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Workers of the World, United!

THE MILITANT

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SWP Campaign And Its Great Significance

By George Clarke

The number of votes for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson will not be known for many days and perhaps weeks. The capitalist electoral machinery is deliberately designed not only to keep working class parties off the ballot but to withhold their votes from public view until interest in the elections has subsided.

Yet it is possible now, before the votes are tallied and made public, to assess the significance and the achievements of the first Trotskyist presidential campaign in the United States. Precisely because this was our first national campaign these achievements will not be truthfully reflected in the votes received by Dobbs and Carlson. The Socialist Workers Party entered the campaign unknown to the great working public which is accustomed to voting not only for well-established parties but even along traditional lines from generation to generation.

Arena of National Politics

Our first and primary objective, therefore, in this campaign was to smash our way out of the obscurity of a narrow circle of radical workers into the wide arena of national politics. In this aim we succeeded beyond our fondest hopes and expectations. Millions of people heard about the Socialist Workers Party and the program of Trotskyism for the first time — more people than in all the past twenty years of our movement combined.

The miracle of this achievement was coldly presented each week in the Militant scoreboard listing contributions to our campaign. These figures represented stint and sacrifice by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, but their total was puny by comparison with the vast funds at the disposal of Republican, Democratic and Progressive Party, not even excluding the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party.

We can thank Lenin for providing us with the secret weapon which forced open the doors of the press and radio monopoly when we were too poor to buy our way in. In the early days of the Russian Revolution, Lenin was asked by a capitalist politician what he would use for an army if Russia were invaded by the imperialists. He replied: "We shall use your army."

We used the press and the radio of our capitalist enemies to write and broadcast our message of anti-capitalism. And let no one think that even an inch of this newspaper space or a minute of radio time was placed at our disposal as an observance of the traditions of democracy or the spirit of fair play. In almost every instance, we were obliged to struggle with the radio monopolies to conform to the law which was written to prevent discrimination by one capitalist party against another but not to give fair treatment to minority parties. We had to exploit every pretense of impartiality by the capitalist newspapers to gain publicity.

Achievement of Rank and File

And in the final analysis, these victories were not the work of professional publicity experts or radio specialists — of whom we had none — but the achievement of the rank and file of the party. We could not have approached the organs of public opinion if the Trotskyist workers had not won us political legitimacy by months of tedious labor in gathering petitions to put Dobbs and Carlson on the ballot.

Through this campaign, the Socialist Workers Party has won recognition not merely as another party, but as the extreme left wing of American politics. This was no simple task in a time when confusion and lies blanketed the land like a heavy fog. The Norman Thomas Socialist Party and the stagnant Socialist Labor Party were represented as advocates of a socialist society. Wallace and the Stalinists were constantly designated as "the left wing."

But in the course of the campaign it became clear to ever larger numbers that socialism could not be championed by a respectable middle class liberal who is cheek by jowl with the war policies of Wall Street, nor by unreconstructed sectarians who oppose the trade unions and scorn the class struggle. So too it became increasingly clear that the "left wing" must be more than a New Deal party which seeks to reform capitalism in alliance with those who serve the reactionary interests of the Kremlin rulers.

Our main programmatic aim was to hammer home the need for a Workers and Farmers Government as the principal answer to war, poverty, depression and reaction. We did not speak vaguely of the advantages of socialism over capitalism but of the instruments and methods whereby the working class could join battle with its oppressors and achieve a world of peace, freedom and plenty.

Our candidates were the living symbol that our party alone was in earnest in the struggle against war. Not by theory and argument alone did we refute the anti-war pretensions of Henry Wallace and Norman Thomas but by the record and by contrast. We showed Wallace as the drummer-boy of World War II and the quitter who promised to run out on the struggle when the new war started. We showed Thomas as the betrayer in World War II of the traditions of Eugene V. Debs and the supporter of bipartisan war policies now.

And we showed by contrast how Dobbs and Carlson had kept their word even at the cost of personal liberty. We proudly proclaimed that our candidates had been imprisoned for socialist internationalist opposition to capitalist war because above all where peace is concerned words are cheap and plentiful — it is deeds that count.

The Trotskyist campaign was an open challenge to the spreading reaction, to the witchhunts and the red baiters. We defied the inquisitorial blacklist of Attorney-General Clark and challenged him and Truman to bring their charges into the open where the public could see and judge. In the process, our presidential campaign became the focal point of the struggle for civil rights. Many who were supporting the witchhunts for office, joined with us in the struggle against withholding.

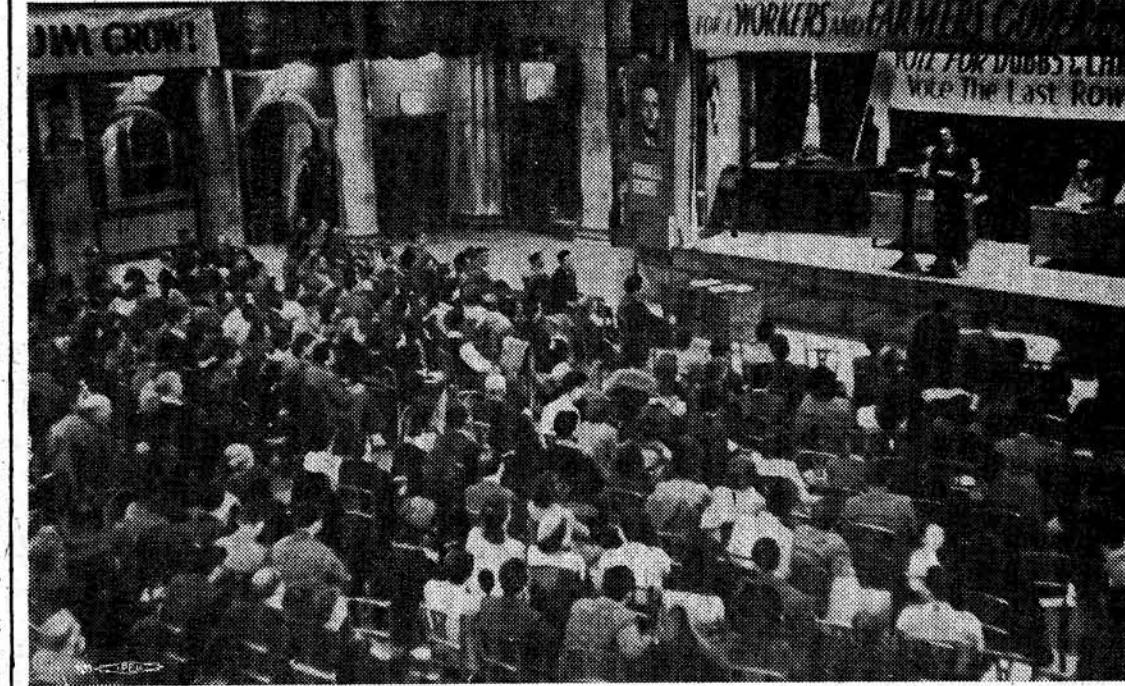
The 1948 Presidential campaign marks the third and biggest performance of the Trotskyists on the national political scene. In 1934, Trotskyists leading the Minneapolis truckdrivers blazed the trail for the triumph of the CIO in the mass production industries. In 1941 Trotskyists preserved the banner of socialist internationalism on the eve of the war in a courtroom in Minneapolis. In 1948 millions of American workers saw the Trotskyists as the spokesmen for working class independence, for uncompromising struggle and for revolutionary socialism.

Truth Is Making Its Way

The truth is making its way. Labor leaders, bitterly opposing our program, recognize us as the revolutionary left wing of the working class movement. Thomas socialists and renegades no longer challenge our claims but fight against our Marxist principles and Bolshevik intransigence from the ideological ramparts of the capitalist enemy. Stalinist workers, tired of corruption, lies and betrayal, are beginning to see in us the inheritors and modern representatives of Lenin's Communism.

The star of Trotskyism rose higher than ever in the 1948 campaign. It was a promise that in the months and years of struggle for labor emancipation ahead of us, Trotskyism will become the brightest star in the firmament of the working class movement.

Labor Must Fight to Compel Truman to Fulfill Promises



The final election rally in New York City held at the Hotel Diplomat. Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate is addressing the audience.

Lewis Renews Demand To Aid French Miners

John L. Lewis's appeal for support to the striking French miners has sounded a clarion call for international labor solidarity. For the first time in years, a top-ranking American union leader has voiced the identity of class interests between the American workers and those of another land.

To be sure, we have not lacked appeals for a fraudulent "international solidarity" — that is, for "unity" in the service of the imperialists and exploiters. The CIO and AFL leaders are working overtime for a "united front" of labor organizations in western Europe and America behind the Marshall Plan to bolster capitalist reaction.

With one stroke, Lewis has cut through the false "international solidarity" of the pro-imperialist union leaders and self-styled "socialists" of the Norman Thomas and Leon Blum stripe. He has forced them to reveal their hostility to genuine international labor solidarity — that is, the unity of the workers of all lands against capitalist exploitation.

Indeed, Green at first said he had a "rather sympathetic attitude" toward Lewis's proposal. But, under pressure, he quickly changed his tune. Then Green said that Lewis's proposal "might well be made by a Communist" and that the AFL could not support a strike seeking "to establish a Communist dictatorship."

Lewis gave a fitting reply that "it was known to me . . . the Truman ax men and your personal enemies in your own office would force you to retract."

To Leon Blum, who complained that the strike was "evil inspired" by the Communist Party for "political purposes," Lewis promptly answered: "You should place food in the shrunken stomachs of the French miners rather than project American bullets into their ill-nourished bodies."

LEWIS LETTER

Lewis wrote AFL President William Green on Oct. 27 asking Green, as a supporter of Truman and his foreign policies, "why do you not have him stop the shooting of French coal miners who are hungry?" Lewis pointed out that "Truman controls the money bags of the Marshall Plan, upon

which the tottering French government subsists."

This challenge provoked a chorus of vituperative replies from Green, Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialists, and the capitalist press. They do not deny that French coal miners are hungry and that they are being shot down by armed forces of a government maintained by American money.

The argument that a strike is "politically inspired" is taken directly from the arsenal of the capitalists. They attack all strikes that threaten their profits and privilege as "red," "subversive," "communist" and aimed at "overthrowing the government."

Would the French capitalists treat the French miners any differently if their strike were led by non-Stalinist leaders? And aren't the French capitalists and their "socialist" lackeys like Blum also "politically inspired" in their efforts to smash strikes?

Right here in America we've witnessed the National Guards called out repeatedly — just six months ago in the packinghouse workers strike — against workers' struggles for the most elementary economic demands. We've seen repeated attempts to break coal mine strikes by Army seizures.

Moreover, there is not a major strike in America today that does not have profound political implications — especially since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

At bottom in the French mine strike are the terrible conditions of the miners. That is why 350,000 miners defy the government and its armed forces. The Scripps-Howard correspondent writes on Oct. 25 from France:

"The majority of the miners are supporting the strike because they are miserably paid. A French miner gets the equivalent of \$33 for a month's work. They are supporting the strike because they have no confidence that their inept government will do anything to help them."

We by no means intend to give the Stalinists a clean bill of

(Continued on page 2)

NMU Backs ITU Call for Congress Of Labor to Smash Slave Labor Act

At long last another international union — the National Maritime Union — has endorsed the call of the AFL Typographical Workers for a Congress of Labor to organize a united front for the smashing of the Taft-Hartley Law.

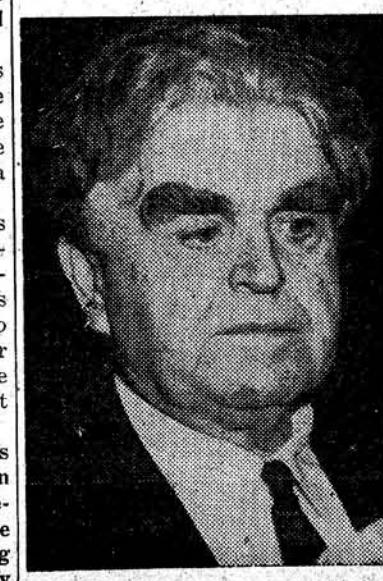
It will be recalled that the International Typographical Union at its Milwaukee convention on Aug. 16 called upon the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, International Association of Machinists and other independent unions to convene a National Emergency Congress in Washington for the purpose of working out joint plans to combat anti-union injunctions and all other attacks by the present NLRB, as well as the concerted campaign for the repeal of the vicious Taft-Hartley law itself.

The Oct. 29 Pilot, publication of the CIO Maritime Union reports that its national office meeting of Oct. 19 passed a motion to "support International Typographical Union's call for Congress of Labor, as long as it includes AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods . . ." and to refer the matter favorably to the national CIO.

The proposal for the Congress of Labor was brought to the attention of the national office by a resolution passed by the NMU membership of the SS Santa Clara.

Unfortunately this decision is not featured or editorially explained in the Pilot, nor, apparently, do the NMU officers intend to wage a campaign to achieve its realization. Their decision is merely recorded in the minutes of their meeting without any further comment.

It is thus clear that militants in the National Maritime Union as throughout the labor movement still have to do a lot of spade work before their slow-moving officials will be induced to really put the proposal into practice.



JOHN L. LEWIS

Vote of Working Class Is Decisive in Election

By Art Preis

Organized labor is the overwhelmingly dominant force in American political life today. It represents an outright majority of the population. Its numbers, if mobilized on a correct program and in its own party, could sweep the nation and take political power outright in the name of the working class.

That fact has now been conclusively proved by the national elections. The victory of Truman and the Democratic recapture of the House and Senate marked a "personal triumph" of the Man from Missouri only in the most limited sense. What was absolutely decisive in this election was the labor vote.

The party that commands the labor vote commands political rule. No party can prevail without it — as the disdained Republicans and the ill-conceived Wallace Party have learned to their chagrin and regret.

It did not even take an unprecedented outpouring of the working-class electorate to ensure the defeat of Dewey and the Republicans, who campaigned as the open and avowed spokesmen of Big Business and anti-labor reaction.

Actually, the total vote registered fell relatively far below those of 1940 and 1944. At this writing, it does not appear the vote will even surpass the 1940 total of over 49,000,000, while in terms of increased population it should have been over 56,000,000.

LABOR WEIGHT

But such is the weight of organized labor in the American population that it could pick a discredited mediocrity like Truman, conceded by the union leaders themselves not to have a chance if they could not arouse the labor vote, and put him back in the White House. And what is more, they delivered a stunning defeat to the Taft-Hartleyites in Congress. Senator J. Howard McGrath, Democratic national chairman, spoke from the heart in the very first words of his victory statement when he paid full tribute to organized labor for the Democratic triumph.

This ambiguity is now removed. Truman lacks all the magnetic qualities of Roosevelt. He is colorless in personality, mediocre in talents. His record as a strike-breaker, his bellicose war-mongering, his "loyalty" purge and witch hunt, his retreat before the monopolies when he liquidated almost all price controls in 1946, put him in widespread disfavor with the workers. Their growing indifference to whether the Democrats or Republicans ruled in Washington was graphically expressed in the 1946 Congressional elections, when their failure to vote in large numbers ensured Republican control of the 80th Congress.

By the time of the Democratic Party convention this year, even the pro-Democratic union leaders were loudly agitating for a different candidate — anybody at all but Truman. Only with much hesitation and reluctance did the bulk of the CIO and AFL leaders finally present Truman to their members as the "lesser evil." Yet, even with the Democratic Party torn on the left by Wallace and on the right by the Dixiecrats, the organized labor movement was able once more to put over the Democratic ticket.

LEFT SHIFT

If the results of this election testify to the predominant weight of organized labor, they likewise register a sharp leftward political shift of the American masses. The workers and the lower middle class did not vote with any enthusiasm for Truman and the Democrats. They voted against the bare-faced reactionary policies of the Republican-controlled 80th Congress, and above all, the

(Continued on page 2)

Prominent Liberals Rally In Defense of Kutcher

NEW YORK, Nov. 5 — James Kutcher, the legless Purple Heart veteran who was fired from his job as a Veterans Administration clerk in Newark because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has requested a hearing before the Loyalty Appeal Board in Washington to reverse the decision in his case. Kutcher was discharged on Oct. 11 by the Veterans Administration Loyalty Board in Philadelphia.

M. J. Myer, Mr. Kutcher's attorney, said that the appeal is being made "not only to secure justice for this victimized veteran and to wipe out the stigma of disloyalty from his record, but also in view of the importance of the case and the wide public interest it has aroused."

CRITICAL TEST

The Case of the Legless Veteran has become nationally recognized as a critical test of the restrictions on democratic rights involved in the loyalty purge procedure. Mr. Kutcher's defense is being handled by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a na-

tional non-partisan citizens group. Although this committee does not subscribe to Mr. Kutcher's political views, it holds that he has the right to have them and his job just as he did when he lost his legs with the infantry during the war.

Among the veteran, labor and liberal organizations endorsing the work of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are the American Veterans Committee, the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, the Baptist Ministers Conference of Newark and Vicinity, the New Jersey CIO Council, and the Newark AFL Teachers Union. The New York Star, the Brooklyn Eagle, the Trenton Times, the Nation, the New Leader, the CIO News and other publications have voiced support for the campaign to help Kutcher in his fight.

Both the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League signified their intention of filing briefs on Mr. Kutcher's behalf when his case reaches the courts.

Many prominent public figures have recently joined the national

committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, in response to an appeal signed by Harold Russell, Academy Award Winner for his acting in the film "Best Years of Our Lives," Bill Mauldin, author of "Up Front" and "Back Home," Carl Holdeman, President, New Jersey CIO Council, Merle Miller, former editor of *Yank* and now editor of *Harpers*, and George Novack, national secretary of the committee. Among them are:

Dr. John Dewey; Professor Horace M. Kallen, of the New School for Social Research; Professor Selig Perlman of the University of Wisconsin; Professor Paul F. Brissenden of Columbia University; Alexander Meiklejohn of Leland Stanford University; Edmund Wilson; Lewis Mumford; Norman Mailer; Louis Adamic; Margaret Marshall; I. F. Stone; John Sloan; Mark Starr, educational director of the ILGWU-AFL; Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan, Congregation Beth-El, Astoria, L.I.; Reverend John Paul Jones, Max Schachtman, Chairman of the Workers Party, and Professor Meyer Shapiro of Columbia University.

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Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, Interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Mar. 1940



LENIN

TROTSKY

The Ballot Box

Several days before elections, it was discovered that the Democratic Party's list of electors in Michigan had not been certified through either accident or oversight. The legal date for certification was long past. But the Republican Secretary of State proved most accomodating. He not only informed the Democratic Party of the oversight, but generously waived aside all legal technicalities to permit the belated filing and certification of the Democratic electors.

This would be merely a curious though insignificant event of the election campaign were it not for the fact that it shows up the different and opposite treatment accorded by the two major parties to minority parties.

No legal technicalities are waived to accord a place on the ballot to opponents of the Democrats and Republicans. In fact, every legal—and illegal—obstacle is placed in the path of minority parties to bar them from the ballot. Almost every state—including Michigan—has harsh election laws, passed and enforced by both the Democrats and Republicans, designed to prevent minority parties—particularly anti-capitalist parties like the Socialist Workers Party—from getting on the ballot.

The public is familiar with the methods used against Wallace in Illinois, where Republicans and Democrats, from the election boards up to the highest courts, ganged up

to keep the Wallace ticket from the official ballot. Missouri similarly barred the Socialist and Socialist Labor parties.

As for the Socialist Workers Party, open fraud was practiced to keep its candidates off the ballot in Massachusetts and Ohio.

Larry Trainer of Boston, running for Congress on the SWP ticket, had his legal petitions thrown out without a shadow of lawful pretext by an election board which openly displayed its partisan hostility. Harry Braverman's petitions, which met the legal requirements, were fraudulently ruled out by an openly biased election board in Youngstown, Ohio, and his appeal was rejected by the Ohio State Supreme Court acting in cahoots with the Democratic and Republican election officials.

The contrast between the generous treatment accorded the Democrats and the determined effort to bar minority parties from the ballot points up the fact that elections are not at all really free in the United States. It underlines the fact that the two old-line capitalist parties attempt to keep a monopoly over the ballot box and bar competitors. It further emphasizes that the labor movement, if it is serious about independent political action and democratic elections, must launch an energetic fight to liberalize the election laws and make the ballot accessible to all parties.

WE ARE REMINDING
EVERYONE AGAIN: YOU
HAVE THREE REMAINING
WEEKS TO GET INTO THE
100% COLUMN!

Union Democracy

Striking beer drivers of the CIO Brewery Workers in New York City are setting an inspiring example for the rank and file of labor everywhere in the vital struggle against bureaucracy and for democracy in the unions.

This strike represents a revolt against a top bureaucracy whose boast is that the brewery workers have not had a major strike in 60 years.

Fearful of leading a real battle against the brewery owners, the top union leaders signed a contract behind the backs of the men. This contract not only provided wage increases far below what the men were demanding, but also a treacherous "joker"—a clause permitting speed-up with automatic penalties for drivers who failed to keep up with the stiff pace.

Instead of merely accepting a collusive contract signed against their will, the drivers decided to assert their rights and fight. They organized, struck and halted all beer deliveries.

The international officers promptly flew in from Cincinnati, ordered the strike ended, suspended several strike leaders, attacked the strike in the public press and even tried to mobilize strikebreakers.

Instead of folding up, the strikers set up their own Rank and File Committee, tightened their ranks and repudiated all the slick deals the top officials negotiated with the employers. Through their militant action, the strikers have already cracked the employers' front and forced a number of companies to abrogate the speed-up clause.

The New York beer drivers have in this

case struck a blow not only on their own behalf but against an evil that can throttle the whole union movement. That is the evil of top machines which usurp the democratic rights of the members.

It was this evil which enabled the old AFL leadership to prevent the organization of industrial workers and against which the CIO rose in revolt. Today, however, the CIO itself is gripped by a heavy-handed bureaucracy that is squeezing the democratic life out of the industrial unions.

Nothing is more indicative of the anti-democratic control of the CIO as well as the AFL unions than the fact that the top officials of the internationals have arrogated to themselves the "right" to say when workers may or may not strike. Some bureaucrat in a plush office far from the struggle presumes to dictate to thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers when they can or when they can't defend themselves against the stiff pace.

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Open the Books

As an answer to the lying anti-union propaganda of the shipping tycoons, a number of militants in the maritime strike on the West Coast are advocating that the ship owners' books be opened to public inspection.

This demand is well worth the most serious consideration of the embattled maritime workers. The public has a legitimate right to know all the facts relevant to the shipping tieup and the efforts of the shipowners to smash the strike and crush organized labor on the Pacific Coast water front.

In the tough strike against General Motors in the winter of 1945-46 the auto workers raised this slogan with great success. They found that the demand to open the company's books to public inspection at once placed the company officials on the defensive.

If they refused to accede to this reasonable demand, it could only be for reasons that would not stand scrutiny. What secrets, harmful to the public interest, were they forced to cover up and hide?

If they granted the demand, then the public would not only gain authentic information on the enormous size of company profits, but also all the chicanery, crooked manipulations and anti-public conspiracies that

could only strengthen the cause of the union. The General Motors Corporation refused the union demand in 1945-46 at heavy cost to its publicity campaign against the auto workers.

In the case of the ship owners, the demand to open their books would prove singularly effective. There is no section of the capitalist class so obviously parasitic.

They operate government-owned ships at enormous profits derived from subsidies. What ships they do own, in most cases were built by the government and turned over to them far below cost, the token selling price to be paid out of operating profits.

During the war, their profits from carrying war supplies were so scandalous as to invite repeated investigation by government bodies. Operating hand in glove with friendly officials, they piled up fortunes that shocked even Congressmen hardened to the most outrageous plundering of other industrial barons.

By opening the books of the ship owners, these sordid facts would provide sensational reading for the public and clearly demonstrate what is really at issue in the maritime strike, and why the ship owners are so determined to crush the maritime unions.

82% of Quota Reached in Campaign For \$25,000 Party-Building Fund

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The scoreboard spurted upward another 5% this week for a total of 82% of the \$25,000 Election and Party Building Fund, as branches sent in this week \$1,396. Three more weeks remain to complete the fund, and all branches and friends are urged to get their pledges in to meet the deadline.

St. Louis sent in an additional \$5 to bring this branch to 138% of its regular quota.

Flint came over the top by sending in \$53 and is now in the 100% column.

Lynn joined the 100 percenters in one leap by sending in the \$90 balance on its quota.

itto for San Francisco-Oakland which mailed in its \$97 balance; Toledo which came across with its \$55 balance and Youngstown with its \$146 balance.

Newark sent in \$30 and is now within hailing distance of its quota — 94%.

Detroit sent in \$100 and stands at 81%.

Buffalo inched up to 79% of its quota by a remittance of \$74.

Chicago gained 6 points on the scoreboard by its contribution of \$117.

Connecticut mailed in \$124 and now stands even with Chicago at 62% of its quota.

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HAVE THREE REMAINING
WEEKS TO GET INTO THE
100% COLUMN!

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Rochester	\$ 50	\$ 75	150
St. Louis	50	69	138
Baltimore	50	65	131
Boston	275	355	129
Allentown	50	61	122
Tacoma	50	61	122
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Cleveland	400	400	100
Flint	400	400	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Philadelphia	500	500	100
Pittsburgh	200	200	100
Reading	150	150	100
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	1,500	100
Toledo	200	200	100
Youngstown	800	800	100
Minnesota	2,000	1,892	95
Newark	750	705	94
West Virginia	100	90	90
New York City	7,500	6,534	87
Seattle	600	500	83
San Diego	50	41	82
Detroit	1,800	1,300	81
Buffalo	1,000	786	79
Akron	400	307	77
Chicago	2,000	1,242	62
Connecticut	250	156	62
Los Angeles	2,500	1,476	59
General	1,050	190	18
Total	\$25,000	\$20,599	82

Union Lawyer Throwed Out



Attorney Norman Leonard (l), counsel for the CIO Longshore Union was forcibly ejected from the hearing of the House Labor Subcommittee in San Francisco because he sought to advise his clients while testifying. In addition, Hugh Bryson, President of the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards was threatened with a contempt citation.

EIGHT FAT YEARS FOR THE PROFITEERS

There's one thing the Democratic administration can truthfully boast—that never have the corporations and trusts gorged themselves on so much profits as in the past eight years.

In the depression year 1939, the corporation raked in \$612 billion in profits before taxes. This was only \$3 billion short of the record take of 1929—which plummeted the country into economic crisis.

Every year of the war, the corporation rake-off was greater than 1929. By 1944, it was admittedly more than \$12 billion a year. This did not include the post-war gift of \$20 billion worth of government-built plants; nor the billions in tax kickbacks voted by the Democratic Congress in 1944 that were paid after the war.

There is a direct connection between profits and high prices—profits this year are running 25% higher than last year.

While profits have soared 369% in eight years, the weekly average gross pay (before taxes) of workers in manufacturing industries has gone up, according to the government, only 118%. Even this, of course, is accounted for in part by longer hours of work.

Today, according to official government reports, corporation profits before taxes—the real way to measure profits—are running at more than \$30 billion annually—almost FIVE TIMES greater than in 1939. In short, profits before taxes have soared 369% in the last eight years.

Even after taxes, the corporations are rolling up about \$22 billion profits this year—still four and a half times more than in 1939. These profits do not include the billions, not publicly reported as profits, which are hidden in so-called "reserve funds."

HIDDEN PROFITS

Du Pont Chemicals, for instance, has been stashing away such hidden profits, in the form of "reserves," to the amount of \$5 million every quarter. This company, together with U.S. Steel, National Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, General Motors, International Paper, and Procter and Gamble, and West

son Oil and Snowdrift, put aside a total of \$43 million in hidden profits in the first six months of this year—or about 10% more than their reported profits.

The government figures on wages do not show what the worker has left to spend after pay-roll and Social Security taxes. Thus, the buying power of the workers' wages is little more than in 1939—and rapidly being slashed by further rising prices.

Since 1945, average hourly wage rates have gone up only 17%, while prices have soared almost 33%. In the first six months of 1948 alone, profits went up 25%.

These figures conclusively prove that profits—not wages—are the source of the present inflation.

And these unprecedented profits are assured—and will continue to be assured—by the Truman-Marshall war program.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p.m.; Branch meeting 8 p.m.
BALTIMORE—112 E. Baltimore St. Phone Wolfe 1733. Daily 8 a.m.-8 p.m. O. Coover, Sr. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.
BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 St. Street. Open Mon. 8:30-9:30 p.m. 2nd fl. 7-10 p.m.
BUFALLO—Militant Forum, 829 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 860. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—77 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEArborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Library, book-store.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 7-9 p.m. Peabody Hall, 1416 E. 2nd St. Phone Wade Park 486.
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone 7-4357. Mon. through Sat., 12-2 p.m. FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.
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If War Comes

By Joseph Keller

World War III, even on the scale of the last war, will cost the American people half a trillion dollars. They will suffer not less than 9 to 10 million casualties. All freedoms will be cancelled, strikes outlawed, work-or-fight laws imposed. Civilian goods production will be halted. The national debt will rise to \$500 billion. The dollar won't be worth 10 cents.

That is the conservative prediction of "The Costs of Another War," a condensation of an article from U. S. News & World Report published in the October Reader's Digest. Ironically, the article is featured in the "Understatement of the Month" section.

In the last war, by 1944, the U. S. was spending \$90 billion a year. On the same basis, the next war "would cost \$143,000,000,000 a year at present prices." A war of the same length as the last would cost "\$540,000,000,000 without allowing for new inflation." (Original emphasis.)

All war supplies will cost "at least 50% more for any new war that may come."

While the cost in lives is "unpredictable," the scale of casualties is "suggested by German experience." The Russian war cost Germany 5 million killed and missing, 4 million wounded. U. S. losses in the last war were 294,000 killed, 670,000 wounded. The losses in the next — not allowing for atomic weapons — will be 10 times as great.

In last war, U. S. used 5 billion tons of its "best minerals"; about 8 billion barrels of oil. Plans now being prepared assume a far bigger use of materials in World War III. "By war's end, the United States would be a 'have not nation.' Impoverishment of resources would reduce U. S. economy to European levels.

British "Socialism"

By Art Preis

The British Labor Government's "socialism" is no more socialist than Stalin's "communism" is communist. This is further evidenced by the government's latest move against the British workers. It was announced on Oct. 28 in London that disciplinary committees with powers to fine and dismiss coal miners for "absenteeism" are being established. The system of fines is part of a new Code of Conduct drafted by a government council and approved by the bureaucrats heading the National Union of Mine Workers.

Simultaneously, Sir Stafford Cripps, Laborite Chancellor of the Exchequer, broadcast a demand for "higher productivity" and "more output each year from each individual." This is part of the government's speed-up drive to squeeze the last possible ounce of work out of the ill-nourished, under-paid workers in order to prop up tottering British capitalism.

The system of fines is a throw-back to the most barbaric forms of labor exploitation under early capitalism. The successful struggle against the system of fines was one of the earliest battles of the young labor movements everywhere.

That the British Labor government is attempting to reintroduce this relic of unrestrained capitalist exploitation is one more proof that its "socialist" claims are pure fraud. It throws more light on the real nature of the nationalizations on which the claim to "socialism" is based.

Many people on this side of the Atlantic have been fooled by these nationalizations. In reality, the nationalizations have been undertaken to safeguard British capitalism and to ensure steady

"Practically everything" will be rationed; autos and trucks "confiscated." The price situation is already "dynamite" with the military now taking 10% of total production; in war, the military will take "at least 60%." Competition for what's left "would set off explosive inflation."

There will probably be a work-or-fight law "applying to adults up to 65." Strikes will be "outlawed," job-switching "seldom permitted" for civilian consumption "would be stopped," military needs "would get priority everywhere."

World War II has already left the U. S. with a debt of \$250 billion dollars. By the end of World War III, it would increase by another \$500 billion and interest charges alone "would be staggering." The government would face the decision "on whether to repudiate debt as Russia did."

As an alternative to debt repudiation — that is, a declaration of bankruptcy — the government would inflate prices, issue huge amounts of cheapened currency. The present U. S. dollar, now worth less than 60 cents in pre-war buying power, "could become a ten-cent dollar after World War III."

The sober conclusion of this "Understatement of the Month" is: "War, in other words, would not be a simple solution of U. S.-Russian difficulties."

In spite of this capitalist realization of the cost of another war, as expressed by U. S. News, the U. S. capitalists are preparing to resort to war as the only "solution" to the impending crisis of the decayed profit system.

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profits from the most bankrupt industries. By and large, the British capitalists themselves have approved the nationalizations, particularly of such industries as coal which were previously in hopeless chaos.

Through the nationalizations, the British Labor government has been able to restore some semblance of orderly operation to mismanaged industries and to "discipline" the workers, while the actual control remains in the hands of the former capitalist managers. Profits, in the form of interest on government bonds, are guaranteed the former private stockholders.

In foreign affairs, the British Labor government from the start clearly demonstrated that it is faithfully serving the imperialist interests of British capitalism. It has shown this in Greece, Palestine, Malaya and everywhere else that it is carrying out the Tory foreign policy in the name of "socialism."

In its profits-preserving nationalizations, its strikebreaking, its speed-up program culminating in the system of fines, the British Labor government is likewise carrying out the Tory program at home. It represents not the fulfillment but the betrayal of the socialist promises made to the workers by the British Labor Party leaders.

That promise will be on the road to fulfillment only when the British workers themselves, through their own committees, take full control over all the means of production and distribution, appropriate all industry without compensation to the capitalists, and cooperatively operate the entire economy on a national plan without profits.

Notes from the News

MURRAY vs STALINISTS — CIO Pres. Phillip Murray is going all-out trying to have the CIO Retail Clerks Union win back control over the department store locals in New York City which, under Stalinist control, have seceded from the parent body and set up an independent council. Michael Mann, Chicago CIO Director, has been put in charge of the campaign. At the same time, the FBI is investigating the "validity" of the non-communist affidavits signed by officers of two of the seceding locals at Stern's and Macy's.

BARBERS SECEDE — The largest local in the CIO Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union, representing approximately 1,200 workers in New York City, disaffiliated from the International Union.

STATE OF UNION — Selective Service officials in the nation's ten largest cities reported that an average of 72 per cent of the 24 and 25-year-olds called up for pre-induction physical examinations were unfit for military service. Psychoneurotic disorders and heart ailments were the major causes.

ILG VOTE — 42,000 workers in the women's cloak and suit industry of New York and New Jersey voted almost unanimously for the union shop in an NLRB poll conducted under the Taft-Hartley Act. The union involved is the AFL Ladies Garment Workers.

SMOKING OK — An editorial in the American Medical Association Journal says: "In all probability more can be said in behalf of smoking as a form of escape from tension than against it."

FRENCH POPULATION UP — Reversing the pre-war trend, France's birth rate continues to rise and her death rate to decline. Statisticians of the French Ministry of Public Health explain the post-war increase in births by the long wartime separation of husbands and wives and the government's program of substantial aid for families with many children.

MASS PICKETING — The CIO intends to appeal to the courts the NLRB's recent ruling banning mass picketing.

KRAVCHENKO SUIT — The French Tribunal of the Seine admitted the libel suit filed against the Stalinist-dominated newspaper, *Lettres Francaises* by Victor Kravchenko, author of "I Chose Freedom" and former Soviet purchasing agent. Kravchenko's suit is based on the accusation printed in the French paper that he was an agent of the U. S. Office of Strategic Services. Many prominent Stalinists have been cited as witnesses.

PACKINGHOUSE STRIKERS REINSTATED — The CIO Packinghouse Union won the reinstatement of 24 workers of Kansas City fired by Armour & Co. for their strike activities. The decision was handed down by arbitrator Harold Gilden. 17 of the reinstated workers were awarded back pay retroactive to May 24. 7 others were

reinstated only with seniority rights. Discharge of 5 workers was upheld.

CIO BUREAUCRATISM — Phillip Murray, Pres. of the CIO Steel Union appointed an administrator over Republic Steel local 1331 of Youngstown. Mike Pochiro, local president and all other local officers were suspended.

4c INCREASE — Swift and Wilson meatpacking companies announced a 4-cent hourly wage increase for their production workers. Swift had given a 9-cent increase last spring. It announced that the new 4-cent "adjustment" makes the 1948 increase conform to the general third-round pattern.

RENT GOUGING — The Chicago Area Rent Control Board passed a resolution calling upon the local housing expediter to establish a special "shakedown detection section" to check complaints against bonus-hungry and rent gouging landlords. The Rent Control Board includes Michael Mann, Chicago CIO Director and M. J. Meyer, attorney, who is handling the legal defense of James Ketcher, legless veteran fired by the Veterans Administration from his clerk's job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

CIVIL WAR

Chiang's continuation of the civil war after the enormous destruction and bloodshed suffered by China in the long conflict with Japan, led to devastating consequences. The diversion of manpower into the armed forces, the drain on food supply

WANTS DEPRESSION — E. B. Gallagher, head of the Clover Mfg. Co. of Norwalk, Conn. told the second annual conference of purchasing agents meeting at Cincinnati: "We now have reached a point in the present inflation where it is very doubtful if it can be checked without a total collapse of our entire economy. To my way of thinking, everything should be done to engineer a recession at once as the only way to save our system of free enterprise."

PRESS. PROSECUTION — The NAACP announced that it would assist in the prosecution of the murderers of Isiah Nixon, 28-year-old Negro of Alston, Ga., who was slain by two white brothers on Sept. 8 because he had voted in the Democratic primary election.

ATOM BOMBING THE U.S. — David Lilienthal sent a new letter to Albert Fitzgerald, President of the CIO Electrical Union, declaring that he was ordering the General Electric Corp. to withdraw recognition of the union in Schenectady atomic plants, in addition to his previous direction to GE to withdraw recognition at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory. The union took no economic action but filed a \$1 million damage suit against members of the Atomic Energy Commission and GE.

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Danger Signs Are Looming In Pacific Maritime Strike

Bus Drivers Talk Back



N. Y. bus drivers, members of the CIO Transport Union, howl down their International President, Michael Quill as he orders them back to work. The union called the men out on strike to win long-overdue retroactive pay. But after five hours, Quill called the strike off and informed the membership that only a "demonstration" had been intended. It was 24 hours before the bus drivers finally all returned to work.

Chiang's U. S. Backers Fear Regime's Collapse

The staggering blow dealt Chiang Kai-shek by the fall of Mukden has sharply increased the fears of his American backers in Big Business circles and the State Department that the

days of his regime are drawing to a close.

The debacle suffered by Chiang's armies in Manchuria and North China gives substance to the boast of Mao Tse-tung, chief of the Chinese Stalinist party, that almost a quarter of the total area of China has now been won, with a population of 168,000,000.

Chiang's defeat is also a defeat

for the reactionary foreign policy

followed by the Truman Adminis

tration. Since the close of

World War II, hundreds of mil

lions of dollars have been poured

into the Chinese dictator's war

machine. American officers have

groomed his forces and proffered

their advice in the campaigns.

American arms have been furnished

Chiang's troops and American

planes and ships used to trans-

port them.

Chiang Kai-shek could never

have conducted his civil war

against the Chinese people with-

out this aid.

At first his American-equipped

armies gave an imposing ap-

pearance of strength, but in their

long marches against the Stalinist-led armies they melted away,

while armies disappearing either

by attrition or by mass desertions

and switches over to the opposite

camp. Much of the equipment

Chiang has turned up on the

other side.

The reaction of American Big

Business to Chiang's defeats was

voiced by Roger D. Lapham,

former mayor of San Francisco

and head of the Economic Co-

operation Administration in

China. As a representative of the

West Coast shipping interests,

his opinion carries weight in

America's ruling circles. "The

over-all picture in China is pretty

gloomy," Lapham declared Nov.

1. "Things are going badly for

the National Government.

The general situation has been

slipping down hill since June."

Lapham advocated that "we

want to support the strike."

However, the ship operators are again attempting to resume negotiations with the independent

Marine Firemen's Union which is

on strike. Officers of this union

have signed the non-communist

affidavits, and if the contract just

signed by the MEBA is used as

a precedent, this union could like-

wise sign a contract and officially

end the strike. Of course the

members could not return to work

until the CIO longshoremen and

cooks were ready to go back. But

if the firemen settle and pull out

of the strike the picket lines will

be seriously weakened.

3) The probable need for strong

picket lines in the days ahead was

indicated by the announcement

this week that the AFL Sailors

Union of the Pacific was asking

members of the striking CIO

Cooks to transfer their allegiance to

the SUP. Officials of the SUP have