$5 every week for three months. To help us out of our immediate financial difficulties, W. T. sent the entire \$60 of this pledge in advance. That's The Militant spirit.

In case you did not receive our letter appealing for help, we ask you to join these friends of The Militant in sending what you can. A pledge of any amount — no matter how small, or how big — will help keep The Militant on the firing line.

Hilding Swan Olson

SEATTLE, May 16 — The Seattle branch of the Socialist Workers Party mourns the death of Comrade Hilding Olson. He disappeared on May 1 and was found drowned in Lake Union yesterday, near the Burke Millwicks where he worked.

Hilding — or Swede as we knew him — was a lumber worker. He joined the Socialist Workers Party on March 14 of this year. From that day to the day of his untimely death he was an active builder of the party. The last people who saw him alive were workers he had come to visit in order to sell them tickets to our May Day meeting.

Unusual labor solidarity, forged in the general strike, led to the formation of the Joint Labor Committee to Combat Anti-Labor Legislation with AFL, CIO and railroad unions participating. It was this committee which helped sponsor the Oakland Workers League and swung the unions into the campaign.

The Teamsters Joint Council was the only section of labor which did not support the Voters League. After the general strike they withdrew from the Central Labor Council and the strike committee. Charles Real, head of the teamsters, endorsed the incumbents and provided their only "labor" support.

One in our ranks, Swede was eager to study Marxist science and thus equip himself more adequately for the class battles ahead. He read our literature avidly, attended meetings and

testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The speaker of the evening, T. G. Selander, State Secretary of the Ohio SWP, described the film and pointed out how the Russian Revolution was just the first stage of the international revolution. He explained how the struggle between the workers and the capitalist class in America was inevitably moving towards the stage when the American workers would win state power and begin socialist reorganization in the most advanced capitalist country.

The audience was visibly impressed with the film which shows how the Russian workers led by the party of Lenin and Trotsky overthrew their oppressors, beat back the imperialist intervention and consolidated the power of the new society. The meeting was the largest ever held by the Akron Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

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Ball Point Frankenstein

By Joseph Hansen

Stockholders in the fountain pen industry are worried about the future. They feel they've got a frankenstein monster on their hands — the ball point pen. Not so much the gadget itself as the capacity to produce it.

During the war, fountain pen manufacturers bussed themselves extracting profits out of fat armament contracts. Meanwhile, in lush ads, they bade us be patient for the time being about getting a fountain pen — in the fabulous post-war world they would present us with a streamlined, feather-touch life-time, sky-flow, instant-starting, dip-less, micro-polished, dries-as-it-writes "writing instrument hooded against air, dirt and damage." Naturally, those ads, coupled with a big shortage of pens and a few surplus dollars created quite a demand.

Then exactly one year and 7 months ago the ball point pen hit this market which the manufacturers had imagined would last for years. The new creation not only did everything claimed for the old pens, but did it under water — cold, hot or running!

The first ones sold from \$12.50 to \$18. Most of these clogged up, jammed or oozed a puddle of ink, but the profits were sensational. The number of pen manufacturers quickly swelled from the pre-war figure of 60 to nearly 200.

Productive capacity shot up like a geyser. The public was given another instructive lesson in the capacity of American industry to produce. Total production of all types of fountain pens is

now around 3,000,000 a week — about 150,000 a year — more than three times the pre-war figure.

But the population of the country is only around 140,000,000. So if every man, woman and child in the United States should throw away their old pens and each buy a new one in the next year, there would still be about 10,000,000 left over.

As a result prices have come down like a pigeon hit by a shot gun. Reynolds is dumping his pen for less than a dollar. Some brands are down to 38 cents. In a few weeks the price is expected to drop to a quarter. By the Fourth of July, informed opinion is that they will be given away as souvenirs.

The Fountain Pen and Mechanical Pencil Manufacturers Association has rushed to the government, demanding intervention by the Federal Trade Commission — they always squeal for government help when prices drop.

Sales have crumpled, some big retail outlets reporting them as much as 80% below last year. And in the last 60 days about two dozen ball point pen companies have hauled down the house flag and kicked their workers out on the streets. One manufacturer told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Some of the regular pen makers are getting ready to hang crepe on the door, too, unless business picks up."

Even the tiny ball at the point of the modern fountain pen, it seems, faithfully mirrors the working of the entire capitalist system. It's boom and bust!

The Negro Struggle

Plenty Of Jobs — At Low Pay

By Larry Carter

Our Negro Veterans, a Public Affairs Pamphlet by Charles Boltz and Louis Harris, gives a factual picture of job opportunities for Negro veterans. The pamphlet is based upon a series of surveys by the Census Bureau, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council and the American Veterans Committee.

Thirty one percent of Negro veterans need good jobs, and their number one concern is just that. The lack of decent jobs is the chief cause of our more aggravated housing and living conditions. G.I. education and job training do not fill the bill. Job training is ineffectual and education itself in the long run is dependent upon decent jobs, not the other way around as some people contend.

It is found, for example, that "in town after town in Georgia, Negro vets are being offered jobs at twelve, eighteen, and twenty dollars a week." You can't buy food, much less get education on that kind of money. Though anxious for training in electrical, sheet metal, plumbing, machinist and other crafts, no Negro veterans are receiving such training.

Even in the best training programs, colored vets are outnumbered by whites fifty to one because of their inability to get admission. Particularly in the South where "in twelve states of 102,200 people receiving on-the-job training, only 7,700 are Negroes." Only one of twelve vets getting this training is colored, though one out of three in the area is colored. On-the-job training as in everything else is "for whites only." In the North the situation is but little better.

Best Of All Possible Worlds

Apparently Solomon Rossbach and George Edward Seafried stopped reading the editorial columns that tell about capitalism being the best of all possible worlds. Either that, or both of them looked at the advancing post-war depression and decided that the realities of the capitalist world differ considerably from the propaganda about its beauties.

...Solomon Rossbach was a 54-year-old New York diamond merchant. According to a nephew, he became "depressed over the falling price of diamonds." Lash week he paid \$1.20 for a ticket to the 86th floor observation tower of the Empire State building.

At 4 p.m. a guard noticed him staring out over the world's greatest city from this lofty viewpoint. Two hours later Rossbach was still looking over the maze of streets and skyscrapers that is the capital of Wall Street's empire.

"Haven't you seen enough yet?" asked the guard.

Evidently Rossbach had seen enough, for a few seconds later he jumped over the parapet. The guard, recalling that sometimes suicides do not clear the 85th floor ledge, raced down the stairs. Rossbach had not cleared the ledge.

While the guard struggled to open window and seize Rossbach, the diamond merchant des-

pite the injuries of his fall, climbed up on the parapet. He slid across the stone, hung for a moment or two by his finger tips, and then fell.

George Edward Seafried was 13 years older than Rossbach. A clerk, employed by an engineering firm, he was notified that his services were no longer needed. The firm had decided to reduce its staff. As is normal under capitalism, the axe hit the dead wood first, dead wood like clerks who have passed their 67th birthday.

Seafried didn't pay \$1.20 to go up into the Empire State building. He paid a nickel and went down into the subway. A BMT worker saw him sitting on a bench in the Woodhaven station staring at a scrap of paper.

A train pulled out, leaving the jobless man alone. The next person to see him was Motorman Leo Cyr in the cab of a train that roared into the station from Jamaica.

Cyr saw the discharged clerk lying on his back, stretched across the tracks. His hands were folded across his chest as if he were lying in a coffin. His eyes were open, but looking upward—not at the onrushing train.

"If he had been three feet further down the track I wouldn't have hit him," the motorman said.

These two incidents, buried in the columns of the daily press, serve to indicate that the propaganda of the editorial writers does not always succeed in convincing everyone that capitalism is the best of all possible worlds.

Notes From The News

10,000 Reynolds tobacco workers have entered the third week of their strike in Winston-Salem, N.C. CIO Food and Tobacco Workers officials have announced a nation-wide boycott of Camel cigarettes and Prince Albert tobacco.

The Negro and white strikers are badly in need of financial support. Funds should be sent to FTA-CIO Local 22, 247½ N. Main St., Winston-Salem, N.C.

John F. Sonnett, U.S. lawyer who successfully prosecuted the United Mine Workers and broke the coal strike, has been rewarded with a promotion. He is now head of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice.

John Roosevelt, FDR's youngest son, explained he crossed AFL picket lines to get to work because "We don't have any labor troubles here." Roosevelt is merchandise manager of Grayson's ready to wear chain. The Los Angeles Labor Council stated that 110 of the 140 Grayson employees were in the union but that the company had refused to bargain with them.

The Centralia Coal Company, in whose mine 111 died March 25, has been indicted by a Grand Jury on two counts: insufficient rockdusting to prevent explosions and failure to provide pure

air underground. If convicted, the company will be liable to \$500 fines on each count at the maximum. Maximum penalty for smoking in the New York subways is \$500 fine and one year in prison.

The Daily Worker has announced the publication of *Inside Job, The Story of Trotskyite Intrigue in the Labor Movement*. The author is Herb Tank whose claim to fame is another piece of fiction entitled *Communists On The Waterfront*.

The State of Washington has set up a "Little Dies" Committee, more powerful than the Legislature which authorized it. There is no limit on the committee's funds. Overwhelming majorities of both Democratic and Republican legislators supported the bill.

A new and strengthened Federal Anti-Lynch bill was introduced in Congress last week. It provides penalties for lynchers and for state and local officials who hand victims over to lynch mobs. It would also make communities where a lynching takes place liable for civil damages to the families of the victim.

H. M. Sweat, Negro student, has lost another round in his legal battle to gain admission to the lily-white University of Texas Law School. The NAACP will take the case to a higher court.

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PAGE SIX

Thousands Out Of Work In Rhode Island Slump

What has happened in Rhode Island in the past few weeks should be placed on the agenda of every union body in America for discussion.

At the height of the post-war boom in this highly industrialized area, a few spot dips occurred. Nothing to be alarmed at, said the capitalist prognosticators — nothing more than the temporary shutting down of a half dozen or so woolen mills.

No cause for alarm even when finishers and printing (cloth) plants went on half time. Nor when shoelace mills slowed down production and worsted began curtailing output.

This slowdown, explained the capitalist economic pundits, was nothing more than a reflection of growing "consumer resistance" to high prices.

The United States Employment Service complacently agreed with this optimistic claim. In its March labor report it admitted the dips but pointed to continued production and even some gains in other industries.

ERUPT CHANGE

Then with an abruptness that staggered these prophets the picture changed completely. Unemployment accelerated like a freight car turned loose on a steep grade. What startled the capitalists was the way the swift decline spread into other industries.

In a few days the USES was flooded with workers hunting jobs. The USES, panicked by the deluge, hastily notified the recipients of its reports to disregard the March analysis. It had become meaningless.

Plants throughout Rhode Island were asking for hundreds of additional release forms from the USES. Said officials: "The current labor market situation is the most depressing one witnessed in this state since the end of the war. It is marked by lowered activity, labor reductions, increasing unemployment, and doubtful prospects in most segments of business and industry."

Since March, they added, "the over-all situation has been growing rapidly worse . . . the number of workers laid off and those who are to be laid off in the next few weeks may well run into thousands, involving workers of both sexes and in all occupations. How much longer the present decline in industry will continue cannot be ascertained: the employers themselves don't know."

Workers still on the job in Rhode Island are likewise feeling the effect of the slow-down. Schedules in heavy machinery, machine tools and rubber plants are being slashed from 48, 45 and 42½ hours to 40 hours. This means a serious loss in overtime pay.

What is happening, say USES

AFL And CIO Leaders Discuss Unity



Top leaders of the AFL and CIO shown in Washington, at a conference to discuss the possibility of merger. No agreement was reached when the AFL leaders rejected CIO demands for guarantees to preserve industrial unionism. Left to right: AFL President William Green, CIO President Philip Murray, President Dan Tobin of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and John L. Lewis of the AFL United Mine Workers. Federated Pictures

Vote For Dunne Shows Rising Interest In SWP

By Grace Carlson

MINNEAPOLIS, May 16 — Vincent R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis, received 908 votes in the May 12 primary election, according to the report of the canvassing board released here today. Dunne ran seventh in a field of 13 mayoral candidates.

Unofficial returns published in the press the day after the election gave the SWP candidate 1,069 votes. Action of the official canvassing board in invalidating "mutilated" and "improperly-marked" ballots and in correcting election clerks' reports reduced the SWP vote to 908.

Although the Minneapolis city elections are "legally" on a non-partisan basis, many of the candidates ran for office with public party endorsements. Mayor Hubert Humphrey, endorsed by the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party received 68,056 votes — 62% of the total. Frank Collins, who was endorsed by the Hennepin County Republican Club received

30,459 votes — 28% of the total vote. The other 10 mayoral candidates together received less than 10% of the vote.

Humphrey was endorsed for re-election by the entire trade union movement — AFL, CIO, and RR Brotherhoods. Although he is an outstanding Democrat, Humphrey was also supported by the three Republican newspapers of the city. The mayor's strikebreaking record in the telephone strike, his eager acceptance of the Truman Doctrine, his red-baiting activities make him an acceptable choice to the most astute capitalists of the city.

The Junior Association of Commerce, which named Humphrey "the outstanding young man of Minneapolis and Minnesota" in 1945, supported him for nomination. The support of the JAC, various civic groups, many "outstanding citizens" and all of the "liberals" of the city, together with the official labor movement, enabled Humphrey to campaign as "the people's choice."

The Communist Party election campaign gave left-handed support to Humphrey. Although the Stalinists entered Robert Kelly as a candidate for Mayor, their agitation centered around the slogan, "Defeat GOB Reaction."

Despite their entrenched position in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and their dominant role in the CIO movement here, they received only 1,783 votes.

Dunne was the only candidate who spoke out consistently against Humphrey's treatment of the telephone strikers, his red-baiting activities and his general anti-labor record.

Votes for the SWP candidate were recorded in every ward of the city but the heaviest concentration came from the working class precincts. This year's SWP vote represented a 17% increase over the vote cast for Dunne for Mayor in 1943.

PHILADELPHIA, May 20 — In a statement issued by the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party, the Communist Party here was asked to examine its failure to participate in the May 1 anti-Smith demonstration and to join in the establishment of a United Anti-Fascist Committee which could prepare a hot reception for the fascist leaders the next time he comes to Philadelphia.

The statement, addressed to the Communist Party, recalled that "Upon short notice, 24 hours to be exact, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party sounded the alarm to the Philadelphia labor movement regarding Smith's scheduled visit to the city. The statement, addressed to the Communist Party, recalled that "Upon short notice, 24 hours to be exact, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party sounded the alarm to the Philadelphia labor movement regarding Smith's scheduled visit to the city. The statement, addressed to the Communist Party, recalled that "Upon short notice, 24 hours to be exact, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party sounded the alarm to the Philadelphia labor movement regarding Smith's scheduled visit to the city. 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