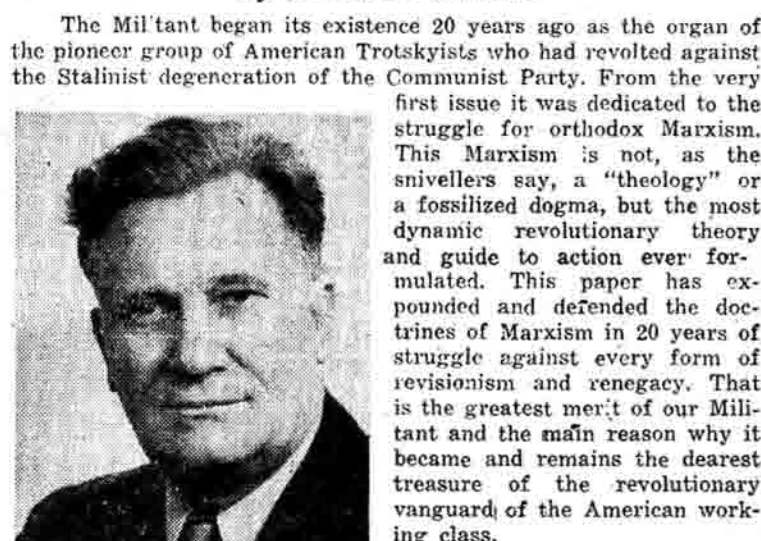


# On the 20th Anniversary of "The Militant"

By James P. Cannon



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 snivellers say, a "theory" 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.

## 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 politics 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; and when a worn-out generation of Communists became Stalinist and traded off their activity as working class revolutionists 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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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## 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 Fuldheim 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 Ise 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?"

An editorial on the case prepared by a national syndicate, has appeared in newspapers throughout the country. The editorial is entitled, "VA Sacking of Trotskyite Borders on the Ridiculous." It gives the facts of the case and points out that while Kutcher, who believes in socialism, has been fired "we haven't happened to hear of any ultra-rightists (such as Ku Kluxers and America Firsters) getting sacked by the government for disloyalty."

The editorial maintains that

### 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

### Bohannon Wins 2,387 Votes in Congress Race

NEWARK — William E. Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 11th District, is credited with 2,387 votes in the Nov. 2 election. Only partial returns have been received so far on the SWP Presidential and Senatorial tickets.

Bohannon's vote compares favorably with the 3,088 received by Ulysses Campbell, Wallaceite candidate in the same campaign. Campbell had the advantage of a much bigger machine and got much more publicity in the capitalist press. In addition, Campbell was widely and falsely advertised as the only New Jersey Negro candidate for Congress. The 11th District has the biggest Negro concentration in the state.

Bohannon's vote, more than 2% of the total, represents a marked increase over the one he received in the same district two years ago, when the Wallace party had not yet been formed.

The 11th District congressional seat was won by a Democrat, who beat out the Republican incumbent by less than 2,000 votes.

### Myra Weiss Gets 1,016 Votes in Calif. 19th Dist.

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 8. — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for US Representative from the 19th Congressional District, who campaigned on the program of revolutionary socialism, received 1,016 votes on Nov. 2, according to election returns just announced.

This impressive vote for Trotskyism was won by an energetic campaign carried through with small resources. In addition to addressing numerous indoor and outdoor SWP election rallies, Comrade Weiss spoke before several forums in debate with her capitalist party opponents. SWP members and sympathizers distributed literature widely through the area.

The Democrat Hollifield, who also had the backing of the Wallaceites, was elected with about 78,000 votes. The Republican Quigley got 22,000 votes. Although the Wallaceite Independent Progressive Party withdrew its candidate Berman in favor of Hollifield, the action came too late to remove Berman's name from the ballot. He received 1,800 votes.

### 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 welch 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.

Industry, reports labor correspondent Louis Stark in the Nov. 6 N.Y. Times, has reacted with "surprise" and "pleasure" at the opportunity Truman is now affording the employers to help write another "fair" law regulating the unions. If the Taft-Hartley Act is to go, they will not lack "substitutes." Truman's own



HARRY S. TRUMAN

proposals for union-curbing legislation provide an ample supply. Among his own formal proposals 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."

### 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. 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 Will-

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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 been 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 a 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 hard-pressed American capitalism could no longer afford. The pe-

riod 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 Party 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

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 committed 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 demagoguery and brass, it was a performance unprecedented in the memory of living persons.

As Truman's campaign got underway, it became obvious that

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. "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 success of the trade union

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 temporary success of 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 Trumanite 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 Philadelphia convention, plus the threat implicit in the Wallace defection on the left in the loss of labor and Negro support, led to the adoption of the civil rights plank and the consequent split of the extreme Southern bourbon wing. This, in turn, giving the Democratic party another shove to the left, led to the attempt to hypnotize the electorate again with the slogans and watchwords of Roosevelt's all-but-buried New Deal. Then, as the campaign progressed and the pollsters continued to turn thumbs down on the Democrats, Truman threw all restraint to the winds and took over bodily the program of the AFL and CIO, even trying to steal Wallace's thunder — including his "peace" plank of man-to-man dealings with Stalin.

### SOCIAL DEMAGOGY

This campaign of unrestrained social demagoguery gained all the more in effectiveness as it stood out in such contrast to the speeches of Dewey, who openly defended

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 policy against the insidious designs and foul conspiracies of the Wall Street cliques represented 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 channelled 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 clinch 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 Republican high-command with the eastern bankers and the suspicion that an attempt would be

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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.

thought they could brush aside the official organizations of the workers and win the workers simply through social demagoguery. But the major capitalist parties are no less adept at demagoguery than Wallace — and they have far more facilities and resources for disseminating this demagoguery.

Indeed, in its post-mortem on "The Meaning of Truman's Election," the Daily Worker complains that "Truman won the election by a hypocritical copying of the speeches of Franklin Roosevelt and by imitating as much as he dared the charges of the Progressive Party and Henry Wallace." He even "stole" Wallace's "peace" program, laments the Daily Worker for "Truman won support when he announced—even though he did not carry out—the Vinson peace mission to Moscow."

This is also saying that Truman is a more effective demagogue than Wallace—which is doubtful. Truman had one thing especially that Wallace lacked—the support of the unions.

Now that their adventure has ended so discreditably, the Stalinists are attempting to shift the blame to others in the Wallace coalition. Thus, the Daily Worker discovers "that the pro-Wallace labor forces did not sufficiently combat the 'lesser evil' illusion" and that this "undoubtedly had its influence in their ranks and weakened their practical work."

## CP HYPOCRISY

This is a prime sample of the unbounded Stalinist hypocrisy. No one has propagated the fallacious and pernicious theory of the "lesser evil" more vigorously than the Stalinists. Since 1935 in this country they have preached the choice of the "good" capitalist politician as the "lesser evil" to the "bad" capitalist politician.

The Stalinists were among the most loyal and uncritical supporters of Roosevelt. And they continue to peddle the doctrine of the "lesser evil" to this day—that is the very essence of their support of Wallace.

For what is Wallace but a capitalist politician seeking to build a third liberal capitalist party? And what have the Stalinists been preaching throughout this election campaign but support of the "progressive" capitalist politician Wallace as a "lesser evil" to the "reactionary" Truman?

At this writing, the leaders of the Wallace party are meeting in Chicago to consider their "next step." But in whatever direction they turn, the future of the Wallace movement is dubious, indeed.

## BLEAK FUTURE

Without a labor base, with nothing but a program of social demagoguery that Truman has already "stolen," the Wallace movement rests on foundations of sand. The first momentum and enthusiasm of the Wallace movement have been cut short by a demoralizing set-back at the polls. Now its internal conflicts, muffled before the elections, will come to the fore. The uneasy coalition between its ex-Democratic liberals and the Stalinist wing is not likely to survive intact during the hard and bleak existence ahead.

The Wallace debacle is likewise the debacle of the Stalinist attempt to build a significant Peoples Front movement in the United States.

## Some Famous Headlines of "The Militant"



## On 20th Anniversary of 'The Militant'

(Continued from page 1)

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 phillistines were fond of saying, and as Norman Thomas, the "great moral hero" of the neo-renegeades, repeated, with incredible vulgarity, in his debate with Dobbs. These phillistine 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 doctory battler for that destiny. Long may she wave!

## World Events

By Joseph Hansen

## Bitter Coal Strike Underlines Treachery Of Stalinists

Our Paris correspondent writes that the striking miners scored a number of successes in the first days of conflict with French government troops. In one instance, 100 gendarmes and their Colonel were taken prisoner by the miners. In other cases they were forced to retreat from the mines, abandoning jeeps, trucks, helmets, rifles, tear gas grenades, and so on.

The militancy of the mine workers is one more demonstration of the admirable fighting qualities of the French working class. It follows similar demonstrations by the rubber workers, the metal workers and the railway workers. Most impressive is the ability of the workers to recover from defeats such as the collapse of the general strike of November-December 1947.

Victory could surely be won by the miners if they had the right kind of leadership. But the Stalinists plunged the coal miners into this bitter struggle without a clear-cut political objective to inspire the strikers and the rest of the working class.

The Stalinists want to win posts in the capitalist government, utilizing the unions under their control as pawns in this treacherous game. But the basic problems faced by the workers such as the rising cost of living, the lack of consumer goods, the slowness of reconstruction, the danger of another war and the menace of a fascist victory in France can be solved only by putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power.

Only a decisive drive to oust the capitalists from power can unify the French workers, inspire the middle class with hope and lead France out of the morass.

The failure of the Stalinists to guide the struggle into this channel is paving the way for de Gaulle, the would-be fascist dictator of France.

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.

## Fourth International Calls for World Aid In Fight on Gaullism

The Executive Committee of the Fourth International has issued an appeal to workers of the entire world to help the French working class in its struggle against the danger of a de Gaulle dictatorship.

General de Gaulle seeks power, says the appeal, in order to restore a regime similar to that of Marshall Petain under the Nazis. Such a regime means "proscription of the trade unions and the working class parties, abolition of democratic rights and liberties, of violence and terror against the working class, and war against the colonial peoples with redoubled vigor."

The source of the fascist danger in France lies in the inability of decayed capitalism to grant concessions and reforms to the toiling masses. The capitalist ruling class is so weak that democracy has become an "impermissible luxury" and the capitalists must resort increasingly to brutal

and naked repression to maintain their rule.

The appeal points out that de Gaulle 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 Gaulle 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.

Anyone disseminating news which the Stalinist authorities decide might foment any kind of unrest, is subject 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.

An "insult" to an allied country or its representatives is likewise frowned on by the Stalinist-dominated regime, the corrective measures applicable to those expressing their opinion being sentences ranging from three months to three years.

Any of these crimes may invite even more savage sentences since an over-all "treason" law covers all activities which, according to one spokesman of the Czechoslovakian regime "might tend to disrupt the peoples' democratic structure of the state." Under this law people exercising their right to free speech, free assembly, or any other of the traditional democratic rights "will be punished in the same manner as sabotage in war time" such acts being "regarded as acts of treason."

It is not even necessary to commit an overt act to set in motion the corrective provisions of these "democratic" laws. Failure to report "anti-government activity" is a most serious offense. In one locality, school teachers were sentenced to nine years imprisonment for violating this totalitarian law. Their "crime" against the Stalinist-dominated government was failure to report the "anti-governmental activities" of boys under their care.

The young students who engaged in these activities were of course given a much more severe sentence in accordance with the enormity of their crime. The maximum sentence handed out to them by the Stalinist dispensers of justice was 18 years in prison.

## Labor's Prospects in Light of Truman Victory

(Continued from page 1)

made to reduce farm prices sufficed to reverse the farmers' swing toward the GOP back again toward the Democrats. In these states Truman received a vote from two to six per cent higher than Roosevelt did in 1944.

## TRUMAN VICTORY

The Truman victory has revealed many things that were obscure before and has abruptly

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

class line-ups or what is taking place any longer. "Labor did it," were Truman's first words after the election. There is no doubt about it and everybody knows it. The labor movement stands at the pinnacle of its strength and the election results will imbue it with an unprecedented self-confidence. We can surely look forward to a new insurgency on the part of labor, a further process of politicalization and a continued and augmented leftward swing.

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

the liberal bourgeoisie has here been consummated in truly unique and original fashion.

In contrast to Western Europe, the working class still has no party of its own but operates through the medium of its trade unions and their political emanations. The liberal bourgeoisie likewise has no party of its own but operates as a loose conglomerate through various committees. And both belong to and operate within the framework of the Democratic Party — one of the two organizations controlled and dominated by Big Business. Moreover, this Peoples Front was not forged in a revolutionary period to forestall a rising revolution and channelize it back into capitalist paths but represented an opportunistic electoral combination designed to hurl back reaction and bring back the era of New Deal politics, while at the same time forestalling the rise of a new Labor Party. The labor leaders thus for the moment solved the crisis of the Democratic party, in return for which they will secure a few crumbs and a short breathing spell for the labor movement.

## PEOPLES FRONTS

But we Marxists know from our study of the European Peoples Fronts and our knowledge of the social forces and their di-

rection and aims in America how

this new bizarre edition of the Peoples Front will operate and how it will perform under the stress of the contradiction of American imperialism and the sharpening class struggles. We know how the program of war preparations, huge military budgets, propping up dictators and tyrants abroad, ensuring high profits to the American monopolists must and will collide with the needs and aspirations of the American masses. The disillusionment of the people who supported Truman is bound to grow apace as they experience the gap between promise and performance. The '48 electoral combination that swept Truman into power will begin cracking; the crisis of the Democratic party, postponed by the electoral victory, will again flare up and rage far more furiously than before, and will pave the way for the emergence of the solid labor political bloc — forged in this election — under its own banner and in its own name.

Subscribe to  
**THE MILITANT**

## 4,500,000 German Workers Schedule 1 Day Protest Strike

A call for a one-day general strike by the 4,500,000 organized workers in the American and British occupation zones of Germany has been issued by the bi-zonal trade union leaders.

The strike, set for November 13, is to protest rising prices and put pressure on the Economic Council to proclaim a state of emergency. Other demands include legislation against hoarding, the return of price controls and rationing and the socialization of basic industry.

The American and British military authorities have not yet announced their attitude toward the scheduled strike. General Clay recently declared that the high command of the occupation troops will decide what strikes are "legitimate" and what are "purely political."

Recently American soldiers clashed with German workers demonstrating against high prices. General Clay tried to justify this repressive action with a statement in Stars and Stripes, the Army newspaper, that "We will not tolerate anything which retards Germany's recovery or costs the United States money."

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## THE MILITANT ARMY

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-getters to more than double monthly sub totals 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 outsold 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 presidential campaign, 209,000 copies of The Militant were distributed, including those to subscribers. Every mail still brings subs from readers who first became acquainted with The Militant in the election campaign. At least 150,000 other pieces of SWP literature were distributed, besides numerous handbills and special announcements.

Detroit easily led in the sub campaign and, together with Flint, got more than 1,000 new

readers in Michigan, giving Michigan more subs than any other state. New York Local, in second place, helped to introduce The Militant to 500 new readers in the Empire state. Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other Pennsylvania centers have about 350 new readers and California about 450.

The following table gives the new and renewal subs obtained in four months:

Detroit	652
New York	559
Flint	371
Philadelphia	331
Los Angeles	237
Minneapolis	190
San Francisco	185
St. Paul	127
Chicago	121
Newark	90
Seattle	68
Milwaukee	61
Boston	59
Oakland	59
St. Louis	42
Pittsburgh	41
Cleveland	40
New Haven	32
New Britain	23
Buffalo	20
Morgantown	14
Baltimore	13
Toledo	10
Youngstown	10
General	211
Total	3,566



Subscription: \$1.00 per year;  
60¢ for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$1.00 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months.  
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These are expressed in its  
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Vol. XII—No. 46

Monday, November 15, 1948



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

## 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 modeled on that of Harding, Coolidge and Hoover.

Their victory in 1946 fostered this illusion. They swung 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.

## 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-

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.

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-explored "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 Schoelle 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!

# 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 two more weeks to go, an extra effort from all our friends and supporters should take us across the goal.

In the 100%-or-better category, Philadelphia showed what stuff it is made of by climbing from its 100% of last week to 110%. A contribution of \$50 did the trick.

Minnesota crossed the tape with a contribution of \$108. We join them in their cry of "Eureka!" and congratulate our Minnesota friends and comrades on their magnificent job in achieving their goal of \$2,000.

Akron sent in \$54 for the week, knocking off 13% at one stride to hit 90% of their goal of \$400. 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

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 \$31 contribution they clipped 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.

All friends of the Socialist Workers Party are urged to do their utmost during the next two weeks to get their contributions under the wire.

## 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 apply 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 hell out of conservatives so that they got frightened and failed to function. . . There's got to be tact and compromise."

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 in the 81st Congress, both Senate and House, is still composed 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 — with no "ifs, buts or maybes." They didn't vote for "sub-

stitutes." They didn't vote for "tact and compromise." They expect Truman to live up to his pledge and on the opening day of Congress to demand immediate scrapping of the Slave Labor Law, without "bargaining" or equivocation. Smash the Taft-Hartley Act first — discuss anything else afterwards.

### STRAWS IN WIND

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 Washington, D.C. of a National Emergency Congress of Labor, representing all the unions.

Such a Congress of Labor, as proposed by the AFL International Typographical Union and endorsed by the CIO National Maritime Union, must launch a united militant labor offensive as the only way to assure that Congress will repeal the Taft-Hartley Act in the shortest possible time — and with no "substitutes." And that the other Truman promises will be carried out.

## LOS ANGELES 20th Anniversary Militant Celebration

Entertainment, Speakers, Turkey Dinner  
Saturday, Nov. 20, 7 P. M.  
420 N. Soto St.  
For Reservations write The Militant  
124 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 14 or call VA 8061

## Three Witch-Hunters Kicked Out



Three Republican Congressmen had their witch-hunting careers cut short at the polls. Left to 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. Parnell 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.

This was the first time Pentland has ever run for office. He did not want to run, but friends in his union persuaded him to accept the Democratic nomination. The St. Louis PAC-CIO and AFL-LLPE 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

this union went house to house to get out the vote for Pentland and put him over the top.

It is to be regretted that Pentland got elected on the Democratic ticket, but it did represent a real working-class support, despite the negative action of both the AFL and CIO big-shots. Pentland ran in a district that has always been a Republican stronghold.

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 received by Maloney, the Democratic-Republican candidate. The vigorous campaign conducted by the San Francisco local thus succeeded in rolling up 14% of the total vote against the combined forces of the Republican and Democratic machines, the boss press as well as the active opposition of the Wallaceite and Stalinist leaders inside the labor movement.

This is a signal achievement. Because of the difficulty in tabulating write-in votes on the machines the totals for Dobbs and Carlson in this area will not be available for several weeks.

This campaign raised local campaigning to a new high. Beginning with the petition drive on Aug. 28, in which 2,100 signatures were collected to place Press on the ballot, full scale activity continued right up to election day. For the first time a sound truck was used, silk screen posters were put out in quantity for posting on poles and effective concentrated precinct work carried out.

Electioneering along the Embarcadero was an important part of the campaign. Weekly distributions of The Militant and other campaign material in combination with talks over the sound system built a strong response to the SWP candidates and program.

It became a regular occurrence for a striking longshoreman or seaman to wave his arm in friendly approval of Press and call out, "That's our man." Press spoke before 20 AFL, 3

CIO and one independent union, totalling over 10,000 unionists. He also spoke at meetings of the NAACP and AVC.

### BEFORE COLLEGES

The program of Trotskyism was also brought to the colleges. At a political forum at Mills College and at open air meetings at the University of California students showed unusual interest in the ideas of internationalism and revolutionary socialism. In each case the meetings ended with tight discussion groups around the speakers where the students raised serious questions and wanted more information about the party and its program.

Roughly 45,000 pieces of literature were distributed in the course of the campaign.

Throughout the entire period the party had to buck the conspiracy of silence of the daily press. What small mention was made was invariably presented in distorted form.

The craven role of the Stalinists was exposed during the campaign. As sentiment for Press built up they found themselves in a difficult spot. Two years ago when they had supported CIO Council Secretary Paul Schur for the same office they filled the air with condemnation of the reactionary, anti-labor, machine boss record of Maloney. Now forced to make a choice between Press and Maloney, they chose Maloney!

An equally glaring example of Stalinist acrobatics was their support of Congressman Haveren, the Democratic incumbent. After placing a Wallaceite in the field against him, they withdrew their candidate and went all out for Haveren. But Haveren insisted on running on his record which included support of the Marshall Plan and fighting Communism. All of this was advertised in one of the papers which daily featured the fact that Haveren had voted for the Smith Act under which the 12 Stalinist leaders are under indictment.

### SWP CAMPAIGN

In contrast to this Stalinist treachery, the campaign of the SWP evoked admiration and praise from the workers for its vigorous campaign on a principled platform. This is the main reason for the comparatively high SWP vote in contrast to the poor showing made by the local Wallaceite candidates.

### NEWARK

#### Buffet Supper

Speech by

Art Preis

Editor of The Militant  
SWP Convention Movie  
Sat., Nov. 20, at 9 P. M.  
423 Springfield Ave.

Visit your local headquarters of the

## SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

### "Socialist Workers Party - What It Is - What It Stands For"

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party? These questions answered by Joseph Hansen in this 32-page pamphlet. Send for your copy.

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### PHILADELPHIA

#### 20th Anniversary Militant Ball

Saturday, Nov. 20, 8:30 P. M.  
1303 W. Girard Ave.

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 Wolfe 17531. Daily 8 a. m. - 9 p. m.; O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.  
BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:30 p. m. Wed. 7-10 p. m.  
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 622 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun.  
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEArborn 4707. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m. - 6 p. m. Library, book-store.  
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m. Peck's Hall, 1445 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).  
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone ET 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 115 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.  
LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vanduyke 8993.  
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. 6th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9-9645.  
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 6 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, 858 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-10 p. m.  
NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2974. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.  
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 8-1448.  
EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.  
HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1868. Open discussion. Thurs. 8 p. m.  
BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.  
BROOKLYN—1230 Fulton Ave. ST. 7-7423.  
CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-0424.  
OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.  
PHILADELPHIA—1303-05 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.  
ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs. 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1157. Open daily. Bookstore.  
TOLEDO—Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30; Kappe Hall, 412 Summit, Room 1, top fl.  
YOUNGSTOWN—294 E. Federal St. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:00 to 4 p. m.



# 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 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 colossal-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 poke fun at each other's expense in the style of football dopesters 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.

## 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."

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 there 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

carefully avoided discussing civil rights in the South, a majority of the Negro voters evidently decided enough of a change had been made to warrant the belief that Truman represented a lesser evil.

But it would be wrong to conclude from this that the Negro people are now strongly committed to the Democratic Party, or that they will be committed to it at all for any extended period. It is true that they suffered under an illusion in voting for Truman. But it is the kind of illusion that can disappear rapidly—in a matter of months even—and give way to a widespread recognition that the Democratic Party can never be a genuine instrument for Negro progress and emancipation.

This is not the first time the Democrats have been in power after making lavish promises to the Negroes. What reason is there to think these promises will be kept better this time than before? None at all—especially when we can already see the Democrats preparing a reconciliation with their Southern wing, which yields such power in Congress, and when already there is talk about a "compromise" civil rights program acceptable to the Southern wing.

No, the Negroes are not going to get anything at all out of those civil rights promises unless they fight for it, and that is why increased struggles for equality must be expected in the coming period. In those struggles the Negroes are going to find themselves pitted against the Democratic Party leadership, including Truman. The experience they will pass through in that struggle will destroy illusions about the "lesser evil" nature of the Democratic Party. And that in turn, we are confident, will reawaken the movement in Negro ranks for a clean break with all capitalist parties and the establishment of an independent labor Party based on the unions and Negro organizations.

# The Campaign Ahead

By Grace Carlson

Nov. 3 — Unlike the capitalist parties, our campaign does not end on election day. As our election platform truly stated:

"The Socialist Workers Party is a political organization of American workers that fights in the interests of the working class 365 days of the year."

And so we look forward. We want to consolidate the many gains made in the election campaign. We want to make members out of new contacts discovered during the campaign. We want to establish branches in new centers, where

we made some new friends for Trotskyism. Much new ground was plowed during this campaign; many seeds were sown. Our harvest will come in new members and new branches.

This past week, I campaigned in two such new areas—Sioux Falls, So. Dakota and Des Moines, Iowa. In Sioux Falls, I was the guest speaker before the Thomas Paine Society, an organization of students, trade unionists and liberals of all types. The constitution of the Thomas Paine Society states that "The purpose of this organiza-

tion is to provide a vehicle for free, stimulating, unprejudiced expression of ideas, resulting from realistic, constructive and reflective thinking, the goal of which is positive action."

We had three hours of "free" and "stimulating" discussion at the Thomas Paine Society meeting. I wouldn't say that it was "unprejudiced," however. Most of the members were prejudiced in favor of capitalism, whereas, I am strongly prejudiced against capitalism. But there's ground for hope that some of the younger members of the Society will do some "realistic, constructive and reflective thinking" and come to see that the Socialist Workers Party offers the only worthwhile goal for "positive action."

In Des Moines, I met a young radio announcer, who is a former University of Minnesota student. It was very gratifying to talk to someone who knew all about our former Minnesota election campaigns, the Minneapolis Labor Case, etc. And we hope that the Des Moines radio speech did some further educational work in this new area.

And so, after a 14,000 mile election tour as the SWP vice-presidential candidate—a trip which took me into 16 states and 35 cities—I am back home, campaigning for socialism as the SWP Organizer in Minnesota.

# Notes from the News

**WAR DEPT. PUBLICITY**—The people of Hiroshima, according to General Eichelberger, have "nothing but admiration" for Americans. He maintains they admire "the people of a country capable of making a bomb which could destroy their city."

**INTER-PLANETARY SLAUGHTER**—Dr. Olaf Stapledon predicts that the United States and the Soviet Union will one day fight as allies in the biggest war of all—against invaders from other worlds.

**OUT OF SEASON**—A Thompson, Conn. man who accidentally shot and killed his wife on a hunting trip was arrested on charges of hunting deer out of season.

**BIRTH CONTROL ILLEGAL**—A Massachusetts referendum to make it legal for physicians to give birth control advice to married women whose health would be endangered by pregnancy was defeated 896,597 to 695,832, according to unofficial returns. The Roman Catholic Church waged an intensive campaign against this long-overdue measure. The Planned Parenthood League was encouraged by the support given the proposal and plans to continue the fight to legalize medical advice on birth control.

**BOSS JOINS PICKETS**—"Join our ranks," strikers of the Dayton Rubber Co. shouted to the company president A. L. Freidlander as he left the plant last week. The boss accepted the invitation. Ten minutes on the picket line was apparently enough to convince him of the justice of the strike. The following day the company granted a wage boost of 11c an hour retroactive to June.

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# 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 Shipowners' 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 insure any new contract to insure "faithful performance."

The employers, within the councils of the FASA 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, FASA and WEA approved the proposal.

A meeting of the striking CIO longshoremen's coastwise negotiating committee has been called by Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU. This was the first such meeting since the strike began Sept. 2.

According to a press release from longshore headquarters, the negotiating committee was convened "to review the entire strike picture and to make a bid to open negotiations with the shipowners for settlement of the strike."

"Meanwhile all locals of the union were warned not to be misled by announcements of so-called settlement formulas. It was emphasized that the union has received nothing of any definite nature to justify such reports."

## 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-waterenders 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 a 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 provocations 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 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



HARRY BRIDGES

contracts. 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 periods."

If this is picked up by the operators, and the membership of the Marine Firemen's Union accepts such an agreement, the MFOU would be working under a

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 overhaul 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.

# Trotskyist Youth Group in Detroit Makes Campaign Gains on Campuses

By Seymour Lyons

Detroit SWP Youth Organizer DETROIT, Nov. 6—The newly organized Socialist Youth Club conducted an intensive campaign for Dobbs and Carlson on the Wayne University campus here. More than 3,000 pieces of literature were distributed, sound equipment was effectively utilized, front-page triple column publicity received in the official campus paper reaching the 20,000 enrolled students.

Party speakers were represented at two official forums conducted by the Student Council. About 100 attended the first forum on

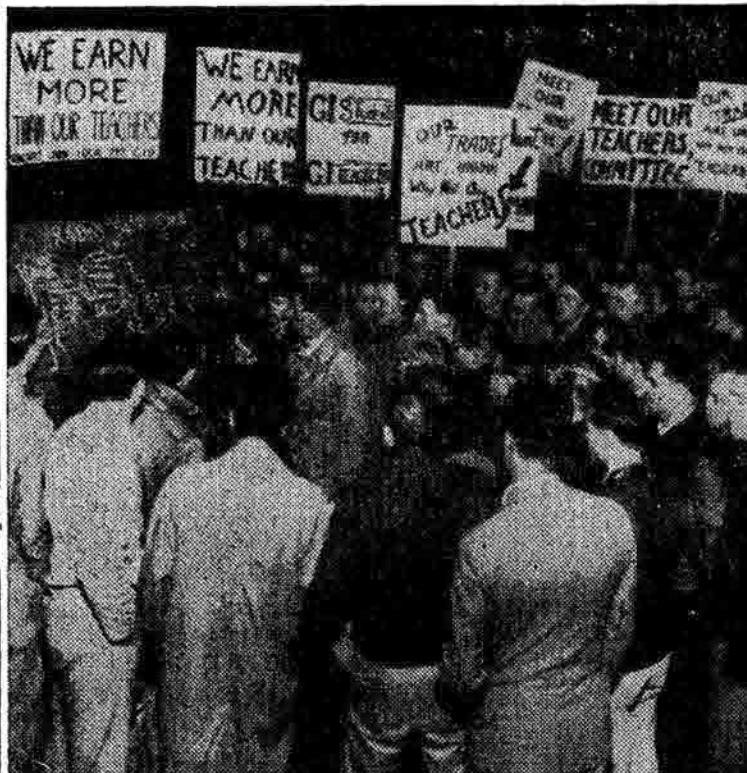
## Ascribe Deadly Smog To Lack of Filters

Among the deadly gases found in the smog at Donora, Penn., which killed 19 and prostrated several hundred others was sulfur dioxide, sulfur trioxide and fluorine. Had the smog continued another day the death toll would have risen to more than a hundred, according to local physicians.

These poison gases have been discharged into the air for 30 years by the plants of the American Steel and Wire Co., a subsidiary of the giant U.S. Steel Corp. Dr. Wm. Rongaus of the Donora Board of Health charged that the 19 deaths were "just plain murder" and that people "had been dying insidiously and silently from these fumes in Donora for the last 30 years."

A simple electronic device, installed in the smoke stacks at nominal cost, would have completely eliminated the huge clouds of yellow-brownish smoke that constantly hang over the locality.

## 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 towns of Richmond, Rodeo and Martinez, California.

For more than sixty-five days the striking oil workers have withstood the armed finks and scabs, the injunctions issued by the political stooges, the police and tear-gas, the court suits amounting to millions of dollars against the union and the attempts to crash the picket line by some old line AFL officials.

In the face of all these attacks the striking oil workers have held their ranks firm and met blows with counter blows. Now the workers find themselves being pressured by their own International officials to accept whatever they can get and return to work.

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 reopen 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

Local 5 in Martinez, reports that men are still off the job at the Shell Chemical plant, because the company has refused to let them in on the grounds "that no contract has been signed."

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  
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