

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 scorecard listing contributions to our campaign. These figures represented stints 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 our 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 witchhunters 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 witchhunters for office, joined with us in the struggle against witchhunting.

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.

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.

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 "evilly 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."

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."

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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 fight 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."

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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 disdainful 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 the 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.

Roosevelt's electoral successes were usually attributed to his personal qualities, his dynamism, charm, magnetism — the FDR "magic." It was never entirely clear whether the trade union bureaucracy was mobilizing the vote behind Roosevelt, or just moving in behind his coattails.

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 grudging 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)

Farrell Dobbs Pledges Continued Struggle for Socialist America

Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, made the following statement over the CBS network on Nov. 2 at 10 P.M. in an interview with Ned Calmar:



On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party I want to serve notice that we will not cooperate with the new administration which will be the servant of Big Business just as the old one was. After this election, as before, the Socialist Workers Party will continue in the same spirit of uncompromising struggle against the bipartisan policy of war, high prices, Taft-Hartleyism, race prejudice and witch-hunting. We have made a great beginning in this campaign towards our major objective: the education of the American workers to the need for forming an Independent Labor Party and establishing a Workers and Farmers Government. The Socialist Workers Party will persevere in this aim in the months and years to come until — we are confident — the overwhelming majority of the working people will enter the struggle to bring these great goals to realization.

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 Branch 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 national non-partisan citizens group.

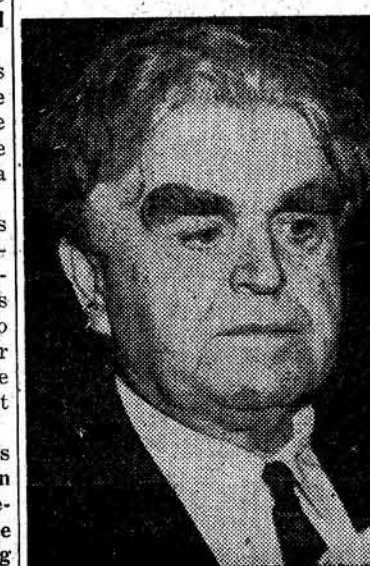
Although this committee does not subscribe to Mr. Kutcher's political views, it holds that he has the right to have them and his job just as he did when he lost his legs with the infantry during the war.

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 Holderman, 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 Adams; 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 Schapiro of Columbia University.



JOHN L. LEWIS

Prospects of Socialist Victory 31 Years After The Russian Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

When the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky led the Russian workers to victory in the November 7, 1917 revolution, they expected that their overthrow of capitalism would be followed shortly by similar revolutions in Western Europe. They saw themselves on the threshold of world socialism.

Socialist Governments would swiftly arise in Europe, they thought. The economy of the continent, freed from the national cliques of capitalists would be integrated, conscious planning in economic and social relations introduced, the new era of peace, abundance and freedom would open for mankind.

THEIR HOPES

These were their hopes. But they understood that the realization of these hopes might be deferred. In that case they expected that the Soviet Government they had created in Russia would be crushed. They predicted that unless their victory was followed by a succession of victories, particularly a working class victory in an industrially advanced country, the beginnings of socialism in Russia would succumb to counter-revolution. Contrary to expectations, the Workers State survived in Russia, but has undergone a process of profound degeneration, in the course of which it has destroyed the Communist Parties throughout the world as revolutionary instruments of the proletariat.

How do things stand today, 31 years after the November 1917 revolution? What are the prospects for the victory of socialism?

The most colossal fact that stares us in the face is the bankruptcy of capitalism as a world system. Capitalism was granted a reprieve of almost a third of a century. That period witnessed a decline in the standard of living of the masses unparalleled in history. It witnessed bloodshed and

destruction on a scale to shake the foundations of civilization.

Capitalism is far weaker today than it was in 1917; it has far less to offer the masses; the illusions in its future are incomparably more difficult to revive; the capitalist class is eaten with pessimism and fear; unrest and readiness for action on the part of the workers and their allies is far more widespread. Viewed objectively, world capitalism appears so exhausted and decrepit that a single forceful blow in any of the major countries could bring it down.

What is delaying that blow? The present leadership of the working class!

PERIODS OF PEACE

In periods of relative peace, men of narrow and conservative outlook tend to rise. With an ability to achieve minor concessions, they combine hidebound, "safe" views on the major social and political questions facing the working class. At best such figures view the goal of socialism as a laudable perspective but one having no relation with the immediate practical problems of the day. At worst they are outright reactionary in their political views. At all times they are highly susceptible to capitalist ideology if not its avowed defenders and purveyors. If they continue in leadership in times of dynamic and abrupt change, defeat and disaster face the working class.

Such leaders were the Social Democrats. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the Social Democrats had the opportunity of leading the working class to victory throughout Western Europe. They chose to maintain and strengthen capitalism. On their shoulders lies full guilt for the prolongation of capitalism with all its evils in the years following World War I.

Today the Social Democrats have ceded first place in this perfidious role to the Stalinists. Stalinism, the spearhead of counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, rose in deadly opposition to Bol-

shevism and everything it stood for during the years of lull and recession following the revolutionary tide.

In Europe and the Far East the Stalinists have deliberately and cold-bloodedly led the working class into defeat after defeat. Riding the crest of the great revolutionary wave that swept such countries as Italy and France at the close of the Second World War, they took key posts in capitalist governments in order to strengthen and save them.

Thus capitalism has again gained a breathing spell and reaction still rides triumphant.

BRIGADE OF RENEGADES

Disappointed by the delay of the Socialist revolution and the present organizational weakness of the revolutionary movement throughout the world, the radical intellectuals reinforced by numerous renegades from Marxism, have turned their backs on the Socialist movement and openly placed themselves in the service of imperialism. They spread pessimism and disillusionment in the working class movement and seek to convince the youth that the struggle for the socialist future is not only utopian but reactionary as well.

The power moving these intellectuals is American imperialism. The American capitalist class is reaching the apogee of power precisely as the world-wide system of capitalism enters its death agony. American capitalism cannot escape the over-all paralysis; but the brilliance of its economic and military might dazzles the eyes of the intellectuals and blinds them so that they no longer see reality clearly and as a whole.

THE ALIBIS

To justify their stand, the renegades feel compelled to find unexpected virtues in capitalism, to shut their eyes to its major evils or at least minimize them and to discover in the Marxist movement some kind of reasonable cause for their otherwise unaccountable refusal to its methods and goal.

Founders of Soviet Republic



A reproduction of a mural of the Russian Revolution by Diego Rivera; Lenin and Trotsky are shown reviewing the troops of the Red Army. The original mural is in the library of the New York SWP headquarters, 116 University Place.

Thus they convert Trotsky, Lenin and Marx into amoral devils and the science of Marxism into a "religion" that has no connection with reality.

Everything is reversed. These "realists" who reject the science of Marxism and place their faith in "human values" end up with loss of faith in humanity and its capacity to progress. Priding themselves on their theoretical capacities they prove incapable of differentiating between Stalinism and Marxism, between the Kremlin oligarchy and the economic base of the Soviet Union, unable to distinguish even between reaction and progress. Mounting moral platitudes, they end up in the same camp as the war-mongers and their allies, Franco, the Vatican, Chiang Kai-shek, the former Nazis, and every foul puppet Wall Street maintains abroad.

Scarcely anyone who pretends to intellectual attainments can today dispute the fact that society must be reorganized on new rational, planned lines and that public ownership and planned economy can guarantee every individual full employment, a good standard of living, economic security. How then can people who pretend to intellectual gifts oppose Socialism and support the monstrosity of imperialism with its economic crises, its bestialities, its catastrophic wars?

But, we are told, Socialism leads to a police regime. Look at Russia, look at Stalin!

One might just as well have embraced feudalism and rejected progressive capitalism in the 18th century, because the French Revolution temporarily brought on the Napoleonic police regime!

Aside from that, cry the disillusioned intellectuals, you're not going to have another revolution like 1917. Haven't 31 years gone by, with nothing but successive defeats?

We can readily agree that 31 years of waiting for another victory is a long time. In the life of an individual three decades seems enormous. However, in considering historic events we must use the proper time scale. On the grand scale of history, 31 years compares with about one-half hour in the life of an individual.

Consider the difficult travail of capitalism. In Germany peasant revolts began as early as 1461, leading to a mighty uprising that was crushed in 1525. Feudalism appeared unassailable in Europe. To recount the successive defeats suffered by the rising capitalist order would make a most impressive list. The first major victory was not scored until the time of Cromwell in England when Charles I was beheaded in 1649.

Then another 140 years had to pass before the French revolution broke out in 1789 and the capitalist system won its decisive victory on the continent of Europe.

If we compare the tempo of events today, we are fully entitled to the most optimistic conclusions. When, in all history, has the world witnessed such restlessness and turmoil as now?

Consider only the events of the past three years. Civil war, colonial uprisings, vast movements for national independence involving the majority of mankind have shaken the entire region stretching from Algeria, across the Middle East to India, Burma, Malaya,

Indonesia, Indo-China, China and Korea. Nation-wide strikes have swept Italy and France again and again, shaking the capitalist governments to their foundations.

And have England and America escaped the political ferment? In Britain we see a Labor Party in power and in America the labor movement has staged repeated strikes of a scope never before witnessed.

DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENTS

These dynamic developments, arising from the profoundest depth of humanity, can never be turned back and wiped out by dying capitalism, no matter how ferocious and savage its death struggle turns out to be. The betrayals of inadequate leaders can no longer hurl the masses back into long decades of apathy. Capitalism itself no longer permits such drawn out periods. It forces the peoples of the earth to repeated action and thereby accelerates the process by which the workers and their allies discard the betrayers and find revolutionary leaders capable of guiding the struggle to victory.

Inevitably leaders will come to the fore capable of adhering to a correct Marxist program, resolute enough to face all odds and energetic enough to carry the struggle through to a successful conclusion.

On the 31st anniversary of the Great Russian Revolution, what has become clear is that the essential program of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks of 1917 is the program that humanity must follow today if it is to save itself from barbarism or outright destruction.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Savage Blood-letting In Suppression Of Korean Uprising

A delayed dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune gives an unusually graphic account of the recent rebellion in South Korea against the puppet government installed by American military authorities.

The rebellion began on Oct. 19 when the 14th Regiment was scheduled to go to the island of Cheju "where a rebellion against the South Korean government has been continuous since March." They were under orders to put down this rebellion.

Instead, the 14th Regiment "murdered all the loyal officers at Yosu and seized an arsenal of American and Japanese weapons" that included 2,136 Garand rifles and 500,000 rounds of American ammunition. They commandeered a train and arrived at Suncheon.

Here they ran up the flags of the North Korea People's Republic and the South Korea Labor Party. They were joined by "about 400 Leftist policemen and armed bands of high-school boys."

A platoon of troops at Kwangju with American lieutenants as "advisers" was rushed to "put down the mutineers." But "instead, without resistance, the platoon merged itself with the Communist-led invaders."

According to the Herald Tribune correspondent, "mobs raided government offices, destroying all tax records and police records. They cut the local telephone wires and put the lighting system out of commission." The correspondent claims they murdered "men, women and children indiscriminately."

More troops were mobilized. They succeeded in putting down the uprising in a savage blood-letting, picking off the "mutineers" with carbines even when they advanced with upraised hands to surrender. "Ten fanatical youths tried to seize the post-office and start the revolt anew, only to be mowed down by government forces."

More than 5,000 men were rounded up on the playing field of a school for questioning "to find out where they were during the rebellion and how they acted." Batches were then executed on the spot. "One of the first sights to meet the eyes of American correspondents reaching here today was a rifle squad of executioners standing over fallen enemies."

In the terror victims were shot in the city indiscriminately "including women and children who were not Communists."

The report concludes: "The four American correspondents at the scene of the fighting have been urged strongly to point out that if the American troops are taken from the area in the discernible future, the whole country is sure to be conquered by organized Communists."

Batavia Radio Claims Trotskyist Party Formed in Indonesia

One of our readers reports hearing an interesting Batavia short-wave broadcast beamed to the United States by the Dutch on Oct. 21. Although we cannot vouch for the full accuracy of the facts, we pass on some of the commentator's remarks as jotted down.

"The situation in the Republic of Jogjakarta is still rather confused in more ways than one. In spite of the original Republican assertions that the Communist

revolt had been virtually suppressed, other reports make it abundantly clear that this is still far from true."

The commentator declares that the Communists are not strong militarily and are avoiding "large scale clashes." He then continues:

"The Trotskyists, who are just as dangerous enemies of orderly states and whose leaders were liberated on Hatta's orders when Musso started his coup, have gained much ground of late in the Republic. They have formed a new party, the Proletarian Party, which is supporting Hatta in his struggle against Musso but is a fierce opponent of the Moslem Masjoemi and the Indonesian Nationalist parties, right-wing parties supporting Hatta."

"The aims of the Proletarian Party, which is led by notorious firebrands such as Tan Malacca and Rustom Mesendi are clear; first, help in eliminating Musso and then make a grab at the government itself. So, in spite of its apparent strength in the struggle against Musso's followers, the position of Hatta's government is very difficult."

In addition to the above, the Oct. 16 La Lutte Ouvriere, newspaper of the Belgian Trotskyists, reports that Hatta, President of the Council of the Republic of Indonesia "declared the inquiry in the Tan Malacca case had been closed for lack of any evidence, Tan Malacca not being guilty."

La Lutte Ouvriere explains that Tan Malacca was arrested in 1946 through the "influence of the Stalinists, who at that time were collaborating closely with the native bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement. Our Indonesian comrades conducted a campaign for the liberation of their leader, a campaign which was supported by many workers and poor peasants and which finally succeeded when the definitive rupture and conflict between the government and the Stalinists occurred." (The revolt headed by Musso.)

This has not prevented Tan Malacca from continuing his "critical attitude toward the government and his struggle against class collaboration and for the complete national and social liberation of the 70,000,000 Indonesians."

"Comrade Tan Malacca," declares La Lutte Ouvriere, "founder of the liberation movement of the Indonesian people and champion of the anti-imperialist struggle in South East Asia, was, in Lenin's time, one of the pioneers of the Communist International and participated in its Congresses. He rallied to the Left Opposition from its beginning, that is, from the coming to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy. He created the important Trotskyist Party of Indonesia and highly distinguished himself during the war in the Indonesian liberation struggle, becoming one of its heroes."

Muwardi Murdered

The Sept. 10 Sinpo, Chinese daily of Batavia, reports that Dr. Muwardi, leader of the People's Revolution Movement, a Trotskyist tendency, was found assassinated at Soumakarta after being kidnapped by Stalinists.

READ

Fourth International

Labor Must Force Truman to Fulfill Promises

(Continued from page 1)

Taft-Hartley Act. For this law was the one clear-cut issue that distinguished the Truman platform from the Dewey platform.

The Republican Party's brain-trusters and Big-Business sponsors took their successes in the 1946 Congressional elections and the wave of reaction generated by the 79th and 80th Congresses as a definitive triumph and permanent entrenchment of their power. They rushed to cash in their chips even before they had the winning hand. Intoxicated by the fumes of temporary victories, they boldly and unguardedly disclosed their full hand, by dealing the final blows to price control, scuttling the housing program, enacting relief-for-the-greedy tax laws, and pigeon-holing all vital social legislation from anti-Jim Crow bills to health and education

measures.

They mistook the loud applause of their own press, the praise of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, the rabid anti-labor speeches in Congress as the sentiment, or at least acquiescence, of the people. But deep down among the workers, the Negro people, the veterans there was swelling a strong tide of resentment and hostility to the Republicans and all their works. While the union leaders were in retreat, while the Truman Administration was breaking their strikes, the workers could find no outlet for their opposition to reaction.

PROGRESSIVE SENTIMENT

But this tide of progressive sentiment burst through at the first opening the masses saw—the elections. And because the workers saw no other way to combat and repudiate Taft-Hart-

leyism, they fell back on Truman who expressed at least verbally some of the aspirations of the working people. They consciously and deliberately chose the "lesser evil."

Truman, with a split party, with no real backing from his own professional lieutenants, in the end could count on support only from organized labor. And it was to labor primarily that he adapted his campaign strategy and his promises. He pitched his tune to the ear of the working masses, going all out in social demagoguery, indeed, far beyond anything Roosevelt expressed. Truman figured it was all or nothing. And there he was right—against all the dopesters, experts, and political sooth-sayers.

In the last stages of the campaign, Truman put forward in almost undiluted form the program of the CIO and AFL. He came out unambiguously for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. He promised housing, price and rent control, higher minimum wages, health insurance, a broad program of civil rights. Anything and everything that he thought the people wanted—and which had somehow failed to materialize after sixteen years of Democratic rule.

In some respects Truman outdid Wallace in demagoguery, and the

Wallaceites have good reason to complain that Truman "stole" their domestic program. He even snatched Wallace's foreign policy of "man-to-man" dealings with Stalin, with his proposal to send Vinson to Moscow to negotiate directly with the head of the Kremlin.

WALLACE DEBACLE

It was these factors, in addition to the trade union leaders' energetic mobilization of their membership behind Truman that resulted in a first-class debacle for Wallace and his Stalinist backers.

Undoubtedly, the CIO and AFL

Lewis Again Asks French Strike Aid

(Continued from page 1)

health. To be sure, the French Stalinists are utilizing the coal miners' discontent to further their own reactionary aims, and in the interests of Kremlin foreign policy.

But that is not why Leon Blum and Leon Jouhaux, pro-imperialist head of the strikebreaking split-off unions, call for the smashing of the French mine strike. They are "politically-inspired" by their masters, the French capitalists, whose chief prop is the Marshall Plan.

BLUM'S TREACHERY

If Blum and Jouhaux were really concerned about defending the interests of the miners against Stalinist misleadership, they would come forward as the most militant defenders of the miners. It is precisely because the Blums and Jouhaux have betrayed the French workers so often, are so discredited, that the Stalinists have been able to gain such influence.

Lewis—to his great credit in this case—has cut through all this reactionary fog and pro-capitalist alibies and has proclaimed the principle of international labor solidarity on behalf of French workers—regardless of their leaders—against the French exploiters. To the complaints of the imperialists and their funkies who whine about the "political purpose" of the French mine strike, Lewis has given the crushing answer: "Place food in the shrunken stomachs of the French miners!"

leaders will regard the victory that they gained for Truman and the Democrats as the vindication of their policy of working for the "lesser evil" within the two-party capitalist political monopoly. Prior to the election, the more astute trade union bureaucrats, inside both the CIO and AFL, were impelled to use the promise of a third party and even a "labor party" by 1952 as bait to lure the masses into support of Truman. This third-party talk may cease for a while.

VAST GULF

It is likely that Truman will pay off the support of the unions with a few organizational concessions to the union leaders, a little relaxation in the harsh enforcement of the Taft-Hartley Act, the pushing of minor social legislation. But the masses will soon learn the vast gulf between the demagogic promises of a desperate capitalist candidate and the fulfillment of these promises when the elections are over.

The re-elected Truman administration will not alter the conditions of the working people or change the direction of the American capitalist system. The drive toward militarism and war will continue. Not a single basic problem of the people will be solved.

NO ILLUSIONS

The labor movement would be committing a tragic error if it now sat back in the expectation that the battle has been won and that Truman will now carry all of his many promises into practice. The labor movement will gain only those concessions that it demands and fights for. Any illusions that labor can wait for Truman to deliver will not only demoralization and disillusionment. Instead, right now, while the issues of the campaign are still fresh in everyone's memory, labor must mobilize its numbers and resources to demand that the administration make good on its promises.

For example, rather than waiting on Truman and the crooked Democratic politicians to come across on their promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, the unions in right now—should make preparations to convene a united Congress of Labor to meet with the opening of the 81st Congress and ensure that this dastardly slave law is repealed. And as down pay-

ment on his promises, the labor leaders should demand that Truman dismiss the labor-baiting scoundrels who comprise the present NLRB.

The workers interpret Truman's election as their victory. Their heightened morale and feeling of increasing self-confidence must now be utilized to resume labor's forward march on all fronts, the regaining of the ground lost, and the achievement of their aspirations.

Truman's victory may temporarily delay the development of an independent Labor Party and temporarily rehabilitate the declining prestige of the labor bureaucracy. But labor in this election learned that it has the power to make or break politicians and that it can take over the very seats of government when it decides to do so. This knowledge and feeling of strength will more than offset any temporary illusions in Truman. And as the honeymoon period comes to an end and experience teaches them that they cannot depend on capitalist politicians and parties, the self-confidence gained in this election will help propel labor to the road of independent class politics and a drastic radical program to meet their needs.

Greek Reactionaries Reap Fortunes From Marshall Plan Dollars

The Marshall Plan is paying off in a big way for Greek reaction. Up to date about \$550,000,000 has been poured into Greece to maintain the Royal dynasty and keep the civil war going against the Greek people. Counting some 25,000 guerrilla fighters, this figures out to approximately \$22,000 a head, the money directly marked for the war amounting to some \$10,360 a head.

According to U.S. News the "rich men of Greece are getting richer" from this flow of American dollars. "Money made in Greece is smuggled out, converted into dollars, deposited in hidden accounts outside Greece." The amount in American bank accounts "probably exceeds \$200,000,000."

THE MILITANT ARMY

20th Anniversary Issue Next Week

Next issue of The Militant will be a 20th anniversary number, reviewing this paper's two decades of struggle for socialist emancipation.

Socialist Workers Party branches will celebrate this anniversary with special meetings and entertainments. New York will hear an address by James P. Cannon, founder of The Militant and of American Trotskyism.

San Francisco will hold an anniversary social with an educational skit depicting major events in The Militant's history.

Other meetings were reported last week. Proceeds of all affairs will be donated to The Militant to help defray accumulated deficits. Contributions from individual readers will be welcomed.

Winding up the greatest election campaign in SWP history, branches are already mapping Militant subscription work as a principal activity for coming months. New readers are invited to join in this effort.

Philadelphia branch plans to call back on every new reader who subscribed during the presidential campaign. Long-term re-

newals will be sought from the 250 who took 15-week trial subs.

Nearly 1,000 of the first 28c subs throughout the country are already expiring, along with 200 older subscriptions. Scores of these first introductory subs have already been renewed direct by the readers.

Philadelphia branch obtained 250 of these first campaign subs. It has now arranged to keep the first 68 from lapsing until the readers renew themselves or can be visited at home or at work. Thus when they renew, these readers will have no gaps in their files of The Militant.

Philadelphia anticipates a large percentage of renewals and expects there will be very little cost for keeping these subs active until renewed or canceled. The branch believes this additional service will not only help to get renewals but will make better friends of the new readers.

Most active sub-getting during the busiest last days of the election campaign was in San Francisco, which sent in 43 subs; Philadelphia 29 and New Haven 24.

Twenty-five readers renewed direct, nearly half for both The Militant and Fourth International.

BOSTON
20th Anniversary of
THE MILITANT
Social
Dancing Refreshments
Sat., Nov. 13 at 8 P. M.
Workers Educational Center
30 Stuart Street

ST. LOUIS
Meeting on
20th Anniversary of
THE MILITANT
Thursday, Nov. 18 at 8 P. M.
Room 312, Olivia Bldg.
1023 N. Grand Blvd.

SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SUB

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SAN FRANCISCO

Celebrate the 20th Anniversary of THE MILITANT and the 31st Anniversary of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION Refreshments Dancing
Special feature: "March of the Militant"
Saturday, Nov. 13 at 8 P. M.
1739 Fillmore St., 4th floor

PITTSBURGH

Celebration of RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and 20th Anniversary of THE MILITANT
Sunday, Nov. 14 at 4 P. M.
1418 Fifth Avenue, 2nd floor

Subscriptions: \$1 per year;
50c for 6 months. Foreign:
\$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months.
"Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
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Vol. XII—No. 45

Monday, November 8, 1943



TROTSKY

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

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 accommodating. 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.

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 bosses.

It is this top bureaucratic crust over the unions which smothers the ranks and prevents them from fighting effectively against the employers' offensive, the Taft-Hartley Act, the injunctions.

The New York beer drivers have given a demonstration of the spirit that will prevail against anti-democratic rule and restore union democracy. They have organized and effectively asserted the right of the members to decide all issues affecting the welfare of the union membership. They have proclaimed anew the bed-rock principle of union democracy: Authority flows from the bottom up, not from the top down.

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 sputtered 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.

Ditto 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.

WE ARE REMINDING EVERYONE AGAIN: YOU 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	1,600	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

WORKERS FORUM

Political Promises All Forgotten

Editor:

I had a good apartment when I was called into the service to fight a "war to end all wars." I assumed that the political demagogues would at least, besides warming their chairs, make it possible for me and all others who need an apartment to have a place to live. The reason why I want this article printed is since I got out of the Army, I have been living in a deteriorated, infested, damp three room shack and threatened into paying above the ceiling price or getting a dispossession and other various methods the owner uses in keeping us in line, like shutting the water off.

I have reported this at times to OPA, and was informed that they could do nothing about it. For offering resistance to the owner of the shack on his excess rent charge and shutting off my water, etc., I have gotten a 3-day notice.

That is why I get sick listening to the same old gang of politicians today bidding for office in the November election, and again telling us that they will take care of the housing problem.

Now, my friends, the war was not fought to end all wars. Take a look at European conditions.

Also the political demagogues of both major parties did not solve the housing crisis. So in the last analysis, we have to solve these problems ourselves, by supporting socialism and voting for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President, who are for a Workers and Farmers Government, where there will be no shortage of commodities or housing.

K. S.

Youngstown, Ohio

A Constructive Proposal

Editor:

During the days of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the Socialist movement was very much alive to all the current developments in the social and physical sciences.

Since then, a mass of new material has been developed which further supports the Marxist view, but it has been almost completely ignored by the present parties of Socialism.

Why doesn't your party utilize this arsenal of scientific information in the same way that Marx and Engels used Darwin's revolutionary studies?

Another thought: I think your party could launch a powerful flank attack on capitalism by developing an interest by the trade union movement in the problems

of industrial psychiatry — the effect of speed-up on assembly lines on the nervous and physical systems of the workers, for example.

Best wishes to Dobbs and Carlson in the coming campaign.

J.O.D.

Los Angeles

Trbovich Analyzes Tito-Stalin Rift

Pittsburgh, Oct. 30 — Manuel Trbovich, organizer of the Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered an informative 20-minute talk over radio station WLOA in Braddock today on the rupture between the Kremlin and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Comrade Trbovich pointed out that "perhaps no single group of people in this country has been more misled by propaganda bombardments" than the American Yugoslavs, many of whom live in this area. This propaganda comes from the Stalinists, American Big Business and both Serbian and Croatian nationalists.

The nationalists, he pointed out, have been "campaigning for the armed intervention of the United States" in Yugoslavia, picturing the Tito government "as a mere puppet of the Soviet Union."

Trbovich then explained why the Stalinists are now slandering the Yugoslav Communist Party leadership. The Yugoslav leaders rose to prominence in the underground movement against the Nazi occupation. "The most important partisan army in all Europe" was formed, numbering some 300,000 troops. "Military rank was unknown," there were no officers in the classical sense of the term; every officer was known as "comrade."

When the Soviet Army entered Yugoslavia, they brought with them all the rank and privilege that has grown to such monstrous proportions under Stalinism. "Here was the beginning of the disillusionment among the Yugoslav Communists."

Meanwhile, great land reforms were instituted; industry taken over by the state and a 5-year plan advanced. It was in the midst of these basic changes that Stalin launched his attack on Tito.

The reason for this attack is the independence of the Yugoslav Communist Party. "Stalin cannot tolerate any unit of his international machine maintaining the slightest degree of independence from Moscow," since this would give the masses an opportunity to press for a revolutionary policy.

Comrade Trbovich analyzed the profound gap between Tito's program and that of the Socialist Workers Party, underlining the fact that "Tito still retains the Stalinist ideology." He called for a clean break from that reactionary ideology.

Union Lawyer Thrown 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. Federated Pictures

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 \$6½ 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 take-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.

But the capitalists did not reach the pot at the end of the rainbow until after the war. Then the bi-partisan government began to remove all bars to the profiteers.

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."

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.

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 every Thurs., 8 p.m.
BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St. Phone WO 1-351. Daily, 8 a.m. - 9 p.m. O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p.m. Wed. 7-10 p.m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DE 4-6000. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m. - 5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p.m. Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—2108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-2297. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAn 4-456.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.
WATTS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.
LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed., 7:30-9:30 p.m.
MILWAUKEE—SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone BRoadway 2-9645.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m. - 5 p.m. Library, bookstore.
NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 2nd fl., Tues. 8:10-9 p.m. **NEWARK**—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIGelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University St., 2-7435.
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St., 1st fl.
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p.m.
BROOKLYN—1054 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU 9-0101.
BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 2-7435.
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9445.
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1231, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA—1306-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.
PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p.m. Forums, Sun., 4 p.m.
SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 875. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p.m. Library, bookstore.
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p.m. **ST. PAUL**—540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore.
TOLEDO—Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Rappo Hall, 415 Summit, Room 1, top fl.
YOUNGSTOWN—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

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 struggle against General Motors in the winter 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

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.

"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," production 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.

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

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, expropriate all industry without compensation to the capitalists, and cooperatively operate the entire economy on a national plan without profits.

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 Kutchner, legless veteran fired by the Veterans Administration from his clerk's job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

SOME JUDGE — The Italian Government confirmed that Luigi Marantoni, the man who is judging former Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, War Minister under Mussolini, was himself one of the highest judges appointed by Mussolini in 1943. The present Minister of Justice indicated, however, that the government is entirely satisfied with Marantoni as a man of "high moral and political qualities" and that it will permit him to continue as judge in the case. Graziani is being tried for high treason.

WANTS DEPRESSION — E. B. Gallaher, 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 UE — 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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THE MILITANT

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

and available goods brought fantastic inflation.

The latest desperate measures to stem this inflation proved utterly futile. The currency "reforms" were doomed from the beginning and the price controls imposed only a few weeks ago have now been abandoned.

The Chiang Kai-shek regime is so visibly near the abyss that even high Kuomintang officials are publicly trying to dump their chief in hope of salvaging something from the ruins. One elderly official called for Chiang to take a "vacation" in America, which is a diplomatic way of telling him to take a powder while he still has time.

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."



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Lapham advocated that "we stick our neck out" to help the bloody Chiang dictatorship, meaning by that a vast increase in arms shipments. He called for a duplication of what's being done in Greece, Italy, France and the rest of Western Europe, in the Pacific theater. Unless far more money is spent "on a cold war," Lapham feared that all of China might go "communist."

Lerner Scores Capitalist Politics At NAACP Election Forum in Detroit

DETROIT, Oct. 31 — At a public meeting of 200, sponsored by the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Howard Lerner, SWP candidate for Governor, denounced the Democrats and Republicans for betraying their promises to the Negro people, and exposed the hypocrisy of Henry Wallace and Norman Thomas.



Howard Lerner

Neither the Democratic or Republican candidates put in an appearance at the meeting.

Emanuel Seidler, gubernatorial candidate for the Socialist party, stated that he did not expect to change anyone's vote, but asked them to read the Socialist Call and to vote their "conscience." And this was all he said! Leslie Perry of the NAACP gave the main address.

Subscribe to THE MILITANT

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 31—

As the 60-day old Pacific Coast maritime strike enters the third month, danger signs are flashing on all fronts: (1) The ship operators remain adamant in their refusal to negotiate with present leaders of the CIO cooks and longshoremen unions, claiming that this leadership is "irresponsible" and that negotiations cannot be resumed until new leaders willing to sign the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits are elected by the strikers.

(2) Other striking unions, whose officials have taken the yellow-dog pledge, have negotiated contracts or are reported to be willing to resume negotiations. This week the CIO Marine Engineers Beneficial Association signed a contract with Pacific American Shipowners Association, winning a 5.3 per cent wage increase which brings the west coast scale to a par with wages on the east coast. The engineers were not officially on strike. Consequently, the new contract just signed by them would appear to have little bearing on the strike.

FIREMEN'S UNION

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 likewise 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 in the port of Seattle to transfer their allegiance to the SUP. Officials of the SUP have signed the non-communist affidavits and are calling for an NLRB election in a move to grab jurisdiction over the stewards department.

(4) Joseph Curran, president of the CIO National Maritime Union informed the leadership of the striking CIO longshoremen that "we want to support the strike." However, he registered a sharp protest against picketing of NMU ships in the ports of Seattle, Longview, and Tacoma (the latter being the only large port on the Pacific Coast where AFL longshoremen have a contract) and warned "that before you set policy or give instructions in any way affecting the NMU, that you consult with the NMU first."

INTERNAL DANGER

The greatest internal danger to the strike at present is the policy of the Stalinist officials of the striking CIO longshoremen. This policy, designed to win "public sympathy" for the strike, has resulted in strike-bound cargoes being moved from the docks in every major port except San Francisco, in the loading and discharging of some foreign-flag ships, and the releasing of some east coast NMU-contracted ships.

Attempting to learn exactly what the Stalinist strike policy calls for, Curran, in his wire to the longshore union, charged: "Our reports indicate that you have taken the position that any cargoes carried from the east coast in NMU vessels to any ports, formerly serviced by the West Coast struck companies, are considered diverted ships. While at the same time the ILWU is working all army transports and army cargoes and our reports indicate that these vessels now amount to better than 200 vessels. While we are being asked to tie up ships, the Sheppard Line (which broke with Pacific American Shipowners' Association and signed contracts with the striking west coast seamen's unions, and is presently operating vessels on the east coast) is sailing under agreement and expanding its operations."

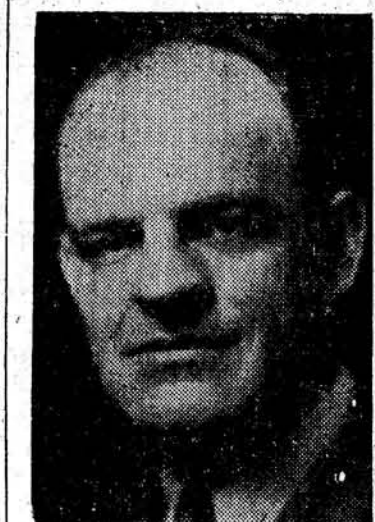
"Vice President Robertson (of the CIO Longshoremen) informed us that the ILWU was working all army transports and army cargoes. We are also informed that some foreign ships are operated and that 20 per cent of the longshoremen are now working."

STALINIST POLICY

Curran's charges clearly illustrate the confusion that has been

created by the Stalinists' policy and that it has succeeded in isolating the striking CIO longshoremen and cooks unions out here and preparing the ground for a concentrated attack upon these two unions by the Waterfront Employers and PASA. In this attack the employers count upon the full cooperation of the government, the aid of raiding AFL unions, and the indifference of other unions involved.

Curran actually is misinformed when he reports that 200 Army Transport vessels are being worked on this coast. The number of Army Transports being worked is indicated by the fact that longshoremen in San Francisco have had less than two days work per man per month. The average work during the strike on a coastwise basis has not greatly ex-



JOSEPH CURRAN

ceeded this. Curran is also mistaken in his information that 20 per cent of the longshoremen on a coastwise basis are working. Less than 5 per cent is more accurate.

The following American-flag ships are now loading grain in the Pacific Northwest: SS "George C. Perkins," SS "Edward Rutledge," SS "Charles Brantley Aycock," SS "Jacob A. Westervelt." The SS "American Oriole" loaded grain in Oakland and sailed last week. These vessels are all operated by east coast companies, and are manned by NMU crews. West coast agents for these vessels are member companies of the PASA. Grain being loaded in these ships is reportedly for the Army, but the ships are all privately operated.

The Stalinists argue that by loading these ships the unions are "splitting the ranks of the employers." Actually, the employers are the ones who are gaining this policy because the shipping companies are collecting fees as west coast agents, and they don't have to deal with any of the striking unions since the personnel aboard is represented by the NMU. Longshore labor is employed by a dummy stevedoring company, not a member of the Waterfront Employers Association.

BAD TREND

These instances of loosening up the strike and allowing cargoes and ships to move have not yet materially affected the strike, but if this trend continues the length of the strike will surely be greatly extended. The worst effects of the present policy have been noted in the growing tension between the several maritime unions, as all are involved either directly or indirectly.

Pickets are more and more questioning the whole Stalinist strategy which allows work to proceed behind the picket lines. Nevertheless, the morale on the lines remains high. And there is a growing determination to straighten out the policy and tighten up the strike.

Once a tight strike policy is put through, the other unions will rally to the defense of the embattled strikers and all the present suspicions and bickering will be blocked out. Workers throughout the country are now very uneasy about the recent series of strike defeats and will willingly pitch-in to help a fighting union whose leaders show that they mean business.

STRIKE SUPPORT

The support that the striking unions will be able to draw upon has already been shown in a very material manner. The AFL Laborers union donated \$5,000 to the strike. The CIO Steelworkers have sent in \$10,000. Other unions locally, both AFL and CIO, are now contributing from \$50 to \$150 per week.