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9

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19th Anniversary Of "The Militant"

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Big Issues Face UAW Convention

Nov. 6—Local elections for more than 2,000 delegates to the CIO United Automobile Workers convention are over. America's largest, most dynamic union will begin convention deliberations on Nov. 9 in Atlantic City.

The delegates will be weighed with grave responsibilities, and their decisions will have a serious bearing on the course of American labor for a long time to come. In the forefront of the issues are the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, the corporation speed-up campaign, and the defense of the UAW's traditional internal democracy.

First of all, the convention will decide whether the CIO auto workers, in the vanguard of American unionism, are going to fight and wipe out the infamous Taft slave law; or whether they are going to take the road of capitulation and retreat inch by inch.

With but few exceptions, the conservative top leaders of the American labor movement have sounded retreat even before the real battle has been joined. On the very first test—the question of compliance with Taft-Hartley "yellow dog" oaths—they have rushed to offer surrender.

In the AFL, only the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis have stood up to this first test. All the others have capitulated. The CIO leaders at their recent convention evaded a forthright declaration of opinion. But they opened the way for compliance by the unions.

Last week there was a panic race of CIO leaders to sign "yellow dog" affidavits. The Maritime Workers and Electrical Workers, by convention action, have rejected the degrading oaths. The Rubber Workers Convention voted against compliance, but it appears their officers have now violated the Convention's will. The Steel Workers are still holding out; but there is no positive declaration from Murray to indicate how long this hold-out will last.

Fight Against the Taft Act

The sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Act got their biggest shot in the arm, however, when UAW President Walter Reuther announced that the UAW executive board which had previously voted against compliance, had now reversed its stand and voted to join the "yellow dog" line-up.

This announcement was promptly challenged by Vice President R. J. Thomas, a leader of the opposition to the Reutherite-ACTU bloc which is seeking to take exclusive control of the union at this convention.

Thomas has stated his opposition in principle to the "yellow dog" oath. He has refused to sign it. His action has placed the decision squarely up to the convention.

A majority vote for compliance would signify that the UAW will not fight every inch of the way against the Taft Act; that it is willing to "live with" the Act and adapt itself to its onerous conditions. The auto workers and the whole labor movement would pay dearly for such a decision.

A majority vote against compliance would be a clarion call to the whole labor movement to stand on its feet and wage an all-out fight against the Taft-Hartley Act.

Such a decision would set the labor-haters back on their heels. It would tell them that the mightiest union in the land will not stand for government intervention in union affairs, will not tolerate government dictation of its officers.

The second crucial issue before the convention is the speed-up. The companies have projected this issue into the convention by their terrific drive, both in the press and shops, to speed up individual work and output. This vicious campaign has been waged under the pretext of halting price inflation by "more production."

The UAW militants are now calling on the international union to take a firm stand against speed-up. They demand that all officers of the UAW associated with the National Planning Association resign from the NPA as a token of good faith in their opposition to speed-up, inasmuch as the NPA has issued statements on two different occasions calling for the speed-up.

Defense of Living Standards

A genuine defense of living standards against skyrocketing prices means first of all a fight for higher wages. It means an end to dependence on the Big Business government to protect labor's interests and on futile pleas for this government to "roll back" prices.

Above all, sound measures must be taken to ensure continuous protection of real wages. The most effective device is the cost-of-living bonus. The most far-sighted progressives believe the UAW should demand a cost-of-living bonus clause in all contracts to provide supplementary pay, over the basic wage, corresponding to rising living costs.

The fight for a sound wage policy should be implemented by a unified contract policy. The lack of such a policy proved terribly costly in the General Motors strike. In addition, the GM battle was weakened by the "one at a time" strategy whereas the corporations were united against the union.

That is why the GM workers were forced to accept one of the worst contracts in the industry, with "joker" clauses, permitting the company to victimize the workers, "discipline" the best union militants, undermine union security.

This must now be rectified by a unified strategy. The UAW's "Big Three" Divisions—GM, Ford and Chrysler—should make an ironclad agreement that no single division will sign a contract without a similar settlement for all three.

The past 10 months, which ushered in the era of the Taft-Hartley Act, have provided a sobering political lesson to labor. Republicans and Democrats in Congress have welded a bi-partisan bloc openly hostile to the working people and completely submissive to Wall Street. Organized labor—15,000,000 strong today—has no voice in Congress. That is the rotten fruit of the policy of supporting Democratic and Republican candidates.

The UAW could inaugurate a new era of labor progress by breaking with both Big Business parties and taking the lead in building labor's own party.

The very possibility of carrying through a fighting, progressive program by the UAW membership depends on one thing: The defense of the UAW's traditional internal democracy. The great development of the UAW has been assured above all by its democratic structure and policies.

Powerful reactionary forces are battering at the labor movement, intent on dividing it with red-baiting, stifling the ranks, covering the leadership into bureaucratic "police" to "discipline" the members.

If the UAW has become the largest and most dynamic union in the country, it is because it has never been dominated by a hardened bureaucratic machine. The greatest virtue of the UAW has been its internal freedom, which has permitted free interchange of opinions and control by the ranks.

Every convention of the UAW has witnessed an uprising of the delegates against any invasion of union democracy. Only by such vigilance has the UAW endured and grown strong. Today, more than ever, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom in the trade unions. Let the UAW again safeguard its precious tradition of union democracy from ambitious red-baiters and any who would substitute dictation from the top for the will of the ranks.

AMERICA'S FINANCIAL RULERS UNMASKED IN U. S. INDICTMENT

Hickman's Trial Opens In Chicago

Defendant Is Victim of
Restricted Covenants

CHICAGO, Nov. 5—James Hickman, Negro steel worker accused of shooting his landlord, went on trial this morning before a packed court room.

The landlord, David Coleman was shot fatally by Hickman June 16. Coleman had threatened to set fire six months before to the miserable tenement where Hickman and his family lived.

In the fire that swept through the attic "home"—a room without water, gas, electricity, or fire escape—four of Hickman's children were burned to death.

As selection of the jury began today, defense attorneys M. J. Meyer, William Temple and Leon Despres indicated they would plead that Hickman was temporarily insane from grief and despair due to intolerable living conditions and his overwhelming personal tragedy.

Tenants have testified that Coleman threatened to burn them out. Just before the fire an unidentified man was seen in the building and a kerosene can was later found of a type not used in the building.

The Hickman Defense Committee, which is headed by Willoughby Abner, Vice President of the Chicago CIO Council, declared today: "Although James Hickman stands in the defendant's dock today, it is society that is really on trial. Society has created the conditions making Hickman cases and Hickman tragedies inevitable.

"Society is unconcerned about the loss of Hickman's four children; unconcerned about the miserable housing conditions that Hickman and his family of nine had to live under.

"The same government which failed to heed the need of Hickman and millions of other Hickmans is now trying to convict Hickman for its own crimes, its own failures."



JAMES HICKMAN



Ausnehmer Polls 20% Vote In 4-Way Contest

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 5—John Ausnehmer, independent CIO-PAC candidate, polled 20% of the vote in a four-way contest for the office of city councilman from the Fourth Ward in this city. Ausnehmer polled 1,895 votes, out of a total of 9,752. The victorious Democratic candidate, Edgar T. Morley, polled 3,772 votes. John Leyshon, a free-lance independent who conducted a red-baiting attack against Ausnehmer, received 235 votes.

Hickman Defense Is Backed by 750,000

CHICAGO, Nov. 5—Support for James Hickman continues to mount. Latest to join the growing list of backers of his defense are Local 133 of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers at Kearny, N. J.; and Local 1010 of the CIO United Steel Workers at Indiana Harbor, Ind., which sent \$50.

In Detroit last week, Rev. Charles Braby, head of the NAACP there, joined the defense of James Hickman.

Among the groups supporting the Hickman Defense Committee are the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council, the AFL Building Service Employees Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans Committee, the Baptist Ministers Association and the Socialist Workers Party.

Representatives of more than 750,000 workers and labor-minded people from coast to coast have now endorsed the Hickman Defense Committee.

Special to THE MILITANT

Ausnehmer sentiment actually ran deeper than the final count indicates. He was seriously hampered by the weakness of general CIO-PAC policy, and the Democrats made a vicious attack against him. These obstacles prevented a full expression of the significant Ausnehmer sentiment which was manifested in many ways during the campaign.

A straw vote among Fourth Ward residents employed at the big Ohio Works steel plant gave Ausnehmer 220 of a total of 270 votes. Typical of the thinking of many workers was this remark by a steel worker, "I haven't voted for many years. This time I am going to the polls and vote for Ausnehmer for two reasons. First because he isn't a Republican, and second because he isn't a Democrat."

A test vote among students in a civics class at Chaney High School in the Fourth Ward gave Ausnehmer 33 out of 38 votes. The thinking of their parents was reflected in this student vote. A High School teacher referred in a current events class to an editorial in the local press claiming that the Ausnehmer campaign would interest only the "radical fringe." "They

are going to be surprised," he said, "how big that fringe is."

An opinion poll at the Holy Name Church in the Fourth Ward gave Ausnehmer 35 out of 73 votes. A Negro church in the ward extended Ausnehmer an invitation to address the congregation in behalf of his candidacy.

"ELECT JOHNNY" A corner grocer remarked, "It will be a shame if the working people in this ward don't get together and elect Johnny."

Two days before the election, the Democrats held a campaign rally at which they put on a full floor show in an effort to draw a crowd. A professional singer hired to perform at the Democratic rally, went direct from there to an Ausnehmer meeting where she volunteered her talents to help the CIO campaign.

These significant signs did not escape the attention of the Democrats. Morley, the Democratic candidate, in a campaign speech said that labor should keep its nose out of the business of selecting candidates, and that so far as he was concerned, he would prefer a Republican victory rather than the election of Ausnehmer. As election

(Continued on Page 2)

AUTO DELEGATES TO DEBATE TAFT OATH

R. J. Thomas, a vice president of the CIO United Auto Workers, has informed the National Labor Relations Board that "I have no intentions of and will not sign" the affidavits required under the Taft-Hartley Act, according to the Nov. 2 N. Y. Times.

His defiance of the Slave Labor Law was issued on Nov. 1, one day after UAW President Walter Reuther had informed the NLRB that the UAW Executive Board had reversed its original position and had now voted to comply.

Reuther's announcement, made public after a poll by mail of the UAW Board, was promptly heralded in front page headlines everywhere as a "capitulation" that would "break the log jam" in the CIO against submission to the "yellow dog" oath.

Thomas' declaration has put a spoke, at least temporarily, in any attempt by the UAW officers to commit the UAW to the Taft Act requirements. The law demands that all union officers must sign the "yellow dog" affidavits to qualify the union for NLRB recognition.

Thus, the three largest CIO international unions the Auto Workers, Steel Workers and Electrical Workers—have so far failed to comply with the Taft Act. The Steelworkers have announced they are challenging the affidavit requirements by a court appeal. Their president, Philip Murray, has given no indication, however, that he will continue to reject the "yellow dog" oath if the appeal is denied.

Other CIO unions which failed to file before the Oct. 31 deadline are the National Maritime Union and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees. Together

with the AFL United Mine Workers, the non-complying unions represent a total of more than 3,000,000 workers.

In his telegram to the NLRB, Thomas said: "I am hereby informing you that as international vice-president of the UAW-CIO I have no intentions of and will not sign such affidavit."

"Newspaper articles which now say that the UAW-CIO will sign the affidavits mean only that International President Walter Reuther has signified his willingness to sign. In no way can that be construed as official policy of the UAW-CIO or as binding upon it."

Thomas' letter stated that "final determination of the attitude of the UAW-CIO with respect to the Taft-Hartley affidavits will be made by the delegates to the international convention" which convenes in Atlantic City on Nov. 9.

The issue of the "Yellow dog" oath, it now appears, will be one of the main points of debate at the UAW convention. If the convention votes against signing the Taft Act affidavits, observers agree, it will be a powerful blow against the Slave Labor Law.

This in turn would help to stiffen labor resistance to the Taft Act all along the line. A strong stand by such powerful unions as the United Mine Workers in the AFL and the Auto, Steel and Electrical Workers in the CIO would inspire labor's ranks everywhere.

The "yellow dog" oath is correctly regarded as the first serious test of whether the union leaders are going to put up a real fight against the Taft Act. If they retreat at this early stage of the battle, it is doubtful that they will turn and fight against the fiercer attacks to come.

17 Wall Street Firms Accused of Conspiracy

Last week the Department of Justice charged 17 of the most powerful financial groups in America with a long-standing conspiracy to control all securities issues and investment business in the United States.

The controlled press obscured and buried the damning facts against America's financial rulers under a flood of anti-"red" propaganda pouring out of Washington from the House Un-American Activities witch-hunt committee.

How far the monopoly of the billionaire Wall Street cliques extends is partially revealed in the Anti-Trust Division's indictment. Since 1938 these 17 investment banking partnerships and corporations have controlled the issuance of more than \$14 billion of securities—69% of the total.

They operate through a central agency, the Investment Bankers Association of America, also named as a defendant. They have eliminated most competitive bidding for new securities; fixed prices of securities; gained directorships in all major corporations. They maintain a multi-million dollar lobby in Washington.

By these means, among others, the Wall Street "money trust" has spread its tentacles throughout all industry and commerce. It dominates every phase of economic life. From its secret circle it runs the two major political parties, directs the government and rules the land.

Among the firms cited by the Justice Department are Morgan, Stanley & Co.; Dillon, Read & Co.; and Harriman, Ripley & Co. The Morgan interests alone hold sway over more than 400 leading industrial and transport corporations.

What the indictment omits is the fact that representatives of these financial interests sit in the top circles of the government. For instance, James Forrestal, the new Secretary of Defense, was long associated with Dillon, Read & Co. Secretary of Commerce Harriman was associated with the Harriman financial interests.

This conspiracy has been operating full blast for at least 10 years, the Justice Department now admits. Actually, it has been known to exist for decades. Why did the Justice Department finally institute this suit?

It was forced to do so by the pressure of several large competing investment banking groups that threatened to make an open scandal if the Anti-Trust Division failed to act. Among these rival groups are the Cleveland bankers under Cyrus Eaton, and Halsey Stuart & Co., which controls 15% of the total securities issued under SEC regulations.

What did the press say about this conspiracy? The New York papers, for instance, buried the news between screaming headlines about some relief client who allegedly earned \$100 a week and about Hollywood "tricks" who allegedly tried to get hold of "atom research data in 1942."

As for Congress, it is trying to divert attention from these capitalist criminals who are the real enemies of the people. It is trying to screen the profiteers, monopolists, price-gougers and war mongers by a big "red" scare and a witch-hunt against "communists."

But the real enemy is not in Hollywood, or across the ocean. It is much nearer to Washington. The address is Wall Street.

The de Gaulle Threat

De Gaulle's drive toward power in France is the most sinister event in Europe since the end of the war. De Gaulle has taken the trail blazed by Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

His goal is the establishment of a capitalist police-state, one-party dictatorship and the destruction of independent labor organizations.

Of immediate concern to American labor is the support the U. S. State Department and the American capitalist press are giving De Gaulle. This French Franco in the making is backed by American imperialism.

Why are the top American union leaders silent about Truman's role in strengthening de Gaulle? Why haven't they raised their voices in defense of the French workers against the terrible fascist menace? Why haven't they organized a powerful protest against the pro-de Gaullist policy of the U. S. State Department?

The CIO has a special responsibility here. It is affiliated, through the World Federation of Trade Unions, with the French General Confederation of Labor which is one of de Gaulle's main targets.

If de Gaulle, with the aid of the American government, triumphs in France, it will be a black day indeed for world labor. How it will embolden the fascist scum and sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Law in this country!

By backing the Marshall Plan, union leaders like Murray and Green are throwing support to such mortal enemies of labor as de Gaulle. Don't they know that the money "the special session of Congress is preparing to send to France as 'aid to the hungry'" is going, in part, to finance de Gaullist reaction? Do they remain silent because they don't want to "embarrass" the capitalist government and its Marshall Plan by pointing out the truth?

The American union leaders say they are against fascism. Let them prove it in deeds!

The most immediate and deadliest fascist peril today faces the French workers. Where do the U. S. labor leaders stand? Are they going to aid our French working class brothers, or are they going to aid de Gaulle by keeping silent?

How Youngstown CIO Took Its Long Step Toward Independent Action In Politics

Special to THE MILITANT

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 4.—The campaign of the Youngstown steel workers to elect John Ausnehrer, independent CIO-PAC candidate to the City Council from the Fourth Ward, represents a heroic attempt on the part of these workers to crack through the strait-jacket of support to the old capitalist parties. Facing over whelming odds, not the smallest of which was inexperience, these steel workers produced a highly spectacular election campaign, which will inspire union militants everywhere in their striving toward independent political action.

The outstanding features of the Ausnehrer campaign were: 1. A thorough advance analysis of the tasks and perspectives of the campaign; 2. Systematic organization of the foot troops for the battle; 3. Careful planning of the character and timing of publicity; 4. Plunging into the action with the spirit, thoroughness and ingenuity so typical of the workers in their heroic battles on the picket lines.

The Ausnehrer campaign began in the Political Action Committee of a single local union of the United Steelworkers of America. The idea was approved enthusiastically by the union, Local 1330.

John Ausnehrer, the candidate selected, has a long and admirable record as a union fighter. He is also a man of independent standing in the Fourth Ward, where he has resided for 16 years.

Immediately following the selection of the candidate a formal "Ausnehrer for Council Campaign Committee" was formed to direct the campaign. The local union PAC committee began to arouse the rest of the labor movement to the necessity of throwing support behind the independent labor candidate. At first they were successful in obtaining not only the support of sister steel locals, but subsequently the entire Mahoning County CIO-PAC, representing 40,000 CIO members, endorsed him. This endorsement lent great authority to the campaign and aroused deep interest among the workers throughout the entire Mahoning County industrial area.

Recognizing the scope and breadth of the project, the PAC of Local 1330 proceeded to organize an election machine. Rank and file leaders in the steel plants were recruited for foot work in the campaign. Regular meetings with these workers were scheduled and carried on throughout the entire campaign. The finances of the campaign were underwritten in advance by the local union itself.

LABOR DAY PICNIC
Symbolically enough, the first public announcement of the Ausnehrer candidacy was made at Local 1330's Labor Day picnic. Thousands of lapel buttons bearing Ausnehrer's name were distributed at this picnic and scores of petitions were circulated for workers to sign endorsing Ausnehrer's candidacy. This gave the campaign a flying start.

During the ensuing weeks, attention was turned to preliminary propaganda among the voters in the ward. The official union paper, *Ohio Works Organizer*, was used to publicize Ausnehrer's program far in advance of election day. The paper carried many discussions of the individual points in the program. In addition, folders carrying Ausnehrer's program and picture were circulated throughout the Fourth Ward.

The Ausnehrer-for-Council Campaign Committee issued a special four-page paper, *Voice of Labor*. Its pages were devoted entirely to discussion and explanations of the program on which Ausnehrer was running and the necessity of labor's entry into independent politics.

Radio publicity—an all-important campaign medium—could not be used because of a conspiracy by the local radio stations to keep the Ausnehrer campaign off the air.

Simultaneously with this general publicity of program, concentrated activity took place within the steel

plant itself. Stickers appeared on the giant steel columns, urging "Vote Labor," "Support Ausnehrer" and "Beat the 'Eat Less' Program."

At the plant gates many leaflet distributions were held; and as the campaign grew in intensity, these distributions were transformed into enthusiastic demonstrations. Workers carried picket signs, bearing the campaign slogans, while others distributed leaflets. Supplementing this was a sound truck blasting forth the labor program and the need for independent political action.

GREW IN INTENSITY

As election day came closer the publicity campaign was transformed in quality. The drive was now on to bring the pro-Ausnehrer sentiment from the shops and from the workers' homes to the polls. During this home stretch period all emphasis was placed on the slogan: "Vote Labor." The ward was flooded with hand stickers and placards. Ward neighborhood meetings were held at which the Ausnehrer campaigners inspired the workers to go out and elect their own candidate.

Three days before election day the entire campaign force was mobilized and overnight a special demonstration was held. Every available placard, sticker, program and hand bill was stuck up on the lamp posts throughout the Fourth Ward. As the residents came out of their homes the next day, they were well aware of the seriousness of the independent labor campaign.

The following evening a colorful parade was staged, the first political parade held in many years in this city. The parade was climaxed by a Labor Rally where James P. Griffin, Director of District 26 of United Steelworkers of America, spoke on Ausnehrer's behalf. As a final touch to the publicity campaign, ads were purchased in the *Youngstown Vindicator*, the only newspaper in this city. One ad carried a statement by Griffin urging support for Ausnehrer and a second ad carried a picture of Ausnehrer and an appeal to the voters to support labor by voting for an independent labor candidate.

Throughout the entire publicity campaign, the workers carried various pieces of literature from door to door in the Fourth Ward. In a district heavily populated by Negroes, a special leaflet addressed to the Negro voters was distributed. This leaflet demonstrated to the Negro voters that this was not a campaign to elect an individual, but that it was a campaign of the CIO to defend labor on the political front.

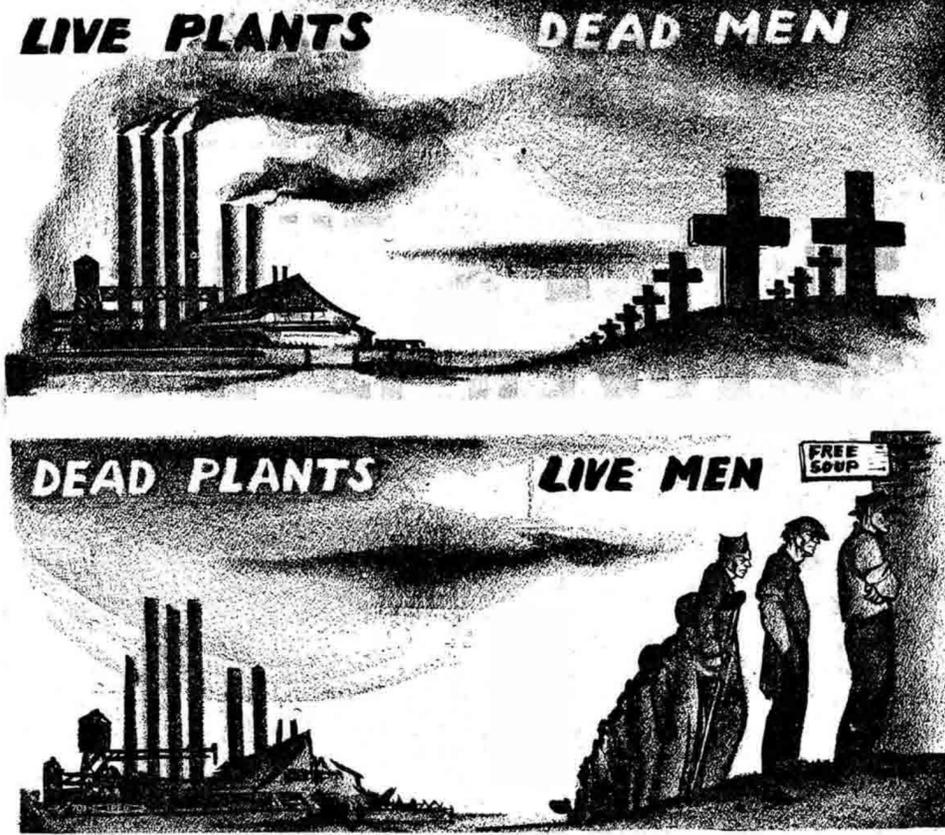
As election day approached the workers took all precautions against possible vote stealing. They used every means of pressure and were successful in obtaining the right to have watchers during the counting of ballots.

For election day, every available worker was called upon to work at the polls and all available cars were utilized for transporting the workers to the polls. Committees were organized to see that poll workers were provided with food and refreshments throughout the day.

When the polls closed, the campaign workers had the satisfaction of knowing that every possible angle of the campaign had been taken care of to the best of their ability. Nothing had been left to chance.

The campaign from beginning to end gave the appearance of careful organization, discipline and united efforts by the workers. It was an excellent start in the direction of independent labor political action, and will inspire the workers in this city to even greater action in future elections.

Capitalism in War and Peace



One of "The Militant's" famous cartoons. It first appeared in our issue of Sept. 9, 1944. The labor press in a number of countries abroad has reproduced it since then. Its biting commentary on the capitalist system is just as timely now as it was during the climactic

days of World War II when factory chimneys were smoking and there was little thought of post-war depression. The artist is Laura Gray. At present she is convalescing from illness.

Stalinist Machine Loses Control At Minnesota CIO Convention

By V. R. Dunne

HIBBING, Minn., Nov. 2—Minnesota State CIO ended a colorless three day convention here this afternoon. Insofar as one can speak of a program in connection with the listless actions of the tenth annual gathering of the State Council the slogan, "Defeat Joe Ball in 1948," best describes the results of its deliberations.

A considerable section of the national CIO officialdom attended the sessions. Most of them addressed the convention; but all of them were feverishly active in the caucus rooms.

Through the United Electrical Workers and a few other CIO unions the Stalinists have dominated the State Council for ten years. Today the anti-Stalinist bloc (incorrectly labeled the right wing in virtually all press dispatches) took over control of the Council by electing a big majority on the Executive Board. While not apparent to uninformed observers, this bloc has a pretty clearly defined left and right wing.

It is important to note that this action was carried through by the anti-Stalinists under the watchword — "Unity at All Costs," which the Stalinist leaders of the Council had themselves put forward. The Stalinists proved to be far better tacticians than the leadership of the confused bloc which opposed them.

POLITICAL BLACKMAIL

Actually the slogan of "unity" had been utilized by the Stalinist leaders for nothing less than political blackmail. The implied threat was that if the fight of the anti-Stalinists for control was carried to the convention floor, the Stalinists would then consider themselves free to sabotage the anti-Ball campaign in 1948!



V. R. DUNNE

That this "unity" threat was effective cannot be doubted. It terrorized the top CIO officials from President Murray on down through his lieutenants and even a majority of the local union delegates.

Fullerton Jackson, regional CIO director — Jack Kroll, national PAC director — Anthony Smith, assistant director of the Steel Workers — Cecil Martin, secretary treasurer of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers — Smalle Chadak, national organizer of the Steelworkers — Adolph Germer, assistant director of CIO organization; all stood for "unity"; that is, they agreed not to carry on an all-out fight against the Stalinists.

The Stalinists gained far more at Hibbing than their true strength or their miserable trade union record entitles them to. This should be apparent to all even though their control of the state paper, *Minnesota Labor* is threatened. Sam K. Davis, a Communist Party leader and Managing Editor of *Minnesota Labor* for years, will probably be removed. According to rumors, James Shields is being groomed for the editorial job. Close observers of the Minnesota political scene will remember Shields as the much-discussed Educational Director in the State Department of Education during the Stalinist-dominated Benson regime.

Appointment of Shields or some other "neutral" of this type would

more than even the score for the Stalinist CIO leaders. Owing to rigid machine control by the opposing caucuses — one manipulated by the Stalinists; the other, by the international CIO representatives — not a single controversial issue reached the floor of the convention.

The best — or worst — example of suppression of discussion was the action of Clarence Hathaway from U.E., chairman of the Resolutions Committee. Forced to deal with two resolutions for a Labor Party, one from UAW Local 722; the other, from Local 4 of the Packinghouse workers, Hathaway delayed a complete report of the committee for two whole days. At the end of the third day, he was finally pressed into an agreement for a minority report by those committee members who felt that the labor party discussion should reach the convention floor. But, despite this agreement, Hathaway continued his well-thought-out stalling tactics right up to the last few minutes before adjournment on Sunday afternoon.

Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel, came to Hathaway's aid in the hectic closing session by making a

long-winded analysis of the Taft-Hartley Law. He proved to the convention, quite ably, that the Taft-Hartley Act is an anti-union act! But Pressman proposed no program to deal with this act different from that of the other speakers, who did nothing for three days except to plead with the delegates to organize the workers to vote for Democratic and Republican "friends" in 1948.

At the last moment, Mayor Hubert Humphrey of Minneapolis — darling of the Minnesota Democrats — was endorsed as Senator Ball's opponent in 1948 by a majority vote. At Saturday night's convention banquet, Humphrey had advised the CIO against making the Taft-Hartley Law the major issue of next year's campaign. Even so, he was cheered to the echo.

Terbovich To Speak At Twin City Forum

Manuel Terbovich of Chicago will speak at the Twin City Forum on the "Challenge to Organized Labor" Sunday, Nov. 16 at 3:30 p.m. The meeting will be held at 10 South 4th St. and admission is free.

Happy Birthday Comrade Soderberg!

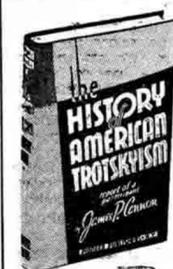
MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 1—Members of the Twin Cities branches of the Socialist Workers Party got together this evening to celebrate the 81st birthday of Martin Soderberg, a militant fighter for workers' rights since 1902 when he first joined the socialist movement in Minneapolis. Although Martin is just able to get around after being hospitalized for four months with a broken leg, his courage is undiminished, his spirit one of looking forward. "I wish I could do more—I can't do enough," he said.

Martin started out as a helper in the boiler room of a flour mill in Minneapolis in 1898. He fired boilers for eight years and then was put on as a machinist's helper during a slack period. He worked his way up as a machinist, remaining in that occupation for 23 years—

until he was fired and black-listed for union activities. He was driving a coal truck during the terrible struggle Minneapolis truck drivers had in the early and middle Thirties. He was one of the militant organizers who made that strike a milestone in the history of the labor movement.

Carl Anderson, in paying tribute to Martin as an example of how not to become dilapidated when growing old — "keep an active mind." And there is no surer, safer way to keep an active mind than to be a Trotskyist—an active, militant fighter for the right of workers to live as a human being should.

Today Martin Soderberg subsists in a little room on an old age pension, but he utters no complaints. He looks forward to the great tomorrow for the worker.



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Ausnehrer Polls 20% Vote In 4-Way Contest

(Continued from Page 1)

day drew near, the Democrats grew panicky and vicious in the Fourth Ward.

Morley had placed a number of bets that Ausnehrer would not poll 500 votes. His object, of course, was to try to sow pessimism in the Ausnehrer ranks by this dodge. But on the eye of the election, Morley had become so worried about Ausnehrer, that he tried to wretch on his bets.

On election morning the whole Democratic machine showed that Morley was speaking for them when he said that he would rather have a Republican elected than see Ausnehrer win. The Democrats stripped every other ward down to a skeleton crew, and poured more than 300 paid Democratic ward-healers into the Fourth Ward. The bookie joints and numbers rackets hung signs on their doors, "Out to Vote. Will be back at 6 P.M.," and headed early in the morning for the Fourth Ward to fight Ausnehrer. They drove out in expensive cars, plastered with stickers calling for the continuation of "Good Government" under the Democrats.

All these Democratic henchmen ganged up by the dozens and in some places by the scores, around polling places. In more than one place they were reinforced by church dignitaries. And Democratic whiskey flowed freely all day long. As if to emphasize and underline the Democratic preference for Republicans over CIO men in office, Charles P. Henderson, the Republican candidate for mayor slipped into office with the slender margin of 3,200 out of a total of 68,000 votes, while the Democrats were busy trying to smash the Ausnehrer campaign in the Fourth Ward.

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PAC CONFUSION

The Ausnehrer campaigners fought hard and well against this Democratic assault, but they had, in addition, to contend with the confusion created by general official PAC policy. CIO-PAC endorsed Ausnehrer in the Fourth Ward against the Democrat Morley. Yet elsewhere in the city PAC endorsed 8 Democratic and 1 Republican candidates. PAC newspaper advertisements and most of its official campaign speeches placed central em-

phasis on a campaign to elect a Democratic mayor and municipal judge.

As a result of this confused PAC policy the workers had to vote a split ticket in the Fourth Ward. That was bad enough in itself, and to make it worse, PAC had been urging them to support the Democrats. Proof of the damage done by this false policy lies in the substantial number of ballots voided in the Fourth Ward because crosses were placed opposite the names of both Ausnehrer and his Democratic rival, Morley.

There is only one effective way to clear up this confusion. That is to run a complete ticket of independent labor candidates and be done with the Democratic and Republican two-timers and double-crossers.

A LONG STRIDE

Despite all these heavy obstacles, Ausnehrer polled 1,895 votes — 20% of the total. Sympathizers of the CIO independent labor campaign in the Fourth Ward, who are in a position to know a good deal about politics in Youngstown, estimated that if Ausnehrer polled 750 votes he would be doing very well. The final count gave him 2 1/2 times that figure. Thus, the CIO workers in Youngstown have taken a long stride in their first thrust toward independent political action.

Ausnehrer's worker - supporters put on a fighting campaign such as was never before seen in this city. They feel that the Ausnehrer vote is a victory and that on a city-wide straight labor ticket he would have been swept into office. The march of labor on to the political arena in Youngstown has begun.

A speech at an Ausnehrer rally by Mike Pochiro, president of the large Republic Steel Local 1331, and a Seventh Ward resident, revealed the rising sentiment to run independent CIO-PAC candidates. "We Seventh Warders are over here in the Fourth Ward fighting for Ausnehrer because we don't have independent labor candidates in our ward," Pochiro said. "We hope soon to ask you to repay us by coming over to help us elect a CIO candidate in the Seventh Ward."

Our Program:

- Defend labor's standard of living!**
A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!
- Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
- Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
- Build an independent labor party!**
- Tax the rich, not the poor!**
Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!
- An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
- Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
End Jim Crow! End anti-Semitism!
- For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
- 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!
- 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!
- For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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Christmas Shoppers Invited to Bazaar

In time for Christmas shopping, the American Committee for European Workers Relief will have a bazaar at 126 North St. Louis, Los Angeles, on Saturday and Sunday, November 22 and 23.

Merchants in the community have been very generous and all types of merchandise will be found at bargain prices, including electrical appliances, ceramics, leather goods, plastics, toys, coats, suits and dresses, and books.

Entertainment will also be provided with television, dancing, and a good dinner.

All proceeds will be distributed by the American Committee for European Workers Relief to victims of starvation and concentration camps.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50¢ for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.
Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 5¢ each in U.S., 4¢ each in foreign countries.

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Monday, November 10, 1947



"It is quite self-evident that the radicalization of the working-class in the United States has passed only through its initial phases, almost exclusively in the sphere of the trade union movement (the CIO). The prewar period, and then the war itself may temporarily interrupt this process of radicalization, especially if a considerable number of workers are absorbed into war industry. But this interruption of the process of radicalization cannot be of long duration. The second stage of radicalization will assume a more sharply expressive character. The problem of forming an independent labor party will be put on the order of the day... Ahead lies a favorable perspective, providing all the justification for revolutionary activism. It is necessary to utilize the opportunities which are opening up and to build the revolutionary party."

-Leon Trotsky, 1940

Labor Cannot Exist Half Slave and Half Free

Abraham Lincoln once said that a nation cannot exist half slave and half free. We can say today that organized labor cannot exist half slave and half free.

It cannot, as most of the top union leaders would have us believe, submit to some of the restraints of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and evade the rest.

Either the labor movement will fight the Taft-Hartley Act all the way—or it will go down to defeat all the way.

Last week, we saw a rush of the union leaders to get under the wire to sign the "yellow dog" oaths demanded by the Taft-Hartley Act. We heard these union leaders declare at the same time that this didn't mean they were not going to fight the Act.

What does this assurance in words mean, when we have the evidence of their deeds before our eyes? If they grovel on their bellies at the sound of the first shot from the Taft-Hartley Act, are they

going to show more fortitude when the whole barrage is unloosed?

What these union leaders hope is that they can "live with" the Act in part and yet escape the most deadly features of the Act. They think they can sign the "yellow dog" oaths and that will be as far as it goes.

This is an empty illusion—and a most dangerous one. By submitting to any section of the Act, they establish a precedent for submission to other sections. By sanctioning any section of the Act, they strengthen the Act as a whole.

Not all the union leaders, however, think labor can exist half slave and half free. There are some notable exceptions, like John L. Lewis and R. J. Thomas, who have sounded the warning call.

The ranks of labor, under peril of crumbling before the full assault of the Taft-Hartley Act, must heed this warning, call a halt to retreat and fight back now.

Truman Committee Report on Civil Right

President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights issued a report Oct. 29 which deserves careful study. The 178-page document can be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for \$1. It is titled "To Secure These Rights."

The report presents a general survey of the state of civil rights in America today. It points out the evils of lynching, segregation, discrimination, the poll tax, police brutality, court bias, and so on. It calls for legislation to remedy these evils, proposing such measures as a Federal anti-lynching law, an FEPC, new powers for the Civil Rights Section of the Dept. of Justice, the outlawing of police brutality, and the provision of stiff penalties for violations of civil rights.

The report conforms so closely to the views of progressive trade unions, Negro organizations, and liberal groups and suggests remedial legislation so closely along the lines they have long advocated that at first sight it does not seem possible the Truman Administration could have produced it. How does this report fit into Wall Street's anti-labor drive, the House Un-American Committee's red-baiting witch-hunt, and Truman's own "loyalty" purge of Government employees? How do the progressive legislative proposals contained in this report square with the mass of savage anti-labor laws that both Congress and the State governments have placed on the books in the past year?

The political motivation behind the report is avowed by the Committee itself. First, it is designed to counter the adverse criticisms abroad of the hypocrisy of the Truman Administration in calling for democracy in other lands while doing nothing about the crying abuses of democracy at home. By admitting the well-known evils in the United States and making a show of doing something about them, Truman's brain trust hopes to take the sting out of the critics abroad.

Secondly, the Truman Administration is worried about the 1948 elections. It is worried especially about the labor vote and the vote of the minority groups, Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Filipinos, Japanese and other minorities who are getting tired of being pushed around. In this respect, the report constitutes campaign propaganda prepared for 1948. No confidence whatsoever can be placed in either the Democrats or Republicans that any of the progressive measures suggested by the civil rights report will be put into practice. The few gestures they have made in the past against violations of civil rights resulted from their fear of political pressure from labor and its allies.

Only labor's own candidates can be depended upon to actually take major steps to end Jim Crow. Only by organizing their own forces on the political arena and putting their own representatives in office can labor and the minority groups hope to cut out the cancer of racial prejudice in America.

British Labor Party Suffers Setback

The Nov. 1 municipal elections in Britain registered a serious setback for the Labor Party. Out of 480 councils, the Tories increased their control from 268 to 292, the Laborites losing their majority in 24 councils. In this shift the Tories gained 636 council seats and lost 18. The Labor Party gained only 43 seats and lost 687.

This was sufficient for Winston Churchill to declare that the Labor Party had lost "any mandate they obtained at the general election." He brazenly demanded a new general election, saying that the Laborites "henceforward... will govern without the moral support and against the will of the people."

What the voters indicated by this shift, however was not support for the Tories who plunged Britain into World War II. It was a vote of displeasure with Attlee and his cohorts for not carrying out the mandate they were given in the general

election two years ago to establish socialism in Great Britain.

The Attlee government has done everything possible to block the establishment of socialism. They have continued Churchill's imperialist foreign policy without change, maintaining enormous armies of occupation in Europe and in the colonies. At home they have imposed a regime of "austerity" on the British workers and poor people just as severe as anything the country suffered under the Tories.

Their purpose in following such a disastrous course was to bolster and maintain British capitalism.

The Nov. 1 election results are a grave warning. Either British labor must go forward by doing away with capitalism and establishing socialism, or reaction will recuperate from its 1945 "disaster," as Churchill puts it, and eventually smash the British labor movement.

Open the Books of the Landlords

The members of the North Side Tenants' League in Chicago have raised a demand which strikes us as highly reasonable and one which can prove quite effective in puncturing the claims of rent-gouging landlords who say they are suffering such "hardship" a rent increase is justified.

This demand is "Open the Books of the Landlords." It arose during the energetic and militant fight which the North Side Tenants' League has been conducting against a number of predatory Chicago landlords.

The Area Rent Office had granted a series of rent increases to landlords who maintained they were suffering "hardship." The League demanded that these increases be suspended pending re-examination of the landlords' claims and hearings at which the tenants would be given an opportunity to contest these claims.

In order to remove the dispute from the uncertain grounds of sheer assertion, the League asked that the landlords be required to submit their books for public inspection.

The general conviction that the giant real estate interests have been shaking down the biggest profits in history is well founded. During the war they

were able to rent anything with a roof and walls to hold it up. They cut down services outrageously.

Then they began the racketeer practice of soaking prospective tenants heavy bonuses before agreeing to rent out vacant units. At the October council meeting of the North Side Tenants' League, nine checks totalling \$995 were handed out to tenants who had been illegally gouged in this way. The money was recovered through the efforts of the League.

How many similar cases of illegal charges have not come to light? Figures, of course, are not available; but the practice is well known to be widespread. Public inspection of the landlord's records would help to recover some of the loot taken in this manner.

The real estate sharks are looking forward hungrily to Feb. 28, 1948, when the Federal Rent Act expires and rent controls end. Tenants cannot afford to delay organizing mass pressure for continuation of controls. By opening the books of the landlords to public inspection they can prove that these bandits are not suffering "hardship" by any stretch of the imagination.

Housing - - Truman Style



Picture of barn at 1252 Clarence St., St. Paul, Minn., in which Mr. and Mrs. Gail House and their 10 children finally found shelter.

Evicted Family of Twelve Move Into Vacant Barn

By Winifred Nelson
ST. PAUL, Minn., Nov. 1— Twelve Houses in the family and a barn for a home!

That is the situation for Mr. and Mrs. Gail House and their ten children, ranging in age from 1 to 18 years, who yesterday prepared to move into a barn because they were being evicted from their home.

Reading the plight of the Gail House family in the local press, we went out to see them. Mrs. House greeted us cordially as we entered the living room of a 6-room dwelling on the outskirts of the city. Not a very handy place to live—we had difficulty even in finding it—but a home is a home these days, and Mrs. House had made this home a very cheerful place. She and her husband were getting ready to go and look at the barn that had been offered them as living quarters, after the story of their predicament appeared in the papers.

NO HELP
Despite the fact that they were being put out on the streets to live, the Houses said that county welfare authorities wouldn't do anything to help. "They came out to see us," the mother related, "but

they said they couldn't do anything until we actually did get put out on the streets. Then they'd place the children in boarding homes."

We looked around us at the healthy, good-looking House children. Certainly here were children well cared for and happy, children who shouldn't be separated from their parents.

"I don't want my family broken up," Mrs. House continued. "I love my children, every one of them. I want a house where we can be together. People have a right to have a roof over their head!" she added.

We asked why the owner was putting them out of their home. Mr. House explained to us that the landlord was living in a basement himself with his four children.

A member of AFL Ice and Coal Drivers' union local 756, Mr. House works long hours. The oldest son, Frank, works too, and it takes the income of both of them to feed and clothe the family and pay the rent. We expressed our opinion that organized labor must take the lead in solving the problems of the majority of the people—to get adequate housing and food in a world of high prices caused by the greed of a few.

The Houses nodded their agreement. "Things aren't right the way

the world is now," the father said. "Why, you can't afford to buy a place to live, prices are so high. And they want a down payment that you just can't raise. Just over there," he continued, pointing down the road, "new houses have been standing half-finished because people like us can't afford to buy them."

Robert, the baby, who had been hanging on his mother's skirts, plopped to the floor and let out a wail. She picked him up and kissed him. Frank and Mathilda, the two oldest, smiled at the baby and tried to coax him to the floor again.

From the kitchen, we could hear the familiar sound of dishes being washed, and knew what the other children were doing. It was a busy household, twice as busy as usual because of the moving preparations. We decided we had better say goodbye, and let Mr. and Mrs. House go to seek a home—even if it was only a barn that had been offered them.

Next day the paper reported that the Houses were going to buy the barn for \$950.00. Mrs. House was quoted as saying: "I'm taking the place because I don't want my family broken up. Any good barn is as good as a house when you haven't got a house."

Stalinists Keep Stranglehold On Minnesota Farmers Union

By Joe Simpson
WILLMAR, Nov. 1 — Opponents of the Stalinist state leadership within the Minnesota Farmers' Union were again defeated at the annual convention held in Willmar Oct. 28 to 30. The bureaucrats heading the organization, backed by the prestige of support from the national leadership and officials of affiliated co-ops, easily overcame the leaderless, unorganized opposition, mostly made up of farmers from western Minnesota, steeped in the militant tradition of the Farm Holiday movement.

State official followed state official to the platform, utilizing their privilege of making official convention reports to attack the opposition. Some of these Stalinist hacks dared even to suggest that the opposition was instituted by the National Tax Equality Association, a reactionary group seeking tax legislation to destroy the co-ops.

Only on the second day did the opposition finally get the floor. They succeeded in passing a proposal to democratize the state board of directors, which had been dominated by the Stalinists. The opposition, charging that "authority is slowly creeping away from the grass roots," demanded that the five man board be replaced by the chairman from the 24 organized counties. The Stalinists argued that this system would prove unwieldy and inefficient. Only about a dozen of the 150 delegates rose to vote for the old system. Rank and file resentment against Stalinist bureaucratic methods was evidenced when three-fourths of the locals presented resolutions demanding the change.

The opposition was guilty of no red-baiting. They attacked the leadership for its undemocratic methods. One opposition speaker, for example, pointed out that unity and loyalty to the Farmers Union "does not seem to include the right to disagree on leadership and policy." Of course, the Stalinists howled that such arguments were "red-baiting," intended to split working peoples' organizations.

The rank and file still has to learn that more changes in mechanics or organization will not destroy bureaucratism. Nor will an opposition based solely on the demand for a change of regime out the Stalinists. The defeat of the opposition at Willmar was due primarily to a lack of program. During the discussion on the program for 1948, the opposition played the part of little more than critical grammarians and careful proof-readers.

The spineless, typically Stalinist program, after citing the grave danger existing for the co-ops and farmers movements, called for vigorous "non-partisan" political action. It urged the locals to work for the defeat of politicians "not friendly to us" and to elect those who are. A return to the discredited OPA—this was the only answer in the program to inflation, which is taking more away from the farmer than it pays him. The big market speculators, who really profit from rising farm prices, are to be disciplined by "price-fixing" — by the government they control. A return to the "policies of FDR" was of course touted as the way to avert atomic destruction.

MISERABLE PROGRAM
The Stalinists still continue to peddle the politics of choosing between "good" and "bad" capitalist politicians as a solution for the terrible problems facing the working people. Then, with this miserable "action" program in their hands, Stalinist speakers before the convention dared to blame the "apathy" of the farmers for the prevailing conditions!

"There was no complacency out here in the prairie lands in 1932 and '33," one speaker insolently charged. An opposition worthy of itself would have replied fittingly to this petty bureaucrat's contempt for the mass movement. It would have placed the blame where it belongs—on the bureaucratic strangulation of the organization by its Stalinist leaders and their paralyzing, cowardly program. It would have called for mass consumers' committees to enforce price control. It would have called for a March on Washington by farmers to prevent the passage of laws and taxes designed to wreck the co-ops. It

would have called for the organization of a Labor Party to wrest control of the government from the grip of speculators and bankers. It would have spoken the fighting language of the Farm Holiday movement, not the sniveling, cowardly double-talk of the Stalinists and of their "legislative" program.

Although Einar Kuitinen, who consistently follows the Stalinist line, and his clique, was returned to office by a three to one majority, the opposition has nevertheless made a beginning. One of the two delegates elected to the national convention was from the opposition. The Stalinists no longer control the state board. Despite the opposition's lack of program, many a delegate will go home conscious of his organization's bad leadership and program. Although the Stalinists closed the convention with the threat—"if you leave this convention as divided as you arrived, this organization will die," the opposition will not fold up. Dally and insistent bureaucratic provocations from the Stalinists and the need of a fighting program will feed and strengthen the opposition.

Overpaid Politicians And Minimum Wage

Congressmen are paid \$15,000 a year, not counting the generous expense account allowed them. What does that \$15,000 a year mean in hourly earnings? If Congressmen worked 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year their hourly pay would be \$7.21. However, everyone knows that Congress is in session only part of the year. If Congress stayed in Washington for seven months of the year (practically unheard of) then the hourly pay would be \$12.10 assuming the Congressmen "worked" 40 hours each week of the seven months.

These facts were presented to a House sub-committee by Russ Nixon, representative of the CIO Electrical Workers. He was pleading that the legal minimum wage of 40 cents an hour be increased to 75 cents. The \$12.10-per-hour politicians were not very much interested.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOTHER JONES

Installment 3

A STRIKE IN VIRGINIA

It was about 1891 when I was down in Virginia. There was a strike in the Dietz mines and the boys had sent for me. When I got off the train at Norton a fellow walked up to me and asked me if I were Mother Jones.



"Yes, I am, Mother Jones."

He looked terribly frightened. "The superintendent told me that if you came down here he would blow out your brains. He said he didn't want to see you 'round these parts'."

"You tell the superintendent that I am not coming to see him anyway. I am coming to see the miners."

As we stood talking a poor fellow, all skin and bones, joined us.

"Do you see those cars over there, Mother, on the siding?" He pointed to cars filled with coal.

"Well, we made a contract with a coal company to fill those cars for so much, and after we had made the contract, they put lower bottoms in the cars, so that they would hold another ton or so. I have worked for this company all my life and all I have now is this old worn-out frame."

We couldn't get a hall to hold a meeting. Everyone was afraid to rent to us. Finally the colored people consented to give us their church for our meeting. Just as we were about to start the colored chairman came to me and said: "Mother, the coal company gave us this ground that the church is on. They have sent word that they will take it from us if we let you speak here."

I would not let those poor souls lose their ground so I adjourned the meeting to the four corners of the public roads. When the meeting was over and the people had dispersed, I asked my co-worker, Dud Hado, a fellow from Iowa, if he would go with me up to the post office. He was a kindly soul but easily frightened.

As we were going along the road, I said, "Have you got a pistol on you?"

"Yes," said he, "I'm not going to let any one blow your brains out."

"My boy," said I, "It is against the law in this country to carry concealed weapons. I want you to take that pistol out and expose a couple of inches of it."

As he did so about eight or ten gunmen jumped out from behind an old barn beside the road, jumped on him and said, "Now we've got you, you dirty organizer." They bulled us along the road to the town and we were taken to an office where they had a notary public and we were tried. All those blood-thirsty murderers were there and the general manager came in.

"THAT WASN'T GOD'S HOUSE"

"Mother Jones, I am astonished," said he.

"What is your astonishment about?" said I.

"That you should go into the house of God with any one who carries a gun."

"Oh that wasn't God's house. Don't you know that God Almighty never comes around to a place like this!"

He laughed and of course, the dogs laughed, for he was the general manager.

They dismissed any charges against me and they fined poor Dud twenty-five dollars and costs. They seemed surprised when I said I would pay it. I had the money in my petticoat.

I went over to a miner's shack and asked his wife for a cup of tea. Often in these company-owned towns the inn-keepers were afraid to let me have food. The poor soul was so happy to have me there that she excused herself to "dress for company." She came out of the bedroom with a white apron on over her cheap cotton wrapper.

One of the men who was present at Dud's trial followed me up to the miner's house. At first the miner's wife would not admit him but he said he wanted to speak privately to Mother Jones. So she let him in.

"Mother," he said, "I am glad you paid that bill so quickly. They thought you'd appeal the case. Then they were going to lock you both up and burn you in the coke ovens at night and then say that you had both been turned loose in the morning and they didn't know where you had gone."

Whether they really would have carried out their plans I do not know. But I do know that there are no limits to which powers of privilege will not go to keep the workers in slavery.

WAYLAND'S "APPEAL TO REASON"

In 1893, J. A. Wayland with a number of others decided to demonstrate to the workers the advantage of co-operation over competition. A group of people bought land in Tennessee and founded the Ruskin Colony. They invited me to join them.

"No," said I, "your colony will not succeed. You have to have religion to make a colony successful, and labor is not yet a religion with labor."

I visited the colony a year later. I could see in that short time disrupting elements in the colony. I was glad I had not joined the colony but had stayed out in the thick of the fight. Labor has a lot of fighting to do before it can demonstrate. Two years later Wayland left for Kansas City. He was despondent.

A group of us got together; Wayland, myself, and three men known as the "Three P's" — Putnam, a freight agent for the Burlington Railway; Palmer, a clerk in the Post Office; Page an advertising agent for a department store. We decided that the workers needed education. That they must have a paper devoted to their interests and stating their point of view. We urged Wayland to start such a paper. Palmer suggested the name, Appeal to Reason.

"But we have no subscribers," said Wayland.

"I'll get them," said I. "Get out your first edition and I'll see that it has subscribers enough to pay for it."

He got out a limited first edition and with it as a sample I went to the Federal Barracks at Omaha and secured a subscription from almost every lad there. Soldiers are the sons of working people and need to know it. I went down to the City Hall and got a lot of subscriptions. In a short time I had gathered several hundred subscriptions and the paper was launched. It did a wonderful service under Wayland. Later Fred G. Warren came to Girard where the paper was published, as editorial writer. If any place in America could be called my home, his home was mine. Whenever, after a long, dangerous fight, I was weary and felt the need of rest, I went to the home of Fred Warren.

Like all other things, The Appeal to Reason had its youth of vigor, its later days of profound wisdom, and then it passed away. Disrupting influences, quarrels, divergent points of view, theories, finally caused it to go out of business.

Workers' Forum

Reactionary Nature Of Technocracy, Inc.

Editor:
Before joining the Socialist Workers Party I was for a short time a member of Technocracy, Inc. which I subsequently found to be a semi-fascist organization. It was founded in 1933 at Columbia University, ostensibly by a group of engineers under the direction of Howard Scott, perennial "Continental Director" of the organization. What was actually behind the "engineers" is never mentioned by the leadership.

At the present time these people are rapidly expanding their base in the middle class. A couple of months ago they sent big caravans of cars from all over the country to a convention in Vancouver, B. C. Also present was an official Technocracy airplane.

A nationalistic, anti-minority group ("orientals" are excluded from membership) which can afford airplanes is certainly a potential threat to the working class and, I believe, rates some attention from *The Militant*.

It is true that few, if any, fascist hooligans of the Silver Shirt or Bund brand belong to Technocracy now, but a depression will bring them on the scene the way honey draws ants.

I would like to contact other *Militant* readers who have further information on Technocracy.

Charles Grant
Los Angeles, Calif.

Editor's Note: We will be glad to send Comrade Grant's address to anyone wishing to correspond with him.

Don't Need Managers, Says Texas Worker In Chemical Plant

Editor:
I'm sure any industrial worker could capably answer the letter of Mr. B. I. Stafford, III, but I'd especially appreciate the privilege because I work in an area whose educational level is so much lower than that inhabited by Mr. Stafford.

Here in the deep South, construction bosses haunt the cradles for hands. Old working men of 18 are the usual thing and attendance in the third grade is a proof of higher education. But no one, least of all the plant managers, personnel and flunkies that Mr. Stafford stands in such awe of, tries to kid us that we can't run the plant without their help!

I work in chemicals. The process is anything but simple; a burst line can mean gallons of hot acid down your neck or a flood of chlorine to choke you to death. Mistakes can happen and cause serious trouble, but they don't—unless some flunkie gets to messing with something he doesn't understand. Their vast experience and training consists in having learned to stay in their offices and answer "no" to all grievances and leave the operation of the plant to them that know how. And that's us!

In a plant producing better than 800 tons of finished product daily, without interference we control basic acidity or alkalinity to within a hundredth of a percent, advised only by our own chemical control workers. We start up and shut down by ourselves and, while "approval" comes from the front office, the in-

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of *The Militant*. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you want your name printed.

ative rests with us; we're the ones who know when it's safe to operate and when it's not.

Our foremen are around to see that we don't sit down or shoot the bull; not to mess with valves or controls (God help 'em if they do). Our shift superintendent shows up about once a day to ask us, "How're things?" and passes on to ask the same question somewhere else. The answer is always, "O.K."

The General Superintendent passes through about once a month, complaining about how bad the place smells. The Works Manager's office is twenty miles from the plant! So what do we need this tribe for?

The answer is—authority. Not skill, not education, not training, not experience, but just authority. The ability to say "no" to a grievance. The ability to tell a working man he's not worth a whoop, and fire him if he contradicts. The ability to bulldoze, oppress and coerce, and the authority to back it up. That's all. And the boss government, and the Taft-Hartley Act are even taking over some of those functions!

So tell Mr. Stafford that a working man says we don't need these people. Tell Mr. Stafford that you speak truth when you advocate getting rid of them and turning them to something more productive than sitting on their fannies. And tell him that when we get rid of these grievance-breeders we'll have unloaded the best portion of worry from the workers' minds. The rest, the operational headaches, the bugs and the malfunctioning we can handle ourselves—as we always have!

Bob Dallas
Houston, Texas

Another Worker Answers Stafford

Revolutionary victory came under my notice. I am one of the "puny little" jobsters out in industry. In my opinion when the workers take over the industrial plants and put in their own government the managers will be glad to stay on the job and contribute whatever they can for the benefit of the workers instead of the useless owners as at present.

After all, production depends mainly upon the efforts of the workers at the benches, on the assembly line and in various positions in the organization—all are interdependent. Managers, superintendents and all other supervisory workers are only incidental to carrying on production and are for the most part developed from the rank and file of workmen on the job.

Under a workers government, in-service training would be instituted, skills made less important. When all are trained, every job will be common or scientific, depending on the viewpoint.

When that time comes, the humblest of workers will see the fulfillment of his dreams in reality—and without waiting for the mental giants that future generations will produce.

Donald W. McKinnon
Portland, Oregon

Reader Fed Up With Truman Pie

Editor:
High prices aren't enough to get you down. The profiteers have found another way to get you.

For example, bunches of carrots, boxes of brussel sprouts, loaves of bread are getting smaller and smaller. One bunch of carrots used to be just right for my family of four for one meal. Now I have to buy two bunches.

With these two bunches there is always just a bit left over. I have to rack my brains and ingenuity to find some way of serving these little dabs of left-overs. For a busy housewife and mother it becomes a major problem. Unless I plan very closely there is more waste than ever before.

I'm getting fed up—fed up with Truman pie.

Mrs. Peter G.
New York, N. Y.

Lerner Votes "Vanish" In Detroit Election

Editor:
In the analysis of the Detroit primary elections in the Oct. 20 *Militant*, we stated that "Lerner completely swept some heavily populated workers' districts." This conclusion was based upon results reported in a front-page story of the *Detroit Free Press* (Oct. 8 early election edition).

These results showed that at least in one district, Lerner received more ballots than all other candidates combined.

We accepted these newspaper returns as accurate, inasmuch as the district reported was one in which the Socialist Workers Party had campaigned heavily. It was only natural for us to assume that in neighboring districts where we had worked similarly, we should obtain like results.

When the "final returns" were published by the office of the City Clerk, Lerner's vote in the above district was shown as 4 instead of the earlier 105. What happened to 101 votes we cannot say.

We tend to believe the early figures of the newspaper since such a reported upset in favor of Lerner would be checked before being released to the press and since the area reported was one in which heavy campaigning had taken place for our candidate.

A letter of protest and demand for an explanation has been sent to the City Clerk. The final results show a total of 124 votes for all candidates in this district as against 216 in the early returns of the *Free Press*. What happened to the lost votes is still a mystery.

In spite of discrepancies along these lines, the final figures still reveal the attractiveness of our program to Detroit workers. For example, in the workers' neighborhood of District 8, Ward 3, Lerner received 85% (17) of the total vote, and in District 4, Ward 7, he received 107% (again 17) of the total. Our vote per district, we found, was approximately in direct proportion to the amount of campaigning done.

Rose Young,
Campaign Manager
Detroit, Mich.

Competition in SWP Branches Grows Keener in Fund Drive

By Rose Karsner

Competition among the branches of the Socialist Workers Party for high places on the Scoreboard for the \$15,000 Militant Fund is growing keen in the second half of the campaign.

St. Louis maintains its top position. Flint remains second, Milwaukee third and Buffalo fourth. New York moves up to seventh from ninth; Philadelphia eighth from tenth; Pittsburgh twelfth from sixteenth and Los Angeles fifteenth from twenty-fourth.

FROM OUR READERS

Two weeks ago we sent an appeal to our subscribers asking for contributions to *The Militant Fund* on the occasion of our nineteenth anniversary. Some have already responded. The quality of the replies is good, though the number is still small, with the west coast readers not heard from as yet.

Most of the coin-cards come back filled, and in many cases collections among friends have been made. We also have some interesting comments—favorable and unfavorable. For example: "We just use your paper to line our garbage can. . . . We would really appreciate it if you stop sending this paper at once!" This is the polite reply from Mr. and Mrs. Broffman of Los Angeles. Obviously these people are Stalinists. Only they use such foul language.

A Spring Valley sympathizer sends \$1.70 in his coin-card, in addition to a previous \$3 donation and says: "You're doing marvelous work for the true betterment of humanity everywhere."

David Kraus puts 50c in his card and says "sorry I can't do more." From a Stillwater, Minn. friend comes the following: "Unable as I am to contribute to the fund as you request, I am enclosing One Dollar for a year's sub to begin at once. Already a subscriber and keeping a file I want a second paper to give away where it will do most good."

Nathan Berman, our reliable friend, came to the office and got

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 92	184
Flint	200	124	62
Milwaukee	200	125	61
Buffalo	600	359	60
Oakland	250	148	59
Newark	500	289	58
New York	4,500	2,347	52
Philadelphia	300	155	51
Youngstown	600	300	50
Twin Cities	1,000	455	46
Cleveland	250	100	40
Pittsburgh	150	60	40
Rochester	25	10	40
Tacoma	25	10	40
Los Angeles	1,500	580	39
Akron	300	107	36
Boston	275	99	36
Seattle	300	92	31
Chicago	1,500	389	26
San Diego	100	26	26
San Francisco	1,250	323	26
Toledo	150	39	26
Reading	100	20	20
West Virginia	25	5	20
Detroit	600	100	17
Lynn	125	15	12
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	5	7
Connecticut State	200	12	6
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
TOTAL THROUGH NOV. 4		\$6,384	43

four coin-cards. We are sure he will come back with all of them filled.

The past week's mails brought the following responses from our readers:

McNamee \$1; Wactowicy 50c; Doneski \$1; Mrs. Huntington \$5; Kraus 50c; Marano 50c; St. Clair \$1.70; Brode 92c; Neu \$1; Conery \$1; Smith 86c; Holtman 50c; Freeman 50c; Tamer \$1; Hollowell \$1; Matule \$1; Molinari \$1; Hopkins 87c; Browder \$1.50; Keenan \$1; Harrison \$1; Stannard 56c; Bonome \$1; Judd \$1.30; B & C Zanada \$1.70; Martin \$3, and from three anonymous friends \$1.70.

FROM THE BRANCHES
Phia. — Irene: "Enclosed is a

money order for the *Militant Fund* which puts us over the 50% mark."

Los Angeles — Myra: "Enclosed check is to be applied to our *Militant Fund* quota. Before the end of the week I shall send another and will try to make 50%."

Reading — Rose: "Enclosed find money order of which \$10 is for our regular monthly Sustaining Fund and the balance for *The Militant*. We are a little slow getting started but we will raise the full amount of our quota."

Chicago — Harold: "Enclosed is \$181.10 for the *Militant Fund*. Collections are a little slow but we know we will make our goal. After all, the comrades too have been hit by this inflation."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Subgetter's Devotion Stirs Wide Enthusiasm



Among hundreds of *Militant* readers who help to spread this paper's socialist message by selling subscriptions to acquaintances and fellow workers, James W. Conery of Kewanee, Ill., stands out as a glowing example. His inspiring letter in this column last week drew immediate and spirited response.

"Isn't it wonderful!" exclaimed many New York readers. "A gem!" Since he became a subscriber only last July, in Toledo, Comrade Conery, 75 years old, has sold about 25 subs in and around Kewanee, 60 miles west of Chicago.

"His devotion will be a thrill and a boost to every reader," said Rose Karsner. "Especially it gives the younger comrades something to think about."

"That kind of work by a man 75 years old is a job to some of us younger people to take inventory of ourselves," commented Gladys Barker. "Every one of us gets around more and easier than Conery, and we could sell a lot more subs if we just put our mind to it. But we waste too much time in idle gabbling. Conery's devotion and purposefulness is what we all need more of. He wants to see mankind organized for liberation. He doesn't let himself forget that purpose. More power to him—and to all of us."

There are many others like Comrade Conery, but perhaps few as old. We do not know all their ages. And as Conery pointed out in his letter, there are thousands more "old socialists" and young too, who are looking for something like *The Militant* and need only to be introduced to it.

Two "old socialists" in Portland

Oregon, frequently send in subs for friends there and even far away. J.E.M. just sent us two subs for Chicago residents. W.E.B. is a fairly regular sub-getter and, like J.E.M., also often sends occasional donations to *The Militant*.

This week, as often, V.L. of Port Jervis, N. Y., sent in another sub from that area. He has obtained new readers in a number of towns of New York and Pennsylvania.

Jarvis Dusenberry of Rochester, who also writes poems and letters on labor subjects for us, does a big job of distributing not only *The Militant* but other literature of the Socialist Workers Party.

C.R. of Stillwater, Minn., took out a second sub for himself this week, so he can always have an extra copy to pass on to someone else and still keep his own file complete for reference.

We can thank J.B. of Plentywood, Mont., for a wide circle of readers in that state.

There are hundreds of younger comrades, J.E.M., W.E.B., V.L.s, Dusenberry's, C.R.'s and J.B.'s in our files. We didn't happen to hear from them all in the last week or two. It is only this sort of devotion that not only keeps *The Militant* appearing week after week but has always carried on the fight for labor's progress and for socialist ideas. Without such people the world would never have progressed thus far.

New York Coalition Politics Brings PR Defeat

By George Clarke

NEW YORK, Nov. 5—The defeat of the Proportional Representation system of electing members of the City Council constitutes a victory of Wall Street reaction in this city. The banks and real estate interests poured money like water into the campaign. They chose the slogan "Throw the Communists out of the Council" as their main scare weapon of agitation. This victory must open the door to new attempts to increase transit fares, new sales taxes, new measures to assist rent-hungry landlords.

But the defeat of PR is primarily a new warning of the tremendous dangers inherent in the game of coalition politics practised by the Stalinist-led American Labor Party and the Social Democratic-led Liberal Party. "Communism" became a major issue only because coalition politics had obscured the real advantages of PR for the labor movement and minority groups.

Since its inception in 1936, the ALP has been perverted into a trading post for deals with capitalist politicians. The independent labor vote, disgusted with Tammany Hall

and the GOP, has been bartered for a few posts, pitiful favors and elections of "friends of labor." Singing the tune of anti-Communism, the Liberal Party has not deviated by a hairbreadth from the coalition politics of their erstwhile Stalinist partners. Together they kept La Guardia or Tammany Hall in power in City Hall. Together they thwarted the possibility of an independent labor majority from taking control of city affairs.

These coalition politics seriously impaired the campaign to keep PR. Few working class or middle class voters outside the ranks of the ALP or the Liberal Party could be aroused by the danger of "graffers" taking the helm. Certainly no enthusiasm could be aroused for PR on this basis.

Because of coalition politics the supporters of PR could not properly expose the anti-Communist campaign as an anti-labor campaign. They could not demonstrate that Tammany Hall was in reality directing its fire against the ALP and the Liberal Party since neither of these parties had any desire to break with Tammany Hall.

It was a tragic farce to see the ALP and the Liberal Party locked in deadly combat in the contest between Rabin the Democrat and Lumbard the Republican for Supreme Court Justice. Republicans and Democrats fought like tigers against PR while the ALP and Liberal Party campaigned for their candidates.

No less treacherous were the maneuvers with O'Dwyer which preceded the voting. O'Dwyer's entire machine—from Louis Cohen, his Executive Secretary to Frank Sampson, recently appointed head of Tammany by the mayor—made the welkin ring with their reactionary shouts against PR. But on the eve of the elections Eugene Connolly, speaking for the ALP, absolved O'Dwyer of responsibility for his closest co-workers and his entire political machine. "Good citizens," he said, "will applaud the action of Mayor O'Dwyer. . . . O'Dwyer's ac-

tion was confined to a cheap statement of neutrality.

In an open letter addressed to the ALP and the Liberal Party on October 31st, the New York local of the S.W.P. demanded to know whether O'Dwyer's neutrality had been purchased by promises by these parties to reconsider their position on transit fares. This contemplated reconsideration had been reported in an authoritative story in the "N. Y. Times."

Both parties denied the report. But the denial did not remove the danger to the five cents fare. Part of the deal with O'Dwyer unquestionably consisted in an agreement to separate the referendum on PR from the referendum on the fare. The consequences of this deal are already manifest. A combined re-

ferendum would probably have saved the five cents fare and carried PR along with it. Separately, the danger exists that the five cents fare will suffer the same fate as ALP.

Tammany has paid off the PR for its unstinting fidelity with a swift political kick. Will the ALP leaders learn the lesson and put an end to capitalist politics? Or will they continue to crawl and beg for handouts for the Tammany?

Will the Liberal Party try now to crawl in the corner formerly reserved by Tammany for the ALP only to suffer the same fate when Tammany no longer needs them? The defeat of PR must be the signal to put an end to coalition politics. It must alarm all trade unionists to the need for united independent labor political action.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON**—2nd floor, 4 S. Howard St. Open Mon. through Friday, 3 to 5 p.m.; Saturdays 2 to 4 p.m.
- BOSTON**—30 Stuart St. Open Saturdays 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.; Tuesdays 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.
- BUFFALO**—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd floor. Phone Madison 3990. Open every afternoon except Sunday.
- CHICAGO**—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily, except Sunday. Phone Dearborn 4767. Library, bookstore.
- CLEVELAND**—Militant Forum every Sunday, 8:30 p.m. at Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
- DETROIT**—6108 Linwood Ave., phone TY. 7-6267. Open Monday through Saturday, 12 to 5 p.m. Current events forum and open house, Saturday from 8 p.m.
- FLINT**—215 E. Ninth St., Flint 3, Mich. Open Monday through Friday, 5 to 9 p.m.
- LOS ANGELES**—Militant publishing Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Open daily, 12 noon to 5 p.m. Phone Richmond 4644.
- SAN PEDRO**—Militant publishing Assn.—1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.
- LYNN, Mass.**—44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-6 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE**—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St. Open evenings Monday through Friday, 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.
- MINNEAPOLIS**—10 South 4th St., open 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily except Sunday. Phone Main 7781. Library, bookstore. Sunday Forums, 3:30 p.m.
- NEW HAVEN**—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open every Monday, 8 to 10:30 p.m.
- NEWARK**—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.
- NEW YORK CITY HQ.** 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.
- HARLEM**: 103 W. 110 St. Room 23. MO. 2-1866. Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.
- BROXN**: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.
- BROOKLYN**: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.
- CHELSEA**: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.
- OAKLAND, Cal.**—For information write to P. O. Box 1351.
- PHILADELPHIA**—1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily, Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.
- PITTSBURGH**—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Open meetings every 1st and 3rd Sundays at 3:30 p.m. Marxist Study Class every Thursday 7-9 p.m. 1418 Fifth Ave.
- SAN DIEGO**—Headquarters 432 F St., R. 213. Open Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, 1 to 5 p.m.; Monday, Wednesday & Friday, 7 to 9 p.m.
- SAN FRANCISCO**—1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor, San Francisco 15. Open noon to 4:30 p.m. except Sunday. Phone FI 6-0410.
- SEATTLE**—1919 1/2 Second Ave. Open 10:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Mon. through Fri., 12 to 5 p.m. Sat. Phone SE 0453. Library, bookstore. Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Basic Training Class.
- ST. LOUIS**—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312. Forums, Fridays, 7:30-10 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.
- ST. PAUL**—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30 p.m.
- TACOMA, Wash.**—Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Odd Fellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.
- TOLEDO**—113 St. Clair St., 2nd floor. Open daily.
- YOUNGSTOWN**—115 E. Federal Bldg., Room 302, Youngstown 3, O. Open 11-4:30 Monday through Saturday. Phone 3-1355.

Carlson Speaks at St. Paul Public Forum

ST. PAUL, Minn., Nov. 2—The first Twin City Sunday Forum to be held in the local SWP headquarters took place this afternoon, with Grace Carlson, state organizer for the Socialist Workers party, speaking on "Socialism Versus Barbarism: Mankind at the Crossroads."

These forums—called the "Workers Town Meeting"—are held at 3:30 p.m. each Sunday. The first forum of every month takes place at St. Paul SWP Headquarters, 540 Cedar street, and on the remaining Sundays, the meetings are held at Minneapolis headquarters, 10 S. Fourth street.

The Militant will be 19 years old November 15 Send An Anniversary Gift Insert a Coin or Pin a Bill — Mail Today!

Dear Friends:

Enclosed find \$..... to help continue your fight for a better world.

Your friend,

Folded Bill
50c
25c
10c

Celebrate the 19th Anniversary of

THE MILITANT

- NEW YORK**
Militant Frolic Dancing Entertainment
Sat., Nov. 22, 9 p.m.
CHELSEA WORKERS' CENTER 130 West 23 St.
- AKRON**
Militant Celebration At Grand Opening of New Headquarters
Sat., Nov. 30, 5 p.m.
4 So. Howard St.
- MILWAUKEE**
"CABARET NITE AT 608"
Entertainment Refreshments
Sat., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.
603 South 5th St.
- NEWARK**
Buffet Supper and Dance
Speaker: William F. Warde
Sat., Nov. 15, 8 p.m.
423 Springfield Ave.
- NEW HAVEN**
Gala Entertainment Supper Plate
Sat., Nov. 22, 8:30 p.m.
New Haven Labor School 855 Grand Ave.
- PHILADELPHIA**
Masked Ball Special Entertainment
Sat., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m.
1303 Girard Ave.
- FLINT**
Dance Band Refreshments Entertainment
Sat., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m.
215 E. 9th St.
- TWIN CITIES**
Film Showing "CZAR TO LENIN"
Speaker: Manuel Terbovich Former District Organizer CIO Steelworkers Union
Sat., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m.
10 S. Fourth St. Minneapolis
- SAN FRANCISCO**
Buffet Dinner Dancing
Sat., Nov. 22, 8 p.m.
113 St. Clair 2nd Floor
- TOLEDO**
Turkey Dinner
Sat., Nov. 22, 6 p.m.
Tickets obtained at
- CHICAGO**
GALA CABARET NITE Larry's Orchestra Floor Show Dancing
Sat., Nov. 15, 9 p.m.
777 West Adams St.

Homecoming of the War Dead

By Theodore Kovalesky

The line has curved around. The circle is complete. The sun which shown upon them as they went away looked down upon them as they came home after the long voyage. Now they travel no more.



Little more than children, many of you, laughing, boisterous children, grim, silent children, and scared, large-eyed children, you were snatched from the high schools, factories, and farms. Young boys and men, you were herded into a new school with bugles instead of school bells and a curriculum of murder and mayhem instead of history and algebra.

The curving line has closed. The circle is complete. The chapter is finished, and it is time to review.

These few broken bodies are but a fraction of the havoc that was wrought. Other millions lie undisturbed. Once more good grain sways in yesterday's battlefields . . . but how many harvests will there be before these fields erupt again in shell-fire?

Yesterday's soldiers, those who lived and kept their arms and legs, sweat in today's factories, sit in today's union meetings; but how long before they or others younger, stronger than they, will huddle in the mud of battle, fighting for no cause of their own?

The hypocrites in Congress who speeded those boys on their way, who spoke grandly of a wonderful postwar world but did all they could to make the American workers labor and exist like the Chinese laborers, who wept crocodile tears over the casualty lists that they had helped to create, these and their masters, the capitalists, are brewing another world-wide slaughter, a thousand times worse than the last . . . and they'll get away with it if we let them.

Never forget, brothers, never forget the horror and anguish of war. Never forget the casualty lists. And never forget that these things happen only because we let them! When the workers of the world rise up and throw aside their masters, war will be no more.

But meanwhile, we have our war dead. And if we would build a monument to them, that monument must be a world which will have no more of such as they . . . a world without imperialist armies, a world without wars, a world of peace and plenty, a world of Socialism.

Their ragged bones were dug from the ground

Those Who Did Not Die in Vain

By Evelyn Atwood

The real tragedy of the war dead has been carefully concealed by the capitalist press, which has played on the hypocritical ceremonies performed over the corpses just returned to this country. The real tragedy is the fact that these young men did not die, as they were told, to build a "brave new world, free from fear and want." They died to protect the profits of Wall Street and to help build up the power of the most menacing imperialist ruling class in the world.

But among these young men — although the capitalist press conceals this fact also — were many who were not deceived about the character of the war. They knew that over the bodies of millions of young workers on both sides of the battle lines, rival imperialist nations were taking out their claims to world dominion. Yet these young men took their places in the army, fought and died together with their cruelly deceived brothers. Why?

The reason is that they remained side by side with the militant workers in war as in peace. In the shops and plants they participated in the struggles against the corporations for better wages and working conditions. They were together with the social-minded students who challenged the capitalist lies and propaganda in the education imposed upon them by corrupt professors in the classrooms.

These revolutionary workers and students did not separate themselves from their brothers when the capitalists turned their "cold war" into "shooting war." Trained in Marxism, they had a message to convey: "This imperialist war is not our war. Ours is the fight of the working class against the capitalist class. Only in the victory of that war can all of us really win the brave new world we long

for. We must be rid of capitalism. We must build a socialist world."

One such young American revolutionist was Marc Dauber, killed in action at the age of 22 on November 18, 1944. Dauber joined the Socialist Workers Party at the age of 17 and thereafter lived and worked for the emancipation of the working class. Two years later he was one of those millions taken from the classrooms and sent to the European battlefronts. An unusually gifted student, Marc was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, second highest medal, for his courage in action.

In a letter written just before he died, Marc explained simply: "I did what the Old Man (Trotsky) would have expected of me. What he expected of his students and followers, total and uncompromising, but not unquestioning acceptance of his creed and unflinching determination to see it realized, regardless of personal well-being."

"Trotsky died for it, millions have in the past and today . . . in concentration camps and prisons, everywhere. Millions more suffer because these ideas haven't materialized internationally. When I took up his banner, I took upon myself responsibilities, commitments, which countenance no retreats or hesitations."

There were Marc Daubers not only in the U. S. Army but in the armies everywhere. There were Marc Daubers in the merchant marine who went down in torpedoed seas together with their fellow workers.

These young revolutionists suffered and died in the tragedy of their generation. But their example is the hope for the future. When the long fight is won and the working people have freed themselves from the bloody grip of the capitalist rulers, they will be remembered with gratitude and honored as pioneers of the new society they helped to forge.

Elsa Maxwell and Karl Marx

By Ben Stone

Elsa Maxwell, the widely-read syndicated columnist, writes authoritatively on nothing and everything, from party-throwing to world events. She decided to devote two full columns on Oct. 17 and 18 to none other than Karl Marx.



It is impossible within less than a volume to correct the innumerable errors committed by Miss Maxwell in these two columns of hers. But one cannot but marvel at this political performance of hers. Miss Maxwell is extraordinary above all for her boundless insolence, matched only by her ignorance. There is something bordering on the pathological in her inability even to accurately name the very titles of Marx's works. For example, she refers to the Communist Manifesto as the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." Marx's "Critique of Political Economy" becomes "The Criticism of Economic Policy." Marx's theoretical method, "historical materialism" is dismissed as "political materialism."

Miss Maxwell probably figures that if her fellow-columnists can make ignorance their capital stock-in-trade, so can she. Marx, according to her, "was so fluctuating, so unreliable, that it is difficult to find a consistent line in all his writings and actions." Come, come, Miss Maxwell, don't you owe it to your readers to cite at least one instance of when and where Marx failed to be "consistent"? But this dauntless spirit, who apparently has never "fluctuated" in her life, is completely undeterred by any such considerations as backing up her wild

charges with proof. Instead she blandly continues: "According to him (Marx) individuals are just nuisances." Now, Miss Maxwell, aren't you too old to make "a nuisance" of yourself?

That was never Marx's approach to individuals. He never said or implied anything of the kind, although many a male and female Maxwell in his own day doubtless was a "nuisance," if not something worse. At any rate, we would be willing to wager that you can't produce from Marx the silly generalization you attribute so blandly to him. And we are further willing to offer odds of 100 to 1, with the total to go to our favorite cause, **The Militant Fund.**

But to resume, having set up her straw man, Miss Maxwell then proceeds to knock it down. Here is her coup de grace to Marx: "Marx is over-rated and hopelessly outmoded." That explains one and for all why Marx and Marxism is on everyone's tongue, including glib Miss Maxwell's. Doesn't it?

"Nothing," concludes Miss Maxwell, "is as obsolete as Karl Marx and his school of thought."

Even the most widely read columnist should show a bit more respect and knowledge in talking about a man whose ideas have millions of followers today in every country and every continent. In fact, they number many times the readers who follow Miss Maxwell's column.

This latest report of the "obsolescence" of Marx, like the countless others that have preceded it, is — to quote Mark Twain — slightly exaggerated. Miss Maxwell would only look in the mirror and she would really locate something that is obsolete — not herself so much as the rich parasites and the school of thought she represents.

Notes from the News

PCA? WHAT'S THAT? Henry Wallace denied even belonging to the Progressive Citizens of America, Stalinist front organization. Publicity put out by a Kingston-for-Senator group in New Jersey stated that Wallace and Kingdon were co-chairmen of PCA. Wallace made the main speech at PCA's founding but apparently never joined.

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN—Mrs. Loretta McDonald, mother of nine, has barricaded herself and two of her children in the dilapidated basement apartment from which N. Y. City authori-

ties, who have condemned the building, are trying to evict her.

CHAMPIONS OF TRUTH — The National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), which hollered and advertised all over the country that prices would go down if OPA were repealed, now denounces as "sheer nonsense" and "barefaced lies" reminders of that promise.

NURSES KILL JIM CROW — The Kentucky State Association of Registered Nurses ended its Jim Crow membership rule at its annual convention held this month in Louisville.

N. Y. Building Unions Reaffirm Escalator Wage Clause Demand

Cops Aid Company



These Gallon, O., cops are policing picketlines even after the North Electric Co. agreed to meet with the CIO United Auto Workers. For months the men have been striking against company refusal to negotiate. Intensive mass picketing, despite company-troled cops, resulted in a union victory. Federated Picture

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 — The powerful AFL Building Trades Council of Greater New York, representing several hundred thousand workers in 38 crafts, has unanimously restated its demand for a cost-of-living escalator wage clause in contracts now under negotia-

At their last meeting, it was disclosed yesterday, the Council delegates also unanimously rejected the employers' counter-proposals for a 2 1/2-year wage freeze and imposition of a drastic speed-up.

The employers' demand for a wage freeze from Jan., 1948 to June 30, 1950, while prices are soaring and profits have hit a scandalous peak, has been backed by Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer.

Union negotiators stated that they had been discussing a wage stabilization agreement with the employers and not a wage freeze or a supplementary contract on working conditions. They had proposed the cost-of-living escalator clause to stabilize real wages by providing automatic wage increases when living costs rise.

On Oct. 17, the employers rejected the union proposal. They refused any wage increases for a majority of the 38 trades and agreed to only small increases for 15 crafts. Their position was: "We feel that if an escalator clause is included there is no wage stabilization. We feel there are a certain amount of risks which must be taken, and that is one which the unions must take."

It is clear, however, that the employers want to make the building trades workers take all the risks and bear the full burden of the inflation.

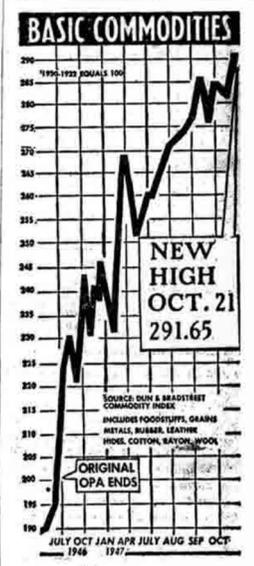
The Employers Association had gail to demand that the unions "take steps to provide for an increase in the production of the work of its members" and agree in advance to permit any methods that would cut production costs. Experience has taught the building workers that all benefits of increased production both through speed-up and technical improvements have accrued only to the bosses in the form of bigger profits.

O'Dwyer came into the picture on Oct. 21 when he likewise called for a building trades wage freeze and urged quick adoption of the employers' insulting proposals. This

has opened the eyes of many construction workers to the real role of this alleged "friend of labor."

O'Dwyer complained that construction costs are too high and that this has blocked much needed residential construction. He cited the example where experienced city engineers estimated the cost of a new sewer project at \$900,000, but the lowest bid was for \$1,500,000.

His solution is to freeze wages, although purchasing power of building wages has been cut in half since 1939 and mechanics are living worse today than eight years ago. Of course, O'Dwyer did not propose to examine the books of building profiteers who are forcing up prices.



Prices of basic commodities soared to a new all-time high Oct. 21 and forecast still steeper retail prices.

Philadelphia PCA Rally Disrupted by Hoodlums

By C. Blake

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Nov. 1.—How swiftly the threat of fascism can arise in America if labor does not take proper precautions has been dramatically illustrated in the past week in the New Jersey-Pennsylvania area.

Last Sunday fascist-minded hoodlums broke up a public meeting in Trenton of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. On Monday night a mob armed with clubs attempted to break up a PCA rally for Senatorial candidate Frank Kingdon in Jersey City. During the week Newark authorities succeeded in preventing the Stalinists from renting a public meeting place anywhere in the city. Today in Philadelphia hundreds of hoodlums, abetted by the Philadelphia police force successfully disrupted a PCA rally in Independence Square in the very shadow of the Liberty Bell.

The Philadelphia PCA meeting was called to protest the House Un-American Committee's witch-hunting "probe" of "Communism in Hollywood." Friday the city administration refused a permit for the meeting under pretext that it would damage the Square's grass and shrubs. Reactionary veterans' groups threatened in the press to

smash the meeting if it was held. Not until 10:30 this morning was a Federal District Court Injunction granted, over-ruling the City's decision as contrary to the Bill of Rights.

Some 50 hecklers, many in former servicemen's uniforms, surrounded the speakers' stand, booing, shouting and inviting trouble even before the meeting began. These hoodlums were backed by another 300 to 400 in the crowd of 1,500.

As Joseph Myerson, PCA Chairman, began speaking, the shouting broke up to such pitch he could not be heard over the microphone. When the organized core of hoodlums began pressing closer to the platform, numerous scuffles broke out and fists began to fly.

One woman who spoke up indignantly against these terrorists was knocked down and trampled. Before the Chairman could introduce the first speaker, 81-year-old Francis Fisher Kane, former U. S. Attorney, handful of steel chips and metal coins were thrown at the faces of the speakers. The glasses of a photographer standing beside Kane were broken and his face cut.

Malone, the City Commissioner of Public Safety, stood by complacently with his squad of plain-clothes men and 150 cops. He made no pretense at establishing order. As a matter of fact, I saw Malone before the rally fraternizing with Harry Knable, Purple Heart Commander, and Charles Leininger,

Commander of the Pennsylvania Railroad Chapter of the American Legion, who were among the instigators of this fascist-like demonstration.

The only one arrested was Samuel Nocella, Jr., a young PCA photographer who had been taunted and attacked several times by hecklers. When he finally fought back, the cops hauled him off on charges of "inciting to riot." He was later fined \$10.

The meeting was finally completely broken up. It was a red letter day for reaction in Philadelphia.

Responsibility for this setback to labor rests in part on the Stalinists. They made no attempt to bring the Philadelphia labor movement into the protest rally as an organized force. They made no attempt whatsoever to initiate labor defense squads to protect the meeting against hoodlums and disruptors. They made the fatal mistake of depending on the Republican-dominated police and courts to protect labor's rights.

This experience must serve as a warning to labor. Fascist-like incidents such as this are today directed against the Stalinists and their front organizations. Tomorrow, however, they will be turned against the unions. To protect the labor movement from this threat we must begin now to prepare a defense based on our own forces. Union defense guards must be set up.

Escalator Clause Pays Off at Michigan Tank

DETROIT, Nov. 1.—Workers at the Michigan Tank and Furnace Co., a small plant on the West Side here organized by the CIO United Auto Workers, have an effective defense against rising living costs. It is an escalator wage clause.

From the time the clause was inserted into their contract in April, 1946, until July, 1947, the workers gained automatic hourly wage increases totalling 28 cents. Every three months the cost of living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is checked and a one cent raise is given for each one point rise.

Here is a schedule of this index as it has worked out in the Michigan Tank contract:

April 1946	131
July 1946	141
Oct. 1946	148
Jan. 1947	153
April 1947	156
July 1947	160

Since these statistics are usually six weeks late in being published, the contract provides for retroactive pay. The contract was originally signed for three years, covering an extended period of continuing price rises.

The Taft-Hartley Act, however, has necessitated renegotiation of the contract. But the company has consented to continuance of the escalator clause.

The workers in the plant feel a greater measure of security. Few quit and there is a long list of applicants desiring to work there. The escalator clause would be even greater protection if it were based on the AFL-CIO joint report on cost of living increases rather than the very conservative figures of the government.

Sample of Labor's 'Rights' Under Taft-Hartley Act

As an example of labor's "rights" under the Taft-Hartley Law, CIO News Oct. 27 cites the following record from the examination of Business Agent Ira Vail, Local 6 CIO Longshoremen & Warehousemen:

Examiner: Did or did not one of your girls on the picketline open the door of a car carrying a strike-breaker?

Vail: Why, yes, I believe she did.

Examiner: On those grounds, under the Taft-Hartley Act, the com-

pany claims you are using force against the strikebreakers. Did anybody use profanity on your side?

Vail: This scab had been using vulgarity toward our girls every day. He shouts vile language at them.

Examiner: That hasn't got anything to do with it.

Vail: You mean that under the Taft-Hartley Act, even if a scab curses at you, you are not allowed to answer?

Examiner: Under the Taft-Hartley Law, if you swear at them for any reason you are using intimidation. The law does not concern itself with the conduct of anyone TOWARD the picketline.

Vail: It so happened our people did not use profanity. What happened was that our girl told this scab, "Will you please be more careful of your language?" I suppose we can't even call them scabs?

Examiner: I believe there was a judicial decision recently which allows pickets to use the word scab—but we're not sure how the usage of the word scab is interpreted under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Vail: How about the scabs throwing things at our people from the windows?

Examiner: The Taft-Hartley Law is only concerned with the conduct of the pickets toward the people inside.

Vail: What protection have we got?

Examiner: Under the Taft-Hartley Law?

Vail: Pardon me, I shouldn't have asked.

Roused Chicago Tenants Fight 15% Rent Gouge

CHICAGO, Nov. 4.—Tenants in this second largest city in the U. S. are up in arms over the 15% rent boost recommended by the landlord-dominated Chicago Rent Advisory Board. The recommendation of the Chicago Board goes to Federal Housing Expediter Woods in Washington for acceptance within 30 days.

Among organizations in Chicago calling for action to stop this rent gouge is the North Side Tenants Council, 4348 N. Broadway. Officers of the council wired Woods demanding that he "immediately dis-miss the entire real estate dominated Chicago Rent Advisory Board."

Simultaneously a "council of war," a special meeting of the North Side Tenants League, was called for Sunday, Nov. 9. At this meeting a plan of action to block the proposed increase will be presented.

The storm of protest following the Rent Board's announcement already has forced the City Council to ask Woods not to act until it has looked "into this matter thoroughly."

The Chicago Rent Advisory Board was appointed by Illinois Governor Green. Its chairman is J. J. Ryan, a real estate man. So are two other members of the board. In addition there is an insurance agent, a lawyer, a merchant, a foundry owner and a YMCA secretary.

This landlord-controlled board held no public hearings. Its decision to recommend a 15% boost for all tenants who had not "voluntarily" given in to the rent gouge was arrived at in secret sessions.

Rent Advisory Boards throughout the country are similarly dominated by real estate interests. Last week's Militant proved this by analyzing the composition of these boards, which supposedly were appointed to aid the Federal Rent Control Office in protecting the American people during the housing shortage.

The Louisville, Kentucky, Rent Advisory Board last month recommended an overall 5% rent increase for its area. The Federal Housing Expediter, who preceded Woods, quickly accepted the recommendation.

Vail: Pardon me, I shouldn't have asked.

A press release by the Chicago

North Side Tenants Council announce a protest mass meeting Nov. 12 at Marigold Gardens, 817 W. Grace St.

The North Side Tenants Council declares: "This attack can be defeated if we act now! If we arouse a storm of protest, the Federal Housing Expediter, Tighe Woods can be convinced that he had better not agree to this monstrous fleecing of the people."

Laxity in Tresca Murder Inquiry Hit by Committee

BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 3 — A conference of the Justice for Tresca Committee yesterday worked on plans to bring pressure against New York State authorities to run down the slayers of Carlo Tresca, the well-known Italian editor, labor organizer, and opponent of fascism who was murdered in the 1943 dim-out.

Delegates from labor, liberal and civic organizations in 7 states declared at the Boston meeting that "the laxity of the office of District Attorney Frank Hogan of New York County in the Tresca investigation has violated political and judicial ethics, and encourages enemies of freedom to commit other similar murders."

Hogan has kept in charge of the Italian end of the investigation Louis Pagnucco, an Assistant District Attorney who received honors and award from fascists and fascist sympathizers, including a gold medal from Mussolini's government. The Justice for Tresca Committee is calling on labor and liberal forces throughout the country to demand an end to the laxity in the investigation of this murder.