

AFL SETS UP OWN POLITICAL LEAGUE

CIO Appeals for United Labor Action

Urges Joint Battle In Arena of Politics

By Farrell Dobbs

BOSTON, Oct. 15—Over 600 delegates attending the 9th Constitutional Convention of the CIO at the Bradford Hotel in this city today voted unanimously "to work unceasingly in the political field in complete unity with all labor organizations and other progressive groups to insure the political repudiation of those reactionaries who are responsible for the Taft-Hartley Act."

A second unanimous decision called upon all CIO unions to assist the striking CIO Shipbuilding Workers "with all their money and resources" to prevent this first conspiracy by Big Business to smash a union under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The convention made no decision on the "yellow dog" oath required to qualify with the Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Board. Convention policy provides that each International and National Union affiliated with the CIO will "determine for itself the policy to be pursued in relation to the new Labor Board."

This policy on the "yellow dog" oath was adopted by the CIO Executive Board on Oct. 10, three days before the convention opened. But no mention of the question of filing affidavits was made in the resolution submitted to the convention by unanimous vote of the Resolutions Committee on which there are several Stalinists; nor did Lee Pressman, Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, mention the "yellow dog" oath in his long speech on the resolution.

Speaking from the floor, delegate Joseph P. Selly, representing the Stalinist-controlled CIO American Communications Association, announced that his union would refuse to sign the affidavit. He was followed by James J. Matles, a delegate from the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers, who declared that "if the UE is found in the Taft-Hartley line, it will be found in the rear and squawking like hell." Both Selly and Matles argued against signing the affidavit.

At this point CIO President Philip Murray took the floor and asserted that the convention in passing the resolution would be voting to let each CIO affiliate determine its own policy in relation to the new Labor Board. Murray then put the resolution to a vote and it was unanimously approved.

Murray stated that he has "personal convictions" against filing an affidavit to qualify with the NLRB. (Continued on Page 2)

4th INTERNATIONAL EXPOSES "COMINTERN REVIVAL" FRAUD

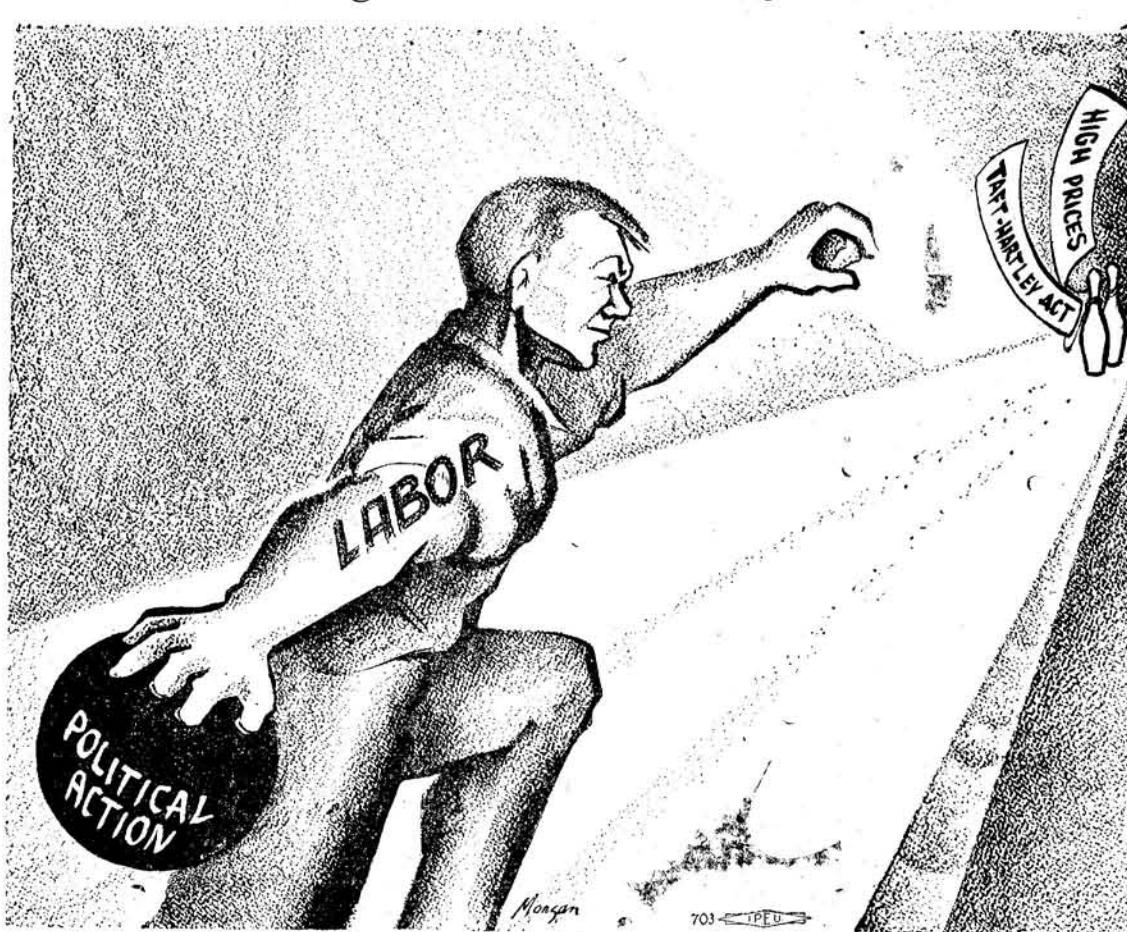
GENEVA, Oct. 10—The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today released the following statement to the press:

"In connection with the organization of the so-called 'Information Bureau' at Belgrade, by nine Communist Parties which met somewhere in Poland, the International Secretariat has issued a manifesto to the workers of the world. Denouncing the chicanery and deception behind the Declaration of the Nine, this manifesto warns the workers and colonial peoples against any illusion about the so-called 'anti-imperialist' character of the struggle unleashed by the Stalinist parties.

"Long before the formal dissolution of the Comintern," the manifesto continues, "the Communist Parties had ceased to be organizations defending the workers' interests and had become docile agents of the Kremlin's foreign policy. It was the requirements of this foreign policy, and not at all the aspirations of the world proletariat and the colonial peoples, that dictated to Stalin the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, just as in 1947 they have dictated the establishment of the Information Bureau in Belgrade.

"Now as in the past, the Stalinist chieftains have nothing but contempt for the sentiments and needs of the communist-minded workers throughout the world. They con-

Right Down the Alley



Don't Dabase Yourselves, Lewis Tells AFL on "Yellow-Dog" Oaths

By Art Preis

Amid shouts of "Pour it on, John!" from rank-and-filers packed in the AFL Convention galleries in San Francisco, John L. Lewis on Oct. 14 pleaded with the AFL leaders not to "dabase" themselves by "grovelling" before Congress and amending the AFL constitution to permit them to sign "yellow dog" non-communist oaths under AFL Executive Council jurisdiction to use the NLRB machinery.

Those AFL leaders who refuse to fight the "first ugly, savage thrust of fascism in America" and twist the AFL constitution to fit the Taft Act's dictates, reminded Lewis of the Biblical passage, "Lions Led by Asses."

For the mighty host of 8 million AFL workers are "marching across the plains of America and having their thinking done for them by fat and stately asses."

The 700 assembled delegates, largely a cross-section of the well-heeled AFL bureaucracy, Lewis

(Continued on Page 2)

N. J. Committee Formed To Aid Hickman Defense

NEWARK, Oct. 15—Formation of the Hickman Defense Committee of New Jersey, with headquarters at 17 William St., Room 504, was announced today.

The committee will assist in the defense of James Hickman who faces trial in Chicago on Oct. 27 on the charge of shooting his landlord after his four children had burned to death in a fire believed to have been set by the landlord.

The New Jersey committee is in a statement to the press. "Hickman is a victim of these two blights, and his defense becomes mandatory for all progressives."

His speech opened with a Biblical injunction: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." But, he said, "the Congress of the United States designated 15,000,000 workers in this country, organized into unions, as being cattle. Congress placed an economic muzzle on them into slavery."

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He referred to the AFL council's proposal to amend the AFL constitution and eliminate all officers but President and Secretary-Treasurer. This would remove Lewis as vice-president and permit Green and Meany as the only remaining officers to sign "yellow-

French Trotskyists
In Municipal Voting

PARIS, Oct. 7—The French Trotskyists (PCI) will participate in the Oct. 19 municipal elections with limited lists of candidates in the major French cities.

The Trotskyist program calls for: Coordination of strike struggles into a general strike action; formation of consumers price control and food-distribution committees; immediate action on the housing crisis; adequate relief for the aged, veterans and youth; broader powers for municipal legislatures as against the Paris-appointed prefects; an end to the war against Indo-China and Madagascar; struggle against the preparations for a new world war.

The genuine anti-imperialist struggle, the manifesto concludes, "must be led by the workers and colonial peoples independently of the aims of whatever government may be in power. It must be conducted under a new banner unsullied by Stalinist political crimes and police oppression."

George Mufson, representative of USA-CIO; Joe Baker, vice-chairman of Local 2194, USA-CIO; Harry Kranz, editor of state CIO News; Jean Henry, state CIO re-

Youngstown PAC Backs Ausnehmer

Labor's Own Candidate Voted Council Support

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 14—The Political Action Committee of the Mahoning County CIO has voted overwhelmingly to endorse John Ausnehmer, independent labor candidate for City Council from Youngstown's Fourth Ward. His candidacy was sponsored by Local 1330 of the United Steelworkers of America.

The motion to endorse Ausnehmer was made by Mike Pochiro, president of Republic Steel Local 1331, largest in the area. A few Democratic Party hangers-on made a feeble attempt to stem the Ausnehmer tide by opposing any endorsement in that ward. Incited by this hypocritical ruse, one union leader after another got up to denounce the anti-labor Republican and Democratic candidates and to back Ausnehmer.

This marks the abandonment of the AFL's "non-political" policy. For decades its top leaders have individually lined up in favor of that or that Democratic or Republican candidate. But the AFL as such has opposed labor's own organization for political action.

The Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law and the pressure of the union ranks have forced the top AFL leaders to place political action at the head of the AFL's program.

FINE UNION RECORD

Sam Camens, president of Local 1330, presented the fine union record of Ausnehmer, who has been an active fighter for the union since he and the other railroaders were first admitted into the CIO. Meanwhile, his Democratic opponent, Morley, who is employed as a roll turner in a Carnegie mill, has fought the CIO for years and formed an "independent" union. And Coates, the Republican, has shown no interest in labor's cause since he left the CIO to take a foreman's job.

Danny Thomas, president of 1462, Brier Hill local of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, also denounced Morley's union-busting record.

James P. Griffin, district director of USA-CIO, told the meeting: "I want to make clear just where I stand. I am not one of those that waits to see which way the wind is blowing and then jumps on the bandwagon. I am for Ausnehmer, and will work for his election." Griffin himself was recently elected to his post in a militant upsurge against the old conservative leadership of the local steel workers.

CAMPAIGN LIVELY

A vigorous attack against those who undermine the Ausnehmer campaign by unsavory whispering slanders was made by Ted Dostal, recording secretary of Local 1330. The final blow was struck by James Filbert, president of Republic Steel Local 2216, who revealed that only a month ago Morley pulled ten Republic roll turners out of the CIO into his "independent" union.

The vote was taken on the motion to back Ausnehmer, and was passed with almost no opposition.

The Fourth Ward is blossoming out with Ausnehmer signs on lawns, telephone poles and cars. Several leaflets have been distributed by the campaign committee, whose ranks are growing steadily.

The whole movement for independent political action by labor is sure to get a great forward push as the Ausnehmer-for-Council campaign moves forward.

Convention Acts Under Pressure Of Slave Law

For the first time in its history, the American Federation of Labor, numbering 7,600,000 members, is officially entering the political field and sponsoring a political action organization of its own.

The decision for this precedent - shattering step was made last week by the AFL Executive Council. It is recommending to the AFL convention in San Francisco the formation of "Labor's Educational and Political League."

Practical Steps in
Building Labor Party
Statement by SWP
—See Page 2—

This is a big step forward from the "pure and simple trade unionism" long preached by the conservative AFL leadership.

CIO TOOK FIRST STEP

The CIO years ago took this step in forming its Political Action Committee (PAC). Both AFL and CIO, with a combined strength of 15,000,000, are now committed to labor political action as part of their programs. This is a tremendous advance over the old idea that politics is "no business" of the unions.

Between the new AFL Political League and the PAC-CIO, American labor will possess political instruments of incalculable potential power. AFL President William Green pointed out that through its new League the AFL alone "ought to be able to influence 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 'votes' of AFL members and their families."

On the same day, CIO President Philip Murray declared in his report to the CIO Convention that PAC-CIO should be able to turn out a vote of 60,000,000 in 1948, compared to the 1946 total national vote of 35,000,000.

The figures cited by Green and Murray show that labor has a potential voting strength greater than the Republican and Democratic parties combined. If labor organized its own party and ran its own independent candidates, it could rule in Washington.

LEADERS BLOCK PROGRESS

But the AFL and CIO leaders stand like a high road block across the road of labor's political progress. They still oppose genuine independent labor political action. They want to use the Political League and PAC to elect only capitalist politicians of the Big Business parties.

No matter how many votes the AFL and CIO mobilize, if these votes are used to put Democrats and Republicans in office it will be like tossing them into a garbage can.

The CIO, however, has recognized the need for the AFL and CIO to unite on the political field, and has urged joint political action. Such joint action would provide the most favorable basis for running independent labor candidates and launching a labor party.

But the AFL, through Green, has narrow-mindedly rejected the CIO's sound proposal.

What is needed now is a great national joint political action committee of the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods to unite labor's political strength behind a real labor slate in 1948. Such independent political action on a local and national scale would be the most powerful blow the workers could strike at the infamous Taft-Hartley Act.

"Eat Less" Drive Won't Lower Prices

Truman's high-powered and costly propaganda campaign to reduce the food consumption of the American people — The "Eat Less-Waste Less" program — has quickly been revealed as a fraud.

The workers are eating less, all right, but that's because prices have taken another spurt since Truman's much-ballyhooed program got under way. In the week ending Oct. 10, the Bureau of Labor Statistics general index of basic commodity prices rose another 1.1 points.

No less an administration authority than Truman's own Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson, admitted that Truman's "Meatless Tuesdays" and "Poultryless and Eggless Thursdays" are pure ballyhoo. These days, Anderson

conceded, were "not primarily to save the foods themselves" but were "symbols of sacrifice."

Individual food savings, he said, is of "little importance," and special food-saving days are "like going to church on Sundays."

His original statement, however, is confirmed by leading Big Business publications. The Oct. 9 Wall Street Journal reveals that the net effect of Truman's "voluntary rationing" program has been a "run" on scarce food items, as people with money stocked up. Meat sales remained unchanged — those who could afford to pay high prices, bought meat as before; those who couldn't, went without as usual.

Anderson, after Truman tried to cover up his damaging admissions, next day weakly complained the press had quoted him "out of context."

The real purpose of the "Eat Less" program is not to conserve food and bring down prices. It is to shift the responsibility for high prices from the profiteers to the working people. When the program fails, the blame will be placed on the low-income consumers who "refuse to sacrifice."

Meanwhile, the American workers can protect their living standards most immediately and effectively by winning higher wages supplemented by adjustable cost-of-living bonuses automatically rising with rising prices.

Practical Steps In Building the Labor Party

By the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The events of the past year, climaxed by the Taft-Hartley Law, have increased the desire of the American workers for political action going beyond the framework of the two capitalist parties. The union militants must pay close attention to every expression of this political awakening of the working class. Proper tactics must be devised to intervene and guide it step by step toward the building of an independent labor party based on the trade unions.

There is no national labor party movement in sight at this time. The present political development of the mass organizations of the working class is proceeding in a very uneven way. In some places the unions put up independent candidates, as the CIO packinghouse unions did in the South St. Paul municipal election. In some places a local unit of the CIO-PAC plays a primary role in advancing a labor slate, as in Cleveland, Dayton and Youngstown. In others candidates are run for public office independently of the two capitalist parties through an improvised setup like the Oakland Voters League.

Prospects for 1948

These actions indicate that the trade union movement will travel some distance on the road of independent political action before the formal organization of an independent labor party appears on the political arena. The task now is to seize every opportunity to lead the workers into political struggle against the capitalists in contests for public office. The logic of the struggle will impel the movement toward further formal political organization.

Just as there are no signs at present of the quick formation of a national labor party, so likewise one cannot be optimistic that a na-

tional independent labor candidate will take the field in the 1948 election. The militants should, of course, continue agitation for labor to run its own presidential candidate. However, it must be recognized that it is on a statewide, and especially on a local scale, that the most favorable chances will be found to organize and participate in campaigns to elect independent labor candidates to public office.

Available Vehicles

If increased opportunities to campaign for independent labor candidates are expected but early formation of a labor party is not anticipated, what vehicles are available for conducting political campaigns? Foremost among these available vehicles is the PAC, which is today the political arm of the CIO.

The shortcomings of the PAC have been many times pointed out in *The Militant*. In the main, it supports capitalist candidates; it is bureaucratically controlled and discourages political discussion and formulation of policy by the ranks. The PAC is extremely reluctant and most often refuses to run or support independent candidates; it lacks militancy; and apart from "Write Your Congressman" campaigns it generally functions only around election time as a purely vote-getting agency for capitalist politicians.

But it is the progressive features, and even more, the political potential of the PAC, which are of decisive importance. The union militants should build their tactics upon these positive aspects in their struggle against the harmful policies imposed upon PAC by the union leadership.

The PAC is a more highly organized vehicle of mass political action than any previously

seen in the union movement. It employs more aggressive methods. It is based upon the most dynamic elements of organized labor, who are more insistently demanding a departure from the policy of adherence to the capitalist parties. Under present circumstances the PAC provides an extremely favorable arena for the propagation of the Labor Party program and for the transformation of this demand into action.

In order to influence the PAC most effectively, it is necessary to be inside of it with both feet and a part of it.

That means, specifically, that the union militants should enter PAC and urge the workers to join it and to pay the necessary dues, as in the present dollar drive, which are the elementary obligations of membership. Support should be given to the PAC campaign for the workers to register so they can vote. Only in this manner can the union militants hope to redirect PAC from its present wrong road over to the right road of independent political action.

A Policy for PAC Members

Incorrect policies and injurious actions of the leadership should be criticized. The membership must be won over to the support of policies which can convert PAC into a genuine medium for independent political action. Support should never be given to candidates of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties under any circumstances or in any way, regardless of whether they may be endorsed by the PAC or any other labor organization. As against support of capitalist candidates, the union militants should call for the nomination of independent labor candidates.

In place of the present bureaucratic setup, increased rank and file control over PAC and its policies should be sought. PAC and its candidates should be called upon to sponsor progressive legislation and organize mass actions to obtain its passage. Instead of functioning as mere vote-collecting instruments, local PAC bodies should be transformed into year-round institutions, fighting in defense of the workers on all issues affecting their welfare. By patient and persistent work within PAC along these lines the Labor Party movement can be pushed forward.

Three Main Tendencies

The concrete application of the Labor Party slogan within PAC necessarily varies under different conditions. In many unions today, three main tendencies express themselves on the question of political action. These are the official PAC policy of support to capitalist politicians; the Stalinist "third party" demagogic; and the demand for an independent Labor Party. The workers understand the official PAC policy and more and more of them are becoming fed up with it. But in most cases they do not understand the difference between the Stalinist "third party" line and the demand for a Labor Party. Most often they mistakenly consider the difference one of splitting hairs and the Labor Party agitation is thus largely nullified. Under these circumstances the union militants should advance the specific demand that the CIO-PAC itself run independent labor candidates for public office.

This tactical approach has a number of advantages:

1. It retains the essence of the labor party position — drawing a class line on the political

field — and serves to eliminate the confusion engendered in counterposing the independent labor party slogan to the Stalinist "third party" demagogic.

2. It meets the plausible objection of the difficulty in beginning to build another organization in view of the time element involved.

3. It avoids creating the false impression of opposition to the CIO-PAC as such and proposes PAC as a direct instrument to advance the basic concepts of independent labor politics.

4. It serves to expose the Stalinist "third party" fraud by projecting a class line that cuts through their double-talk. For example, in explaining what kind of a "third party" they have in mind, the Stalinists advance the American Labor Party in New York as their model. This is excellent ground to meet them on. All workers should be FOR the American Labor Party but they should oppose its present policy of supporting capitalist politicians for public office. Independent political action has meaning only when the ALP (and the PAC) campaign for independent labor candidates. The essential difference is immediately clear to the workers.

Some Tactics In AFL

Like the CIO militants working in the fruitful PAC field, militants in the AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods and the independent unions must be on the alert to push at every opportunity for independent political action. They should call for political action committees in these unions and advocate collaboration by all unions in campaigns to elect independent labor candidates. This will be facilitated by the AFL's decision to set up Labor's Educational Political League.

Opportunities to fight for independent political action will arise in many different forms. An instructive example is just developing in California. A Stalinist-controlled "Trade Union Committee for a Third Party" has just launched an "Independent Progressive Party" in that state. This movement is intended by the Stalinists as a vehicle of support for the Wallace Democrats. It is bureaucratically rigged at the outset and is a far cry from a genuine labor party.

Increasing Opportunities

But the IPP appears at a time when the workers of California, CIO and AFL alike, are manifesting an increasing desire for independent political action. Furthermore there is a chance that a substantial registration of workers under this new party would make it possible to defeat the Stalinists' aims and turn this movement toward a labor party development. With this prospect, the union militants are entering the fray to arm the leftward-moving workers with a program and help them fight to make the Independent Progressive Party a genuine party of independent political action.

The American workers are beginning to awaken politically. Independent labor candidates are running for office more frequently than ever before. Many opportunities are developing to promote more campaigns. Into these situations with both feet! Take the movement as you find it, work out a realistic program of action, and in struggle help the leftward-moving workers learn rich political lessons! That is the way to build a labor party!

NMU Convention Further Loosens Stalinist Machine's Paralyzing Grip

By C. Thomas

NEW YORK, Oct. 15—The Sixth convention of the CIO National Maritime Union adjourned today, after 24 days of bitter factional struggle. Much of the business remained unfinished and was referred to the union's National Council.

The Curran-led Rank & File caucus succeeded in defeating the tightly knit Stalinist machine on some of the most important issues before the convention. The power of the Stalinist-controlled National Council was curbed by constitutional amendment subjecting major decisions to ratification of the membership.

The appeal to reinstate Joseph Stack, who was removed as vice-president on charges by Curran and deprived of the right to hold office for five years, was defeated by the narrow margin of two votes—353 to 351.

Stalinist-inspired charges of discrimination against the officials of the New Orleans branch were defeated by a decisive vote of the delegates. Even the Stalinist members on the convention trial committee rejected the charges as unfounded.

The significance of these issues went deeper than surface appearance. What was involved in the Stack case was an indictment of the Stalinist method of employing slander and character assassination against opponents. This practice has served to poison the atmosphere and has led to extreme factional bitterness.

The New Orleans case was exposed as a framework in which the Stalinists sought to incite race feelings to serve their factional ends. Although the convention action in both these cases was an obvious rebuke to the methods and practices of the Stalinists in the union, an incident in the closing days of the convention indicated they had done nothing.

On the 23rd day, NMU Secretary Ferdinand Smith threw a "bomb" into the convention in the form of a written statement accusing Treasurer Hedley Stone of financial irregularity. The statement accused Curran and Stone, of covering a field patrolman, allegedly guilty of financial irregularity. The statement was offered as "information" and not as charges.

The "accused" established the fact that there was no financial irregularity. The only thing involved was the failure of field patrolman Diaz to file regular reports as requested by the union treasurer. What was intended as a bombshell turned out to be a stink bomb that had most

of the delegates holding their noses. With both groups almost evenly divided, the balance of power in the convention rested with the independents. This was evident in the vote on every controversial issue. Questions involving the extension of democracy and rank and file control had the support of a decisive majority.

This alignment was most clear in the rejection of a Curran-sponsored constitutional amendment outlawing "outside interference." Factions were crossed to defeat this amendment by 58 votes. Curran continued to play on the "outside interference" theme as the convention closed.

In his concluding remarks, Curran called on the delegates to "make sure that when we come to the next convention there will be no more political machines left in the union." This is the same tune played by the so-called anti-politicals in the AFL maritime unions who cry: "No politics in the union." What they mean is no politics but their own particular brand.

The so-called anti-politicals di-

vided the world of politics neatly in two: The politics of supporting Democratic and Republican "friends" of labor—and Stalinist politics. By their methods, policy and practice the Stalinists have served to discredit working class politics.

But the policy of supporting "friends" in the camp of the class enemy is no less discredited. The only answer is to counterpose independent working class politics to both these schools. The attempt to outlaw working class politics under the pretext of eliminating the Stalinist machine will be opposed by all union militants.

This convention further loosened the grip of the Stalinists on the NMU. As Curran repeatedly declared: "The Communist party in this union is on the way out." What is to replace the CP machine? The members of the NMU can provide a progressive answer to that question by jealously guarding their democratic rights, fighting for a militant program and substituting working class politics for the politics of class collaboration.

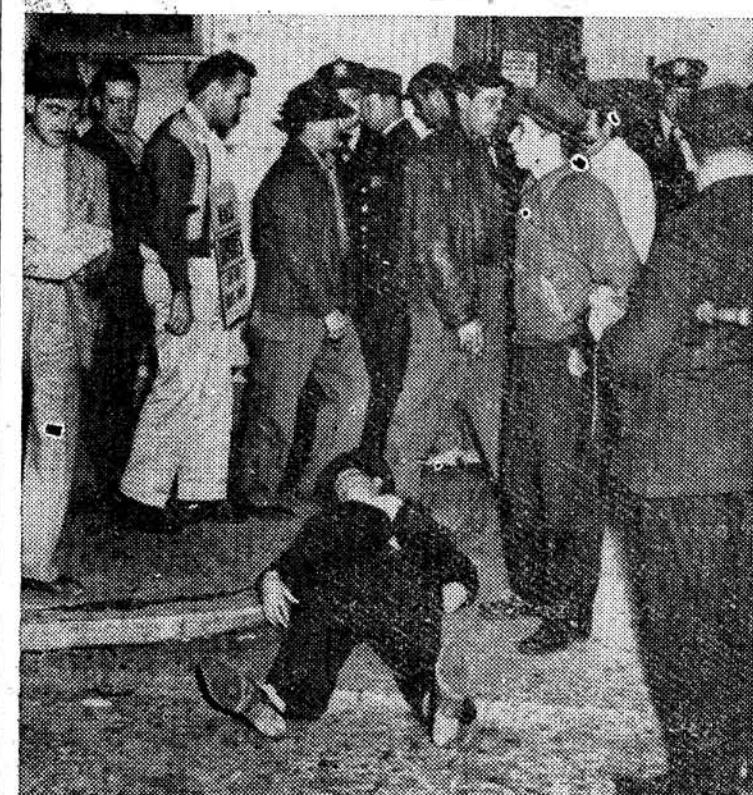
ed with the monopoly capitalists more securely entrenched. It could not be otherwise.

A simple investigation of the financial sources of the Democratic Party suffices to prove who really controls and directs it. When Roosevelt in 1936 charged that "economic royalists" ruled the Republican Party, he was answered by William Hard, Republican radio commentator, with the equally correct charge that the Democratic Party is also financed by "economic royalists."

Hard named 400 super-rich Democratic backers, including Russell Leffingwell, partner of J. P. Morgan & Co.; Walter E. Frew, president of the Corn Exchange Bank (Lehman control); Walter Dunnington, trustee of the Central Hanover Bank & Trust Co.; P. A. S. Franklin, head of the International Mercantile Marine; William K. Vanderbilt; Walter P. Chrysler; Jesse I. Straus; Cyrus and Harold McCormick; Vincent Astor; A. P. Giannini, etc.

That same year, the Democratic

Victim of Shipyard Scabs



Injured while trying to stop a scab-loaded car from crossing picket lines outside the Bethlehem shipyards in Baltimore, Daniel Appel of the CIO Industrial Union and Marine and Shipbuilding Workers lies stretched out waiting for the ambulance. His fellow strikers continued picketing even though four union members were arrested. The strike is now almost four months old, but Bethlehem still refuses to come to terms, holding out for contract provisions which would seriously undermine the union. (Federated Pictures)

Party raised \$385,525 from advertising in a souvenir handbook. Among the most generous patrons were Armour & Co., Firestone Tire & Rubber, Bethlehem Steel, Chrysler, Automatic Voting Machine Co., National Gypsum, Remington Rand, Grumman Aircraft, etc. They didn't swell the Democratic coffers just out of good-will.

The Democratic Party is the opposite of democratic. It is a machine run by a hierarchy of bosses. This system of bosses runs from ward to county, from state to national machines. The national government spends scores of billions annually, employees millions.

This party machine is held together by patronage and favors, with the bosses dispensing public jobs, contracts, candidacies, and what the gangsters call "protection." The ward or county "workers"—who do the menial chores in campaigns—are largely composed of job-holders on the public payroll, through party influence, or lawyers, petty racketeers and ward-heelers anxious for lush pickings.

A combination of big city bosses like Flynn of Brooklyn, Hague of Jersey City, Kelly of Chicago, etc., and Southern politicians of the Billboard type directly control the state and national activities of the Democratic Party. No man—not even Franklin D. Roosevelt—ever secured major office under Democratic auspices without support from these bosses. They in turn are intimately tied with the business interests in their areas, including illegal enterprises like gambling and prostitution.

A recent book, "Our Fair City," edited by Col. Robert S. Allen, gives a vivid picture of the utterly corrupt Democratic rule in a number of major cities. He concludes, on the basis of factual reports by veteran newspapermen, that municipal politics, including the Democratic breed, is the "same old story of bootleg bosses and businessmen, of horrendous slums, of dirt and filth, disease and vice, of gross and shameless waste, of mismanagement and misrule, of crass disre-

gard of public health and human dignity."

Allen also observes that "there is not a city in the country, large or small, where business is not the primary stultifying, corrupting and anti-democratic influence. The worst-managed, bedraggled, and backward communities are those dominated by business interests."

This is true not only of municipal politics in general, but Democratic politics in particular. It is doubly true of Democratic government policies. The national government spends scores of billions annually, employees millions.

The Democratic Party is the opposite of democratic. It is a machine run by a hierarchy of bosses. This system of bosses runs from ward to county, from state to national machines. The national government spends scores of billions annually, employees millions.

The convention is more than cluttered up with long-winded, dry speeches by pompous visiting dignitaries from non-labor circles. And, curiously enough, a most popular theme among these interlopers is red-baiting.

Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston sought to incite the delegates against "potential traitors" to America and to our organizations in the labor movement; a none-too-subtle reference to any militant worker who opposes Wall Street's war program and resists the campaign of the Associated Catholic Trade Unionists to try to dominate the trade unions.

Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach handed out this choice bit of poison: I classify as reactionaries those who . . . upon order from abroad seek to subvert totalitarianism for democracy in America . . . It would be a grave mistake to permit the reactionaries in the labor movement . . . to use trade unionism as a means to attain the objectives which they seek."

In answer to a direct question at a press conference after his speech, Schwellenbach admitted that by "reactionaries" in the above statement he meant "communists." All "communists" he said should be barred from membership in trade unions. Schwellenbach wants to raise Taft and Hartley a few blue chips.

At noon yesterday, a Stalinist selling the *Daily Worker* outside the convention hotel, was beaten up and his papers destroyed.

Lewis Says AFL Chiefs "Debase" Themselves

(Continued from Page 1)

"out of 73 printed pages, it (Taft Act) contains only two lines that give labor the right to organize. The other 73 pages dare labor to exercise that right."

He contemptuously read off the Taft Act provisions on filing union financial statements and said: "There isn't an organization in the AFL which can make that report in a manner satisfactory to the counsel of the NLRB."

In his conclusion, Lewis declared that if the amendment were passed, "I will not be a candidate for election to this debased, denatured board" whose members would be relieved of their titles as officers.

He was not, he added, "holding a gun to the head of the convention. I'm merely stating the case, so you can act with full knowledge of the facts. For, as far as that's concerned, I think this Federation has no head; I think its neck has just grown up and baited over."

By contrast with Lewis' fighting speech, the counter-arguments of the rest of the AFL leaders were like the bleating of frightened sheep. AFL Teamster's Czar, Daniel J. Tobin, intimated that Lewis was talking "revolution." Tobin was "happy to have the chance to say by affidavit, I'm not a Communist," and anyway, "the question is not of much importance."

AFL Secretary-Treasurer George

Meany and Ladies' Garment Workers President David Dubinsky added their mush-mouthed counsels of retreat. And 80% of the well-heeled business agents and international representatives who acted as delegates meekly raised their hands in approval of the surrender amendment.

But the voice of the AFL ranks found utterance in the sizable 20% of delegates who backed Lewis' militant stand. A true appraisal of the membership's sentiments was

stated by Frank Turco, of the Newsboys Federal Union in Seattle, who told the convention: "John Lewis has more respect from the American working man than all you international representatives put together."

For Lewis spoke not to the delegates alone, but to the working millions for whom his words are a clarion call to fighting action against the infamous Slave Law.

(See Editorial on Lewis speech, Page 4.)

Our Program:

1. Defend labor's standard of living!

A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers control!

2. Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!

For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours—reduce 5 hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!

3. Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!

No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!

4. Build an independent labor party!

5. Tax the rich, not the poor!

Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
No taxes on incomes under \$5,000 a year!

The Social Thinking Of the Workers

By J. R. Johnson

In 1940, just before his assassination, Trotsky, when asked about the backwardness of the American workers, replied: "The American worker is very combative—as we have seen during the strikes. They have had the most rebellious strikes in the world. What the American worker misses is a spirit of generalization, or analysis, of his class position in society as a whole. This lack of social thinking has its origin in the country's whole history—the Far West with the perspective of unlimited possibilities for everyone to become rich, etc. . . . Their backwardness consists of their inability to generalize their problem; they consider everything on a personal basis

"Now the war will teach them social thinking. The economic crisis has already begun and in the CIO we see the first reaction of the workers—confused but important. They begin to feel themselves as a class; they see 10 to 14 million of unemployed, etc. Now the war will continue to teach them social thinking, and this means revolutionary thinking."

Two years have passed since the end of the war. They have been combative years for the American workers. They have also been thoughtful years. A valuable indication of how thoughtful these years have been is given in two articles entitled "Here is America" published in the Oct. 11 and 18 issues of *Collier's Magazine*. The articles are based upon a cross-country bus trip by a reporter, Thomas H. Wolf, and describe his conversations with a cross-section of the American masses. As is characteristic of bus passengers, the people with whom Wolf talked were mainly of the working class or the lower middle class.

The very list of those interviewed reveals the restlessness of the American masses. There were "harvest hands and CIO organizers; butchers and ministers; stenographers and farmers; housewives and house painters; students and mill hands; waitresses and missionaries; drifters and loafers; veterans and stay-at-homes; teenagers and grandparents; they were white and black; Methodist and Baptist; Amish, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Church of Jesus Christ; and African-American."

The American masses, with their infinite variety of occupations and experiences, are on the move. But their movements have a different quality than the vagrancy to which large sections of the population were driven during the 30's. First of all, they belong to some place. Almost everybody, except a few farmers in the Corn Belt seemed to be either union men or pro-labor. They also had a focal point for their antagonism—the Taft-Hartley Act. But even the popular opposition to this law is not the most interesting aspect of the social thinking of the American workers today.

Everywhere, with everyone, Wolf notes that confusion and dissatisfaction prevail. Not only that. The uncertainty which each feels, he regards not as his own personal predicament but rather as characteristic of the people and the country as a whole. Typical of the general comments were these: "People act like they all have a

hangover. They're bouncing and confused." "The country's in such a predicament they're nobody satisfied. That's the heck of it." "Everyone is rushing back and forth. They're dissatisfied with what they've got and they don't know where they're going." These were the comments of a Wyoming pipe-line hand, a Colorado freight-inspector, a Montana ranch hand.

But while thinking in terms of the country as a whole, the people had also made the distinction between themselves and the government. Wolf reports: "My fellow passengers invariably spoke of the government as 'they.' And there seemed to be a general feeling that 'we the people' were pretty helpless in the hands of 'they the government' as though 'we' had nothing to do with 'their' election and control."

Not only did the people regard the government in a separate category from themselves. They expressed no confidence in the government but were oppressively conscious of the confusion which reigned up there among 'them.' The war had trained the workers to follow the news carefully, and their reaction was almost invariably that of the woman mill hand in Hazelton, Pa.: "Some of the leaders say one thing and some another. If they're confused, what am I supposed to think?"

The moral strength of a government rests in its capacity to impress the masses with its sureness of direction and its overall organization of national and international affairs. Today, among the broad masses, the government does not give this impression.

As for international affairs, interest was widespread, reaching into every household. The workers think not only about the future of American society but of the world as a whole. Speculation about the inevitability of war is part of the daily lives of the people. Faith in the UN is almost completely absent. One engineer from Lexington, Kentucky, expressed the general sentiment most pungently: "They ought to send the UN out to some Pacific Island and use all that construction in New York for housing."

Yet this lack of faith in the UN is not due to any isolationism. In the words of the young wife of an Omaha bus driver: "Everyone realizes that what happens over there affects us over here." Or a clerk in Casper, Wyoming, put it: "Things that happen abroad is like they was happening in your own backyard." The American masses are discussing the relation between the economic needs of the people at home and the needs of the countries abroad.

And as they make a distinction on the domestic scene between "we the people" and "they the government," so in discussing relief to Europe, there were not a few who distinguished between the rich and the poor abroad. A merchant salesman in Sharon, Pa., complained:

"I think that all our money is going straight into the black market over there, making the rich richer instead of helping the people who need it."

In the general confusion and dissatisfaction among the workers there was no sign of any positive program. But more significant than

leaves the capitalist order intact, as did the Laborites after taking office, cannot carry out policies, whether domestic or foreign, that will serve the interests of labor and socialism, no matter how loudly they may protest to the contrary.

Liberal criticize but none of them bothers to explain this glaring contradiction. They are surprised, and nothing more.

But Marxists were not at all surprised. Bevin, for example, had served in Churchill's war cabinet as Minister of Labor. He did not hesitate to force workers to labor in coal mines under the Pit Ballot scheme. Arthur Morrison, another eminent Laborite, served as Churchill's Minister of Home Security and together with Bevin and the others functioned as strikebreaker, took Defense Regulation 1-AA. All of them, without exception, underwrote Churchill's foreign policy during the war.

How could such people be expected to act differently when they themselves took over the helm of government? The fact is they didn't. They remained true to themselves.

The British workers wanted change, then the leaders they voted into power were conservative-minded creatures, who love the label of "statesmen," a type which unfortunately abounds in the labor movement of all countries. While speaking in labor's name, and not infrequently even in the name of socialism, "statesmanship" of this type consists in ACTING only to perpetuate the existing order of things.

They resist change; yes, fear it as much as any capitalist politician. They are incapable of going beyond a few minor modifications which scratch only the surface, leaving everything very much the same as before.

There is no other correct explanation for the apparent contradiction that puzzles so many, to wit, why a self-styled socialist government should pursue policies abroad indistinguishable from the policies of Tory-capitalist politicians.

Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and the rest are socialists in name only. In action they behave just like their capitalist predecessors. Those who

leave the capitalist order intact, as did the Laborites after taking office, cannot carry out policies, whether domestic or foreign, that will serve the interests of labor and socialism, no matter how loudly they may protest to the contrary.

Moreover, this situation cannot last forever, because the capitalist rulers will not sit by with folded hands while the masses awaken to the Laborite betrayals of their hopes and socialist aspirations. Even before the workers move to replace this leadership, the capitalists will seek to use these Laborite betrayals in order to pave the way for fascist demagogues, already busy throughout the country.

Unless the workers force a showdown, the fascists will. That is why the active intervention of revolutionaries—with their program of drastic social change as the only realistic way out—is destined to play such a great role in the days ahead.

The real character of the Laborites can most clearly be seen in foreign policy because people whose aim is to preserve and manage capitalism at home expose themselves in world affairs for exactly what they are—clerks of imperialism.

Those who resist change at home, let me repeat, will demonstrate this most clearly by resisting change away from home. Bevin expressed this resistance in so many words when he declared at the 1945 Margate Conference, where his foreign policy was debated: "I am not prepared to sacrifice the British empire..." This is exactly what Churchill said in disclaiming any intention of presiding over the "liquidation of the British empire."

Here Laborite words indeed match their deeds. They refuse to "sacrifice" imperialism abroad precisely because they haven't the slightest intention of asking the British capitalists to "sacrifice" anything important at home.

Where these people are concerned, only labor does the sacrificing. This is becoming clearer to the masses, upon whom backs increasing poverty and greater sacrifices are being loaded solely in order to preserve the bankrupt and rotting capitalist system.

But such a situation cannot last forever. The widening abyss be-

comes more and more apparent. The miners, leaders of the Indians are put in concentration camps as "agitators."

One of the special targets in this terroristic drive is the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party), Bolivian section of the Fourth International. Its paper, *Lucha Obrera*, (Workers' Struggle) was suppressed. Its members have been arrested and persecuted.

This reign of terror is the answer of the native plutocracy to the needs and the hunger of the laboring and popular masses. They know only one reply—persecution of the leaders in the fight for the rights of the masses. To the native capitalists and their imperialist masters, anyone who dares to fight for the daily needs of the masses is an "agitator."

Anti-labor drives such as this one in Bolivia are general in Latin America today. They differ only in extent and degree. A similar drive is now gaining momentum in Chile.

The Latin American masses have two major enemies in their struggle—the native plutocracy and their Wall Street masters. In this struggle the American workers have everything to gain by doing all the can to aid and support their class brothers below the Rio Grande,

of workers attended the fascist meetings in order to break them up. What did the Home Office do on those occasions?

Police officers, under instructions, protected the fascist meetings and brutally arrested a number of workers who dared to voice their protests or question the speakers. A few yards away the same police closed workers' meetings, thus adding confidence and courage to Hamm and his fascist hooligans.

For some months the workers in the East End of London and throughout the country have been indignant at the liberty and police protection given the so-called "British League of ex-Servicemen" for the spreading of its fascist filth and poison.

Small Jewish shops in a number of cities were smashed; meetings of workers' organizations were openly attacked by groups of fascists led by Hamm and his fellow-rats. In the East End of London protest meetings were held, while thousands

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Since the end of the war the fascists have tried to revive their organizations, but on each occasion their meetings have been smashed by united fronts of Communist Party supporters and Trotskyists initiated by the Revolutionary

Italian Kids Protest Hunger



Joining with their fathers and mothers, these Italian youngsters turned out in Rome recently to protest swiftly mounting living costs that keep food from their tables. "We Children Are Hungry," one of their placards reads—and the poor kids look it, don't they?

(Federated Pictures)

Why Laborite Ministers Follow Imperialist Policy

By John G. Wright

Even many liberals, who praise to the skies the Laborite government's domestic measures as progressive, have been compelled to criticize its foreign policy. Bevin has promoted in Greece a policy identical with Churchill's. Attlee, even before he took the office of Prime Minister, pledged, by underwriting the Potsdam Pact, to carry on from where Churchill left off. They "withdrew" from India but refuse to withdraw from Africa and other colonies.

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Moreover, this situation cannot last forever, because the capitalist rulers will not sit by with folded hands while the masses awaken to the Laborite betrayals of their hopes and socialist aspirations. Even before the workers move to replace this leadership, the capitalists will seek to use these Laborite betrayals in order to pave the way for fascist demagogues, already busy throughout the country.

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Since the end of the war the fascists have tried to revive their organizations, but on each occasion their meetings have been smashed by united fronts of Communist Party supporters and Trotskyists initiated by the Revolutionary

Party (Trotskists). Throughout London and other cities anti-fascist meetings have been held by the RCP, and anti-fascist literature has been distributed to warn the workers of the real aims of the fascist revival, and to activate them for action against this threat to their organizations.

The refusal of the Stalinist and Laborite leaders to understand the threat of the fascist revival and to organize the workers to smash it, is a clear indication of their lack of understanding of the real aims of the fascist revival, and to activate them for action against this threat to their organizations.

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"... the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of Democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e. ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of peoples and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instrument of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—Leon Trotsky, 1940

Lewis and the Taft Act Fight

Press accounts of John L. Lewis's stirring appeal to the AFL convention not to submit to the Taft-Hartley Act said the scene was "reminiscent" of the historic battle over industrial unionism led by Lewis in the same San Francisco auditorium in 1934.

There were indeed similarities between the two events. Both battles arose out of crucial junctures in the life of the American labor movement. On each occasion Lewis stood forth as the most courageous and aggressive spokesman for the progressive cause among the top AFL leaders.

Today, as in 1934, the American workers will applaud the fighting stand of Lewis. They will take heart from his militant words and seek to translate them into action.

But there is one great difference between the struggle waged by Lewis in 1934 and that of 1947. Thirteen years ago Lewis did not merely state the issue sharply and clearly of the need to organize the unorganized millions. He had the program to do the job—industrial unionism.

Last week Lewis posed the issue of the Slave Labor Law no less sharply than he did the is-

sue of 1934. His denunciation of the AFL conservatives rang no less clearly. But—he lacked an effective program. His words inspired action—but he had no effective action to propose.

He revealed a grave and fundamental weakness. He urged an uncompromising fight against the Taft-Hartley Act, but didn't say HOW to fight.

The HOW of this fight, as everyone admits, above all else involves political action—political action of a diametrically opposite kind from that advocated by the top union leaders, including Lewis himself.

The key to successful combat against the Taft-Hartley Act—the key which Lewis rejects—is a new kind of political action by American labor. It is political action not to replace one Democrat or Republican with another Democrat or Republican, but to drive out all capitalist politicians and put labor's own representatives in power in Washington.

American labor will turn from defense to offense, from retreat to an irresistible advance, when it wields the mighty weapon of its own party—a labor party.

Democrats and Republicans Beaten

Upon taking office as the new mayor of Norwalk, Conn., (45,000), Irving C. Freese announced that "This is not a victory for the Socialist Party" although he ran as "Socialist."

We can agree with him on that point. He boasts that he has never read any of Karl Marx's writings and belongs neither to the Socialist Party nor any other nation-wide party. His "party" is a local group with less than 100 members. Main planks in his platform were a demand for higher taxes on the corporations and a call to oust the Democrats and Republicans.

Yet Freese won a landslide vote, polling 8,561 ballots against 4,737 for the Republicans and 3,746 for the Democrats, a clear majority over the combined totals cast for the old machines.

The "Socialist" slate swept 11 out of 12 of its candidates into the City Council and bagged the offices of City Treasurer, Sheriff, Tree Warden and two members of the Board of Education.

Freese began his political career by organizing a group of 7 people in 1932. Then over the years he faithfully appeared at meetings of various city bodies, unsparingly criticizing the

in Norwalk

capitalist parties. He became known as a "municipal watchdog," as a man who "knew more about city finances than the city treasurer."

In 1939 he ran for mayor for the first time, getting only 668 votes. In 1941 his vote dropped to 317, in 1943 to 237 and in 1945 he polled only 510 votes.

His 1947 victory provides an instructive lesson for the entire labor movement. What it demonstrates is the readiness of the voters to back an independent slate of candidates that gives them a clear opportunity to register their resentment against both old parties.

It is a straw in the political wind, showing how sick and tired people are of Wall Street's political machines. The old shell game of switching Republicans for Democrats and vice versa no longer fools the public.

Freese's victory is a test-tube demonstration of the welcome the voters are prepared to give an independent political slate. Let the trade unions study this instructive case and draw the correct conclusion: You can win if you give the public a chance to vote for an independent Labor Party.

Stalinist Strikebreaking under the Belgrade Bureau

A strike of the subway and bus workers in Paris, France, may not seem as vital as union problems here at home. Still this strike, which has almost completely shut down that city's transportation system should interest every militant worker who is troubled with Stalinists in his local.

The initial stoppage began Oct. 11 when the members of a small independent union decided there was no other way to get a favorable response to their demand for a wage raise.

The Stalinist newspaper *L'Humanité* pounced on the strike with a savage denunciation. For two days the Stalinist heads of the powerful CGT (General Confederation of Labor) "fought the walk-out and attempted to break it," according to the Oct. 15 N. Y. Herald Tribune.

Trains ran by fits and starts with Stalinists in the "role of strikebreakers," said an Oct. 13 UP dispatch. Then the rank and file of the CGT began to come out in sympathy.

The Stalinists "soon found themselves forced into the last position they wanted to take at this particular time," explained the Oct. 14 Christian

We Are Against Partition of Palestine

The *Militant* is dead set against the U.S. State Department position on the future of Palestine as expressed last week before the UN General Assembly's Special Committee on Palestine, and we think all American workers ought to be too.

Washington favors the partition of that tiny country into an Arab state, plus a Jewish state plus an internationalized, UN-controlled state of Jerusalem and surrounding territory.

To help ram this program down the throats of the Palestinian people, the Truman administration offers U.S. resources, including American troops as part of "a special constabulary or police force recruited on a volunteer basis by the United Nations." Meanwhile, Washington insists, the British imperialists must remain in Palestine.

We are against this partition program, whose main features have since been endorsed by the Soviet Union delegates, because it runs directly counter to the interests of the Jewish and Arab masses of Palestine. It enables the imperialists—British or U.S., or both—to keep troops in the country to guard their interests in the oil-rich

Science Monitor. The strikebreaking Stalinist union officials decided it was time for a hand-spring. They came out in favor of the strike!

As the Monitor's Paris correspondent reported, "This was the same position they ran into at the Renault nationalized auto plant some months ago. In that case, too, a wildcat strike of which the Communists disapproved had to be supported by them later.

What evidence could be more convincing that the new "Information Bureau" set up by the Kremlin does not mean a turn by the Stalinists toward revolutionary struggle? The Stalinists switched from strikebreaking to approval of the Paris subway strike only because they feared the development of a more militant leadership if they continued to buck the subway workers.

The strikebreaking activity of the Stalinists in Paris confirms the Socialist Workers Party's analysis of the "Information Bureau." The Stalinist bureaucrats don't want to advance the program of revolutionary socialism. They are not interested in safe-guarding the interests of the workers. They are interested only in carrying out the orders of the Kremlin.

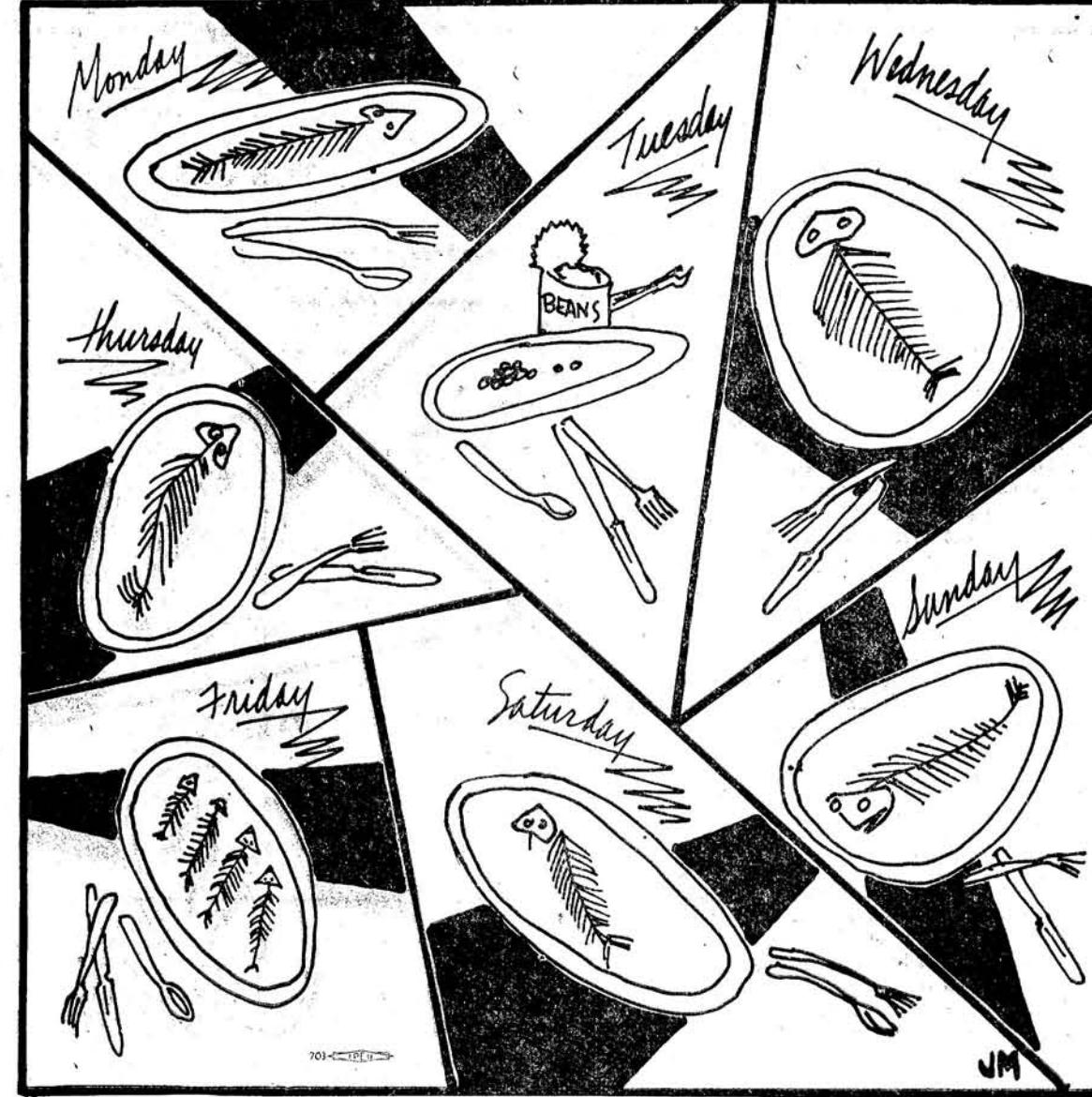
Middle East. Under such circumstances, neither the Arab nor Jewish "state" will have any real independence; the imperialists will have the real power in the carved up country.

Furthermore, partition, far from easing or eliminating the British-provoked tension between Arabs and Jews, will only aggravate it, just as partition did with the Hindus and Moslems in India. And that in turn will serve as the pretext for continued occupation of Palestine by the imperialists.

Finally, we favor the defeat of this program because it is anti-democratic to the core. Everybody in the UN seems to have the right to advance a program for Palestine—except the people who live in that troubled country. They, it seems, are to have no voice in their own fate.

The solution to the Palestine problem depends on the collaboration of the Jewish and Arab masses, and on their freedom to jointly work out their own problems. Independence for Palestine is the first step. And that means: Get the imperialists out of Palestine, ALL the imperialists—British or U.S., or both—to keep troops in the country to guard their interests in the oil-rich

Meatless Tuesday



Beginning Next Week—Story of Mother Jones

Beginning next week *The Militant* will publish a serialization of *The Autobiography of Mother Jones*. Permission for this has been kindly granted by the publishers, Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Mother Jones lived to be 100 years old. The great majority of her life was devoted to the fight of the working class. From 1873, when she participated in the strike of the Baltimore and Ohio railway workers, until her death in 1930, no important strike occurred without Mother Jones giving her all. Her absolute fearlessness and unselfish devotion to the rank and file won her a place in the hearts of the American workers.

Born Mary Harris in 1830 of a working class family in Cork, Ireland, she came to America at the age of six. When she was a young woman she married an iron worker, a good union man. An epidemic carried off her husband and four children. This tragedy was followed by the Great Chicago fire which destroyed all her possessions.

It was in this period that she came into contact with the Knights of Labor. From then on she devoted her life to a crusade for labor's rights.

Strike struggles saw her in the front rank, sometimes invited by the union leaders, sometimes against their wishes. Her presence saved many strikes from defeat.

Since some of the greatest strike struggles were in the coal fields, she came to be identified primarily with the miners. Without thought of her own safety, she entered company towns in West Virginia, street car workers, textile workers in the South.

Her love went especially to the child workers in the textile mills. By organizing and leading a march of these undernourished, physically warped children to President Theodore Roosevelt's luxurious summer home on Long Island, she did much to expose the barbarous face of child labor. The great "trustbuster" would not meet her delegation but she had struck a blow at child labor.

At the age of 84, this dangerous woman was convicted by a court

Martial of "conspiracy to murder" in a bitter coal strike in West Virginia. Public protest forced her release.

The next year she was in the Colorado mine fields where Rockefeller's industrial peons had gone on strike. Three times this little old woman in a black bonnet was ar-

rested by the militia. Imprisoned and then deported from the Trinidad-Ludlow area of the state, she sneaked back with the help of railroad workers who well remembered Mother Jones.

As late as 1923, at the age of 93, she was still on the firing line, in miners' strikes in West Virginia. Two years later she wrote her autobiography.

May Day 1930 was her 100th birthday and from throughout the nation she received letters from her old friends and fellow fighters. She made a fighting speech for the newsreel cameras. Six months later she died.

Because of her unswerving devotion to the rank and file unionists, Mother Jones often came into conflict with the union officials. She reacted violently and without mincing words to the formation of a privileged bureaucracy in the labor movement.

This won her powerful enemies among those labor leaders who saw the movement not as a class struggle for a better world but as "business unionism."

For Mother Jones was a socialist by instinct. From every platform she called for the destruction of the capitalist system. When the IWW was under the ban by the AFL leadership she did not hesitate to defend IWW leaders from frameups and to support IWW strikes. She was one of the original founders of the famous socialist paper, the *Appeal To Reason*.

Mother Jones did not have a clear understanding of socialist program and theory. She knew about the evils of capitalism and she fought militantly for a better society.

This great woman was a natural leader and a natural rebel. She captured the imagination and the love of the American workers of this country as no other woman ever had.

The latest Gallup poll reveals a significant increase in the number of people who think it was a mistake to plunge America into World War II.

In April 1946 15% of the "representative voters throughout the country," according to George Gallup, thought entry into the war was a mistake; while 77% thought it was not a mistake and 8% had no opinion.

By October 1947 sentiment had shifted as follows: 24% thought it a mistake; 66% still believed it was not a mistake; and 10% had no opinion.

Gallup declared that the South was the most beligerent section of the country before the war and still shows least regret over World War II. Since the poll was confined to "voters" however, this is misleading. It reflects the warmongering sentiments of the ruling bourgeoisie and leaves out the sentiments of the great majority of disfranchised poor whites and Negroes.

Nevertheless the poll does reflect the growing disillusionment from coast to coast over the lying propaganda about World War II making the world safe for democracy.

Gallup reports that "Those who claim it was a mistake to take part in the war are getting out of the war and is no better off, that we should stay out of other countries' affairs, and that war is too expensive for our economy."

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Workers' Forum

Labor Party Action Needed For Housing

Editor:

What is the housing situation coming to? I have been listening to the windbag politicians advocating all sorts of theories without doing anything tangible about it, besides lining their pockets with the taxpayers' blood-earned money in the form of wages.

I know personally people in some cases with infants in the family, and also of my own case, that are facing dispossession, and some are paying much above the rent ceiling freeze. They are threatened with a sky for a ceiling if they report it. Considering this threat, they have to remain quiet.

The plutocratic representation that was elected into office does not represent the people or the electorate, but represents the rent lobbyists and the other pressure applied behind the throne. So my advice to all is to consider the above when you go to the polls and vote for a man or men who represent labor.

So remember this: A Labor Slave in '48 and in the time between now and '48 organize your groups and agitate for labor representation, and vote for all the men who will represent the forgotten families of U.S.A.

By putting in labor candidates in various parts of the country we can start a nucleus and the beginning of a genuine labor party movement in the United States.

Joe Youngtown, O.

Los Angeles Mothers Win School Victory

Editor:

On Sept. 8 some 250 determined women, headed by Councilman Harold Harby, Rev. Franklin Swanson, Artie Jeff and M. Beer, appeared at the Board of Education and Mayor Fletcher Bowron's chambers, demanding immediate action on plans for adequate schooling in Loyola village.

Loyola and Kentwood children have had only half-day sessions

NOTICE

The Philadelphia Chapter of ACEWR is in need of a sewing machine—to mend old clothes and make new garments. Call EV. 6-8755 and ask for Goldy Goldman.

NEWARK

Militant Labor Forum
Oct. 24, 8:30 p.m.
Larry Carter
on
NEGROES AND THE
LABOR PARTY
423 Springfield Ave.
Admission free

HARLEM

Election Jamboree
To wind up the Senatorial
Campaign for Robert Williams,
SWP candidate for
State Senator
in the 23rd District.
Sat., Nov. 1st, 1:30 p.m.
Harlem Headquarters, SWP
103 W. 110th St.

Come and meet other 'Militant' Readers at these Local Activities of

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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

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

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

CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Hasted). 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. 32nd 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., 316½ 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 1-5 p.m.

Bill of Rights Doesn't Apply in 30 States

Editor:

The Sept. 8 Militant states that "For 156 years the American people have regarded the U.S. Constitution's first ten amendments, commonly called the Bill of Rights, as an inviolable legal guarantee of their democratic rights and liberties." Yet there was no school building!

It's amazing how city officials can pass the buck. But after following through from one official to the next we finally achieved our goal. On Sept. 29 final negotiations for a Loyola elementary school site were completed. Thanks to the people working hand in hand we won a badly-needed victory in our fast-growing community.

June Johnson

Los Angeles, Calif.

Sorry She Can't Help On the Fund

Editor:

Just a line to let you know that we changed our address. I would like to contribute to the Militant Fund but I have my hands so full I don't know what to do. Thus, this one decision affected all of the original amendments.

One's first reaction on hearing about an old Supreme Court decision is that this is rather old stuff. However, you can trace the Supreme Court's feeling on the 6th amendment to understand that the rule of Barron vs. Baltimore is not dead at all.

In the cases of Walker vs. Souleben 1876, Maxwell vs. Doud 1910, and Betts vs. Brady in 1942, the court in each instance referred to the case of Barron vs. Baltimore.

However, 18 out of 48 states have civil rights acts which grant a person the same protection as the U.S. Government. But the unlucky inhabitants of the other 30 states might as well forget about the bill of rights with the exception of the first amendment because there do not apply.

Mrs. P. S.

Allentown, Pa.

E. C.

Madison, Wis.

"Herald Tribune" Gives Readers The Low Down on "The Militant"

The ultra-conservative N. Y. Herald Tribune has begun a series of reviews to "post" its readers on "trends within the political Left." The first review Oct. 12 discusses the position of the New Republic, Call, PM, Nation, Daily Worker, New Masses and The Militant on current issues. About one-fifth of the lengthy article is devoted to The Militant alone.

"The liveliest reading," says the author, Rodney Gilbert, "is always to be found in The Militant . . . which from its small triangular redoubt launches equally heavy rocket bombs at Wall Street, the Kremlin and the namby-pamby Socialists."

Gilbert describes the latest issue of The Militant before him: "Its biggest headline says: 'Price Gougers Fear New Wage Drive.' It advocates drives for a sliding wage scale, saying: 'Such cost-of-living bonuses would be paid on a regular and adjustable basis, automatically rising in direct proportion to any increase in the cost of living'

"The CIO, The Militant feels," continues Gilbert, "is nowhere near up to its job because it hesitates to challenge the Wall Street wolves by advocating expropriation, government seizure and nationalization of the basic industries and their operation under workers' control."

Gilbert quotes further from Militant articles on the price squeeze and then turns to the positions of the various political tendencies on the struggle between American imperialism and the Soviet Union. The Militant, he tells the Herald Tribune readers, offers "something completely new, different and entertaining," viewing "the UN as a 'thieves' debating society," in which the Kremlin bandits are trying to hijack the Wall Street bandits. Stalin could be bought off, say these cynics as Hitler bought him, with a non-aggression pact and a heavy subsidy for the reconditioning of the USSR. That's all that Vishinsky is shouting for."

"Fervently as The Militant hates Stalin, it is not for war with the land that Trotsky's footsteps sanctified. Its front-page cartoon shows Mr. Truman atop a mountainous stockpile of war materials, shouting 'Waste less!' Editorialy it laments the billions going into 'the armaments rat hole' which should be going into housing"

Steady Pace Kept By Branches In Collections of Militant Fund

By Rose Karsner

National Campaign Director

Once again—a reminder. December 15 will be the last issue of the paper to contain the Scoreboard reports on the collection of the \$15,000 Fund needed to finance The Militant. That leaves exactly seven weeks in which the Militant readers and Socialist Workers Party branches must fulfill their quotas, because the final payments must be in the National Office not later than December 9. That means collections must be stepped up.

A good method, effectively used in New York and Pittsburgh, is to divide the balance due on your pledge by seven and pay that amount weekly. In this manner you will avoid the last minute scramble to attain the 100%.

SUBSCRIBERS—The coin-card and collection list is being mailed this week and should reach you within a few days. When you receive it, please give it your attention and let us hear from you as promptly as possible.

READERS who are not on our mailing list are again urged to use the coupon below. John Wos of Minnesota sent \$5 and Matt Groh of New York City sent \$2.

FROM THE BRANCHES

There are still too many zeroes on the Scoreboard. We trust that most of these will be wiped out next week.

ST. LOUIS—A money order for \$15 from this branch puts it in the lead with 126%. Looks like this branch will keep its place at the top because it is still collecting for the Fund.

MILWAUKEE—Comrade Virginia

is very concerned about the position of her branch on the Scoreboard. She says: "I am enclosing \$25 and sending it air mail special delivery so our 49% will show on the next Scoreboard." That puts Milwaukee in second place.

CHICAGO—Harold: "We are planning a gala Militant Ball for Nov. 15 when we will celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the founding of The Militant. We will have an orchestra, a floor show and refreshments. The proceeds of this affair will go toward our quota. Another project is to give an autographed copy of Wilard Motley's best seller Knock On Any Door" to the comrade who turns in the most collections to the branch."

But the union officials were al-



Scoreboard For

\$15,000 Militant Fund

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
ST. LOUIS	\$ 50	\$ 63	126
Milwaukee	200	98	49
Newark	500	224	45
Rochester	25	10	40
Youngstown	600	200	33
New York	4,500	1,458	32
Seattle	300	77	26
Oakland	250	63	25
Flint	200	48	24
Philadelphia	300	68	23
Pittsburgh	150	30	20
Toledo	150	26	17
Detroit	600	100	17
Akron	300	50	16
Cleveland	250	39	16
Chicago	1,500	217	14
Twin Cities	1,000	145	14
Boston	275	31	11
Los Angeles	1,500	150	10
San Francisco	1,250	95	8
Allentown-Bethlehem	75	0	0
Connecticut State	200	0	0
Lynn	125	0	0
Massillon-Canton	50	0	0
Reading	100	0	0
San Diego	100	0	0
Tacoma	25	0	0
West Virginia	25	0	0
TOTAL THROUGH OCT. 13	\$3,404	23%	

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Local Sells 59 New Subs in Harlem



In connection with the election campaign in Harlem, where the Socialist Workers Party is running Robert Williams for State Senator, New York Local of the SWP held small but very successful mobilizations last week, selling 264 copies of The Militant and 59 new subscriptions.

At two Friday night street meetings on Oct. 3, 118 Militants and 35 pamphlets were sold, but a week later the police shunted the meetings to such poor corners that only 38 Militants and a dozen pamphlets were sold.

On Sunday, Oct. 5, 30 comrades turned out for a subscription mobilization in the area and sold an average of nearly two subs each. It was such a lovely day that many people were not home, so that much time was lost ringing doorbells, but the reception was very cordial where people were at home. The comrades sold an average of nearly four single copies of the paper each and more than one pamphlet each.

Sending in five subs, George of Philadelphia Branch wrote: "Well, there may be a few less subs, but at any rate they are still coming in. We may have a mobilization next Sunday. We now have almost 15 more people, since the Johnstons joined. Already they have shown what they can do. Friday night, after the forum, one of them, Irv, sold a sub to someone who has been coming around for quite some time but for some reason had not been asked for a sub before. Also, Oregon, a newer comrade, who turned in four of the last 10 subs I sent, is responsible for one in this group."

"For the last two Sundays mobilizations have been rained out," wrote Carol Andrews, Milwaukee agent, who sent in three subscription renewals. "However, comrades have volunteered to do renewal callback work during the week and

Total 290

Dunne Analyzes Truman's "Plan" At Twin City Sunday Forum

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 12—Truman's plan of "meatless and poultryless" days for the American workers is not designed to help the starving Europeans. Instead, any food saved here will be used to smash the workers' movement in Europe.

So stated V. R. Dunne, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers party, when he addressed the Twin City Sunday Forum this afternoon. "American imperialism also operates in the rail unions.

Walker appealed to the rank and file of the engineers to effect consolidation with the result that an organized movement to unite the men in the cab was launched at Buffalo, and has since spread to railroad terminals from coast to coast. This movement is also putting out a monthly paper named The Consolidator.

Thus organized, the progressives in both unions were able to put over their consolidation proposals in the two unions' conventions this year. As a result each union selected a committee of nine rank and file members to negotiate a consolidation agreement by two unions for submission to a referendum vote in each union.

Both of these committees were given wide powers by their respective conventions to hire office space, legal and actuarial assistance, to call on any Grand Lodge officer for any information or assistance that the committees deem necessary, and also to incur any expense necessary to the proper functioning of the committees.

These two committees will meet for the first time on Oct. 13 at the BLE headquarters in Cleveland. One of these committees, speaking at a joint meeting of engineers in Toledo recently, stated that it was his understanding that the two committees were to continue in session until a consolidation program was hammered into shape for submission to a vote of the rank and file of both organizations.

In the process of merging the two unions the progressive engineers in both organizations are going to do their best to unload some of the worthless officials they now have and to blacken the pages of both the BLE and the BLE's constitution. The silly and useless ritualistic ceremonies in use in both unions will, no doubt, also be relegated to the discard.

Thus after 40 years of agitation, the men who operate the American locomotives may be the trail blazers on the road to amalgamation of craft unions rendered obsolete under present industrial conditions.

25¢ a copy • yearly subscription \$2

Order from Business Manager

116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Won't You Help The Militant?

CLIP COUPON—MAIL TO-DAY

The Militant Fund
116 University Pl.

