

On the 20th Anniversary of "The Militant"

By James P. Cannon

The Militant began its existence 20 years ago as the organ of the pioneer group of American Trotskyists who had revolted against the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist Party. From the very first issue it was dedicated to the struggle for orthodox Marxism. This Marxism is not, as the snivelers say, a "theology" or a fossilized dogma, but the most dynamic revolutionary theory and guide to action ever formulated. This paper has expounded and defended the doctrines of Marxism in 20 years of struggle against every form of revisionism and renegacy. That is the greatest merit of our Militant and the main reason why it became and remains the dearest treasure of the revolutionary vanguard of the American working class.

Our break with the Stalinized Communist Party necessitated the formation of a new organization. Along the way, we established relations with groups of different origin who were advancing toward a revolutionary program, and in the course of collaboration and unification with them, the name of the organization was changed several times. In the furtherance of our tactical struggle, The Militant, too, underwent several temporary changes of name. Once it was suppressed altogether for a time. This was the price of our admission into the Socialist Party in the days of its revolutionary ferment in 1936 and 1937. The government clipped The Militant's wings and revoked its second class mailing privileges during the war.

Straight Line of Continuity

All these changes of name, of both the organization and its paper, were matters of form only, as far as we were concerned. In the essence of the matter, there is a straight line of continuity from the first tiny founding group of 20 years ago to the Socialist Workers Party which has just carried through its first presidential campaign. By the same token, our Militant of today, which has survived and grown tougher through all the difficulties and vicissitudes of 20 years of battle, is the same old Militant which made its first appearance November 15, 1928. And it still defends, no less firmly and effectively, we believe, the same program.

The original organization of expelled Trotskyists and their paper, The Militant, appeared to be "new" manifestations struggling against the "old," as represented by the Stalinized Communist Party. But this, again, was only the form, not the substance. The new experiments in the domain of theory and policies were represented by our opponents. They were the revisionists, not we. The Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" was derived from a lack of confidence in the revolutionary potential of the international working class. It implied the abandonment of the program of international proletarian revolution in favor of the reactionary utopian/program of a national Russian "socialism" co-existing indefinitely with capitalism in the rest of the world.

The latest crop of revisionists-turned-renegades, who are currently publishing their discoveries and confessions, started out from Stalinophobia but their fundamental motivation is the same as that of the Stalinists. They, too, are disappointed by the failure of the workers to deliver socialism on time. They conclude from this that the workers are incapable of carrying through the liberating revolution which Marxism foretells. Stalinism has its roots in the same misunderstanding. The Stalinists and the Stalinophobes, like the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady, are sisters under the skin.

For our part, we emphasized from the beginning, and never failed to repeat at every stage of our 20-year struggle, that we had no new revelation. World Trotskyism grew and developed by its affirmation—against all pessimists, skeptics, and renegades—of the revolutionary nature of our epoch and the profound realism of the program for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Just at the moment when capitalism in Europe had regained a certain stabilization in the decade following the First World War; when American capitalism, expanding in an unprecedented boom, dazzled the world with the claim that Ford had refuted Marx; when a worn-out generation of Communists became Stalinist and traded off their activity as working class revolutionaries for the miserable role of pressure groups for the Russian State bureaucracy—it was just then that Trotsky proclaimed in his great *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International*: "There will be no lack of revolutionary situations. And America, whose unprecedented boom is preparing an unprecedented crisis, is included in this perspective and can even be among the first in line." That thesis, which simply

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Labor's Perspectives and the Meaning of Truman's Victory

By E. R. Frank

By a peculiar and unforeseen turn of events, the Democratic Party has been swept back into office and the crisis of the two-party system has for the time being transferred to the Republican Party.

The Democratic Party, split on both the right and left at the time of its Philadelphia convention, facing what appeared an inescapable defeat and a sharpening party crisis, has instead—confounding all the analysts—gained the support of the majority of the voters and the powers of government and patronage.

Let us re-check our analysis in the light of the election figures to see where we were wrong and where we were right so that we may more accurately draw the reality of the political picture in America.

DEMOCRATIC CRISIS

We said last summer that the Democratic party was in crisis and that this crisis, stemming from the conflict of hostile social groups within the party, was brought on by the mounting difficulties and drive to reaction of American imperialism. "New Dealism" — the policy of granting concessions to the working people — became a luxury that could no longer afford. The pe-

Workers of the World, Unite!

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JAMES P. CANNON

TRUMAN HEDGING ON OUTRIGHT REPEAL OF SLAVE LABOR LAW

OHIO STATE CIO BOARD BACKS KUTCHER DEFENSE

The case of James Kutcher, the legless Purple Heart veteran who was fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration at Newark, N. J., because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, continues to attract nation-wide attention and support from defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights.

At its recent meeting the State Executive Board of the Ohio CIO passed a resolution supporting the defense of James Kutcher and calling on all affiliated bodies to back the case.

Among the veteran, labor and liberal organizations that have endorsed 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.

In a broadcast sponsored by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen over the ABC network Oct. 23, Dorothy Fuldeheim strongly protested Kutcher's discharge, remarking: "I don't know anything about the Socialist Workers Party and it doesn't seem to be of much consequence, but until there is a law passed making membership in this particular party illegal, what justice is there in commuting Ilse Koch's prison sentence and branding an American boy who lost both legs in the war as disloyal and depriving him of his job for belonging to a party which, if anything, is anti-Stalin? How many legs does a young American have to sacrifice to prove that he is a loyal American?"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

In addition to the prominent public figures reported in last week's *Militant*, the following have joined the national committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee: Algernon D. Black, Society for Ethical Culture; Arthur Burch, Attorney; Dr. Abraham Cronbach, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati; Duncan Ferguson, sculptor; Clement Greenberg, art critic of The Nation; Carl Holdeman, New Jersey CIO President; Oscar Jager, editor of CIO Telephone Workers Voice; Alfred Kazin, author and critic; Bill Mauldin; Merle Miller; Rev. A. J. Muste, national secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Lyman Paine, architect; William Phillips and Philip Rahy, co-editors of Partisan Review; Willard A. Smith. (The organizations are listed for identification only.)

Office Union Heads Ask Oath Compliance

The international executive board of the Stalinist-dominated United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, has recommended that the union file non-Communist affidavits in compliance with the Taft-Hartley Act.

Although the union still opposes this anti-labor law, James H. Durkin, president of the union, said the action was necessary for protection against "destructive raids fostered by anti-union employers."

The editorial maintains that

period of the "cold war" with Russia became likewise the period of the Taft-Hartley law, witchhunts, spy scares, labor injunctions, union busting and lowered living standards at home. Naturally, this policy, carried through under the Truman administration, alienated the labor and liberal forces, who were becoming increasingly antagonistic to the Democratic and groping for new political mediums of expression.

This saw one manifestation in the split of Wallace, who with the help of the Stalinists, launched his "Gideon's Army" and attempted to fill the political vacuum created by the groundswell of opposition developing in the American people. Truman's last minute attempt to cozen the labor and liberal forces by his civil rights program only seemed to make matters worse: The working people and the liberals remained skeptical while the declaration provoked the Southern rebellion climaxed by the Dixiecrat split. So matters stood at the time of the Philadelphia convention of the Democratic Party. Thus far, our analysis of the events appears to have been more or less correct.

To concretize this in terms of parties and votes, it is reasonable to assume that had the election taken place right at this point last July, Truman would have been defeated, Dewey would have unbroken success of the trade union

been elected, Wallace would have polled some three to five million votes.

IMPORTANT SHIFT

Obviously an important political shift occurred between July and November. What was it and what was the reason for it?

The election figures show: 1. That the bulk of the Wallace vote — say two million — shifted over to Truman; 2. That an important segment of the farm belt vote changed over from Republican to Truman; 3. That the labor vote was successfully mobilized behind the Democratic Party.

Let us begin first with the last and most important point.

After moving heaven and earth to dump Truman and have the Democratic Party run a less compromised figure, the trade union bureaucracy reluctantly accepted his candidacy and began in dead earnest to line up their membership back of the Democratic Party. Truman, for his part, deserted by his Democratic associates, the big city machines and the Big Business backers, with all of the dopesters and pollsters freely predicting his defeat, embarked on a course of desperation. For sheer demagogic and brass, it was a performance unprecedented in the memory of living persons.

THE REASONS

What accounts for the astounding

his only chance was in arousing the labor vote and he pitched his speeches and proposals primarily to the workers. By the same token, the trade union leaders, who at the Philadelphia convention had less voice and influence in determining candidates than at the 1944 convention, emerged as the main organizational and social force behind Truman.

The results prove that they succeeded beyond their fondest hopes in gathering up the labor vote. They not only were decisive in reelecting Truman, but in giving the Democrats both houses of Congress, electing a string of Democratic governors and defeating over 100 Congressmen who had voted for the Taft-Hartley Act.

The combination, in other words, of Truman's demagogic social progressive program, the capitulation of the trade union leaders to Truman and their campaign in mobilizing the working masses behind the Democrats, was the determinant in catapulting the latter back into power and in the process swamping the Wallaceites. The "Gideon's Army" is no longer a significant political force and the Stalinist attempt to build a Peoples Front with themselves as the powerhouse has failed dismally.

THE REASONS

What accounts for the astounding

bureaucracy in getting out the labor vote in contrast to their ineffectiveness in 1946? What accounts further for the shift in sentiment between July and November?

The ruling plutocracy, in the words of Walter Lippman, "overplayed its hand" and the Republican Party, mistaking the temper of the masses, openly associated itself with the program of reaction. That is the explanation in a nut shell. The Republican brain-trusters misread their partial and temporary victory in the immediate post-war period as spelling a mounting wave of reaction which they could safely ride in much the same manner as they did after the first world war. They did succeed in thrusting the country into a wave of reaction and embroiling the labor movement in red-baiting and fratricidal warfare. But they went too far and they went too fast.

At the same time that their reactionary campaign seemed to be proceeding with impunity on all fronts, the Republicans were disgracing themselves in the eyes of the working masses as the party of Big Business, which stood for high prices, outrageous profits, union busting, no housing, no civil rights and preparation for war. Reaction was proceeding with impunity, not because of the support or even acquiescence of the workers, the

Negroes, the lower middle classes, but because the working masses had no avenue of protest or adequate means to break the pattern.

As a matter of fact, the Republican victory of 1946 was not secured because of growing influence amongst the workers. What happened was simply that a section of the middle class, given no independent program or leadership by the labor movement, swung to the Republicans as a means of casting a protest vote.

And many workers didn't bother to vote in the elections, because after Truman's strike-breaking and turn to reaction, they could not see very much difference between the Democrats and Republicans.

But unlike the deep-going political shift after the first world war, this one represented a short-lived ebb, which quickly gave way to a resurgent liberal sentiment consequent upon the unfolding of the Big Business program of repression and reaction.

TURN OF EVENTS

Not only was this shift of sentiment far greater than we suspected or understood, but by a novel turn of events, the most discredited politician in the country, who had broken more strikes and secured more injunctions than any other President, became its chief beneficiary. By an unforeseen twist of circumstances it

temporarily assumed the form of Truman's power, only because of the absence of any other practical channel for mass expression and organization.

The mechanics of this bizarre development are now — after the event — completely clear to us.

To recapitulate: The very isolation and desperation of the Democratic party as it came into its own against the insidious designs and foul conspiracies of the Wall Street cliques repressed by the Republican party. And thus, the trade union and numerous Negro leaders and their FDR liberal allies helped enlist the working masses behind him.

It was a triumph for the policy of the "lesser evil." The mass ferment which had been building up was successfully channeled in support of Truman, so much so that at the end, even a sizeable section of Wallace supporters decided they could achieve their aims better by voting for Truman.

The additional factor that helped cinch Truman's victory was the definite shift to the Democrats of a small but important part of the rural vote in the mid-west farm belt. The break in farm prices made the farmers fearful of a possible elimination of the government price-support program. The direct tie-up of the eastern bankers and the suspicion that an attempt would be

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the works of the 80th Congress and associated himself with the Taft-Hartley law.

Thus, Truman — under whose three-year administration all the evils had taken place — was able to present himself as the opposition critic fighting for a liberal

Backed Capitalist Candidate



Jack Kroll, CIO-PAC Director, and Joseph D. Keenan, Chairman of the AFL Labor's League for Political Education, take credit for marshalling the votes that put Harry S. Truman in the White House for another four years. Whether they will put in as much energy forcing Truman to carry out his pledges as they devoted to campaigning for his candidacy remains to be seen. Fed. Pictures

Plans New "Substitute" Bill To Continue Union Restraints

By Art Preis

On the morning after Election Day, Truman greeted the news of his victory with, "Labor did it!" Before another 24 hours went by, Truman and his advisers began to hedge on the key campaign promise to labor — the unqualified pledge to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act.

Now, we are informed by Administration-inspired press reports, Truman intends to push for repeal of the Slave Labor Law — BUT. That big "but" is his plan to seek passage of a substitute anti-labor law which will contain some of the worst features of the Taft-Hartley Act itself.

If Truman is already trying to wench on his one unambiguous campaign promise, we can well imagine the sad fate in store for his other promises: on civil rights, which his administration consistently violated; on inflation, which his arms budget will fuel still further; on housing, which has remained in acute crisis.

On Nov. 4, Truman's Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin revealed that the President is preparing a new labor law to offer at the same time that he calls on the 81st Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. This substitute law, said Secretary Tobin, will be "fair to both workers and management." That's what was said about the Taft-Hartley Act too.

PRESSURING LABOR

The Administration is already pressuring organized labor to "get together" with the employers, looking to an "agreement" on the provisions of a new law. The press — adapting its tactics to the new situation — is beginning to hammer away on the need for labor to make "concessions" to the employers.

NET EFFECT

The net effect of any or all of these restrictions would be to continue many of the basic principles of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Among his own formal plans during the past two years have been a work-or-be-drafted law; "fact-finding" commissions and 60-day "cooling-off" periods before strikes, binding arbitration in all labor disputes involving interpretations of contracts; outlawing of "jurisdictional" strikes and secondary boycotts; establishment of government labor boards to intervene in strikes; government seizure of plants and the use of injunctions against strikes affecting the "public welfare."

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Louis Stark, in the Nov. 7 N.Y. Times, reports that "those conversant with the views of influential union figures believe that they would be willing to give the nod to a law which would encompass" most or all of these principles. AFL President William

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The Debacle of Wallace's Third Capitalist Party

By Art Preis

The unexpectedly small vote for Henry Wallace has dealt a devastating blow to the pretensions of his new Progressive Party. It had entered the 1948 election campaign with the avowed aim of emerging as a major party, at the very least holding the balance of power between the Democrats and Republicans. It fell far short of its goal.

Wallace, in one elated mood, went so far as to foresee for himself the possibility of a 20-million vote. "Over 10 million" was the more cautious estimate of the Wallaceites. The pollsters, with what they thought was extreme conservatism, gave Wallace in advance from 2½ million to 4 million votes. He received less than 1,200,000 votes, more than half of them in New York state.

Even the Nov. 4 Daily Worker, Stalinist mouthpiece, confesses: "The vote for Wallace, it must be admitted, fell below not only the unrealistic quotas assigned to him by certain forces, but even below what his most sober supporters, including this paper, had suspected."

POPULAR FIGURE

In the past, Wallace had been a very popular figure among the workers, and was hailed in most labor circles as Roosevelt's "Crown Prince." He is certainly more impressive as a personality than the colorless Truman. And the results of the election, insofar as they show a smashing repudiation of the 80th Congress and all its works, demonstrate that the American working people are moving leftward and are receptive to progressive ideas. The debacle of the Wallace party cannot be attributed, therefore, to lack of a popular leader or a reactionary trend in the masses.

The fatal weakness of the Wallace movement was its attempt to by-pass the official labor movement. If this election proved anything at all, it proved that no new mass progressive political party in this country can get to first base without the solid support of organized labor.

Wallace and his backers tried to build a party by circumventing the unions. The workers, in their overwhelming number, refused the bait. Although millions of them are ready to break with the two-party monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans, they want to build a new party through their own organizations, the unions. They are loyal to their unions and seek an answer to their problems, in the political as well as the economic field, through their own class organizations.

Wallace and his lieutenants

Stay Death Sentence Of Greek Unionists

The lives of ten prominent leaders of Greek trade unions were temporarily saved when the United Nations asked King Paul to suspend their death sentences. The puppet king granted the request.

The union heads were charged with leftist activities. Under the Glucksburg dynasty installed by Anglo-American imperialism strikers in Greece are subject to the death penalty.

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altered the political climate of the country.

First and foremost, the labor movement has displayed a colossal power and prowess in organizing the workers for political as well as trade union aims. In Roosevelt's day, it was never entirely clear whether the trade union bureaucracy was mobilizing the vote behind Roosevelt, or just moving in behind his coattails. There is no ambiguity about the

Next, the political climate has changed overnight. We will now witness a brief postlude — an autumnal flowering — of the New Deal.

NEW PARTY

It would be wrong, however, to imagine that the Democratic Party that has emerged from the 1948 electoral victory is the same party as that of the first Truman administration or even of Roosevelt's New Deal. True, the labor movement had an alliance with the Roosevelt administration, but it was the supplicant in that alliance, it was the "country cousin" of the Roosevelt family. Now, under the blows of social necessity and the imperative need for adaptation, the Democratic party has transformed itself into a special American variation of the European Peoples Fronts. The alliance of the working class with

Some Famous Headlines of "The Militant"



On 20th Anniversary of 'The Militant'

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reasserted the theory of Marx and the practice of Lenin, is the heart of Trotskyism.

It was on the basis of the old program of Marxism, brought up to date in application to new events, but unchanged in fundamentals, that the Trotskyist parties, the only revolutionary organizations in the world, were constructed in the long period of reaction which followed the isolation of the Russian revolution and the death of Lenin.

Central Characteristic of Trotskyism

Unshaken confidence in the revolutionary perspectives was the central characteristic of the American Trotskyists who started The Militant 20 years ago. Then, as now, that is what distinguished and set us apart from all other tendencies in the labor movement. But this did not mean that we were "announcing the revolution for 11 o'clock tomorrow morning," as the philistines were fond of saying, and as Norman Thomas, the "great moral hero" of the neoreligionists, repeated, with incredible vulgarity, in his debate with Dobbs. These philistine jibes were a misrepresentation amounting to slander. Trotskyism took sober account of the depth of the reaction that had set in, and explained that it could only be deepened and prolonged by the defeats which flowed from the false policies and betrayals of the Stalinists and the Social Democrats.

We promised no quick and easy victories to the new recruits who enlisted under our banner in the early days. We foresaw a long fight ahead and tried to prepare our movement to go through it and survive it. The Militant has constantly explained: The inevitable victory of socialism, which we proclaim, is a historic prognosis and not a promissory note to be paid at the bank on a definite day and date. The time schedules of a historic epoch do not always coincide with the life span of individuals. Those who fail to keep this in mind are apt to lose their sense of proportion and give way too easily to impatience and despair.

The death agony of capitalism can be prolonged by mistakes and betrayals of the workers' leadership and the defeats which flow from them; or it can be shortened, and the socialist reorganization of society can be brought nearer, by effective work to construct a

party capable of leading the revolutionary struggle. Genuine revolutionists can only conclude from this that it is necessary to work harder, in the face of any hazards or difficulties whatever, to build the revolutionary party as a combat organization against capitalism, and against all forms of revisionism and renegacy which represent capitalist influence and pressures within the labor movement.

Our Militant has waged this all-sided fight since its first issue, and we hail it proudly on its 20th Anniversary. It has been the chief instrument in the building of our party which has just gone through a new higher stage of its development in its first presidential election campaign. It is not easy to build a revolutionary party in the richest and strongest country of world capitalism. We have suffered defeats and disappointments, and the span of time between the formulation of the program of revolutionary struggle and the realization of its goal is stretching out even longer than expected.

These Are Our Victories

But we have victories to our credit, and they are important ones too. Our party and its Militant have preserved and defended the revolutionary program against every assault from every quarter, from the outside and from within, and we are more firmly united than ever on the basis of the program. We have assembled and educated cadres who have shown how to penetrate deeply into the trade union movement, and to carry on a sustained agitational and practical activity there, without altering their fundamental program or losing sight of the historic goal. Our party membership is rich in youthful energy and courage and confidence in the future. These are our victories.

Nothing was given to us. Every inch we gained was gained in struggle. For that reason we feel that the ground we have conquered is firmly ours. We are well aware that this is only a beginning, that greater difficulties and harder struggles are ahead. But it is a good beginning, and it has prepared us to face with confidence anything the future may hold in the progress of the working class, through struggle, to its socialist destiny. Our Militant has been a herald and a doughty battler for that destiny. Long may she wave!

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The 15-week-25c sub is hereby discontinued, after playing a very important — but costly — role in the greatest election campaign in the history of the Socialist Workers Party. No more 25c subs will be accepted after those now in the mail have been entered.

The 25c sub helped sub-gitters to more than double monthly subs during the very four months that election work was in progress. Quarter subs accounted for three out of every four subs obtained — but less than half the dollar revenue. Full-year dollar subs outdid six-month 50c subs by 5 to 4.

Renewals were only 14% of total subs, because the campaign concentrated on reaching new readers. However, most of those who renewed paid \$1 or more, accounting for 30% of sub revenue.

During the Dobbs-Carlson pre-

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

and naked repression to maintain their rule.

The appeal points out that de Gaulism finds "considerable support among American imperialist circles." In their preparations for a Third World War, the American capitalists count on the establishment of a "strong state" in France to "tame the workers."

The appeal calls on the French workers to break from Stalinist leadership and "together with the militants of the International Communist Party (Trotskyist), French section of the Fourth International, show the workers of the whole world the path of the proletarian revolution and of the construction of socialism."

In addition the manifesto calls on the workers everywhere to pay close attention to the situation in France, to do everything possible to give material and moral aid to their French brothers in struggle, and to call for a "total struggle against the danger of a de Gaulist dictatorship, a struggle that you will support by all the means at your disposal."

Stalinists Impose "New Democracy" In Czechoslovakia

The "new democracy" in the countries dominated by Moscow is being molded in strict conformity with the pattern forced on the Soviet Union by the Stalinist oligarchy.

For "agitation against the peoples democratic system," that is, exercising the right of free speech, punishment in a concentration camp varies from three months to three years.

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Anyone disseminating news which the Stalinist authorities decide might foment any kind of unrest, is subjected to similar brutal penalties. If the news is false, then sentence ranges from 16 days to one year. If the news happens to be true, the sentence is made more lenient, ranging from eight days to six months.

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The French Trotskyists have condemned the shooting of strikers and the government's brazen infringement of civil liberties in arresting foreign-born workers who joined the strike. The French Trotskyists likewise condemned the Stalinist tactic of "whirling strikes" because it dissipates the energy of the workers.

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Monopoly of the Press

By Joseph Hansen

Why did the entire capitalist press and all the pollsters turn out wrong in their predictions about the election?

We can expect that explanations of this universal error will be featured for some time to come and no doubt they will be as weighty and ponderous as the reasons they gave before the election for the certainty of a Dewey victory.

Very likely they'll discover why the polls went wrong and try to improve them or at least leave greater opening for the possibility of sharp changes and shifts in opinion and so attempt to refurbish their reputation.

But the polls, after all, represented the views of only three or four small agencies whose resources for sampling public opinion cannot be compared with those of the newspaper industry. How could these great institutions go so completely wrong? The fact is all the more amazing if you consider how highly organized and efficient the modern newspaper is.

News of an event in the remotest corner of the world can be placed on the streets together with photos of the happening within an hour or two of the occurrence. The giant presses can turn out millions of copies of papers containing as much copy as large books, and edition after edition can be distributed in record time throughout a great metropolitan area.

Not only is virtually the entire world within seeing and hearing distance of the editorial office, but every section and stratum of society is touched by the sensitive feelers of the newspaper. Every big newspaper has its own staff of highly trained men. They are in constant touch with people and supposedly keenly alive to public sentiment.

In addition, every major paper enjoys the services of the great associations that feed news on to the wires and teletypes. Through these channels, the big newspapers are connected with the smallest local papers throughout the country.

How could this whole vast, intricate set-up go haywire in estimating the sentiments of the people?

The Negro Struggle

How Negroes Voted--And Why

By Albert Parker

Immediately after Henry Wallace announced his candidacy, I wrote as follows in the Jan. 5 *Militant*: "If present indications mean anything, he will draw a very large Negro vote in 1948; perhaps even a majority of the Negro vote."

At the time that was written, Truman had already begun his demagogic appeal to Negroes by endorsing some of the recommendations of his Committee on Civil Rights. Despite that, I believed that Truman would be unable to convince large numbers of Negroes that he really meant business on civil rights, and that was why I predicted a strong vote for Wallace.

The Nov. 2 returns show I was wrong about the final election results, leaving aside the question of whether I was right about the sentiment existing last January. Although a study of the results in major Negro communities shows that Wallace did do relatively better than elsewhere, it is plain that Truman got a clear majority of the Negro vote in the North as well as the South. I think I know why.

A change began at the Democratic convention in July. Truman had sought a compromise with the Southern wing of his party on civil rights. But the convention, realizing better than he did at that time the importance of the northern Negro vote, forced through a stronger-sounding plank than he had advocated. The result was the Dixiecrat walkout, and a few weeks later the Dixiecrat nomination of candidates.

In the eyes of many Negroes, this seemed to indicate the emergence of a new Democratic Party. With at least some of the most rabid race-haters out of the party, the Democratic Party seemed to them to have undergone a progressive transformation. And although Truman

The answer can be found by checking on who controls the press. Although the big newspapers are supposed to serve the public, and be organs of public opinion, they are not free to register the wishes and sentiments of the people. As a matter of fact, these institutions are perverted to the will of a tiny selfish minority—America's 60 ruling families.

These ruling families, who control the press, wanted a Republican victory. They utilized the newspapers as one of their most important propaganda weapons in the Republican campaign. They hoped that the weight of the press would help prove decisive in determining the outcome of the election.

Since editorial policy called for a Republican victory, the reporters and re-write men whose job security depends on pleasing management naturally felt receptive to facts seeming to bear out that policy, less receptive to contrary facts, and inclined to slant news in accordance with editorial wishes. That's in the best case. Many editors, of course, deliberately doctored the news.

Thus we witnessed the amazing spectacle of the entire capitalist press reflecting not the sentiments of the people but the wishes of the few thousand colossally-rich individuals. The most ironic side of this spectacle was Big Business and its press getting caught up in their own propaganda and letting wishful thinking blind them to reality.

The capitalist editors and pollsters are now doing their best to squirm out of their embarrassing position as gracefully as possible. Some joke at each other's expense in the style of football dopes eating crow over an upset. Others draw a "sharp" lesson about over-confidence and resolve to pay more heed to the warning signs they disregarded.

But the real lesson to be drawn from their "error"—the evil of monopoly control of the press, is one lesson none of them will draw.

VOLUME XII

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NUMBER 46

THE MILITANT

West Coast Maritime Unions Seek Long-Term Peace Pact

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 7 — Optimism among top labor leaders following the unexpected re-election of president Truman last week gave rise to two moves designed to effect a quick settlement of the 66-day old pacific coast maritime strike.

First of these moves was a letter from Vincent J. Malone, president of the striking independent Marine Firemen's Union, addressed to J. B. Bryan, president of the Pacific American Shipmen's Association. Malone's letter began with the announcement that "the results of the presidential election makes pointless any further continuation of the current strike or lockout."

The second move was made by CIO President Philip Murray who is pressing for re-opening of negotiations and has offered to underwrite any new contract to insure "faithful performance."

The employers, within the councils of the PASA and the Waterfront Employers Association, have already adjusted their tactics to the Truman election victory.

ROTH FORMULA

Almon E. Roth, who now presents himself as president of the San Francisco Employers' Council and who was president of the Waterfront Employers Association until 1938, has come up with a "peace formula" which calls for a ten day period of negotiations after which time the final offer of the operators will be submitted to a secret referendum of the strikers. According to this "Roth formula" the Employers' Council and the national CIO shall be parties to the negotiations and both shall underwrite any future contract. As was to be expected, PASA and WEA approved the

contract. At present the contracts of most maritime unions end June 15. However, some unions have signed two year contracts, others only for one year. The contract of the CIO National Maritime Union on the east coast expires June 15, 1949, whereas the AFL Seafarers' International Union has a contract which runs to June 15, 1950. On the west coast, all the present striking unions—the independent Marine Firemen, the CIO-MC&S and the CIO-ILWU—can win uniform expiration dates as was the case before their last contracts expired June 15.

The employers have persistently maneuvered to stagger the expiration dates of the several maritime unions so as to weaken the striking power of organized maritime workers. They have succeeded to the extent that the AFL Sailors Union and the AFL-ILA longshore local in Tacoma on this coast have retained the Sept. 30 expiration date.

In the first flush of enthusiasm following the election of Truman some of the statements of the pro-Truman union officialdom indicated that the important demand of uniform expiration dates might be lost sight of.

LONG CONTRACT

In his letter to the ship operators, V. J. Malone of the Marine Firemen made a number of proposals for quick agreement which included: "Entering into an agreement for a period of four years, with wage reviews at agreed-on

STRIKERS DETERMINED

The strikers, who now have been more than two months on the picket lines, are more determined than ever to win their demands. The employers have up to now offered a miserly 10 cents per hour wage increase for longshoremen. The minimum demand of the union is 15 cents, and has been won in existing contracts with Griffiths & Sprague and Mutual Stevedoring Co., which are not affiliated with WEA.

Seamen are demanding a minimum wage increase averaging approximately \$17.50 per month, bringing the monthly scale for firemen-water tenders to \$222.69. This demand had been acceded to by the employers in the case of the Marine Firemen's Union. However, the similar wage demands of the CIO Marine Cooks have not been met.

Even more important to the striking unions are the questions of manning scale, no-strike clause in the new contract, and common expiration date for the majority of maritime unions.

The seamen's unions have demanded maintenance of present manning scales. This is an absolute minimum demand in face of the growing unemployment in this industry as the size of the U.S. merchant fleet is slashed by foreign-flag competition, backed by American capital.

NO-STRIKE CLAUSE

Furthermore, most contracts have in the past contained a no-strike clause guaranteeing that there would be no strikes or work stoppages during the life of the agreement. However, there are usually provisos on the part of the employers which force temporary work-stoppages. Under existing laws unions can be sued in the courts for such stoppages. As a measure of protection against these employer provocations and subsequent court actions, all the striking maritime unions went on record to eliminate the no-strike pledge and substitute a "willing and able clause" which specifies that no member of the union shall be required to work under provisions of the contract unless he is willing and able to do so.

Another key demand of the striking maritime unions is for a common expiration date of their

contract which expires in 1952. Other unions will likely have contracts of shorter duration. This would enable the employers to isolate the CIO maritime unions on this coast and attempt to smash them in another strike a year or two hence.

The union officials now seem inclined to cling to the groundless hope that a long period of "labor peace," guaranteed by a new Truman Democratic Administration, lies ahead. This was clearly expressed by V. J. Malone in the following telegram to Mr. John R. Steelman, labor advisor to President Truman:

"Undoubtedly labor's vote was a dominant factor at the polls. We urge President call conference labor representatives AFL, CIO, railroad brotherhoods, independents to map four year period of labor peace and cooperation based on (one) repeal of Taft-Hartley and substitution of labor law less punitive and more just. (Two) Encouraging long term agreements of up to five years with periodic wage reviews. (Three) Broader job opportunities. In case of maritime industry more generous policy on charter and sale of ships to American flag operators and carriage of defense supplies and relief cargoes in more American bottoms."

This false optimism is not shared by rank and file leaders of local strike committees up and down the coast. They show no willingness to turn the future independent existence of their unions over to the tender mercies of a Truman administration on the basis of election promises.

STRENGTHEN STRIKE

Acting to strengthen the power of the strike and force the operators to meet their full demands, the local strike committee of the ILWU last week sent their chairman, James Kearney, who is also president of ILWU local 10, to the Pacific Northwest to investigate movements of ships and cargoes in that area. He brought back a report designed to tighten the strike on all fronts.

Members of the CIO Marine Cooks, encouraged by this move of the longshoremen, also voted in their last membership meeting to overrule their local strike committee and clamp down on cargo movements.

These moves by the strikers prepare the unions to take advantage of any opportunities for a just settlement of the strike that may now appear with the resumption of negotiations.

THREE WAYS TO WIN

The proposed settlement amounts to a 12 1/2 cent per hour increase which was the original offer of the oil companies plus a blacklist of the most active workers on the picket lines. Included in the settlement is union recognition by the companies.

This offer has already been accepted by the Shell Oil locals in Southern California and by the union officials negotiating with Richfield Oil in Los Angeles.

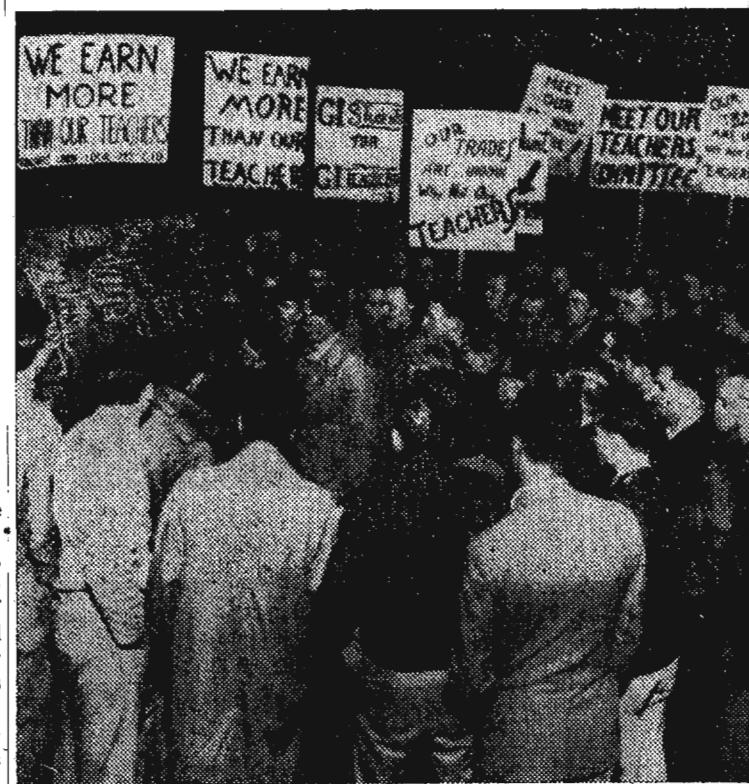
No agreement has been reached so far with the Union Oil Company although it is expected that the same settlement will be offered as with Shell. Negotiations with Union are scheduled to open Nov. 9.

NOT OVER

Despite these agreements, however, the strike is not yet over. Union members at Standard Oil's Richmond plant are still off the job because no contract can be signed there pending an NLRB election in which, according to the Taft-Hartley slave law, scabs will be permitted to vote. Standard Oil has been the spearhead of the employer's union smashing drive.

Virgil Coragliotti, secretary of

GI Students Bat for Teacher



"Our trades are union, why not our teachers?" say signs carried by GI students of the Coyne Electrical School in Chicago, as they support wage demands of striking instructors, members of the CIO Teachers Union. Federated Pictures

HALF OF OIL STRIKERS STILL OUT; SCABS USED

RICHMOND, Calif., Nov. 8

— The battle-scarred banner of the Oil Workers International Union still waves defiantly above the little town of Richmond, Roebuck and Martinez, California.

All the oil companies are attempting to eliminate a number of the best union men and have also refused to lay off scabs hired during the strike. So, despite all the settlements announced and advertised, less than half the 15,000 strikers have returned to their jobs.

Richmond has been and still is the center of union militancy and a renewed drive to win concessions from the Standard Oil Company might set off a second wave of resistance.

Wages Lag Behind Prices

Despite a rise of 43% in wage rates since V-J Day, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, total weekly pay has risen only 30% on the average while the consumers' price index has gone up 35% in the same period.

TWIN CITIES

Celebrate the 20th Militant Anniversary and the

31st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution Speaker

Grace Carlson

Movie:

Thunder Over Mexico

Saturday, Nov. 20, 8:00 P.M.

10 S. 4th St., Minneapolis

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Monday, November 15, 1948



Capitalist monopolies, having corrupted 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

Rapid Social Shifts

A significant lesson to be drawn from the election results is the acceleration of tempo in American politics. This is a time of far more rapid and shortened swings of the pendulum than was the case a few decades ago. In addition the center of the oscillation has shifted leftward.

After the First World War, it will be recalled, the conservative Republican machine swept back into office under the leadership of politicians far less impressive even than Dewey. They not only took power, they survived the severe depression of 1921-22 and sordid scandals involving the White House itself. They kept office until the great depression following 1929 that turned everything topsy-turvy and profoundly changed the whole political superstructure of America.

After the Second World War the Republicans thought that history would be repeated. They counted on another long period in office on a program modelled on that of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Their victory in 1946 fostered this illusion. They swept into control of Congress even more rapidly than they had counted on. Many of their strategists had hoped to increase the percentage of Republicans in the 1946 Congress but not to take full control until 1948 when they expected to win the White House. To their amazement the Republicans took not only the House but the Senate and displaced many Democratic Governors.

Basing themselves on the experience of 1920, they took this as a certain sign of a deep-going and far-reaching turn to the right.

Within two years this was all reversed. The 12-year tenure of the Republicans in the twenties was reduced to two years in the forties. Instead of capitalizing on their 1946 victory, the Republicans completely discredited themselves in this short period, and without the impetus of a depression.

This is a sign of the greater political maturity of the masses, especially the workers, today as compared with the post First World War period. Even though they have not yet learned the fallacy of voting for the so-called "lesser evil," they have learned to vote as a cohesive bloc.

And even though they are still operating within the two-party system, they have decisively rejected the Republican side of this two-party system. It seems safe to say, therefore, that when the workers finally decide to break with the Democratic Party it will not be to rehabilitate the Republican Party which has become clearly identified in their eyes as the instrument of Big Business, but to build their own party.

The rapidity with which political shifts occur today is a hopeful sign. It shows that when workers get ready to move on their own politically — they will do so at truly American speed.

Personalities and Politics

The pollsters, newspaper seers and Republicans were not the only ones who took a trouncing in the election. Advocates of the "great man" theory of history also ended up with the new battered look.

Marxists do not dismiss the role of leaders as insignificant. In fact they insist on the importance of the individual in history and the even decisive part that outstanding personalities can play in crucial moments of social and political change. Marxism, however, emphasizes the inseparable connection between leaders and the social groupings they represent. Marxism places the main stress on the social forces behind the individual.

How much more correctly the Marxist view explains events is illustrated in the case of Henry A. Wallace and Harry S. Truman.

As one of the chief spokesmen of liberalism, Wallace enjoyed national political prominence long before Truman was ever widely heard of. Wallace was Vice President of the United States when Truman was only a second-line Senator. The labor bureaucrats and New Dealers considered Wallace their spokesman and pushed his candidacy for Vice President in 1944, finally agreeing to Truman only as a doubtful compromise.

Truman is a gray, narrow-minded, run-of-the-mill ward-heeler. Truman's rise to national pro-

minence and the White House was an extraordinarily clear illustration of the immense role that sheer chance sometimes plays in politics.

Considered solely on the basis of their personalities, Wallace was obviously the superior man. The influence of Wallace's personality, however, was cancelled out by far mightier forces.

To a Marxist, however, the reality is plain. Great social forces in America for a time refracted their light and power through Wallace; then they shifted; the glow around Wallace died down and Truman lighted up like a neon sign. The working people put their strength and energy behind Truman and that was sufficient to outweigh even his abysmal weakness of personality.

When the labor bureaucrats argue that the working class does not have any personalities worthy of office in Washington they are merely advancing the long-exploited "great man" theory of history, implying by way of insult that the working class has no great men and is incapable of producing them. Such spurious arguments from now on should have far less influence among workers than they once had. What happened to Wallace and Truman should help drive home how subordinate personality actually is in comparison with the massive social forces that propel individuals into the limelight or retire them from the stage of history.

The Michigan Election

The victory of Gerhard Mennen Williams, an unknown Democrat, over the incumbent Republican Governor of Michigan, Kim Sigler, proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that labor has the ability to determine the outcome of an election.

Williams was virtually unknown before the campaign. Ten years ago he was appointed as attorney for the Social Security Board. Later he was appointed by Governor Sigler to another obscure post, membership on the State Liquor Commission. Although he is the scion of a wealthy pickle manufacturer, he has not yet come into his inheritance and so was unable to finance a big campaign from his own resources.

Against this attorney from nowhere was arrayed the powerful Michigan Republican machine, with all the resources derived from years in office and the financial backing of the auto barons. The capitalist press gave Williams no chance; nevertheless, he rode into office in what was termed an "amazing upset."

The secret of this success was not some magic in Williams' personality. He spent more time in his campaign shaking hands and introducing his wife than attacking the Republicans or presenting a positive program.

The explanation for Williams' victory is the backing he received from labor. Both the AFL and CIO stood behind him. The CIO-

PAC mapped the campaign, planned the strategy, and put it into effect. The dollars that financed Williams' drive for office came from the pockets of tens of thousands of union members. Such labor figures as Walter P. Reuther and August Scholle promised that this political nonentity would carry out a progressive program in office. The rank and file of labor did the work that swung the election in favor of the Democratic candidate.

It is therefore clear that the union movement in Michigan could have placed anyone it wished into office. Had it desired, a man responsible to the labor movement and answerable to the union rank and file could have been made Governor of Michigan.

But Williams is not responsible to the labor movement. He is a capitalist politician on the make who saw an opportunity to use labor as a stepping stone to bigger and better things. As a member of the Democratic Party his first loyalty is to this political machine that is nationally owned, operated and controlled by Big Business. A successful career in this machine requires cementing firm alliances with these sinister figures who rule America.

Thus Michigan labor demonstrated its power in the election—but not in its own behalf. How much better if that power were turned into the channels of a Labor Party and placing labor's own men in office!

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2 Weeks to Go to Meet Fund Quota Of \$25,000; 86% of Total Filled

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

Another lap in the \$25,000 Party Building Fund was passed last week when a total from the various localities of \$966 brought

the scoreboard up to 86% with a contribution of \$110 for the week. This brings them to 88%.

Buffalo climbed from 79% of their goal of \$1,000 to 85%. A total for the week of \$59 brought the Buffalo comrades their 6% gain.

Connecticut long caught in the bottom drawer because of the extraordinary demands on their time and energy in election work is now forging ahead in the fund campaign. With a \$81 contribution they slipped off another 13%, bringing them to 75% of their goal of \$250.

Los Angeles spurred ahead during the week, \$354 winning them a 14% jump and bringing them to 73% of their goal of \$2,500.

New York City chalked up another \$200, bringing them likewise to 90% and neck and neck with Akron and West Virginia.

Detroit came within reaching distance of their goal of \$1,600.

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
Philadelphia	500	550	110
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Cleveland	400	400	100
Flint	400	400	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Minnesota	2,000	2,000	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
Newark	750	705	94
Akron	400	361	90
New York City	7,500	6,734	90
West Virginia	100	90	90
Detroit	1,600	1,410	88
Buffalo	1,000	845	85
Seattle	600	500	83
San Diego	50	41	82
Connecticut	250	187	75
Los Angeles	2,500	1,830	73
Chicago	2,000	1,242	62
General	1,050	190	18
Total	\$25,000	\$21,565	86

TRUMAN TRIES TO HEDGE ON TAFT ACT PROMISES

(Continued from page 1) Liam Green, four days after the elections, approved the idea of Congress enacting new labor laws "fairly acceptable to all." To show how ready he is for "concessions" to the employers, Green even called on the workers for "increased productivity" — more work — "and that will appeal to bricklayers as well as coal miners."

If union leaders like Green are ready to hand back to employers what the workers have just voted to take away, the Democratic politicians are even more ready to "go easy" on the fulfillment of their campaign promises. Typical of the post-election attitude of even the most "liberal" Democrats is the statement of Chester Bowles, newly elected Governor of Connecticut.

TACT AND COMPROMISE

Bowles, whom even the Wallaceites supported, stated on Nov. 4 that his administration will reflect "a kind of practical liberalism" which "even conservatives" will respect as "a good, clean operation." He would avoid the mistake of the New Deal which "was always whaling the right out of conservatives so that they got frightened and failed to afterwards."

These straws in the wind should cure the labor ranks of any illusions that they can afford to sit back and wait for Truman and the Democrats to carry out their promises. Labor will win only what it fights for. Truman will carry out only those promises that he is pressured and forced into carrying out. That is why the fight to repeal the Slave Labor Law will have to be pressed harder than ever. And to the slogan "Smash the Taft-Hartley Act" must now be added, "Accept No Substitutes!"

Labor will have to be mobilized on a national scale and in battle array. The need of the hour remains — as it has since the beginning of the post-war anti-labor offensive — the conveying in

of the post-election attitude of

even the most "liberal" Democrats is the statement of Chester Bowles, newly elected Governor of Connecticut.

No more Truman-talk about "gluttons of privilege" and "Wall Street reactionaries." The new theme song of the Truman Democrats is "Tact and Compromise."

A cunning campaign is under way to rob the workers of what they considered a victory against the Taft-Hartley Act. On the one hand, the press is continuously reminding labor that the majority of those who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. On the other hand, Truman Administration spokesmen and certain union leaders are spreading the idea that if Congress is to be persuaded to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, it will be necessary for labor to agree to a "reasonable substitute."

But a majority voted for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act — and with no "ifs, buts or maybes." They didn't vote for "sub-



Three Witch-Hunters Kicked Out



Three Republican Congressmen had their witch-hunting careers cut short at the polls. Left: right: Richard Vail of Chicago and John McDowell of Pittsburgh, members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, were unseated. Charles Kersten of Wisconsin, conductor of the House labor subcommittee's probes of unions, was also ousted. The Chairman of the Committee J. Parrnell Thomas is now under indictment for fraud in connection with the Government payroll.

WORKERS FORUM

Shoe Packer Elected In St. Louis

Editor:

An interesting sidelight occurred in the elections locally. Robert Pentland, a shoe packer working at the J.C. Penny store in St. Louis, was elected to the office of State Senator on the Democratic ticket against the combined opposition of the CIO and AFL.

The only group that backed Pentland was his own union, the United Distribution Workers, an independent union that recently broke away from the CIO Retail Clerks International Workers of

This was the first time Pentland had ever run for office. He did not want to run, but friends in his union persuaded him to accept the Democratic nomination.

Editor: The St. Louis PAC-CIO and AFL-LPPE both backed the Republican nominee, Utter.

The only group that backed Pentland was his own union, the United Distribution Workers, an independent union that recently broke away from the CIO Retail Clerks International Workers of

D.C.
St. Louis

SWP CANDIDATE IN SAN FRANCISCO GETS 14% OF VOTE FOR CONGRESS

By R. Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 3—

Harry Press, SWP candidate

for Assembly in the 20th District,

polled 3,495 votes to 21,649 re-

ceived by Maloney, the Demo-

cratic-Republican candidate. The

vigorous campaign conducted by the