

Why Gestapo Victims Need Your Help

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VOL. X — No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1946

401

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Stalinist Party Polls Biggest Vote In France

Extreme Reaction Gains From CP-SP Policy
Of Coalition With Capitalists, Returns Show

By John G. Wright

As a result of the Nov. 10 elections in France the Communist Party (Stalinists) has emerged as the strongest single party, polling almost 5½ million votes and gaining 15 seats in the Assembly. The Socialist Party, at whose expense the Stalinists made their gains, went into a tail-spin, losing 27 Assembly seats. The depth of the crisis convulsing the SP is indicated by the fact that since last year's October elections this party has lost 725,000 votes. It will continue to be torn apart.

The MRP, the capitalist center party, likewise made gains at the expense of the SP. But despite this, the MRP dropped from its position as the leading party and was barely able to hold its own so far as representation in the Assembly is concerned.

LOSES TO RIGHT

In its popular vote the MRP lost about half a million votes. It lost them to the extreme Right wing. We have here the familiar political phenomenon of the middle-of-the-road parties being ground to pieces as the process of class polarization takes place in the course of a social crisis.

While the successes of the Stalinists appear quite spectacular, significant gains were scored by the concentration of naked capitalist reaction—the Republican Party of Liberty (PRL) in alliance with the Gaullist Union. Their popular vote, representing a gain of about 800,000, rose well above the three million mark, matching the popular vote of the Socialists. In the Assembly they gained 17 seats.

At first glance the electoral successes of the Stalinists appear to represent a definite leftward shift in France. But this is only partially true. It applies to that section of the workers who previously supported the Socialists and who have now turned to the Stalinists under the false impression that the latter are more radical. But this does not apply to the country as a whole. The marked trend here has been toward reinforcement of reaction.

Even a cursory analysis of the

Higher Vote For French Trotskyists

The French Trotskyists received 59,824 votes in the Nov. 10 elections, according to the Daily Worker of Nov. 12.

This figure represents a gain of 33 per cent over the vote received by the Trotskyists in the previous French elections, held last June.

developments in the course of the last 12 months will make this amply clear. The sharpest leftward swing thus far in France was recorded in October 1945 when the combined vote for the CP and the SP amounted to 9½ million, giving these two parties a total of 299 seats in the Assembly, or a working majority.

The masses voted for the working class parties because they wanted socialism. But the cowardly leaders of these parties worked instead to block the socialist path of development and to preserve the rule of the bankrupt French capitalists.

FRUIT OF TREACHERY

The fruits of this treacherous policy become obvious when we take into consideration, on the one hand, what has been happening to the combined vote of the CP and the SP; and on the other, the growing power of the extreme Right.

By November 1946 the combined CP-SP vote dropped from its peak of 9½ million to a total of 8½ million. This is a drop of one million since October 1945. Their combined working majority of 299 in the Assembly has dropped to about 256 for both the SP and CP, a loss of (Continued on Page 3)

Millions Of Unionists Issue Wage Demands

Another big boost in the cost of living following Truman's decontrol order is expected to give impetus to the growing nation-wide campaign for wage increases.

Already unions representing several million workers have raised new wage demands and negotiations are in progress in a number of key industries. These are the vanguard of unions with memberships totalling more than eight million whose contracts provide for reopening of wage clauses on 30 to 60 days' notice.

The first big union to initiate new negotiations was the CIO United Packinghouse Workers. Its demands have set a progressive pattern for other unions to follow. In addition to seeking hourly wage-rate increases of from 12 to 22 cents, a \$1-an-hour minimum wage and a guaranteed annual wage, the UPWA has called for a periodic, adjustable cost-of-living bonus to compensate for additional rises in living costs after the contract is signed.

UAW WATCHED

Close attention is being paid both by employers and workers to the developing wage drive of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Traditionally in the past decade, the auto workers have spearheaded the fight for higher wages, climaxed by the magnificent General Motors strike that set the pattern for wage increases last spring.

The UAW International Board several weeks ago opened a campaign for "substantial wage increases." The UAW is currently negotiating with Chrysler Corporation, one of the automobile industry's "Big Three." No specific wage demands have been announced, but it is believed the UAW is aiming at a \$2-a-day

general raise based on the UAW's calculation that the cost of living has leaped 20 to 25 per cent since January.

A figure in the neighborhood of \$2-a-day is emerging as the goal of the CIO unions. This is indicated by the specific demands being made by the CIO United Rubber Workers and the CIO Oil Workers International Union.

URW DEMANDS

The URW has called for reopening of the wage contracts with the "Big Four" of the rubber industry, Goodrich, Goodyear, Firestone and U.S. Rubber. Its demands include a general 26-cent an hour wage raise.

At the URW Wage Policy Committee meeting on Oct. 27-28, a majority of the delegates favored the principle of an escalator clause guaranteeing automatic wage increases for every increase in living costs. However, a final decision on this demand was deferred.

The CIO oil workers, who had the honor of leading off the historic postwar strike wave in September 1945, are now asking another 25-cent an hour raise.

What the powerful CIO United Steel Workers will ask is a subject of considerable speculation. But Philip Murray has intimated the steelworkers wage policy committee, which meets Dec. 15, will seek "a healthy increase."

AFL unions have not opened any general wage drive. But the United Mine Workers have forced the government into negotiations aimed at new wage gains.

TRUMAN AGREES TO SERVE AS GOP JUNIOR PARTNER

Wall Street's Decoy



Higher Rent Ceilings Scheduled, Truman Indicates In Statement

Truman gave advance warning last Saturday that he is bowing to the demands of the real estate hogs and will soon boost rent ceilings.

A general hike in rents will strike a further terrible blow at the living standards of millions of workers and other poor tenants who are already reduced to bare subsistence by the inflation.

Hundreds of thousands of people now stretching their shrinking dollars to the limit and going into debt, face the danger of eviction because they will be unable to meet the new extortionate demands of the big landlords.

Announcing the removal of all price, wage and salary controls except ceilings on sugar, rice and rents Truman stated on Nov. 9 that "it may be that some adjustment of rents will be required."

Truman did not state how much more the rent hogs will be permitted to grab, but the National Association of Real Estate Boards is heading a nationwide landlord drive for rent increases of 15 to 30 per cent.

Administration advisors claim

Auto Worker Tells How Union Won Hiring of Negroes

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that the only way to maintain any rent ceilings is to give the landlords another big slice of the workers' incomes.

It is a virtual certainty that giving in to the landlords by permitting limited rent increases will not satisfy them. They will only feel encouraged to push harder for elimination of all rent control.

Experience has shown that any concession to the profiteers, as in the case of the meat and dairy trusts, only makes them greedy for more. The raising of rent ceilings would soon lead to removal of all rent controls.

Millions of tenants are now faced with the choice of accepting unmerciful rent-gouging and wholesale evictions, or organizing mass resistance to further rent boosts through rent strikes, demonstrations at real estate offices and city halls, and other forms of militant action.

87 Per Cent Oppose War Against USSR

Eighty-seven per cent of the people in the United States think there would never be a war with the Soviet Union if the people of both countries could make the decision. That is the finding of a nation-wide survey made by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver.

Despite Wall Street's hysterical anti-Soviet campaign, only nine per cent of the population here think that the people themselves would ever decide to start a war. The balance, four per cent, are undecided.

Asked about "causes of disagreement" between the United States and Russian, 21 per cent couldn't think of any. And 73 per cent think that the disagreements in any case would never be serious enough to go to war over.

That doesn't mean they think there won't be a war, though. They have little faith in Wall Street's intentions, or the ability of the UN to keep peace. Surveys made by the same bureau since V-J Day have shown that 60 per cent of the people think that the United States will be at war again within the next 25 years. They expect to be dragged into another slaughter regardless of how they feel about it.

Once again the people have shown that one of the best weapons against war is The Militant's demand: Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!

Prices Hit New High Following Truman Order

New leaps in prices have followed Truman's announcement last week of the decontrol of virtually all consumers' goods.

Truman's latest capitulation to the Wall Street price-gougers has brought still deeper slashes in the American workers' living standards.

Among the food items soaring in price are meats, butter, flour, bakery products, fats and oils. Beef, pork and lamb again have gone up in price after a temporary slight decline when hoarded meats, backed up in warehouses were dumped on the market.

In the week after Truman's order, wholesale hog prices jumped \$2 to \$4 per 100 pounds. Wholesale butter advanced three cents a pound and flour 15 cents per 100 pounds. These will lead to sharp advances in retail prices. Moreover, by mid-winter, another meat shortage is anticipated, which will drive prices up still further. Already there is a slackening in livestock sent to the slaughter houses.

Big price rises on shoes amounting to 15 and 25 per cent above present levels are forecast. Hide prices have already shot up from 15½ cents to 32 cents a pound. Rayon, a popular textile for low-price garments, will soon be out of reach of many consumers as a result of expected higher prices.

Numerous other consumer items are jumping in price, including household appliances of all kinds, clothing, and furniture.

With the standard six-room \$6,000 house already selling for \$11,500, one of the toughest blows to workers and veterans seeking housing is the decontrol of building materials. The black market to which most of these materials were previously diverted is removed, but black market prices have now become legal. Instead of low-cost homes and apartment house projects, construction materials will flow into the building of commercial buildings and homes for the rich.

This will aggravate the housing crisis and increase the pressure for sky-high rents.

Democrats And Republicans To Gang Up Against Labor

By William F. Ward

The differences between Democrats and Republicans on domestic policy, which have grown smaller in recent years, will dwindle to zero during the next session of Congress. That is the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from President Truman's post election promise of co-operation with the Republican majority.

As Truman himself declared, there has been complete agreement between the two capitalist parties on foreign policy. "Members of both parties in and out of the Congress have participated in the inner council in preparing, and in actually carrying out, the foreign policies of our government." In addition to "strengthening and extending this practice," Truman in his



TRUMAN

statement of policy now offers to extend this bipartisan policy into the field of domestic affairs.

"I shall co-operate in every proper manner with members of the (Republican-controlled) Congress," says the Democratic chief, "and my hope and prayer is that this spirit of co-operation will be reciprocated." What this means in practice is that the Republican majority in Congress will dictate the main line of policy—and Truman is ready to go along just as far as he can.

Truman's open declaration of submission to the Republicans removes the last pretense that any appreciable differences separate the two parties. It serves notice upon the workers that his administration intends to steer an even more conservative course and will drive steadily toward the right. This means intensified reaction all along the line, directed first and foremost against

organized labor.

Truman's statement of policy also knocks the last prop from under the vain hope of the "liberal" wing in the Democratic ranks that the party can be swerved from its heading rush toward the right. The Truman-Byrnes gang has complete control of the Democratic machine. The routed New Deal "progressives" are a scattered and demoralized remnant.

This is recognized by Henry Wallace himself in his extremely pessimistic comment upon the election. To prevent a Republican victory in 1948, Wallace looks not to the successful reformation of the Democratic party, but to mistakes of the Republicans.

"Frankly, speaking as a realist," he said, "I don't think there is a ghost of a show for a progressive winning in 1948, unless and until the Republicans make a mess of things." If the leader of the "liberal" Democrats thus dismisses the possibility of changing the administration's course, what ground can the workers have for giving support to Truman?

FAC leaders say they will not alter the policy of supporting "progressive" capitalist candidates which aided the Republican victory this year. The workers can prevent the Republicans from securing complete control of the government in 1948 only by compelling these cowardly leaders to break with Truman and form a Labor Party without delay.

Accusing Truman of "appealing the forces of reactionary greed" by his decontrol order, New York State CIO President Louis Hollander warned of a coming strike upsurge and increasing pressure for third party action by organized labor.

Hollander predicted that such a third party would become a "first party" here, just as the Labor Party became the leading party in England. Nevertheless, instead of calling for a break with the Democrats, Hollander merely begged Truman to "return to Roosevelt's policies."

Sen. Morse, GOP "Liberal" Minimizes Anti-Labor Threat

Senator Wayne L. Morse, Oregon Republican, is trying to sell the workers a bill of goods about how well the Republicans are going to look after labor's interests.

Morse, one of the leaders of the new-found "liberal" wing of Wall Street's GOP, has assured the workers they have nothing to fear from the Republicans.

Speaking over a national radio hook-up under AFL sponsorship, Morse tried to convince the workers that the way to avoid harsh anti-labor legislation is to place their dependence on "liberals" like himself.

At the same time, he sought to disarm labor about the real menace of new union-busting laws that the Republican Congress is preparing to push through.

Morse, who is posing as a go-slow-with-labor Republican, said the Republican victory was not a mandate for "any particular anti-labor legislation such as the Case bill."

But Morse does advocate just a "little" revision of the National Labor Relations Act by giving more "equal rights" under the act to employers.

He doesn't go so far in advocating restrictions on labor as Senator Ball, for instance. But he thinks some laws should be passed establishing "union responsibility" and enforcing "sanctity of contracts."

Morse, of course, isn't really against anti-labor laws. He just thinks it's more feasible to slip them over in piece-meal fashion and by easy stages. That way, the workers won't know what hit them.

What Morse is especially concerned about is that any attempt to put over drastic omnibus anti-labor laws, like the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill or Case bill, will arouse fierce resistance from the labor movement.

He prefers to avoid such resistance by a more cautious method. While one section of the Republicans waves the big club over labor the "liberal" wing like Morse will attempt to gain the labor leaders' acceptance of limited restrictions under threat of harsher measures if they don't agree.

This is the well-tried method used by the Democrats in putting over their anti-labor laws. It is known as the "hard cop-soft cop" technique.

trying to get the workers to put their confidence in Republican "liberals" like Morse, just as they previously entrusted the defense of labor's interests to "progressive" Democrats.

This policy side-tracks any effective labor struggle against vicious measures in Congress. The "progressives" always retreat and fold up. Anti-labor laws are passed. And the workers find themselves betrayed and demoralized at the last moment.

The Republicans are determined to push through new anti-labor laws. If they don't it won't be because of "liberals" like Morse, but because the American labor movement, more powerful than ever in its history, conducts a militant fight.

The Republicans know and fear labor's power. That is why they put up "liberals" like Morse to decoy the organized workers from the effective use of their power.

If the workers put their dependence on the Republican "liberals" rather than on their own strength in action, they are certain to get anti-labor laws. They can beat back Congress's threat if they rely on their own united fighting action.

GM Auto Worker At Southgate Tells How Union Won Hiring Of Negroes

By An Auto Worker

Our union has won the hiring of Negro workers at the General Motors plant in Southgate, California. It's an interesting story that I would like to tell readers of The Militant.

The story began about a year ago, when the General Motors plant here was starting to do a lot of hiring. A few of the most militant and progressive trade unionists were in the habit of going to the District Auto Council meetings. We would linger around the hall after the meeting to talk about our problems, and on one of these occasions we got to discussing the kind of hiring done at the Southgate plant.

A Negro brother in another CIO union asked if any Negroes were being hired. We admitted that they were not. We talked it over and decided to do something about it.

FIRST STEP

Our first step was to convince the local union leadership that some sort of action should be started to remedy the situation. At first there was some opposition from a few of the backward elements in the leadership, who argued that we shouldn't

them "in proportion to the Negro and white population in the whole country, or the proportion in a given area around the plant." The union felt that they should be hired as they applied. But the company shoved the answer aside and said they were "going to give that more serious thinking."

UNION DISCUSSIONS

Meanwhile discussions were also taking place among the local union members and leaders. There were quite a few heated debates on the union floor and in the plant between the more advanced and more backward workers. By patient explaining we convinced some. Those who insisted that they were born in the deep south and did not go for the idea at all, were finally told to read the CIO constitution.

When we had the union pretty solid in agreement, we decided to take more positive action. The Bargaining Committee went to the bosses to find out why out of hundreds being hired, none were Negroes. The company said that Negroes did not meet the requirements. The union demanded a list of these requirements, and the company finally said it was hiring only veterans from the ages of 21 to 28 with a year's overseas service and a high school education.

We contacted our Negro brothers in other CIO unions. They sent men with all qualifications to the plant. Time went by, and none were hired. They reported that they had been treated politely, told they would be notified when to report for work—but never called in.

TIME TO ACT

The Bargaining Committee again asked what was holding things up. The company said it was "working on it." The union knew that no more stalling could be permitted, because hiring would not go on much longer. We decided to act.

We requested help from Negro civic organizations, Negro leaders in the community, the UAW regional office and the UAW-CIO president. Everyone did his part magnificently. Soon we received a communication from the UAW International telling how it was putting pressure on the corporation in Detroit, what the results of the action were, and what the corporation was going to do about it. It was not long before we had Negroes working in the plant.

The first day that Negroes came to work here, the place began to buzz with all sorts of anti-Negro talk from the backward elements. The first Negro workers were assigned to two of the Bargaining Committeemen as their helpers.

THE VICTORY

When anti-Negro members came to the local union leaders to try to get the Negroes out of the plant, they were told the UAW-CIO policy. Some still grumbled and called the union all sorts of names, but they could not get anyone to lead an anti-Negro fight.

Today anti-Negro sentiment is on the decline. The boys are used to seeing Negroes around, and get along very well with them. There are other issues for us to take up, and the Negro issue is dissolving by itself. Our Negro brothers are becoming integrated in the life of the union, participating in its activities, in sports, etc.

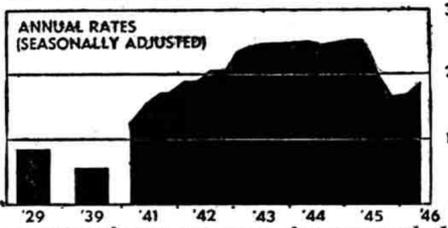
This is the story of how Negroes came to be hired in the General Motors plant in Southgate, California. I hope it will help smooth the way in other plants.

These Charts Tell The Whole Story On Wages And Prices

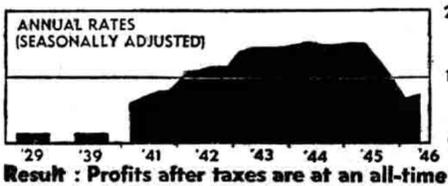
PEAK IN CORPORATE PROFITS

(BILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

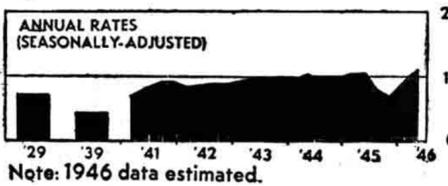
Though corporate profits before taxes are down sharply from the wartime peak ...



taxes are down even more, due to repeal of the excess profits tax.



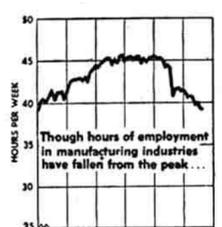
Result: Profits after taxes are at an all-time high.



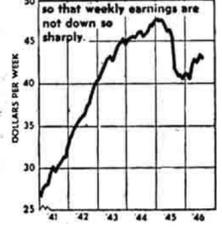
Note: 1946 data estimated.

These charts are from the October report of Reconversion Director Steelman. The one on the left, headed "Peak in Corporate Profits," shows that the profiteers by the end of the third quarter of 1946 were raking in profits, after taxes, at an annual rate of 11 billion dollars. Right now, due to further price rises, the rate has reached 14 billion—nearly five billion over the tremendous annual wartime average.

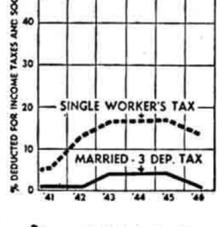
PRICES, TAXES AND WAGES



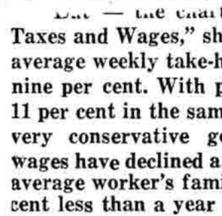
Though hours of employment in manufacturing industries have fallen from the peak ...



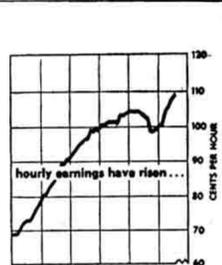
so that weekly earnings are not down so sharply.



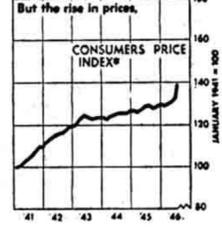
plus taxes ...



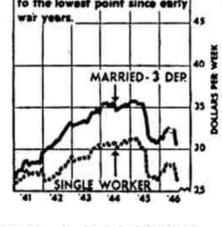
* Does not include the 5 points approved by Executive Order in Fall of 1945



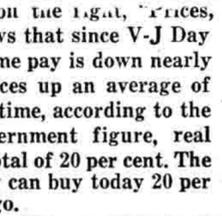
hourly earnings have risen ...



But the rise in prices.



have driven real wages back to the lowest point since early war years.



"stir up any trouble," and that we ought to "let management handle the hiring program." The more advanced workers pointed out the necessity for all workers to unite in their struggles, and asked "What kind of unity is it, if we permit discrimination in our shops?" It took some weeks of discussion, but we convinced the local leaders that it was our job to end discrimination in hiring. After the GM nation-wide strike was over and we could renew the struggle, we started in on the local management.

LAME EXCUSES

The bosses gave all sorts of excuses: "It wouldn't work out," and "it was a problem even to decide how to bring Negro workers into the plant." They claimed that white workers would object. They said it would be "unfair to white workers looking for jobs with the corporation."

The union explained that it would handle the "objections" of white workers, as the United Auto Workers constitution provides no one shall be discriminated against. The union also was willing to help find the Negro workers. But the company declined the union's aid, and said the management would handle everything.

Then the company raised a new excuse: That the Negro poses a "special problem as to how they should be handled in the plant." The union countered that there was no special problem; pointed out that Negro workers had proved as good as white workers during the war. Then the company tried to stall by saying it would "get in touch with some Negro leaders in the community and get their advice." The union offered to obtain any Negro leader they had in mind, but the company said again, "We'll take care of it."

The company finally complained that it didn't know "how many to hire"—whether to hire

Jailed Conscientious Objectors Suffer Fascist-Like Brutalities

By Evelyn Atwood

NEW YORK — Albon Man, secretary of the Committee for Amnesty, which is conducting a drive for presidential amnesty for all conscientious objectors by Christmas, was himself a CO prisoner for two and a half years. He and Leonard Mehr, another CO in parole, who is working for the Committee, told me the story of their struggles inside prison against Jim-Crow segregation and prison tyranny, when I visited the Committee's office at 5 Beekman Street last week.

Both Man and Mehr were sent to Danbury, which is considered "moderate custody" as compared with other federal prisons. But when COs become leaders of strikes and protests, they are transferred to other and harsher prisons.

SHOCKING STORY

The shocking story of brutality against prisoners in the Springfield Prison-Medical Center was smuggled out of that prison in 1944 by Murphy and Taylor, heroic COs who were transferred from Danbury after their 82-day hunger strike. Man and Mehr were also transferred, but not before they had helped force important concessions out of the Danbury prison authorities.

Through the press they watched what was going on in the labor movement outside. Among other actions taken, Mehr said he wrote a letter to his union, the National Maritime Union, demanding that it take action to halt the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the Indonesian fighters for freedom. "I received an answer, but they wouldn't reply to my request," he said.

SEND GREETINGS

The prisoners as a group smuggled greetings outside to Indonesians, Koreans and others. They wrote: "We who are political prisoners, send greetings to you who are carrying on the fight against imperialism." In Danbury 350 of the 600 prison population were COs. Today about 100 still remain there. In 1943, when Man was sent to Danbury, he joined a group of 23 Negro and white prisoners to conduct an organized fight against Jim-Crow in the prison dining room and to permit Negro

and white prisoners to fraternize.

"We could never allow it," they were told by the prison authorities. "There would be race riots and all sorts of disorders."

The men replied by going on strike. A general work stoppage by the prisoners backed up their demands. Man and the other leaders were thrown into solitary, where they remained for four and a half months.

ALL KINDS

"There were all kinds among us," Man related. "Some were V-oblies, some Fundamentalists. Many had union backgrounds. One had been an organizer in the NMU, another an organizer in the United Mine Workers. Ra-ph Di Gia, organizer in the CIO Paper & Novelty Workers union, demanded and received The Militant, after the authorities were forced, under pressure, to allow papers into solitary."

The strike ended in victory on the day before Christmas, when Merl Alexander, the warden, said he would cease Jim-Crow segregation in the dining room. "The new system worked perfectly," Man said. "Even the few South-easterners, who grumbled a little, gave in, and it has worked ever since."

Two Negro COs, Wallace Nelson, brother of Clarence Nelson, president of the St. Paul NAACP, and Thomas Parks, neither of them pacifists, went on a hunger strike against their imprisonment for refusing to serve in a Jim-Crow army. For 106 days they endured the torture of forced feeding through a tube in the nose.

They were finally released in July, and are continuing the struggle against Jim-Crow and for full amnesty for all COs. Today, Man told me, James Otsuka, a Japanese-American demanding full amnesty, is still on a hunger strike which he began on July 5.

SPEED-UPS

As a result of their militant activities, Man was transferred to Lewisburg and Mehr to Milan federal prisons. In the new prisons they joined with other COs and continued the fight. They exposed the speed-up in the prison factory systems. In one factory where they made gloves and parachutes for the weather bureau, men lost many fingers and parts of their hands because of the speeded-up cutting instruments.

Bosses Withhold Goods, But Want Labor Speedup

By Art Preis

The Big Business answer to the depression that everyone agrees is coming is to call for "more production" and "no wage increases."

Wall Street's program was summed up by Marriner S. Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. He said a "slump" can be overcome if (1) "productivity per worker can be raised—this is most important" and if (2) "large-scale industrial disputes and further general wage increases can be avoided."

There is one striking omission from this program. It makes no reference to profits. It tells the workers to work harder and turn out more production for the same or less wages. But what about the 11-billion dollar profits the corporations snatched this year—20 per cent more than even their huge average annual wartime level?

KEY TO AIMS

This conspicuous reluctance to discuss profits gives a key to the real aims of Big Business in its all-out drive for "more production" and "no wage increases."

A depression for the workers means that there is widespread unemployment or part-time employment and declining purchasing power. But for the bosses a depression means primarily one thing—declining profits.

We remember how the government and Wall Street were calling it a "boom" back in August 1937 while there were still 8 1/2 to 10 million unemployed. That "boom" consisted of high profits. So today, when the employers talk about "avoiding a depression," they really mean keeping their profits up to peak levels.

It doesn't matter to the capitalist whether he produces more goods or less. What he wants is more profits.

WHAT HAPPENS

The monopolies would like to sell as much goods as possible, produced at the lowest wage cost and sold at the highest price. But what soon happens is that the masses can't buy all the goods produced with the low wages they receive and the high prices they must pay. Merchandise piles up in the warehouses.

Then, rather than keep turning out more goods they can't sell, the bosses curtail production or "cut costs" by paying the workers less for more work, so the capitalists can sell at low prices or sell less goods and still make undiminished profits.

The reason why a depression is coming in the near future is, that there is already "too much" production—that is, more goods than can be absorbed by the available market.

Thus, Lewis L. Schellback, economist for Standard & Poor's Corp., Investors' information service, stated that a principal contributing factor to the "recession believed ahead" is "the current excess of production over consumption . . . a phenomenon of peak prosperity."

PRODUCTON TO SHRINK

Another Standard & Poor's consultant, Edward Donahue wrote in the N. Y. World-Telegram that by March 1947 "the major shortages will have been licked." He added that "the same manpower . . . will produce a lot more . . . but the payrolls won't increase" and "by next September some items will be piling up and production will have to shrink to the size of the market."

In fact, goods are piling up, right now in the midst of all the talk about "more production." This is shown by the unprecedented accumulation of more than 32 billion dollars of inventories by the end of September—and the pile is growing.

Leo M. Cherne, executive secretary of the Research Institute of America, a Wall Street-financed agency, admitted at a recent meeting of New York bus-

nessmen that "in far too many cases, management's left hand has been accumulating inventories while its right hand has been advocating productivity."

An example of this is the automobile industry which has been complaining about "low production" for months. This month, however, according to Automotive News, production of passenger cars and trucks is expected to surpass the July 1941 peak.

But we learned last Aug. 31 from Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the N. Y. World-Telegram, that "goods were being accumulated faster than they were being shipped to consumers" and particularly in the auto industry where "storage space has become filled with cars ready to go out as soon as these short parts are available. Obviously these virtually finished cars are included in inventory."

The hue and cry for "more production" has gone on while tens of billions of dollars in goods have been withheld from the market.

"DIFFICULTIES"

On top of this, we learn from a statement on Oct. 30 of the War Assets Administration that it is "running into difficulty" selling 11 billion dollars' worth of government-owned "surpluses" and expects to have still another 12 1/2 billion dollars' worth to sell soon. "Industrial production is rapidly filling the gap of unfulfilled demand," says the WAA, and "these developments foretell a shrinking market and lower recovery for surplus."

So the clamor for "more production" really adds up to a demand for lower "labor costs" to maintain profits even if total production declines or prices fall.

The corporations plan to unburden the full load of the coming depression on the workers. They are preparing to maintain their profits, despite lower total production, by squeezing more labor out of each worker. By reducing the "labor cost" per unit of production and by reducing the number of workers required to turn out the same quantity of production, the bosses will make as much profit as ever.

Transit Strike Threat In N. Y. Wins Concession

NEW YORK, Nov. 12

Threat of a strike that would tie up all city transportation here forced Mayor O'Dwyer yesterday to concede one of two basic demands in the dispute with the CIO Transport Workers Union. These just demands, for retroactive pay increases and an election for sole collective bargaining rights, had been approved by the mayor's own Advisory Transit Committee, but subsequently rejected by the Board of Transportation.

O'Dwyer announced last night that the way had been cleared to retroactive payment to last July 1 of the agreed-upon 20-cent an hour wage increase. The remaining issue is the demand for a collective bargaining election, which the Board of Transportation has persistently refused, although also recommended by the mayor's advisory committee.

A scheduled subway strike last spring was called off under pressure of O'Dwyer and CIO President Philip Murray. The TWU agreed to submit its demands to a special committee established by O'Dwyer. After long deliberation, this committee made its recommendations last September.

MASS MEETING

On Oct. 4 the Board of Transportation agreed to wage increases but refused to act on the other two disputed demands. This in effect ruled them out and reversed the Advisory Committee's recommendations.

The TWU held a mass meeting of 6,000 workers last week before the offices of the Board of Transportation. At this meeting, TWU officials announced a general membership strike vote would be taken tomorrow and Thursday.

This brought O'Dwyer hastily back from a California trip for last-minute attempts to avert a strike that has been threatened three times since he took office last January 1.

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Victims Of Gestapo Torture Need Your Help

The American Committee for European Workers Relief has made public a letter it has received from Solidarité Internationale Ouvrière, a French distributing committee which cooperates with the ACEWR. The letter is from one of the French workers who is receiving help in the form of food, clothing and medicine collected by the ACEWR. In it this anti-fascist worker describes his arrest and imprisonment by the Gestapo:

On the 26th of October, 1943, my wife and I were arrested by the Gestapo. We were accused of circulating and propagating in the German army pamphlets aimed at the demoralization and corruption of the German soldiers, and sabotage of the German Military defense. This work was effectively done in union with the Germans, both refugees and anti-Nazis.

The results of this work were already

rather important when the Gestapo was tipped off. They succeeded in introducing an agent-provocateur into the ranks of a group of German soldiers in Brittany and in obtaining information through him which though vague, was sufficient to proceed to an inquiry and some arrests.

My wife and I were arrested on the morning of October 6. For 17 days I was submitted to an examination on two principal questions: "What is Victor?" (German member of our group) and "Who is Vidal?" (a French member). The method used in this examination was simple. No discussion — only physical and mental torture.

From six o'clock in the morning on, I was shut up in a cell painted entirely white, 60 centimeters wide and 130 centimeters long (100 centimeters are a few inches more than one yard). I was made

to kneel on a triangular steel bar, my wrists pulled back and bound behind to my ankles. My head was held in a helmet with a sharp point at the forehead and two points at the sides of the head. A kind of sunlight supplied by a 300 volt lamp was directed at my face, provoking the congestion and the rupture of the blood vessels of the eyes, ears and nose.

I stayed in this position until 11 p.m. except for two interruptions of one hour — one in the morning, one in the afternoon — when the aforesaid interrogation took place. I was then laid down, my abdomen on a table, my feet, ankles and buttocks bare. A policeman put the prods under my eyes and asked me the questions about Victor and Vidal; two policemen beat me with a lash on the naked parts of my body.

This procedure not having succeeded in

making me talk, it was replaced at the end of eight days by hanging by the wrists held behind, weights suspended from the feet, blows of the lash on the back. After this second procedure proved as ineffective as the first, hanging by the feet and immersion in an electrode bath with electrodes at the feet, with a high frequency current, was tried. Finally, pressure by means of presses on the ends of the fingers, toes and sexual organs.

After each of these procedures, I was taken before the headlight and the steel bar. In the evening, at eleven p.m., they took me back to the prison where I was again chained hand and foot to a ring nailed to the wall. I slept curled up in this position on a metal frame without a mattress. Cold soup was placed on a stool near my head in such a way that I had to lap it up like a dog.

On November 23 the torture and questionings were stopped. I stayed in the prison but this time without chains and with a mattress on which to sleep, until the 26th of January, at which time I was deported to Buchenwald. I stayed there for 43 days and on the 13th of March I was transferred to the subterranean camp at Dora, where I lived under conditions now known to all as having existed in the extermination camps.

During my incursion in the Paris prisons, I contracted serious eye and muscular lesions, and during my stay at Dora I developed pulmonary tuberculosis which makes it impossible for me to work now.

My wife arrested at the same time as I, was not tortured physically except for several slaps and punches. The pressure was principally psychological; description of the treatment I was undergoing, a lie that

our little girl had been arrested.

She was deported to Ravensbruck where she worked 12 hours a day on the grounds, then to Hanover where she was put to work curing rubber — finally to Belsen which was particularly severe. She contracted typhus and suffers now from all the post-typhus effects, severe debility, bone disease, cardiac lesions and tuberculosis.

If you wish to help this heroic anti-fascist and his family and others like him, make a donation to the ACEWR today. \$10 puts 29 pounds of food on a European worker's table. \$1.54 pays the postage of an 11-pound package of food and medicine.

Make all checks and money orders payable to ACEWR and mail them and all donations of clothing, etc., to 197 Second Ave., New York 3, N. Y.

Wages, Prices and Profits

How The Monopolies Make Their Profits

By Warren Creel

We live in the age of monopoly, and of monopoly competition. The central clue to the age of monopoly is the fact which we have previously discussed, that monopolies are parasites. They get monopoly profit only by draining labor value from production carried on by other industries. They don't produce the labor value of their own super-profit. They can't, because they get super-profit by holding down production, by selling monopoly-controlled goods at high prices.

Parasites need victims. So in the age of monopoly we see more than an increase of monopolies. We see an increase of victims of the monopolies.

Monopolies can be found only in connection with the economic victims they feed on, just as sheep-killing wolves can be found only where there are sheep. Therefore in the age of monopoly we must look at the economic scene as a whole. In our own country we find at one end of the scale a few giant financial houses, making great profits without any production. To make that possible there must be, at the other end of the scale, depressed industries like agriculture, carrying on production without any profit. In between there is a wide range of industries, paying more or less of their labor-value to the monopolists.

The monopolies get great reserves of profit, so they are protected in part from economic disasters. But other industries, which lose profits to the monopolies, are hit even harder by economic crises. As Lenin put it, "The statement that cartels (monopolies) can abolish crises is a fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs desire to place capitalism in a favorable light. On the contrary, when monopoly appears in certain branches of industry, it intensifies the anarchy inherent in capitalist production as a whole . . . The privileged position of the most highly cartelized industry . . . causes a 'still greater lack of concerted organization' in other branches of production . . ." (Imperialism, page 28).

Some economists have said that capitalism would become healthy in an era of "super-monopoly" or "ultra-imperialism" when all basic industries have reached the monopoly stage. (We have practically reached such a point of universal monopoly right now.) In that day, they said, all industries would be strong and stable. But capitalism becomes less healthy and less stable as monopolies grow, and the Marxist analysis shows us why. A wolf is safe and secure while he lives among a good supply of sheep. It is the sheep that suffer insecurity. But that does not prove that an age of universal peace will dawn on the day when all the sheep are used up and nothing remains but "safe and secure" wolves.

We know that the wolves would then have to start eating each other. The result would be not universal peace but universal war. Looking around us we see that the age of monopoly has brought universal war in fact.

Toward the end of the last century, in the few leading industrial nations of this world, monopolies grew to the point where they used up the home supply of competitive industry. That ended the normal era of monopoly super-profit. The monopolies had to look outside their home territory for production and markets to feed on. That monopoly search for parasite income brought the age of modern imperialism. In a few short years the capitalist industrial nations of the world conquered and seized most of the area of the globe for imperialist colonies. Lenin analyzed this process in detail in Imperialism. He defined modern imperialism as the monopoly stage of capitalism because the drive for imperialist expansion comes from monopoly need for parasite profits.

After a while the imperialist nations used up the growing room in occupied colonial territory. Then they had to begin taking colonies away from each other. This was monopoly competition on an even higher level. Great national combines of capitalists fought for markets, not with salesmen, but in the direct way with guns and bombs. The two imperialist world wars are the most intense forms that monopoly competition has reached so far.

The fruit of this competitive struggle is the same as always. We find now, at one end of the scale, a victorious United States, but at the other end of the scale we see a world of nations economically depressed, unable to rise out of poverty. These are the two necessary sides that make up the monopoly scene on a world scale today. And even while the American monopolists celebrate their victory, they find that the depressed world supplies only a poor feeding ground for their needs.

This economic situation is the setting for the present problem of wages and prices.

N. Y. Marxist Labor School
Mondays, Dec. 2 to Jan. 6

First American Revolution
WILLIAM F. WARDE,
SWP Educational Dir.
7:30-9 p.m.

Historical Materialism
JOHN G. WRIGHT,
Fourth International Asso. Ed.
9:10-10 p.m.

Tuesdays, Dec. 3-10-17, Jan. 7:
Fridays, Dec. 28 and Jan. 3

From 3rd International To The 4th
GEORGE CLARKE,
SWP New York Org.
7:30-9 p.m.

Democracy, Fascism and Socialism
DAVID WEISS,
SWP Ed. Dir., N. Y.
9:10-10 p.m.

Mail this reservation with tuition, \$2 per course, to Marxist Labor School, 116 University Pl. Check courses you wish.

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Terror In Jerusalem



As British imperialism continues its terror against the Jews in Palestine, Jerusalem looks like a concentration camp. Above, at left, a man and woman are searched at the barbed wire barrier. At right, a child is roughly gone over in the hunt for "hidden weapons."

Spain Under Franco -- An Eyewitness Report

By A Spanish Trotskyist

Oct. 25—The first striking thing about Spain today is the miserable situation of the masses on the one hand, and the luxury and wealth of the rich and "new rich" on the other hand. The average wage of a worker is 15 pesetas—a poor meal in a small restaurant costs 10 pesetas.

The shortage of electrical energy slows down the production and in consequence reduces the workers' wages.

The repression and police control continue as before, but the demoralization of the officials is reflected by a certain relaxation of the measure controlling the hiring of labor. For example, to get work one formerly had to be a member of a Falangist organization, and to fill out a form about his past political activity, etc.; these measures are now neglected by the workers as well as the bosses.

SPY SYSTEM

The strong police apparatus is supported by spies. Recently the police succeeded in arresting the National Committee of the CNT (National Federation of Labor) and also some members of the POUM and of the young Spanish section of the Fourth International.

In order to generate a "democratic atmosphere" Franco, from time to time, releases some elements of the workers' parties, who are kept under police control and are forbidden to leave special districts. This move is especially for the benefit of Franco's Anglo-American supporters.

The Spanish people expected the removal of Franco with the end of the war, and were very much disillusioned. Even the Falangist officials thought their time was finished. After the victory of the Labor Party in England new hopes were raised, and later again when the UN Conference met. Today everybody believes that Franco is maintained only by the support of Britain.

In this situation the Spanish working class has no recognized leadership which tells the truth and points the way to the revolutionary overthrow of the Franco regime.

MASS OPPOSITION

Despite the repression and the highly developed police regime, there are numerous manifestations of mass opposition to Franco's regime.

The workers now organize the paying of dues for the underground trade unions—the CNT and the UGT (General Trade Union). The UGT is in the process of being reorganized in new areas and in Catalonia.

The workers of the textile industries in Catalonia are in the vanguard of the struggle. A year ago strikes broke out in this region. These strikes were the most important movement of the anti-Franco action. The starting point of this struggle was the demand for better food. A new strike wave is expected this winter.

the civil war—the problem of revolutionary leadership. This problem is especially difficult in the terrible conditions of illegality and suppression, but there are some young militants in Spain as well as those in emigration who are struggling under the banner of the Fourth International.

ONLY ROAD

The ideas and program of the Fourth International which previously were almost unknown are beginning now to become known in Spain and to find a favorable response from the militant Spanish youth. Against the "Alliance of Democratic Forces" (all the old organizations, who have now invited the Monarchists, who betrayed the workers) the Spanish Trotskyists counterpose the alliance of workers.

Only this road, the unity of the masses around a genuine working class program can lead to the overthrow of Franco. The road of the old leadership can only lead to another disaster and defeat for the working class.

UNDERGROUND PRESS

The underground press is circulated from hand to hand. The Stalinist and union press does not deal so much with the problems of the Spanish workers but with the pronouncements of the Allied imperialists or the Kremlin bureaucracy. For example, an illegal issue of the Stalinist paper Treball was devoted solely to the speech of Stalin and the Five Year Plan. An issue of La Batalla published extracts of the speech of Roosevelt on the "Four Freedoms."

The Anarcho-Syndicalist CNT, which in emigration is divided into two groups (one supporting the participation in the Giral Government, the other opposing this participation) in Spain is for the support or resigned to the support of this government. Nevertheless the rank and file cannot understand why this government, which does not aid the underground, but which crawls in the big halls of the imperialists, should be supported.

From observations the guerrilla movement does not appear as strong as one outside Spain would imagine. There are, of course, in the Asturias and in the South, comrades living in the mountains; some have lived there since the end of the civil war. Everybody in Spain understands that the real possibilities are amongst the proletariat in the big centers, in the obscure and patient work of defense, of solidarity and preparation for the future.

It is urgent that the international proletariat understand the necessity of its solidarity with its Spanish brothers. An action which can be effective only if it is not limited to speeches and protest dispatches to "democratic" ministers, but if it aims at mobilizing the masses to demonstrate against the Franco representatives abroad and the sending of goods to Spain, etc. . . . The problem for Spain remains the same as before and during

LENIN'S VIEW
"Disarmament," says Lenin, "is the ideal of socialism. There will be no wars in socialist society; consequently disarmament will be achieved. But whoever expects

Fascists Score Important Gains In Six Italian Cities

The municipal elections in six important Italian cities — Rome, Turin, Genoa, Florence, Naples and Palermo — gave results that follow closely the pattern of the French elections. In Italy successes of the Communist Party (Stalinists) and the Socialist Party were

accompanied on the one hand by the decline of the capitalist center party — the Christian Democrats — and on the other hand by the resurgence of the extreme reactionary wing.

The Stalinists and the Socialists running separately or in a bloc captured the lead in all

the cities except Palermo. The Christian Democrats lost everywhere. The neo-fascist Common Man Front surged strongly forward.

In the elections last June this neo-fascist party was unable to poll more than 10 per cent of the vote anywhere except in two southern cities, Palermo and Naples. In the space of five months the situation has sharply altered. The Common Man Front has now grown powerful enough to take the lead in Palermo, to run second in Rome, third in Naples and fourth in Turin, Genoa and Florence. Here even more strikingly

Communist Party Gets Highest French Vote

(Continued from Page 1)

more than 10 per cent. The combined capitalist parties now outweigh the workers' parties on the parliamentary arena. These important changes have occurred in the space of a single year.

Whence came the losses of the workers' parties and, conversely, the gains of the capitalist parties? They could come from one source and one only—the middle class. To put it in different words, while the growth of the CP denotes a shift in political line-ups within the working class itself, the above-mentioned losses in the combined CP-SP vote denote a shift of the French middle class away from labor and back into the camp of capitalist reaction.

ENEMIES GROW

The Stalinist and Socialist leaders justified, as they still do, their policy of collaborating with the capitalists on the ground that it would secure the support of the middle class. All they have secured thereby is the alienation of the middle class and the steady growth of the bitterest enemies of the working class.

It is the extreme Right, the parties that seek to establish the naked rule of capitalism on the basis of an authoritarian government in France that have proved the greatest beneficiaries to date. As a matter of fact, the gains of the PRL and its affiliates, especially the Gaullist Union, approximate quite closely the losses suffered by the two

working class parties since October 1945.

The mechanism of this growth is as follows: The center capitalist party, the MRP, siphons off the disillusioned middle class following of both the SP and the CP. Meanwhile the extreme Right grows at the expense of the MRP.

To sum up, the shift of the workers to the Stalinists expresses the instinctive striving of the working class as a whole toward the revolutionary solution. The Stalinists along with the waning Socialists represent the main internal obstacle on this road. It is a foregone conclusion that they will attempt to continue the false and fatal policy of maintaining the coalition government with the representatives of French capitalism. In this way they will continue to assure the forces of darkest reaction in France with a steadily expanding base.

As this is written no word has been received of the vote cast for the 121 candidates of the PCI, the French Trotskyists, who have campaigned for a break in the coalition with the capitalist MRP and for a resolute revolutionary policy. In the last elections the PCI obtained 45,000 votes. It is in this revolutionary regroupment, the conditions for which are now highly propitious, that the salvation of the French masses lies.



DE GASPERI

than in the case of France we have illustrated the mechanism whereby fascist reaction is able to reestablish itself as a powerful force.

The growth of the Christian Democrats was made possible solely by the policy of collaboration with the capitalists followed by the Socialists and the Stalinists. The decline of the Christian Democrats in the industrial cities has benefitted not the workers' parties but the capitalist Right, and above all the fascists, who are gaining an ever firmer hold over the desperate middle classes.

Lenin's Teachings On Disarmament

By Joseph Hansen

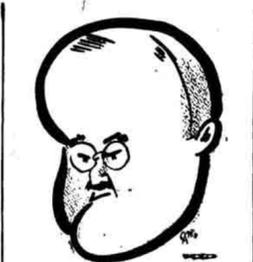
When Molotov urged "disarmament" and the "outlawing" of atomic warfare at the United Nations, the Stalinist Daily Worker of Oct. 31 hailed the proposal as "in the great tradition of Soviet statesmanship from the days of Lenin."

This brazen attempt to picture Molotov as continuing the policies of Lenin is a typical instance of the bottomless cynicism of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Only a membership completely ignorant of Lenin's views on "disarmament" could be taken in by this lie of the Daily Worker.

Lenin analyzed the slogan of "disarmament" in an article that is one of the classics of the Marxist movement. It is available in English on page 352 of Volume XIX of his Collected Works and in a slightly different translation on page 493 of The Bolsheviks and the World War, published by the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace.

Lenin points out that the advocates of the slogan have used the term "disarmament" in two different senses. Among revolutionary socialists, declares Lenin, the word was currently used in a wide general way to mean "disarming" or "unarming" — abolishing militarism altogether. And Lenin states that it is to "disarmament" in this wide meaning of the term he wishes to devote his article in order to destroy the illusion of militarism can be ended without doing away with capitalism.

LENIN'S VIEW
"Disarmament," says Lenin, "is the ideal of socialism. There will be no wars in socialist society; consequently disarmament will be achieved. But whoever expects



LENIN

that socialism will be achieved without a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a Socialist."

Lenin meant by this that once socialism is established on a world scale, then militarism and wars like cannibalism will recede into the pre-history of mankind. Socialism is based on the unification of the world's economy. This unification does away with the root cause of war, the splitting of economy into segments confined within the strait-jacket of national boundaries and operated for the profit of tiny capitalist cliques.

Lenin considered this obvious to anyone who has given the least thought to the question of the causes of war. What he was primarily concerned about was how to achieve the socialism that will end the cause of war. And he considered that the capitalists will fight so energetically against socialism it can be predicted with certainty they will inevitably resort to armed violence at the crucial moment. In our times we have seen this happen in Italy, Germany, and Spain, where the capitalists resorted to fascism to stop the working class movement toward socialism.

Consequently Lenin considered it utopian to hope for "disarmament" so long as capitalism continues. In his opinion the workers can achieve a world socialist society only if they learn mili-

itary science and prepare to defend themselves against the onslaught of capitalist reaction.

A TRAP

Lenin therefore tried to educate the workers to view the slogan of "disarmament" as a treacherous trap which the capitalists themselves are interested in fostering.

the socialist movement knows, was the leading theoretician of the Second International who betrayed the cause of socialism during the First World War and opposed the Bolshevik revolution. All the leading Bolsheviks attacked Kautsky as a vile and cowardly traitor. Yet Molotov advocates the Kautsky kind of "disarmament."

Lenin contemptuously dismissed Kautsky's slogan of "disarmament" in passing. With the exception of his observation on the sentimentality of the Kautskyists, Lenin's caustic comment applies word for word to Molotov's present proposal before the United Nations:

OPPORTUNISM

"The Kautskyist advocacy of 'disarmament,' which is addressed to the present governments of the imperialist Great Powers, is the most vulgar opportunism, it is bourgeois pacifism, which actually—in spite of the 'good intentions' of the sentimental Kautskyists—serves to distract the workers from the revolutionary struggle; for this advocacy imbues the workers with the idea that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist Powers are not bound by thousands of threads to finance capital and by scores of hundreds of corresponding secret treaties (i.e., predatory, plundering treaties, preparing the way for imperialist war), between each other."

Lenin's own words thus show what a gulf lies between Leninism and the bourgeois pacifist proposal of Molotov.

Kautsky, as every student of

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

Vol. X — No. 47 Saturday, November 23, 1946

Published Weekly by THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-9330 FARRRELL DOBBS, Managing Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views on signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: \$1.00 per year; 50c for 6 months Foreign: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for 6 months Single copies: 3 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in the United States. 4 cents per copy for 5 copies or more in all foreign countries.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.



"Capitalism will not disappear from the scene automatically. Only the working class can seize the forces of production from the stranglehold of the exploiters. History places this task squarely before us."
—Leon Trotsky

"National Menace"

Daniel J. Tobin, Czar-President of the AFL Teamsters, is again basking in the warm praise of bankers, industrialists, Southern and Northern congressmen and the Big Business vulture-press. His achievement is five lines of type, suitably set off in extra-black ink, in the November issue of his personal organ, *The International Teamster*. They read:

"Strikes have become a national menace. They are an invitation to inflation and depression. They must be curtailed or the nation will sink into chaos and organized labor will perish."

Strikes are indeed a menace—to the swollen profits of the corporations, to the plans of Wall Street to wreck the unions, to the manufacturers' scheme to cut wage costs, fire workers and increase profits by speeding up the workers under the slogan of "more production!"

But a closer study of the article containing Tobin's plagiarism from the editorial columns of the *Wall Street Journal*—an article entitled "Wildcat Strikes Must Be Stopped"—shows that Tobin considers strikes more particularly a "national menace" to Tobin.

It appears that "some members of this organization believe that strike benefits are automatic"—a notion that Tobin is trying to correct. And the main theme of the article is that while the Teamsters international treasury contains the tidy sum of \$16,000,000, it isn't going to be expended for any strikes that are "unauthorized" by Tobin.

Even though that \$16,000,000 comes from the hard-earned wages of the truckdrivers, Tobin looks on it as his personal property. He takes some \$60,000 a year—and up—in salary and expenses from this pile. He's voted himself a union-paid annual trip to Europe and other foreign parts. This treasury enabled him to build several profitable private enterprises, including an insurance racket.

A strike like the recent New York general drivers walkout, which was prolonged for a couple of months, constitutes a considerable drain on Tobin's "capital." It's true that the New York drivers, by defying Tobin's attempts to cripple their strike and settle on the bosses' terms, won a shorter work week and a 31-cent an hour raise. But look what a strike like that can do to Tobin's treasury!
That's a real "national menace."

Alabama Democracy

Down in Alabama on election day about two and a half per cent of the population voted for an amendment to the state constitution that requires any citizen who wants to vote to be able to "read, understand and explain" any provision of the U. S. Constitution to the satisfaction of the county registrars.

Approximately 80,000 white property owners put this over against a surprising opposition vote of about 70,000. The measure is frankly aimed at imposing an air-tight ban on the right to vote of a million Alabama Negroes, a third of the state's population.

Just imagine some race-hating white Democrat asking a would-be Negro voter to explain to the county registrar's satisfaction the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which reads:

"The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Can't you see hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens denied the right to vote because they "incorrectly explain" that the 15th Amendment is supposed to give them the right to vote regardless of their color. They just wouldn't understand plain English as it is spoken by the ruling Southern industrialists and land-owners.

Gov. Chauncey Sparks, who holds his office by virtue of the fact that less than nine per cent of the population—white and Negro—can cast a ballot, opined that the new law is a mighty good thing because it would "prevent a flood of Negro registration."

The Governor said he believes in giving the Negro "a measure of satisfaction in the segregation that gives him an opportunity to develop independently." But he's dead set against the Negro developing any political independence.

A new day is dawning in the South. The

big minority who voted against the amendment is a clue to why Sparks was so anxious to get the amendment through. The Democratic white ruling class fears nothing so much as a democratic expression of the people—for then the millions of oppressed white and Negro toilers of Alabama and other Southern states would band together to blast from their high seats the degenerate rich whites who rule the South.

Crisis In C.P.

The American Communist (Stalinist) Party continues to be convulsed by an internal crisis. The leadership seems unable to restore its prestige and authority. The rank and file is simmering with discontent over party policy.

The cause of this crisis is not difficult to uncover. During the war the Stalinist rank and file were forced to act as strikebreakers and jingoes. The Browder leadership advocated the no-strike pledge, the wage freeze, and openly supported the Wall Street war profiteers.

This line, of course, originated in Moscow. Browder's dissolution of the Communist Party was strictly in accordance with Stalin's dissolution of the Communist International.

With the close of the war, the Stalinist leadership tried to appease the outraged feelings of the rank and file by expelling Browder. They tried to make a scapegoat out of Browder and unload all their political crimes on him. They promised a turn to the "left."

Many rank and file Stalinists greeted this development with relief, hoping that the campaign to stamp out "Browderism" meant a return to the revolutionary socialist politics of Lenin.

But they have been bitterly disappointed. The Foster-Dennis regime has proved that it is no more "leftist" than was Browder's regime. Foster and Dennis have not been quite as brazen as Browder in hailing Wall Street. However, like Browder, they too have practised "coalition" or more properly defined, class-collaborationist, politics.

In the November election they campaigned for the red-baiting candidates of the reactionary Democratic Party machine. In supporting Wall Street banker Lehman, for instance, the *Daily Worker* was distinguished from the *N. Y. Times* only by its more sickening enthusiasm.

Foster and Dennis are answering the mounting discontent of the rank and file in the usual Stalinist manner—with bureaucratic expulsions. These brutal expulsions should serve to teach the workers in the Communist Party what the Trotskyists have maintained for many long years that the Stalinist bureaucracy cannot be reformed.

Workers who want a Marxist party will not find it in the American Communist Party. We invite the disaffected workers in the Communist Party to examine the program and writings of Leon Trotsky and the publications of the Socialist Workers Party. The Trotskyists are the only ones who represent genuine Leninism in America.

Colonial Despots

One of the revolting aspects of imperialism is its hypocrisy.

The Dutch capitalists invade Java with fire and sword. But their purpose, so they claim, is to assure the Indonesian people continuation of the "benefits" of western civilization. Similarly the French capitalists shoot down the Annamese people with the best of all possible intentions — to assure Indo-China the blessings of rule from Paris.

The British have long boasted of their remarkable magnanimity in extending their empire clear around the world solely to "enlighten" colonials. This high moral objective is carried out with such strictly educational methods as dungeons, concentration camps, torture and the periodic bombing of defenseless villages.

But it has been reserved to Wall Street to achieve the signal honor of pre-eminence in hypocrisy in carrying out its imperialist ambitions. Smug, self-righteous Wall Street propagandists disclaim any responsibility for the tyranny, terror and bloodshed inflicted on the colonial peoples by the European imperialists. Wall Street's aims, they assert, are the purest yet seen on this capitalist earth.

The generous intent to bestow America's great benefits on the backward regions more than makes up for any misapprehensions aroused because of the ruthless manner in which these benefits are shoved down the throats of the lucky "wards"—so reads the copy turned out by Wall Street's experts.

In the past week alone, however, two items in the press show what Wall Street's subject peoples think about dollar despotism.

On November 8, some 6,000 students of the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan staged a one-day protest strike against Truman's veto of a bill to restore Spanish as the official language in the schools. These students protested one of the most characteristic dictatorial impositions of foreign rule—a decree compelling all children to speak the language of the conqueror in the class room.

The second item is the report of 100 Filipinos maltreated at the United States Olongapo Naval Station in Bataan province. These men and women revealed from personal experience what U. S. despotism is like. Headshavings, slappings, and beatings were common, they said. Many had been hoisted from the floor by their tied hands. These tortures were inflicted as part of the "questioning" on such charges as "vagrancy" and "loitering."

On November 7 the Philippine Liberty News declared that the Marine security detail at the base was "as bad" as the Japanese conquerors.

These facts once again confirm what *The Militant* has consistently maintained since it was founded: That Wall Street's imperialism is no better than that of any other capitalist power. Wall Street imperialism is brutal, cruel and vicious—an ugly tyranny reeking with hypocrisy.



"Election returns never bother ME — I always find that it pays to contribute to BOTH parties."

Workers BOOKSHELF

GOD'S ANGRY MAN, by Leonard Ehrlich. Modern Age Books, 1938, 357 pp., 50 cents.

"God's Angry Man" was the great John Brown, flaming with determination to set the Negro people free. Ehrlich draws a vivid portrait of the revolutionary warrior, as he tells a story more exciting than any adventure tale.

In 1856, when the story opens, slaves and northern settlers were struggling to decide whether Kansas would enter the Union as a free or slave state. A mob of slavers burned down the free-soil town of Lawrence. John Brown, with a handful of followers, organized a counter-attack in Potawatamie.

Firmly believing that God had appointed him to shatter the bonds of the slaves, Brown fought a desperate losing battle against the slavers and the federal troops which poured in to quell his tiny band. Owen Brown, his eldest son, was wounded and captured. John Brown Jr. wounded and fleeing for safety, was arrested and driven mad by beatings. Frederick Brown was shot down in cold blood by a slaver-minister.

But the heroic struggle made John Brown a legend and symbol of the fight against slavery. "There'll be no peace in Kansas, none at all in our country," he said, "until the slave sin is wiped out! And it'll be wiped out in blood."

He formed a new plan — to go deep into the South, and rouse the slaves to rebellion.

Wherever abolitionists met, Brown begged for funds. Among

his friends were Frederick Douglass, great Negro revolutionist; Harriet Tubman, who had led thousands of slaves to freedom along the underground; Thoreau, Parker and Higginson.

Anxious to leave nothing to chance, Brown hired Fordes, a British adventurer, to write a drill-book for the little guerrilla band which would make the first foray. Fordes betrayed him, and Brown plunged ahead before his plan was complete.

With 21 men — sixteen white men and five Negroes — he seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on Oct. 16, 1859. All were certain that their deed

unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens upon another . . . therefore we citizens, and the oppressed people, do . . . establish the following provisional constitution."

Found guilty of "treason, conspiring with slaves to rebel, and murder in the first degree," Brown proudly replied: "Had I interfered in the manner which I admit . . . in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great . . . or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have . . . Every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward . . ."

"I did no wrong, but right. Now if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life . . . and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done!"

On Dec. 2, 1859, John Brown was hanged.

Brown, tragically wrong in believing he could summon up an insurrection by his own bold stroke, was right in declaring that "reasonable" talk would not end slavery. Just 26 months later, Harper's Ferry was under fire in the Civil War.

Slavers and reformers alike sneered at his "fanaticism." But his ideas lived and inspired thousands. Workers who read Ehrlich's book today will be equally inspired in their own struggle against capitalism, for Brown was a revolutionist devoted to freeing all the oppressed.

— Ruth Benson

Our Program:

- 1. Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages—an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
- 2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans.**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- 3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strikebreaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- 4. Build an independent labor party!**
- 5. Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- 6. An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- 7. Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
- 8. For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 9. A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
Against capitalist conscription!
Abolish the officer caste system!
Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
Trade union wages for the armed forces!
Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
- 10. Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
For the complete independence of the colonial peoples!
Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
- 11. For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

NAM Gives Picture Of U. S. In Next War

The top circles of the American ruling class are discussing quite frankly among themselves just what course they will follow at home in their projected war against the Soviet Union. Part of this discussion was made public by the November issue of *The International Teamster* which cites from a recent bulletin issued by the National Association of Manufacturers.

The Militant has warned time and again that Wall Street's war plans against the Soviet Union entail enslavement for the American workers. This is borne out to the hilt by the NAM bulletin which speaks of the institution of slave labor in the U. S. as a foregone conclusion. Here is how this is put:

"If war with Russia should come, the consensus among Washington officials is that national service . . . will have to be imposed immediately."

In order to impose "national service"—read: conscript labor—the plan is to "conscript" industry as well. Or as the NAM bulletin phrases it:

"This in turn would necessitate the conscription of all the productive and transportation resources of the nation . . . It would be politically impossible, these government leaders agree, to force labor to work in plants that are operated on a profit basis."

In other words, the plan calls for the same methods and demagoguery as employed by Hitlerite Germany.

To round off the picture, the NAM stresses that the war against the USSR will by far surpass the duration and costs of World War II:

"Few military leaders believe Russia could be defeated by atomic bombs alone. They believe invasion and occupation would be necessary, at a terrific expenditure of lives and material. One top official estimated that the cost of a war with Russia would increase the national debt by 500 billion to 1,000 billion dollars."

The only problem that bothers the NAM is how such a monstrous burden could be successfully unloaded on the already overstrained mass of the people.

Bilbo Combines Graft With Race-Hatred

Foul-mouthed race-hating Senator Theodore C. Bilbo of Mississippi, who was re-elected through fraud and violence, is facing sensational charges of receiving war profiteering graft amounting to some \$100,000.

Bilbo was elected to office by a privileged few, less than five per cent of the voting age population of the poll-tax state. He openly called in the last Democratic primaries for lynch terror against Negroes attempting to register and vote. How well he got paid for his services to the rich Southern interests he represents is now spilling out.

Charges against Bilbo include the following: His acceptance of \$25,000 from the Newton-Glenn Construction Company, who were given the contract to build Keesler Aviation Field, Biloxi, Miss.

His acceptance of \$5,000 from B. L. Knost of the Knost and Morrissey contracting firm, who were also awarded valuable war contracts. His acceptance from Morrissey of a Cadillac automobile.

His acceptance of a "dream house" built by Newton and Knost in the center of an eight-acre artificial lake.

His acceptance of \$4,500 for various appointments to the Naval Academy and West Point.

His acceptance of fees amounting to \$3,000 in connection with attempting to quash income tax fraud indictments and other cases.

The gift of a total of \$8,750 from a war contractor for contracts to construct an air field. Acceptance of \$1,200 apiece from two other war contractors.

The setting up of a \$25,000 fund for a church, out of which he purchased property for himself, while war contractors claimed deduction for these contributions.

Bilbo's anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti-labor activities fit in well with his role as a war grafter.

Buried Report Told U. S.-Nazi Business Ties

Because he made public some of the contents of his suppressed report on American fascist activities, Assistant Attorney-General O. J. Rogge was summarily fired on Oct. 25 by Attorney-General Clark, under orders from President Truman.

Rogge was fired two days after he told a Swarthmore college audience that the report, which Rogge himself had drawn up, indicated that the Department of Justice planned to drop its prosecution of 26 American fascists and contained details of growing fascist activities in the United States.

In his report, Rogge himself declared "that certain Supreme Court decisions handed down in 1944 and 1945 had brought me to the unpleasant conclusion that the Supreme Court would reverse any verdict which the Government obtained . . . and therefore, the government should nolle prosequi (not prosecute) the case."

Even more embarrassing to the capitalist government is the section of the report confirming, from Nazi sources, the dealings of America's leading corporations with the Nazis. The Administration is anxious to keep these facts buried particularly because its policy is to seek the rehabilitation of German capitalism as an ally of Wall Street in a war against the Soviet Union.

After his dismissal, Rogge told a meeting in New York that he had questioned a Berlin attorney, formerly in the service of Hitler's Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop, who said that he had come to this country in 1940 to strengthen connections between American and German capitalist interests.

The German envoy told Rogge: "My most important connection with American business was with the International Telephone & Telegraph Co., whose president, Col. Soesthenes Behn, was also a director of Standard Elektricitats Gesellschaft, which was affiliated with IT&T."

Rogge's informant was also a representative of the Underwood-Elliott-Fisher Co., Eastman Kodak and the International Milk Co., all with interests in Germany. Among others visited by the German envoy were American representatives of the Texas Company, Faber Company, General Motors and Ford Motor Company.

Early in the war, Department of Justice prosecutions — since dropped — revealed some of the business dealings with Nazi cartels of Standard Oil, General Electric and scores of other giant American corporations that made profits from both sides of the battle-lines during the war.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are addressed 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.

Toledo Housewives' Chairman Thanks 'Militant' For Support

Editor:
As chairman of the Housewives Emergency Committee, I wish to thank The Militant for the fine cooperation and support given to the HEC when it went into action here in Toledo.
We will keep you informed of future actions of our committee.
Mrs. Alice Patton
Chairman,
Housewives Emergency Comm.,
Toledo, O.

Workers Get Less As Prices Soar

Editor:
I saw some figures in the Nov. 9 issue of Business Week that show what's happened to the wages we're getting. And if anything, this Wall Street magazine exaggerates our pay.
Workers in all manufacturing industries were averaging 6 per cent LESS per week in August 1946 than March of 1945. The hardest hit were the workers in "durable goods"—shipbuilding, down 16 per cent; machinery, down 15 per cent; steel mills, down 12 per cent; durable goods as a whole, down 10 per cent.
Workers in light industry are doing better—on paper—because according to the figures they're getting seven per cent more than they were in March 1945. But it only looks good. Those are the workers who were not working such long hours on war jobs, and so the cut in overtime didn't affect them as much.
For instance, cotton manufacturing goods workers are getting 25 per cent more than they were in March, 1945—but NOW, with that 25 per cent raise, they only get \$34.81 per week. All they really got was a dollar a day more. And today prices have gone up so high that nobody can support a family on \$34.81 a week even if he can pull rabbits out of a magician's hat for supper.



Disarmament

Editor:
I was glad to see somebody tell the truth about disarmament. Joseph Hansen's article in the Nov. 9 Militant was very good. As an example of the factory in the "disarmament" talk at the UN, I saw a newspaper report Nov. 8 from London that said "Britain is leading a six-nation race for uranium in the Antarctic." In other words, for atom bombs!

Doesn't Like Us

Editor:
Please discontinue sending me The Militant. I simply cannot go along with most of your views. You do too much cursing, criticizing and condemning everybody. I suppose you would like to see a society run exclusively by Jews and Negroes, and all others, who know something different, could go to hell.
Your expressions certainly do not appeal to people with the average intelligence.
Robert Malle
New Hyde Pk., N. Y.

More Hoarding By Profiteers

Editor:
Here's just one more example of why we haven't been able to buy soap or vegetable shortening. The manufacturers blamed the shortage of fats—but I've already seen more soap in the stores since the price ceilings went off. And I read that Procter & Gamble are raising their prices as much as 70 per cent at one smack. I'm willing to bet that'll fill the grocery stores with Ivory soap and Crisco!

Objects to Review Of "The Jungle"

Editor:
The review of Sinclair's book, The Jungle, by Ruth Benson, illustrates, it seems to me, the inherent weakness in the SWP to fairly appraise any literature that doesn't bear the Pioneer Publishers' imprimatur. With the limited quantity of literature available through your publication it seems rather stupid to malign writers who have something to give to a class-conscious working class.
Mr. Sinclair, having devoted all his mature years to the forwarding of a socialist society in America, is snidely referred to by Miss Benson, who would do well in her whole lifetime to accomplish a fraction of the good Sinclair has done in one month of his, as a "tired intellectual." She reverts to the petty bourgeois premise that the union "skates" of the packing industry have actually helped the workers along the road to socialism.
A Phillistine in the ranks of the capitalist press is taken as another feature of the decay of the system, but to have it hit you in the eye from the pages of a so-called revolutionary organ does much to discredit the integrity of the organization which prints it!

Norman Johnstone
Westville, N. J.

SWP Election Campaign Hit At Real Issues

Editor:
I heard one of your street meetings, read your platform and listened to a couple of the broadcasts in your New York campaign. While I do not agree with everything you say, I want to congratulate you on the way you put on your campaign.
The Socialist Workers Party speakers hit at the real issues; housing, prices, discrimination. They didn't waste their time mud-slinging like other politicians do at election time. It was the cleanest and most forthright campaign I've ever seen any party put on, and I wish you success in the future.

Likes Our Program

Editor:
I have written to the secretary of the Communist Party not to slander your party. You may have differences of opinion on small subjects but I feel if you are really fighting for the working class sincerely you should be more friendly to each other.
I like your paper very much. I like the Socialist Workers Party speakers: one election meeting I held in the factory district where I work. I'd like to join your party but first I want to make sure if you are really in earnest.
I think you have a perfect program. I distributed it to a lot of my friends. One thing I don't believe in though is the Communist idea of overthrowing our government and the capitalist system.
We must have rich people, but I do believe in job security, sick benefits and unions. We don't want Stalin here. I want to earn my dollars, but I want enough of them to buy a steak, eggs, butter and milk for my children, and be comfortable. We shouldn't have to do without orange juice for the children who need it. That's not a luxury but a necessity.

S. K.
New York, N. Y.

S. K.
New York, N. Y.

S. K.
New York, N. Y.

Pioneer Notes

A friend who has been making a monthly donation to Pioneer Publishers wrote recently as follows:

"At this time I am moved to congratulate you on the work you are doing. While I am not as convinced as some of you that it is the solution to all the world's ills, I feel that you are letting a much needed ray of light into the murky mess of American politics.
"I look forward with some trepidation to the future and can only hope that you will keep your integrity as you grow. At any rate I believe the experiment is to be encouraged. My form of encouragement enclosed." (He sent a check for \$5.)

In the New York election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, 929 Pioneer pamphlets were sold at street meetings, along with much other literature. The pamphlets featured were A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow, Veterans & Labor and Build a Labor Party Now (each 10c).

In four months since its publication, the entire 5,000 copies of Veterans & Labor which were printed have been distributed and sold, except for small quantities in the hands of a few SWP branches.
Only two months since Build a Labor Party Now was printed, more than 6,000 copies have been sold.

Pioneer literature has gone to 36 countries, on every continent, in the last two years. In the same period 77 American bookstores, including the very largest, have handled Pioneer works, especially those by Leon Trotsky. Also 86 libraries, universities and other institutions have added Pioneer books and pamphlets to their circulation or reference departments, from a few 10c pamphlets to fairly large selections of Trotskyist works.

Send for price list to Pioneer Publisher, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Milwaukee PAC Candidate Is Target Of Red-Baiters

By Jack O'Connell

(Special to The Militant)
MILWAUKEE, Nov. 10—Defeat of all PAC-endorsed candidates in Wisconsin and in Milwaukee County, a traditional "progressive, liberal, and socialist" center of the nation, affirmed the Socialist Workers Party position that labor cannot sneak in and take over the political machines of the bosses, the Democratic and Republican Parties.
Results also demonstrated that the office-seeking, party-jumping gymnastics of the Norman Thomas Socialists and the Stalinists on both the boss party

New York Bazaar To Aid ACEWR

The New York Committee for European Workers Relief announces a bazaar to be held Dec. 7 at Irving Plaza. To make certain that this bazaar is successful in its aim of raising funds for relief purposes, an appeal is made for donations of all things which can be sold at a bazaar: costume jewelry, household utensils, curios, knitted articles, electrical equipment, books, prints, etc.
Send your contributions to American Committee for European Workers Relief, 197 Second Ave., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

tickets could not inspire the workers' support.
Two former Socialist Party leaders were defeated in the Democratic column. Daniel Hoan and Andrew Biemiller, candidates for Governor and 4th District Congressman respectively, found that their patriotic war fervor and the now broken magic spell of Roosevelt were not sufficient to guarantee a lifetime vote from the workers. Both candidates lost heavily in industrial Milwaukee County.

Another ex-associate of these "Socialist" Democrats, John Brophy, former Socialist alderman and presently a "Socialist" Republican, was elected to Congress in Milwaukee's 5th District as a result of maneuvers by the capitalist strategists to defeat Edmund Bobrowicz, PAC candidate on the Democratic ticket.
Most significant result of an otherwise normal election was the heavy vote polled for Bobrowicz in Milwaukee's predominantly Polish Catholic industrial 5th District despite the fiercest red-baiting campaign ever conducted here. Bobrowicz polled 43,344 votes to the 48,134 electing John Brophy, the "ex-Socialist Republican."

The Democratic incumbent, Thad Wasielecki, who was defeated by Bobrowicz in the Democratic primary, ran as an independent with the full backing of the regular Democratic machine in the final election. He polled 36,700 votes to make possible the victory of the more reliable John Brophy, Republican.
Edmund Bobrowicz, business agent for the CIO International Fur and Leather Workers and "sneak" candidate on the Democratic ticket of the Stalinist-dominated PAC in Milwaukee County, was repudiated by the entire Democratic Party machine from the Democratic National Committee down to the

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

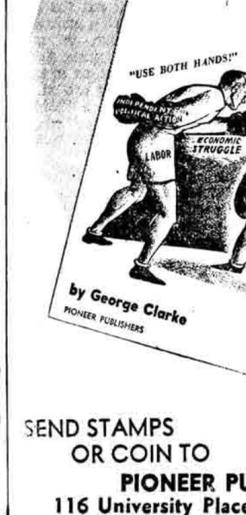
PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Youth Activities

LOS ANGELES.—Socialist Youth Club meets every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at SWP headquarters, 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Educational after every meeting. Refreshments served.
NEW YORK.—For information on the Trotskyist Youth Group send name and address to 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.
Open Forum: Every Friday, 8 p.m., at 116 University Place. Dancing, refreshments.
Sundays, 3 p.m.—"What Is Socialism?" 116 University Pl.
PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Get your copy of our latest pamphlet

ONLY 10 Cents!



SEND STAMPS OR COIN TO PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Picket Line Stops Scabs



At the West Allis, Wis. plant of the Allis Chalmers Co., the picket line stands firm in spite of police brutality and intimidation. Here one strikebreaker is down and a woman held back as an attempt to break the picket line failed. The company has rejected arbitration offers by Local 248, CIO United Auto Workers. Federated Pictures

former Socialists on the machine ticket. He was given a thoroughgoing daily smear in the capitalist press here, liberal and reactionary alike.
To this attack the Stalinists added confusion by meekly complaining that all the other Democrats had deserted the Party and Roosevelt's phrases. They then supported all the other Democrats!

The Socialist Workers Party in Milwaukee condemned the red-baiting campaign against the PAC-supported candidate in the following statement:
"The smear offensive against the CIO-PAC candidate for Congress, Bobrowicz, by the boss press is not surprising, since the employers are accustomed to labor support for labor's enemies, as in the case of AFL-CIO support for Truman and Wasielecki. The bitter venom will prove the utility of 'capturing' the millionaires' parties for the workers. Real defense and labor unity, and democratic workers' selection of candidates, is only possible in a union-made Independent Labor Party."

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA.—For information call ST. 4-5820, from noon to 6 p.m.

Have You --

An Extra Toaster? Costume Jewelry? Radio? Or Anything That Can Be Used It's Needed For EUROPEAN RELIEF BAZAAR to be held Dec. 7 in N. Y. Entire proceeds to American Committee for European Workers Relief. Send or bring articles to: ACEWR 197 Second Ave. New York 3, N. Y. or call ORCHARD 4-5629

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers

At these Local Activities of The Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — Visit The SWP, 2nd floor, 8 So. Howard St., Akron 8, O. Open daily except Sunday, 2 to 4 p.m.
Saturdays: Current Events Discussion, 8 p.m. followed by social. Admission free.
BALTIMORE—For information write Box 415, Baltimore 3, Md. Monthly forums.
BAYONNE—SWP headquarters, 62 W. 23rd St. Open house 2nd and 4th Saturdays.
BOSTON—Office at 30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays from noon until 5 p.m.; Wednesdays and Fridays, 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. Sunday Forum—3 p.m.
BUFFALO — Open every afternoon except Sunday. Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3960.
Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.
CHICAGO — Visit SWP 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Tel. Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.
Sat. night, open house.
CLEVELAND — Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall 1446 E. 82nd St. off Wade Park Ave.).
CONNECTICUT — Write to the Militant, P.O. Box 841, New Haven.
DETROIT — Open house every Saturday, 8 p.m. at 6108 Linwood. Office open daily 12 to 5. Phone Tyler 7-6267.
Sunday forums, 3 p.m.
FLINT—Visit SWP and Militant headquarters, 215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich.
Open Monday through Friday, 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.
LOS ANGELES—Visit Militant

THE MILITANT ARMY

San Pedro Open House Brings In 'Militant' Subs

Yetta Fine of San Pedro reports that sub-getting is easy at socials of the Socialist Workers Party. "The enclosed 11 subs were sold at an Open House we held in our headquarters Friday night," she writes. "The NAACP held an election rally at which our candidates were invited to speak. Following the meeting we invited workers from the audience to come to our Open House. It was very successful. The 11 subs are some of the results."

"Here is another idea on getting subscriptions," writes E. Brent of Detroit. "When covering a meeting with The Militant be sure you are there at least 45 minutes before the meeting starts.
"One comrade can pass out The Militant and another can sell pamphlets. The one who is selling pamphlets starts talking to some of the workers who are standing around and explains the party program. You not only get subs but you get reports as to how well The Militant is doing.
"Comrade K. Murry covered a meeting last Sunday afternoon and while he was distributing the paper a member of the Socialist Youth League came running out of the building, handed Comrade Murry a subscription from the paper already filled out, and asked him to make sure that he gets The Militant."

James White of New Haven sent in nine subs that were obtained by the Connecticut comrades during the week.
Belle Rosen sent us six subs secured by the Chicago comrades.
Beatrice Trent of Los Angeles forwarded 10 subscriptions and states that measures have been taken to correct "the fact that Los Angeles has not been sending in reports of its work in the literature field. In order to be sure that the work of our section is reported in the future, we have assigned a comrade, Lou Thompson, to send weekly reports to New York."
John Levitt of Baltimore requests that we send two copies of The Militant every week to the ILGWU. "They will display these in their reading room for the use of their members and I believe that two copies will go the rounds sufficiently."
Another order for back issues of The Militant comes from Joy Connors of Chicago: "There has been a terrific demand here for the two copies of The Militant with the articles by Joseph Hansen on The Great Conspiracy, and if you have any extra copies please send us 10 of each. One of the comrades is making notebooks of these articles and passing them around his plant to counteract the Stalinists who are trying to do a job there with The Great Conspiracy."

Sixteen subscriptions were sent in by Pauline Ryder from the Philadelphia Branch.
L. Lynn of Minneapolis sent us two 1-year combination subs.
Paul Carroll sent in two subs for Toledo and asks that we send him some Militant subscription cards.

R. Murdock, a Militant booster in New York City, told us the following: "I sold a sub to one of the workers in my shop some time ago. Recently our discussions have taken a new turn. She is talking about her 14-year old son. Apparently he has

been reading The Militant thoroughly each week and now is taking the paper to school and having discussions with one of his teachers. I have suggested that he get his teacher to subscribe. I am now waiting developments."

The DeFilippo Brothers of Elmira, N. Y. renewed their subscription to The Militant and asked that we send a sample copy of the paper to a friend.
Sidney Miller, a student in Berea, Ky. sent in a sub for himself and also a subscription for the library of Triplett High School in Berea.

Again we hear from Sam Taylor of Madison, Wis. who is doing his share to boost the circulation of The Militant. He sends three more subscriptions, stating: "I haven't given my friends a money-back guarantee on the paper because I know they'll be more than satisfied. Here's hoping The Militant hits 100,000 circulation and bigger things from here!"

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By Charles Carsten
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Memories On A November Day

By Theodore Kovalesky

Wind and rain, teardrops streaming from broken clouds . . .

The November wind walls past the stacks and through the webs of the high-tension wires. The cold November rains fill the red-brown gutters of the steel towns, wash the gray walls of the tenements, spatter on the farmhouse roofs, and sink into a man's body with a shuddering chill.

When you sit in the warmth of the union hall and hear the cry of the November wind outside, perhaps you think of the sad November days when labor martyrs died for the cause of freedom.

It was November in 1915 when Joe Hill, the singer of our songs and fighter for our cause, stood with his back against a Utah prison wall waiting for the slugs that were to tear the life from his body. "Don't mourn for me," he said. "Organize!" It was a bleak November sky that looked down a moment later upon Joe's blood seeping into the prison yard.

And then there was Wesley Everest, waist-deep in the cold Chehalis River facing the mob who hated him for his revolutionary beliefs. It was a bleak November night that covered the respectable business men who dragged Everest away to torture him and then lynch him.

It was in November when other respectable people gathered together the smashed and rotten remains of a nameless "doughboy" and placed them, garishly bestrewn with medals, in the National cemetery at Arlington, where, with cynical, lying ceremony, they glorified the capitalist war of J. P. Morgan and Co. And still it lies

there, that once mud-rotted, rain-washed, torn, broken body . . . a monument to the brutal greed of the capitalists.

It sometimes seems that the bleak winds of November as they wall about the open hearth stacks and sing through the wires are lamenting the fate of the people.

But if the winds and the skies could speak they would tell us that it was not the month of November for which they sorrowed.

For November will always be remembered—not for defeats, but for victory. It was during one November almost three decades ago that the workers struck back, and behind the fury of their blow were all the centuries of the misery of the poor. It was November in 1917 that saw the Russian workers, tormented and angered beyond all endurance, rise up, cast off the capitalist yoke, and found the first workers' state.

November brings to the furnace men the icy menace of winter, the first indication of the freezing winds that will sweep across the furnace floors bringing with them discomfort and disease, of the thickening snow plugging the furnace yard and the streets of the steel town. November announces the coming of winter, which means not relief to the sweating furnace men, but additional hardship.

Up on the furnaces, we know all this. We know what the winter means, and we hate it. But we don't have much to say about it; we know spring will get around sooner or later . . . because it always has. It's a precedent.

And the great Russian Revolution is a precedent too. Things will get bad. Then they'll get worse. But one day, the people take a hand in the matter. And then, no matter what month it is, the socialist springtime of mankind will come with a bang!

The Negro Struggle

Free Elections Here And Abroad

By William E. Bohannon

Every couple of days you can read on the front pages of the press how the U.S. government is sending complaints about the denial of free elections in Rumania and Bulgaria and other countries not under the domination of Washington.

But how about the situation a little closer to home? And I don't mean the situation in India or China or South Africa or Greece or other places where the U.S. government is strangely silent about the right of free election. I mean right here in the land of the brave and the home of the free.

Why haven't Byrnes and Vandenberg complained about Alabama which has just adopted the Boswell amendment reviving the old device for disfranchising Negroes by requiring registrants not merely to read and write but also to "understand and explain" the Constitution "to the satisfaction" of the lily-white Board of Registrars?

Why don't Byrnes and Vandenberg have anything to say about Georgia where the "white primary" is being revived in the Democratic Party, a one-party dictatorship in Georgia?

Why don't Byrnes and Vandenberg get indignant about Mississippi where an open reign of terror was conducted in order to bar Negroes

from the Democratic primary which was won by their Senatorial colleague, Bilbo?

If Vandenberg really believes in free elections, why doesn't he try to do something about the undemocratic election laws in the state of Michigan which make it extremely difficult for a working class party to oppose him on the ballot?

And what has either of these two "defenders of democracy" got to say about the conspiracy of the Democratic Party, abetted by the Republican Party, which barred three minority parties, including the Socialist Workers Party, from the ballot in New York after they had scrupulously complied with all the difficult requirements?

Like charity, the fight for democratic rights must begin at home. Otherwise, demands for democratic rights abroad are nothing but hypocrisy. The only people really interested in fighting for democratic rights in other countries are those who fight for them right here at home. All that Byrnes and Vandenberg want in those countries is the establishment of governments that will be friendly to Wall Street; when they are set up, you will never hear another peep out of them about free elections, etc.

Only the successful struggle of labor in this country, leading eventually to the establishment here of a government free of Wall Street domination, can help to secure and guarantee democratic rights elsewhere.

The Mental Scrap-Heap

By Grace Carlson

Out of every 22 living persons in the United States, one will spend part of his life in a mental hospital. Recent studies show that nervous and mental disease takes a larger toll than do cancer, infantile paralysis and tuberculosis combined. The problem of mental illness is the most serious medical problem in the United States today.

But mental illness can be prevented. And sick minds can be made well again if they are given prompt, scientific medical care. Millions of people could be rescued from the mental scrap-heap if society were willing to spend the necessary money to save them.

We need more—and better—public institutions for the care of the mentally-ill. Some state institutions spend as little as 40 cents a day per patient, whereas many private institutions spend more than eight dollars a day per patient.

We need more psychiatrists in these public institutions. A doctor who has the care of 1,000 mental patients is simply unable to give any kind of modern individualized treatment. Authorities estimate that we need at least four

time as many psychiatrists as we now have. We need five times the number of psychiatric nurses that are now available. More than half of the hospital beds in this country are occupied by mental patients, but there are only 32 centers for specialized training in psychiatric nursing.

We need more mental hygiene clinics. Serious mental breakdowns can often be avoided if prompt clinical treatment is given to the early case of nervous disease. But 25 states do not have even one mental hygiene clinic!

We need more scientific research into the causes and treatment of mental disorders. But less than 20 per cent of the public institutions for the treatment of the mentally-ill carry on any kind of a research program.

The money cost of World War II was \$335,000,000,000!

In the words of Dr. Henry Brosin, professor of psychiatry at the University of Chicago:

"One of the greatest lessons of the war is the disturbing contrast between the pin money we spent for constructive human pursuits and the huge money cost of destruction. The total money spent for all medical research in 1944 would pay for only eight hours and twenty minutes of this last war."

Should Truman Pack His Bags?

By Joseph Hansen

The world hasn't got enough troubles it seems. On top of worrying about the atomic bomb and a few ounces of germ poison that can wipe out the population of Canada and the United States, now we've got to decide whether it would be a good thing if Truman resigned.

Apparently the Democrats started this one too. It wasn't enough to give us a meat famine and the worst housing shortage in history. It wasn't enough to double and triple prices. They had to raise the question about Truman quitting.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas says Truman should appoint a leading Republican as Secretary of State and then toss in the towel. That would make a Republican the President. Fulbright is a Democrat. He is one of the young Wall Street political salesmen who flashes a high I.Q., served time in England as a Rhodes scholar and can give a complicated answer to any question raised in Washington.

The Chicago Sun, which has been spreading the light of Democratic Party propaganda since it first appeared on the horizon of Chicago politics five years ago, likewise has asked Truman to pack his trunks.

My personal advice is to forget this headache. What difference would it make if he resigned?

Besides there are a lot of practical obstacles. The New York Times, which speaks with all the weight of Wall Street behind its editorial pen, is against any such "coup d'etat." The Times is sure that "in the long run Senator Fulbright will be glad that his plan was not taken seriously, either in the White House or in res-

possible quarters elsewhere." Allah has spoken, how could prophet Truman disobey that voice?

And that's not all. None of the Republicans seem at all anxious about Truman resigning. Not a single one like Dewey, Bricker, Warren, Taft or Vandenberg has bitten on the Democratic bait about moving into the White House for the next two years. They prefer to wait until 1948.

All of them seem to be sure there's going to be a depression cracking right sudden and they don't want to get caught short in the White House. Why go down in history as another Herbert Hoover? Why not let a punching bag like Truman take the rap?

There's still another practical matter to consider in Truman's resigning. It's not every year that a lowly wheelhorse in the Pendergast machine hits the political jackpot the way Truman did. Wouldn't old Tom Pendergast rise up out of his grave if Truman turned \$75,000 a year and \$25,000 traveling expenses over to a wheelhorse in the Republican machine? That's pork!

Moreover, the housing shortage right now is tough—as you can find out by asking any veteran wandering around in a residential area. It's going to be tough the next two years too. In fact it's going to get worse. Meanwhile, why give up a good thing? The White House is mighty comfortable, especially with that swimming pool inherited from FDR.

On the face of it, the talk about Truman resigning isn't going to come to much. After all, man has proved he can jump just as fast, and just as high and just as far as any Republican when Big Business cracks the whip. So what's the point of resigning?

THE MILITANT

NEW YORK, N. Y.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1946

PAGE SIX

Free Press Threatened By Paper Monopolists

Labor Papers Face Suspension As Big Publishers Grab Supply

NEW YORK—Monopoly control of newsprint paper by the few giant publishers threatens to wipe out the entire small and labor press within a few weeks or months, leaving the American public with no source of news except the mouthpieces of Wall Street.

This throttling of the labor press, such as helped fascism come to power in Europe is being accomplished with the full co-operation of the Democratic administration which last Jan. 1 set aside the quota system, at the demand of the big publishers.

The monopoly press is buying up paper mills right and left, or contracting for the entire output of the mills of this country and Canada. The source of paper for the labor press is being rapidly reduced to a trickle through the black market, at prohibitive prices.

THREAT AINED

This immediate threat to freedom of the press was averted by more than 50 small paper publishers and printers from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, meeting here Nov. 11 with Dr. Milton Stewart, investigator for the Senate Small Business Committee.

A committee was set up, representing labor, fraternal, foreign language, co-operative, community and special papers and the printers of such publications, to map a program of action.

Dr. Stewart raised a score of inconsequential side issues, but failed to divert the group for long from its one real beef, the paper monopoly.

"A long-range legislative program may do some good after we're dead," replied one publisher, "but if some of us don't get paper within a couple of weeks, we're done."

Half of the papers represented were said to be in the same fix as one printer of labor papers who reported that the mill which has supplied his paper for 11 years can supply him no more after Jan. 1.

MANY SUGGESTIONS

Immediate pressing of an anti-trust suit against the paper monopoly was one of many suggestions. Many agreed there was no hope whatever from the Civilian Production Administration, before which a group of labor editors appeared last April.

Others believed sufficient pressure on Congressmen and Senators might bring prompt restoration of the quota system which Big Business killed almost a year ago. Some fantastic publicity schemes were proposed to trick the monopoly press into exposing itself in its own columns.

More practical suggestions were made for the labor press to protest loudly while it still has paper to print anything.

Walker Polls Sizable Vote In Ohio

TOLEDO, Nov. 13 — The workers of Ohio voted with their feet in the general elections last week. A million fewer votes were cast in the state than in the election two years ago in spite of the last minute frantic efforts of the labor leaders to get out the vote for the Democratic Party ticket.

On the day before the election, Richard Gosser, Lucas County Director of PAC, issued a call in the name of PAC for the workers to vote a straight Democratic ticket. This call did not have the desired effect as the Republicans won every office in the area.

Thousands of workers who had been reached by the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party cast their ballots in the Social Labor column and other thousands voted by sticker for Malcolm Walker the SWP candidate for Governor.

Although no official count was given for the write-in candidate of the SWP, it is possible to tell from the veiled releases of the election boards and from other sources, that Walker polled a sizable vote in spite of the handicaps imposed on his campaign.

Walker toured the state in the course of the campaign, covering more than 30 industrial cities, mining and farming communities, presenting the program and platform of the SWP to thousands of new workers. On Oct. 25 at Rutland, Ohio, striking miners in Meigs County enthusiastically received Walker's speech and backed up his fighting program.

The size of the protest vote both for Walker and for the Social Labor ticket is unprecedented in recent years in Ohio. The Socialist Labor Party, running under the name of Social Labor, polled over 950 votes in Lucas County alone, although they haven't even a skeleton of an organization in the county.

Scores of workers have reported to representatives of the SWP and The Militant that they voted in the Social Labor column under the impression that they were voting for the Trotskyist candidates.

San Francisco SWP Outlines Correct Way To Fight Fascism

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 10—The Socialist Workers Party here is distributing to CIO workers copies of its Nov. 1 letter to the San Francisco CIO Council Executive Board. This letter, which has not been answered, called for united front action against fascism, and protested against divisive tactics used by CIO Council representative Ed Young, in conjunction with the Oct. 27 demonstration against Gerald L. K. Smith.

During the preparations for this picket line, Young consciously discriminated against the SWP, the letter points out. "At a meeting of interested organizations called by Brother Young on Saturday, Oct. 26, the representatives of the Socialist Workers Party were ordered to leave. Another political organization, the American Youth for Democracy (associated with the Communist Party), was permitted to stay."

Young claimed that the demonstration was being run under the exclusive direction of the CIO, and "stated that he was given specific orders by Council Secretary Paul Schnur to exclude the SWP from this conference."

Furthermore, as a pretext for barring the SWP, Ed Young "falsely charged that the basis for excluding the Socialist Workers Party was its record in the picket line against Smith the previous year. He made the charge that the SWP had tried to split and disrupt the picket line by marching on Franklin Street separately from all other groups. This accusation is completely false."

"We marched with the main

New Fascist Gangsters



Four leading members of the new fascist organization uncovered last month in Atlanta, Ga., named Columbians, Inc., who boast they are "40 times as bad as the Ku Klux Klan." Openly launching a pogrom against Negroes who are moving into white restricted areas, they also hurled threats of violence against Jews. They claim branches in other cities, including New York.

Left to right, Jack Price, James Akins, Homer Loomis, Jr. (secretary of the outfit) and R. L. Whitman, were arrested and released on bail. Federated Pictures

Voters In Washington Boot Out Democrats

SEATTLE—The State of Washington, for several years a stronghold for the so-called progressive brand of Democrats, went Republican on Nov. 5 by a landslide vote. The turnout at the polls was one

of the largest for a non-presidential election—an estimated total of 700,000. This indicated that the workers had not abstained in great numbers as they had in 1942 and 1944 and even in the primaries last July. It is evident that a considerable number of workers shifted their vote to the Republicans.

That shift, like the greater shift in the middle-class vote, was not a vote of confidence in the GOP, but a protest vote.

This fact was clearly recognized by the mouthpieces of the capitalist class including Hearst's Post Intelligencer, which was pleased by the results but had to admit: "It is far from a resurgence of popular confidence in the victorious Republican Party."

Swept out by the Republican landslide were Congressmen Hugh B. Mitchell; Hugh De Lacy

ABET RED-BAITING By refusing to campaign for a labor party and expose the weaknesses and futility of the Democratic Party, De Lacy and the Stalinists only succeeded in attaching to themselves the stigma of the already discredited Democratic Party.

The success of the red-baiting campaign is attested by the fact that throughout his district De Lacy polled a much smaller number of votes than his non-Stalinist running mate for Senate, Hugh B. Mitchell. De Lacy received half of the vote cast for him in 1944.

As can be seen, the cowardly and treacherous policy of the Stalinists helped the Wall Street agents to divert the wrath of the lower middle class and sections of the workers against the "reds."

At this writing the vote for the minority parties on the ballot has not yet been tabulated. No reports have been issued on the statewide vote for the Socialist Workers Party. A full analysis of the minority vote cast will have to wait for a subsequent issue of The Militant.

The only reports received gave the SWP candidate for U. S. Senator, Charles R. Swett, 103 votes in Tacoma. The only candidate of the Socialist Party polled nearly 200 votes out of a total of more than 14,000 in the 37th State Senatorial District. A Communist Party candidate for state office received 117 votes out of 28,000.

The statement concluded by citing the danger of dividing the workers in their struggle. "To limit the fight against fascism to just a few organizations — to invite some and exclude others — sets a dangerous precedent. In Germany, when the Communists and Socialists fought each other, Hitler walked into power and smashed both of them. Labor in this country must not repeat this mistake."

"We urge the CIO Council to take the lead in organizing a United Front organization to fight fascism, and that this organization include all those who are willing to carry on the fight against fascism."

Bay Area SWP Describes Gains In Election Campaign

By Toni Price

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 6 — The first election campaign ever conducted by the Socialist Workers Party in the Bay area has been concluded with a fine record of achievement. Thousands of workers were introduced to Trotskyist ideas for the first time by the write-in campaign for Steve Roberts, SWP candidate for Governor, and Robert Chester, SWP candidate for Assembly, 20th District.

Especially important was the reaching of maritime workers during the strikes here. The SWP went on the air in support of the strikers' demands. Thousands of copies of the California election edition of The Militant were distributed on the waterfront picket lines.

The anti-Smith demonstration in the Bay City was tied in with the campaign for Roberts and Chester. SWP leaflets were distributed calling for support of the anti-fascist picket line at Commerce High on Oct. 27, and SWP broadcasts also presented the party's record in the struggle against fascism.

Election rallies attracted hun-

dreds of workers who listened attentively to Robert Chester's presentation of the Socialist Workers Party program. He spoke also at meetings of the Pledrivers Union, Machinists Local 1304 and the Oakland chapter of the American Veterans Committee. His call for the building of a labor party invariably met with enthusiastic response.

Four Monday night broadcasts were delivered over station KSNB, reaching tens of thousands of listeners. A total of over 13,000 pieces of election literature was distributed here, by mail, on the picket lines, at all major union meetings, and in workers' neighborhoods. An indication of the welcome this literature received, can be seen in the fact that 1,000 copies of The Militant election edition were taken at a single meeting of Local 8 of the Warehouse Union.

The write-in vote for the SWP candidates has not yet been reported as this is written.

DETROIT Sunday Forum Analysis Of The Elections Speaker: Jack Gaynor Nov. 24, 3 p.m. 6108 Linwood