

THE FACTS ABOUT LEWIN-CARNER CASE

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII — No. 47

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY NOVEMBER 22, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

TRUMAN STANDS PAT ON WAR POLICY

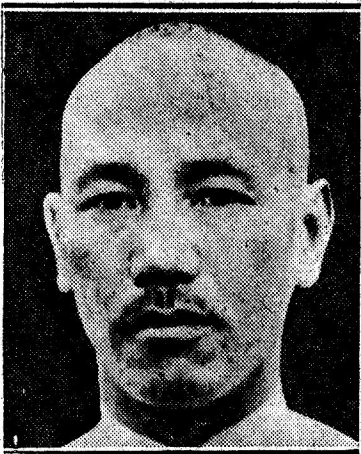
Crisis of Chiang Regime—Blow to U. S. Imperialism

By Joseph Hansen

America's imperialist policy-makers are acutely alarmed over the staggering military reverses suffered by the Chiang Kai-shek regime. With the loss of Manchuria and North China, the Chiang dictatorship has little chance of surviving.

The impending downfall of the Chinese Franco is viewed by American Big Business as nothing less than a calamity. They fear that all China—first in population and second in size among countries of the world—may pass under Stalinist influence.

Should the working people of America join in Wall Street's lamentations over the plight of Chiang Kai-shek? Should the labor movement join that section of the capitalist class clamoring for "all-out aid" to Chiang; that is, a vast Expeditionary Force to subjugate China's estimated 461,000,000 people?



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

To answer these questions correctly, it is necessary to know precisely who Chiang Kai-shek is, what forces he represents and why he cannot maintain himself in power any longer without the aid of foreign imperialism.

1927 REVOLUTION
In 1925-27 a great revolutionary upsurge occurred in China. The working class, inspired by the example of the Russian workers in the November 1917 revolution, sought to break the grip of China's young but exceedingly greedy capitalist class and establish a government of their own.

BLED COUNTRY
Despite its savagery and its display of military force, Chiang's bloody counter-revolution sapped the country's strength and undermined China's international position. One of the first major consequences of Chiang's victory was the invasion of Manchuria by Japanese imperialism in 1931.

Occupied with holding down the lid on popular unrest, Chiang retreated before the Japanese. He called his refusal to resist the invasion a policy of "non-resistance."

Finally, as the Japanese penetrated deeper and deeper into China, the landlords and capitalists became alarmed and in 1937 Chiang began putting up token resistance. However, he lost consistently and during World War II had to retreat far inland, leaving the key coastal areas in Japanese hands.

Meanwhile, the Stalinists in China, with the workers in the cities crushed, transferred their base of operations to the peasantry. They succeeded in winning a section of the country and considerable popularity by advocating and instituting the long-overdue land reforms.

At the end of World War II, (Continued on page 3)

Union Groups Back Defense Of Fired Legless Veteran

A growing number of important trade union bodies are rallying to the defense of James Kutcher, legless Purple Heart veteran who was discharged from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration at Newark, N. J., for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The latest to back Kutcher is Local No. 5 of the CIO United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers at Akron, Ohio.

George R. Bass, President of the Local, sent a letter to President Truman, informing him of the Local's action and demanding that Kutcher be returned to his job.

The Delaware County CIO Council near Philadelphia, Pa., has gone on record endorsing the defense of James Kutcher as has District 1 of the CIO United Electrical Workers.

At Chicago a meeting in defense of Kutcher was held at Roosevelt College on Nov. 19. Principal speaker was Willoughby Abner, Vice President of the Chicago CIO Council. Mr. Abner was prominent in the successful defense of James Hickman, who shot his landlord last year after four of Hickman's children burned to death in a fire allegedly set by the landlord.

In his letter to President Truman, sent at the request of the membership of Local 5 of the Rubber Workers, Mr. Bass declares:

"On August 13 of this year, James Kutcher was given notice of dismissal by the Loyalty Board because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party. There is no issue of national security involved. Mr. Kutcher held a clerical position only, and had access only to wage information. Neither is there any issue of allegiance to a foreign power."

SUBVERSIVE LIST
"The basis for Mr. Kutcher's dismissal is your order denying general employment to anyone belonging to or associating with members of organizations listed as subversive. The subversive blacklist was issued by the Department of Justice without hearings, without specification of charges, or submission of evidence."

"It is a cruel abuse of official power to cut off the livelihood of a war-crippled veteran who supports aged and sick parents. This act is the most dramatic symbol of witch-hunting that is now sweeping through our country. If a veteran who lost both legs in battle can be hounded as disloyal by government officials and fired from his job solely because of his alleged political beliefs, who is safe from persecution?"

"While my organization does not necessarily agree with the organization which James Kutcher admitted membership in, it

is our feeling that he should be given the benefit of the doubt. "This organization, with its 15,000 members, urges you, as the highest official in these United States, and one who so recently was re-acclaimed by the people to head our democratic form of government, to return James Kutcher to his job. This organization further requests that a complete investigation be made to clear his name of any taint of subversiveness, if the facts that have been presented to us are substantiated."

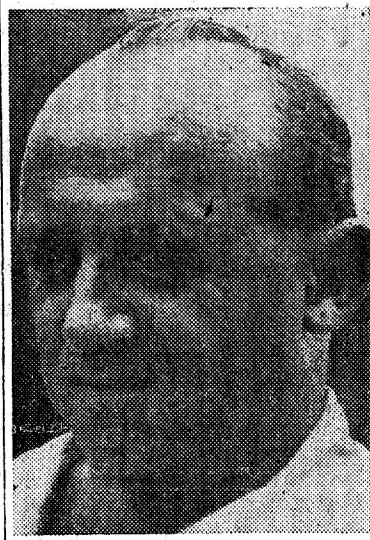
James Kutcher on Nov. 19 announced his agreement to withdraw his demand for a hearing by the Veterans Administration Loyalty Board of Appeals in Washington.

The effect of this decision will be to transfer Kutcher's appeal that he be restored to his job directly to the VA Administrator, General Gray. The Administrator was originally scheduled to receive jurisdiction of the case after the VA Loyalty Board of Appeals had acted on it.

Kutcher said that the suggestion to by-pass the Loyalty Board hearing had been made to his attorney in a letter from O. W. Clark, Executive Assistant Administrator of the VA.

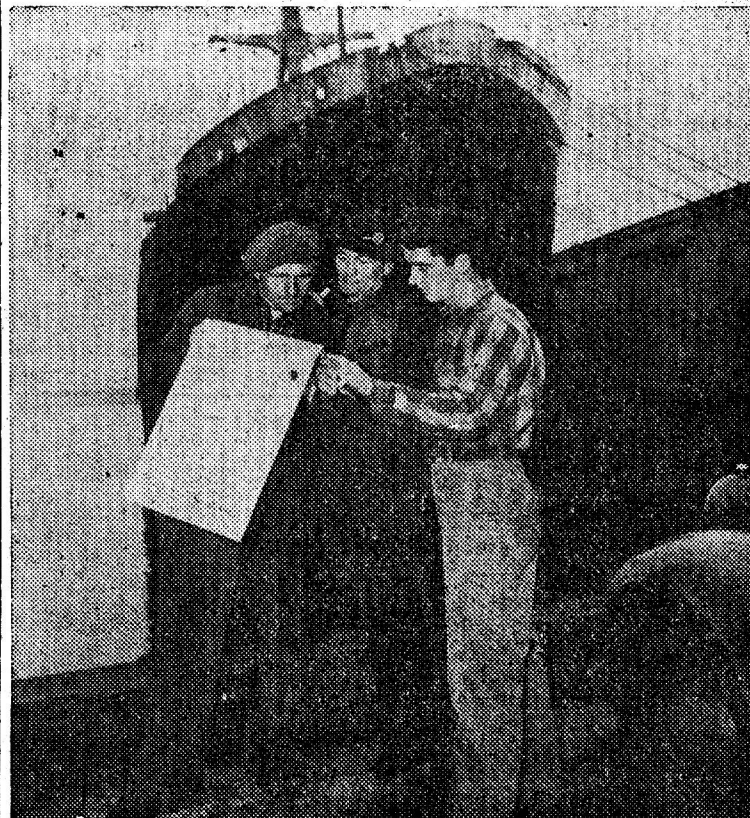
Explaining his decision, Kutcher said: "My aim is to clear my own name, and the name of my party, of the false 'subversive' charge that has been directed against us. I naturally want by all means to expedite the final administrative decision in this case. If I don't get justice in that way, I intend to go into the civil courts and up to the Supreme Court, if necessary."

Funds to aid in the defense of James Kutcher, and all communications, should be sent to George Novack, Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York, 11, N. Y.



JAMES KUTCHER

Dockers Turn Thumbs Down



Philadelphia members of the AFL Longshore Union reject the 10-cent agreement signed by Ryan and walk out in a coast-wide strike that has paralyzed all shipping.

CANADIAN LUMBERMEN FOIL STALINIST SPLIT

Attempts of Stalinist leaders to cover up their financial skulduggery and bureaucratic misrule of the British Columbia lumberworkers union by wrecking the CIO International Woodworkers organization in Canada, is meeting with a sound defeat, according to the report in the current Labor Challenge, published by the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada.

Local after local of the IWA has rejected the newly-formed Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada, which the Stalinists Pritchett and Dalskog have set up as a split-off from the IWA.

NEW LEADERS
According to the new leaders of the IWA in British Columbia, Pro-Tem District President Alsbury and Pro-Tem First Vice President Lloyd Whalen, "more than 90% of the lumberworkers in this province have already decided to remain in the IWA."

The pretext for the long-planned split attempted by the Stalinists was the failure of the IWA international leaders to protest the ban by U. S. immigration authorities against the entry of 33 B. C. delegates to attend the recent IWA convention in Oregon.

REACTIONARY APPEAL
In a frantic effort to win support, the Stalinist-led split-off is using the most reactionary and chauvinistic type of appeal, the keynote of which is "keep union dues money in Canada." This follows the line advocated by the Canadian bosses, who want to separate the weaker Canadian unions from their American brothers. A Stalinist attorney even called the IWA an "illegal union" because its constitution declares itself "in support of the principle of the union shop."

The real reason behind the Stalinist split attempt, says Labor

Old-Line Reactionaries Rule Democratic Party, Congress

By Art Preis

The Truman Administration and ruling Democratic Party are now getting down to "business as usual" at the same old stand. Talk of "gluttons of privilege" and "Wall Street reactionaries" is already stored away with the forgotten ballyhoo of by-gone election campaigns.

Nothing is basically altered. The Democratic Party, of which Truman is now the acknowledged head, is still run by the same big city bosses and Southern white supremacists. On foreign policy, Truman has hastened to make clear he has not moderated his drive toward militarism and war.

And on domestic policy, his demagogic election promises are already being quashed, particularly his key pledge about unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

One of Truman's first moves has been to seek reconciliation with the reactionary Southern Democrats, who retain the balance of power in Congress. While Truman may attempt to purge the Democratic Party of a handful disloyal to him personally, such as the irreconcilable Dixiecrats, he is extending "peace feelers" to the bulk of the Southern dissidents.

That is the meaning of his declaration that he is "not mad" at anybody and of Senator McGrath's assurance that his chief is inclined to "forgiving" Democratic regulars guilty of only minor offenses.

OLD-LINE CONTROL
Although the labor vote was decisive in the Democratic victory, the union leaders remain frozen out of the inner councils of the party, which is controlled from top to bottom by the old-line politicians, reactionary to the core. It is the latter who call the tune in Congress, composed in its majority of boss-ridden machine Democrats from the North, Southern Bourbons and Taft-Hartley Republicans. An important House and Senate committee, which exercises a powerful influence on legislation and can sabotage any progressive bill, will be headed by reactionary old-time servers, including a sizeable number of official and unofficial Dixiecrats.

Truman is in position to resume his "hard cop-sort cop" tactics of threatening labor with something worse from Congress if it does not take less than he promised in his election campaign or than labor demands.

The reactionary character of Truman's main line is most immediately and sharply expressed in foreign policy. Some people were taken in by Truman's election campaign gesture toward "man-to-man" dealings with Stalin. They took this as a strong hint, at least, of a slowing down of Truman's war drive. On Nov. 17, Truman squelched that illusion.

It is a true measure of the cowardice and downright reactionary character of many of the union leaders that they are ready to hand away labor's rights not under the hammer-blows of a powerful reaction, but right after a tremendous demonstration of popular resistance to this reaction. They are offering "concessions" at the very moment labor is in position to make the greatest demands.

One thing that is going to become clear very shortly to the workers is that if they "wait for Harry," they are going to have a long disappointing wait. Truman and the reactionary Democrats, now that they are safely back in control, are going to hedge all along the line on their promises, trying to settle for "substitutes" and minor sops.

Truman's basic program — the Wall Street bi-partisan war program — stands as an absolute guarantee against any fundamental social reforms, all his demagogic election promises notwithstanding. Truman cannot reduce prices and taxes while fueling inflation with his vast arms budget. He cannot and will not provide more than miserable sops by way of social benefits.

"SOME REWRITING"
This is the real reason — more than any explicit statement he

Hit Profit Gusher
American oil interests have hit a profit gusher in the Marshall Plan. For hauling oil from the Middle East to France they have jacked up rates as much as 290 per cent above U. S. Maritime Commission rates. The price for shipping \$70,000,000 worth of petroleum to France was a cool \$32,000,000. The bill is footed by the American tax-payers.

Longshoremens Revolt Against Ryan's Sell-out Deal

NEW YORK, Nov. 16 — Maritime labor's mighty power in action continues to paralyze all East Coast ports and shipping on the seventh day of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association strike.

The tie-up began last Wednesday, Nov. 10, at the Chelsea (west-side Manhattan) piers as a spontaneous rank-and-file revolt against a sell-out agreement reached between I.L.A. Dictator-President Joseph P. "King" Ryan and the New York Shipping Association. Within 48 hours, the walkout swept like a tidal wave through the New York dock area and along 700 miles of Atlantic coastline from Portland, Maine, to Norfolk, Virginia.

So powerful was the strike movement and so decisive its repudiation of his attempted deal with the stevedore-companies and shippers, that Ryan was compelled after three days to recognize the strike, authorize its extension along the entire coast and to announce he

himself would now graciously consent to "lead" it.

"COOLING OFF"
The strike came at the termination of an 80-day "cooling-off" Taft-Hartley injunction imposed last August by the Truman Administration to halt an impending walkout for a 50-cent hourly wage increase, improved vacation benefits and other vital demands.

On the day before the injunction ended, Ryan hastily accepted a contract with the employers which provided for only a 10-cent an hour pay increase for day work, and 15 cents for night, retroactive to Sept. 15, a month after expiration of the old contract. It contained only the most limited concessions on vacation pay and working conditions, and came as a virtual slap in the face to the men who had waited so long and patiently for a just deal.

"Because increased speed-up and decline in shipping have resulted in reduced work-time, the average pay of New York longshoremen fell from about \$42 a week last year to less than \$40 this year. They are hired by the day at a "shape-up" by the pier bosses and have only a guarantee of two hours' pay under the old contract. The men are seeking a guarantee of four hours' wages. Ryan's contract contained a four-hour clause but included "exceptions" which would have enabled the bosses to evade the four-hour stipulation in many cases.

Under the old contract, the workers had to work 1350 hours for a week's vacation pay for 750 hours, and two weeks' for 1350 hours. The employers are offering a week's vacation pay for 1250 hours. Other rank and file demands call for retroactivity to Aug. 21; increase in the size of the longshore gangs; and a health and welfare fund based on royalties for each ton of cargo handled by the longshoremen.

When the strike began, Ryan tried to minimize its extent, issuing reports that 60% of the New York longshoremen were still on the job. He also tried to blame the walkout exclusively on "reaction to the Taft-Hartley Act" — skirting over the reaction of the men to the contract he was trying to put over.

CHANGES TONE
By Friday, Ryan was forced to talk about "calling out" the men if a referendum of the I.L.A. locals showed that his contract was rejected. At that time, the ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Wilmington were already frozen tight. Friday midnight, Ryan made the strike "official" after announcing, without giving figures, that the "referendum" was overwhelmingly against the 10-cent contract.

Since most of the Atlantic shipping is Marshall Plan goods, the press and public officials have been trying to work up sentiment against the strikers for blocking "aid to Europe." The strikers,

however, aren't falling for this propaganda and have turned thumbs down from the start on allowing any "leaks" in their blockade of the ports.

Ryan has likewise been forced to go along with this, although recently he attacked the striking CIO longshoremen on the West Coast as "Communists" seeking to hamper movement of Marshall Plan shipments. Now Ryan says there will be no movement of any goods, except mail and supplies to U. S. military personnel abroad. "As long as we're having a strike, let's have a strike," Ryan is quoted as saying. Which is all right with the rank and file. Philadelphia strikers, it is reported, are even refusing to handle Army cargo.

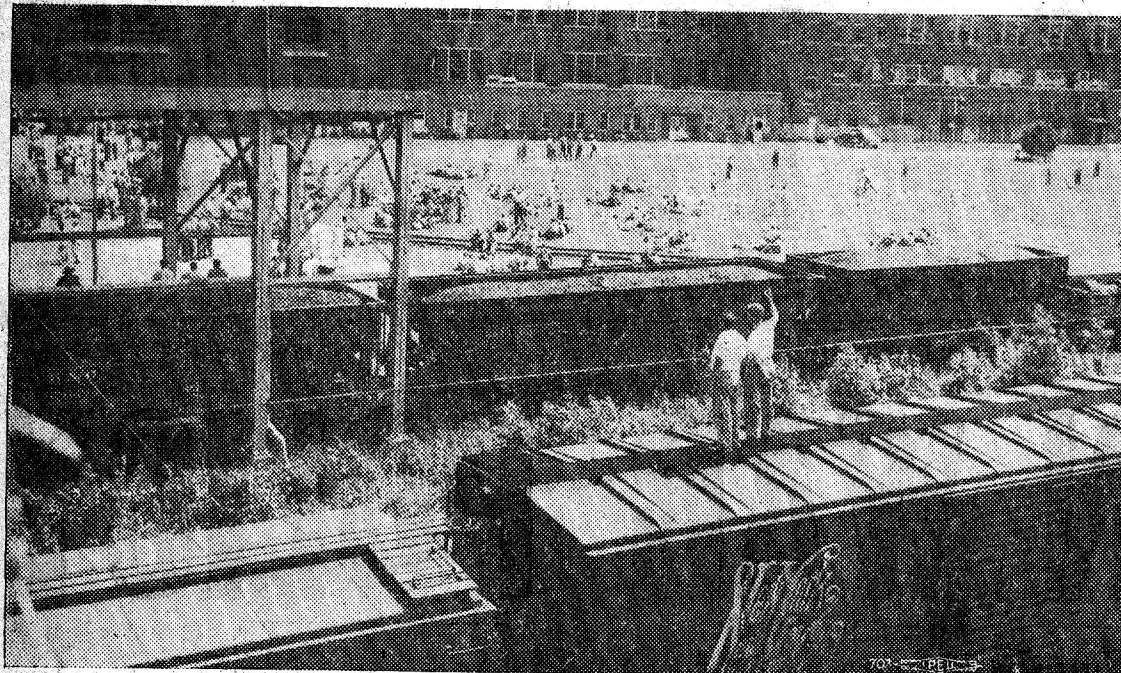
DIFFERENT TACTICS
Ryan — who last year had himself elected life-time head of the I.L.A. and has run his union nearly three decades with the aid of gangsters and muscle-men — does not dare to resist the present strike

as he did the revolt in October 1945. Three years ago he mobilized goons and strikebreakers, assaulted picket lines and succeeded after 18 days in breaking the New York longshore strike.

Now Ryan is trying to get the reins of the strike completely in his own hands by appearing to go along with it. Strikebreaking and strong-arm methods will not prevail in the face of the sweeping revolt that would confront his rule if he tried to go openly against the will of the men.

(Continued on page 2)

Sit-Down Strike



Frank Carner (L.) and Herb Lewin (R.) shown looking over the fence when Westinghouse workers struck on July 12, 1948 to protest the firing of the two men because the Navy termed them "poor security risks."

Hits Army Star-Chamber In Lewin-Carner Hearing

As previously reported in the *Militant*, on July 12, the management of the South Philadelphia works of the Westinghouse Corporation posted a notice that Herb Lewin and Frank Carner had been fired "as a result of a directive from the Navy Department" which described the men as "poor security risks." No specific charges of any kind were made against the two men and Local 107 of the CIO

United Electrical Workers, which holds the contract with the company, was not even consulted in the matter. The two men were given no opportunity to defend themselves.

The high-handed violation of the contract aroused a storm of protest in the plant. Local 107 officials called a mass meeting where the 4,500 assembled workers voted for an immediate sit-down strike. By next morning, all 6,500 workers had downed tools. Taken completely aback by the fighting stand of the workers, the company agreed to reinstate both men, but in a different department.

In agreement with the Local 107 officials, James Carey, National Secretary of the CIO, sent a sharp protest to Secretary of the Navy Sullivan against this military invasion of union rights.

The national CIO and Local 107 and International UE officials have taken a vigorous

stand in support of both Lewin and Carner and are fighting this arrogation of power on the part of the military to dictate who can and who cannot work on contracts involving military supplies.

Both Carner and Lewin have appealed their cases. Carner was given a hearing on Sept. 3 before the Industrial Employment Review Board. Lewin's hearing was held on Nov. 4.

Herb Lewin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, is an active, militant union man. In

1945, during the Westinghouse strike, the Local 107 publication reports, "Lewin's picture was flashed around the world when he was photographed being beaten with clubs by at least ten policemen while he lay on the ground with a cop on horseback hovering over him."

The following report on Lewin's hearing, written by Francis Bradley, Business Agent of Local 107, UE-CIO, is reprinted from the current issue of the "Local 107 News," official publication of the local union involved.

Bradley Reports on "Risk" Hearing

On Thursday, Nov. 4, I went to Washington with Herb Lewin, the second member of our local who was charged with being a "poor security risk" and fired out of AGT some months ago. The hearing was before a group of army and navy officers known as the Industrial Employment Review Board.

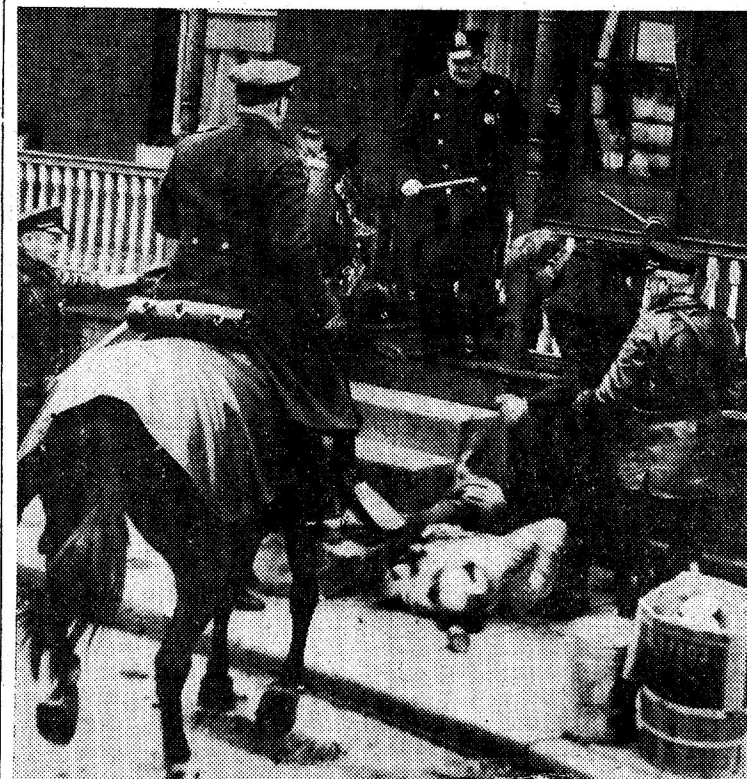
The rules of this star-chamber hearing forbid any person present to reveal what took place at that hearing. This is only another example, like the discharges themselves, of how this witch-hunt is depriving us of our democratic rights. For our part we feel that we have nothing to hide and would prefer a public hearing where the whole nation could witness a witch-hunt in action.

As our members know, both Lewin and Carner are opposed to the policies of the Communist Party and of Russia, although

they do believe in Socialism; Lewin has admitted that he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which is well-known as a radical organization. But it, too, has been placed on Attorney General Clark's arbitrary 'subversive' list. We feel that we must defend the liberties of all people until public hearings have been given to these people and their organizations and a proper legal decision reached.

Our local and the entire labor movement is following this case very closely and will fight it through to the end in cooperation with top officials of both the UE and the CIO. We are determined to protect the civil rights of all our members against this hysterical persecution, knowing full well that any of us could be next. The time honored motto of labor sums it up for us—"An injury to one is an injury to all."

Police Brutality



Picture made famous during the Westinghouse strike in Philadelphia where Herb Lewin is shown being clubbed and manhandled by the cops. This scene took place on Feb. 28, 1946.

THE LEWIN CARNER CASE

Reprinted from Marquis W. Childs Nov. 11 column "State of the Nation" in the N. Y. Post.

All during the week top industrialists together with a few educators, editors and labor leaders have been meeting at the Pentagon in a "joint orientation conference." They came at the invitation of Secretary of Defense Forrestal, who addressed the group just before he took off on his surprise mission to Europe.

Men with heavy responsibility for the re-armament program and its effect on the economy are hearing at first hand and off the record the generals, the admirals and the Government officials directly concerned with the program. As it turned out, the invited guests did not do all the listening at the closed session. One of the trade union executives was James B. Carey, secretary of the CIO. When a general displayed a large chart mapping off areas of responsibility, with a conspicuous patch labeled "security," Carey raised a problem that has many people worried.

He brought up the case of the two employees of a Westinghouse Electric Co. plant at Essington, Pa., who were taken off Government work because they were judged by the Government to be "poor risks." This dismissal last summer of Herbert Lewin and Francis Carner shut down the plant when several thousands employees walked out in protest. Carey now is convinced that under the guise of security, the very existence of the union is being threatened.

The Fruits of Stalinist Opportunism in Election

Disappointment among the Stalinist rank and file over the low Wallace vote is keen.

With virtually complete returns giving Wallace a nation-wide total of only 1,116,390 ballots, many a Stalinist worker who backed the Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party is wondering whether the Communist Party itself might not have polled close to it, had the Stalinist leadership seen fit to run an independent campaign. Didn't Simon Gerson, an avowed Stalinist, win some 150,000 votes in Brooklyn?

LEADERS "EXPLAIN"

The concern among the top bureaucrats over this disappointment is evidenced by their continued attempts to offer a rational or at least plausible explanation for the rebuff Wallace suffered at the polls. They speak of the masses remaining "confused and misled," of Truman "stealing" Wallace's program, of "weaknesses" in the Progressive Party campaign, and so on. The principal explanation they advance, however, is the pernicious effect of the "lesser evil" theory.

"LESSER EVIL"

In the Nov. 14 Sunday Worker Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, stressed this: "Seizing on events in the last weeks of the campaign," he declares, "the Dubinsky-Rutherford Social Democrats, the ADA and the labor reformists were able more effectively to promote the 'lesser evil' theory."

One wonders how effective this argument is with the disappointed rank and file of the Communist Party. In the first place, these same leaders of the Stalinist machine have been the most assiduous proponents of the "lesser evil" theory since the beginning of the "People's Front" period in 1935. They supported the Democrats as a "lesser evil" in 1936, 1938, 1942, 1944 and 1946.

The same theory was advocated by the Stalinist leadership in hundreds of local elections.

OUSTED BROWDER

When Browder was ousted from leadership, the entire top bureaucracy beat its breast in public, confessing its opportunist sins and swearing that from now on all would be different. Browder was made the scapegoat for the long preeminence of the "lesser evil" theory in Stalinist propaganda and the new chiefs, Foster and Dennis, promised a return to the revolutionary policies of Lenin.

PURE DEMAGOGY

This, of course, was nothing but pure demagogy. In backing Wallace, the Stalinist machine backed nothing else but a "lesser evil"; for Wallace as a liberal capitalist candidate did not represent socialism, but openly proclaimed the need for a "reformed" capitalism and a return to the policies of Roosevelt. A Stalinist, pushing

the candidacy of this millionaire, was forced to use as his main selling point that Wallace was a "lesser evil" as against either Truman or Dewey.

It might be objected that we also back non-Socialist candidates and are pledged to support of a labor party. It can also be pointed out that a labor party launched by the present trade union leaders would not have a Socialist program or one that might in any way be superior to the program of Wallace.

That is correct. But a labor party would be a progressive step in the advancement of the American working class, whereas supporting a Wallace does not advance the education of the working class movement any further than supporting La Follette in 1924 or Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. The formation of a labor party at the present time would signify a working class break with capitalist parties and its participation in politics as an independent class force. Through the experience gained, the workers would come to realize the inadequacies of the labor party program and leaders and through their control they would be able to retire the conservative and reformist leaders in favor of genuine militants and Socialists.

CAPITALIST OUTFIT

But a splinter capitalist outfit like the Wallace movement, rather than educating the workers into the necessity for class politics, further muddles the situation by preaching the possibility of winning peace and security — while retaining capitalism intact and returning to the policies of the New Deal! Rather than giving the workers greater ability to control their political leaders and greater access in making political decisions, it duplicates the evils of capitalist politics, by vesting control in an individual self-professed Messiah. The Wallace movement is not controlled by the workers, through their mass organizations — the unions — nor is it responsible to them.

If the Communist Party were a Marxist party, then its duty — particularly in the absence of a Labor Party based on the trade unions — would be to run independently in the election in order to clarify the issues and educate workers on its program. The failure of the Communist Party to carry out this elementary duty shows how sharply it has broken with Leninism and how deeply it is involved in the treacherous and deceptions of capitalist politics.

Actually, the program of the Stalinist leadership in America for practical purposes coincides right now with the middle class reformist program of Henry Wallace. The Kremlin wants a deal with the American capitalist class. Wallace stands for the same thing, and so on down the line.

The truth about the Stalinist policy in this election is that they tried to put into practice the politics of the "lesser evil" in favor of Wallace — but the labor bureaucrats beat them at the opportunist game and lined up the working masses behind Truman as the "lesser evil" to Dewey. The Stalinists tried to build a Peoples Front around Wallace. The labor bureaucrats and liberals succeeded in building a far bigger Peoples Front — minus the Stalinists — within the framework of the Democratic Party.

Longshoremen Revolt Against Ryan's Contract

(Continued from page 1)

in the Tammany political machine with which Ryan and Sampson are intimately connected.

A "FORMULA"

All government agencies—city, state and Federal—are trying to get a hand in the settlement of the strike. It is clear that Ryan, the employers and government officials are looking for some "formula" for a quick strike settlement—other than granting the strikers their justified demands.

That Ryan was hoping for government intervention was shown when he announced last Friday, before he made the strike "official," that he expected a message from President Truman. It turned out to be a proposal from Cyrus S. Ching, head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, for another 20-day "cooling-off" period, and submission of the dispute to a Presidential "fact-finding" commission.

This proposal had actually been in readiness for several days before the end of the injunction, the press disclosed, but was not brought forth when it was believed Ryan would put over his contract, thus preventing a strike. The rank and file then settled the matter for themselves.

When the conciliators and "mediators" admitted they had no further plan to offer, Ryan exclaimed: "Well, the President will surely have to get into it. This is a national calamity. This harbor will clam up tight, even without picket lines. We realize this has to be settled some time."

Ryan is a badly-scared man. He's afraid he may not last as "King" of the ILA if he doesn't come through with substantial gains for the workers. At the same time, he is beginning to feel the "heat" from the press because he is "losing his grip" on the longshoremen and can't "hold them in line" as in the past. NO LEADERSHIP

The N.Y. Times and other papers which never had any serious objection to Ryan in the past, are now starting to pound him. The Times of November 12 comments editorially that either the ILA leaders are "indiculously out of touch with the men they represent" or the committee (ILA negotiators) deceived the employers and public by agreeing to the new contract. . . . It all begins to add up to a merchant marine industry victimized and damaged by a badly organized labor union in which the leadership does not lead.

But the longshore workers are in no mood for the kind of "leadership" they have long received from Ryan. The biggest and lightest longshore strike in Atlantic coast history, called in repudiation of Ryan's latest "deal," testifies to that.

Subscribe to THE MILITANT

Relief Group Schedules Bazaar December 10-11

If you want to help the hungry workers of Europe and at the same time do your Christmas shopping at bargain rates, plan now to attend the American Committee for European Workers Relief Bazaar. The bazaar will be held on Dec. 10 and 11 at 130 West 23rd St., New York City.

Those who attended the 1946 and 1947 ACEWR bazaars will need little urging to come early to this year's affair, for they remember the great variety of articles at fractions of what they would have cost in the stores. Not only were many able to do all their Xmas shopping there at prices that were oblivious to the high cost of shopping but they had the satisfaction of knowing that every penny they spent helped speed food and clothing to needy Europeans.

The ACEWR sends food, clothing and medicine to Europe. It devotes itself to helping former concentration camp prisoners or their survivors. On its lists are also persecuted minorities, labor and Socialist fighters who suffered Fascist persecution.

INTERNATIONAL AID

In France its aid has been extended to numerous former members of the anti-Nazi underground, Spanish exiles and refugees. In one case it sent streptomycin costing \$290 to make possible a successful operation on a man who emerged from the concentration camps a living skeleton. He had

lost 103 pounds and had tuberculosis in both lungs. Only with the help of streptomycin were the surgeons able to perform a difficult operation and start him back on the road to health.

Costly streptomycin has also been sent by the ACEWR for operations on needy workers in another case in France and in two cases in Greece. Expensive medicines have also been shipped to Italy and other countries.

In Germany and Austria food and clothing have gone to men who were imprisoned by the Nazis immediately after Hitler's rise to power in 1933 and were freed only upon the downfall of the Nazi regime in 1945. Former political prisoners and Jewish Germans are among those who have been able to clothe themselves and their families with the aid obtained from our relief committee. German workers in all the occupied zones have received high calorie food parcels from the ACEWR to help sustain them in the bleak days of hunger.

In Holland, a widow, whose husband, a well-known union leader, was executed by the Quisling government, has received ACEWR food and clothing packages. Another Dutch case is that of a widow with many children whose husband was sent to his death in an extermination camp because he had hidden Dutch Jews from the Nazi butchers.

There are many ways in which you can help this committee of international solidarity. One way

is to donate saleable articles to the bazaar. Already articles of silverware, china, pictures, jewelry, etc., have started coming into the ACEWR headquarters. Look over your worldly possessions for attractive articles for which you have no place or with which you can part for the sake of international solidarity. Send these to the ACEWR. The other way to help is to mark on your calendar the dates, Dec. 10 and 11 as the days that you and your family and friends attend the gala Christmas shopping bazaar

Truman Stirs Reporters With Sharp Observation

The following is part of The New York Times report on Truman's post-election vacation:

Mr. Truman moved up to the screen door. He pointed out with his cane. "That's the greatest thing in the world," he said. "That's all that counts."

The reporters craned to look over his shoulders, and there, across the street, was a tall, beautiful blonde, well dressed. (Why, Mr. President!) But it was all right. The idea of glamour was only in the reporters' minds. They took a better look and saw the three children of the woman, evidently the wife of a naval officer, scampering a few steps in front of her. Mr. Truman was voicing his well-known sentiment about the American family.

World Events

By J. Gomez

Another Chapter in the History of Latin-American "Revolts"

The revolt of the army clique headed by General Odría against the Bustamante government of Peru is another act in the drama being played by the ultra-reactionary actors of that country.

The military revolt, though its exclusive purpose was to protect the privileged parasites and tighten their rule as its tragic-comic aspect: It was directed against the government of Bustamante, which likewise represents the same class forces as the now victorious military clique. The difference between the two were rather of a tactical nature of how best to maintain the rule of the capitalist-landowning classes.

According to a United Press dispatch, published in La Prensa of New York, one of the reasons for the break between the Brass Hats and the deposed government was the fact that Bustamante had refused to sign the death penalty that the military courts meted out to the leaders of the popular revolt led by the Apra.

The military clique wants to rule by the naked sword. This is clear not only from the composition of the new provisional government, composed exclusively of military men, but in the statements of General Odría. The General declared that "Peru will be rebuilt on a new basis." "Political parties," we are further informed, "poison the hearts of the people and sicken their minds." No wonder that the first act of his "provisional government" consisted in outlawing the Apra and the Communist Party. Here is a clear demonstration of how this military despot intends to run things — by an open dictatorship. The existence of even such a mild reformist pro-capitalist party as the Apra is not going to be tolerated.

This was one of the main aims of the military revolt against the Bustamante government, which by doing the dirty work in suppressing the Apra made possible the rise of the military clique to power without any parliamentary ceremonial.

What the ultra-reactionary feudalists and capitalists want is a "strong government" with a "strong man" capable of suppressing every manifestation of opposition. The ex-Bustamante government, though basically devoted to the same purposes, didn't precisely fit into this particular pattern.

But the imposition of this military dictatorship does not constitute the last word in the political life of Peru. It is rather a temporary episode, for the new regime is not in a position to solve any of the deep-going difficulties. The crisis is not only deep but organic in the whole semi-colonial structure of Peru. As a result, the popular masses will be compelled, now as before, in the struggle for existence, to come into open con-

flict with the ruling group. The phenomenal growth of the Apra was, although in distorted form, a manifestation of this need.

Furthermore a new political leadership is being forged by the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, as can be seen in the first issue of its theoretical organ, Cuadernos Marxistas. The Peruvian Trotskyist movement is only about two years old, but has a lot of political vitality. Our salute to them and their extraordinary sacrifices in their struggle for a better Peru!

Elsewhere in Latin America

CHILE: The political instability of Peru is no isolated phenomenon. It is only one manifestation of the social tensions growing in a number of the Latin American countries. Just a few days ago a similar Brass Hat move was engineered by ex-General Ibanez of Chile to take over the government. General Ibanez, like his Peruvian comrades-in-arms, thought that he could do a better job than the Gonzales Videla government in suppressing all popular struggles.

This friend of the Wall Street gang is an old hand at this game. In the four years that he was in power — 1927-31 — he ruled the country in savage dictatorial fashion. His latest adventure failed, but the working masses of Chile cannot take too much consolation from the fact that the Gonzales Videla government was able to save its neck, for it is a black reactionary government.

While we were reading the news about the Ibanez "plot," the United Press dispatch of Oct. 26 published in El Diario of New York, carried the information that 120 teachers were fired from their jobs as "communists." This type of persecution and firing from jobs is a daily occurrence.

BOLIVIA: This country is in such a shaky condition that the Herzog government is constantly discovering political "plots" to overthrow the government. Any economic or political struggle of whatever nature is automatically dubbed a "plot" against the government. When last month the railroad union decided to strike for better conditions, the Herzog government declared the strike an anti-government "plot." Herzog mobilized the armed forces and smashed the move even before the strike started, just as he did last year in the case of the tin miners' strike, as a result of which hundreds of miners were imprisoned, exiled and deported, and thousands of them lost their jobs. The uneasy ruling groups, be it of Peru, Chile, Bolivia, are so bankrupt that they can maintain their commanding position only by means of bayonets.

THE MILITANT ARMY

There is still time to renew or subscribe before higher subscription rates go into effect Jan. 1. The Militant will be \$2 a year and Fourth International \$2.50 for 12 monthly issues. Combinations will be \$4.

These long overdue increases are necessitated by rising costs for every item of publishing. We are practically the last publishers in America to raise rates. The Militant has maintained, for four years of war and postwar inflation, a half-price subscription rate started Jan. 1, 1945, for campaign purposes. But the weekly deficits have grown beyond all possibility of continuing the \$1 subscription. We are confident our readers will bear with us in this necessity. Our subscribers read The Militant year after year, not because it is cheap, but because it is the only paper with honest reporting of the facts and clear Marxist analysis of events.

Since the 15-week-25c election special was discontinued, full-year dollar subscriptions have far outnumbered 50c subs. In fact, practically all renewals lately have been for \$1.

This is the season when libraries are renewing their periodicals for 1949. If the library in your community does not have The Militant and Fourth International, here is your chance to get to render a service to the worker-readers of your town by giving your library a sub.

Sub-Getter B. P. Johnson of

Canada sent a combination subscription for a friend, adding: "If any balance, please send copies of Militant to colonial countries on your list. A friend that I sent a trial sub to promised me two renewals. We will be interested in your returns on election day. We expect a growing response to our sound program."

New requests for The Militant and Fourth International have just arrived from Austin, China and a little island in the Indian Ocean.

MILITANT INCREASES RATES JAN. 1

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9880) FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Single Copies (5 or more copies): 50¢ each in U.S., 40¢ each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XII — No. 47

Monday, November 22, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

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

Labor Party—Still The Need

The bureaucrats heading the AFL and CIO are chortling with glee over Truman's re-election. They have not yet finished patting each other on the back over what clever fellows they are. The Democratic victory demonstrates not only labor's ability to act in united fashion for political purposes, but also proves as, according to them, their own superior strategy and infinite wisdom in rejecting the concept of a new party and working inside the capitalist two-party system.

We believe the election results prove something else entirely.

We believe the election results show that if labor could put across a discredited nonentity, a used-up, compromised capitalist machine politician like Truman, then it could also mobilize the working masses behind its own party with an authentic candidate and genuine program of social betterment.

As for the Democratic Party, has it been transformed into a genuine People's party, as the labor bureaucrats now assure us, or is it still one of the two organizations owned and dominated by the Big Money? Sure, the laboring people will get a few crumbs from the new Congress as a result of their unmistakable demonstration for a change. But in its fundamental character, this party remains as before an instrument of the American ruling plutocracy. It will continue—as it did before—to carry out the program of Wall

Street: Preparations for war, militarization of American life, supporting fascists and dictators abroad, building up war alliances, suppressing revolutionary movements and colonial revolts, ensuring immense profits to America's billionaire trusts.

Can the cruel consequences of this reactionary foreign policy be escaped at home? No. It must mean—as it has meant before—ever-mounting inflation, danger of an economic bust, ever-greater probability of frightful war, and after the briefest of interludes, full-scale resumption of the witch-hunts and the thrust of reaction.

That being so—what have the AFL and CIO leaders really achieved in this election? Labor won, but not for itself, but for a pack of politicians in the service of the very same masters who brought on all the evils which the people sought to protest against and eliminate.

As the fumes of the victory wear off, the working masses will come to the conclusion that the labor bureaucracy betrayed the people's aspirations by channelizing the discontent behind the pro-Wall Street Democratic Party. They will further conclude that to realize their aims, they have to break with the Tweedledee-Tweedledum system of capitalist politics and strike out on their own by building their independent labor party, responsive to their needs and controlled by their ranks.

Crisis of American Imperialism

Leon Trotsky wrote in 1928 in his prophetic document on the Draft Program of the Comintern: "It is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggles in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions. On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of 'order' in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialist power."

That is exactly what is taking place right before our eyes.

Every crisis in the furthest corner of the globe sends tremors through the World Empire of the Wall Street colossus, subjects it to a further bleeding of its not inexhaustible wealth and undermines still further the rickety structure by which the American imperialists seek to maintain their position of world overlord.

The banker-statesmen of America are first beginning to fathom the endless difficulties and insoluble contradictions that stand in the way of realizing their "American Century."

They cannot even stabilize the situation in tiny Greece, where 550 million dollars has already been sunk into propping up the Greek fascists and militarists, and American imperialism is no further ahead today than it was two years ago. The colonial situation in the Far East is getting worse all the time, as Wall Street's underlying partners in imperialism can't get to first base in downing the national revolts in Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma. The Near East is plunged in strife and uncertainty. Europe remains a continuous drain with half of the continent torn forcibly out of the American bloc.

And this menacing and dismal international situation is now inconceivably aggravated by the decomposition of the Chiang Kai-shek government of China and its threatened collapse.

All these developments prove that American imperialism can never succeed in building a stable and profitable world empire; that American imperialism is destined—like the Roman Empire in its latest period—to wear out its strength and substance in the doomed effort to impose the collar of servitude on the insurgent masses all over the world; and finally, that when the American working class gets ready to oust the banker and industrial parasites from the seats of power and set up its own Workers and Farmers Government, it will find the colonial and working masses of Asia and Europe as firm allies in the struggle for emancipation.

Union Democracy

A lot of old-line union bureaucrats think they can get away with anything when it comes to trampling on the rights and will of the union members. In at least two instances within the past few weeks, these bureaucrats have received a salutary demonstration to the contrary—the East Coast AFL longshoremen's strike and the New York CIO brewery drivers walkout.

Iron-fisted Joseph "King" Ryan, head of the ILA-AFL, had pulled so many crimes against the dock workers he thought he could get away with one more. But his latest fast deal with the employers against the union members back-fired. The workers rose in spontaneous revolt against Ryan's sell-out contract. Before he knew what was happening some 45,000 longshoremen had "voted" against his deal by shutting down the major Atlantic ports.

Ryan isn't doing any open strike-breaking now, as he did in the 1945 revolt. He's busy trying to mend his fences with the rank and file and talking "militant" all over the lot, while he figures out a "formula" for selling the men down the river once more. Unfortunately, there is no indication that an effective organized

progressive opposition is emerging from the present struggle. And until such an opposition is organized, "King" Ryan will sit safely on his throne.

The New York brewery drivers not only rose in revolt against a bad contract imposed on them by their top leaders, but they organized a real opposition and carried it through in determined fashion. On Nov. 12 the beer companies were forced to capitulate right down the line, agreeing to eliminate the controversial "speed-up" clause, withdraw a huge damage suit against the union and reinstate all strikers without prejudice or discrimination.

At the big membership meeting which voted to accept the brewery settlement, the rank and file booted off the platform the representative of the international union leadership, which had tried to break the strike for three weeks and was forced finally on the fourth week to recognize it.

A new and refreshing wind is beginning to blow in some of the most bureaucracy-ridden unions. The dock workers and brewery drivers have given renewed inspiration to the struggle for trade union democracy.

\$25,000 Party-Building Fund Hits 88% of Goal as Finish-Line Nears

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director
This week only two branches forwarded sums of money on their quotas for the \$25,000 Party Building Fund.

New York came through with \$351 bringing it just 6% short of its quota total. Buffalo mailed in \$51 boosting that branch to 90% of its goal. The total receipts now stand at 88% of the \$25,000 goal. The branches have 14 days,

as of the time this is being written, to complete their pledges and get in the 100% column. We urge all our comrades and friends to dig down deep in the remaining period and rush all funds to the Fund Director at 116 University Pl., New York City.

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP PARTY BUILDING 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
New York City	7,500	7,085	94
Akron	400	361	90
Buffalo	1,000	896	90
West Virginia	100	90	90
Detroit	1,600	1,410	88
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	\$21,967	88

Profit Bonanza for Big Business

ROEY INCREASED BY OIL COMPANY
Standard of California's Net for 9 Months \$117,073,083, or \$9 a Capital Share

U.S. RUBBER SHOWS \$15,216,798 PROFIT
Sales of \$431,930,781 in First Nine Months Show \$6.42 a Share Earnings

REPUBLIC STEEL'S SHARP RISE IN NET RESULTS IN AN EXTRA DIVIDEND
\$12,874,398 Profits in 3 Months Compared to \$6,380,016 in Same Quarter in 1947
—Stock Distribution Also

CHRYSLER AND SUBSIDIARIES EARN \$59,887,601 Net in Nine Months
Domestic Profit, \$52,568,683, and Foreign, \$7,318,918—Total

RCA REPORTS GAIN FOR NINE MONTHS
The Concern Shows a Net of \$15,128,793, Equal to

BETHLEHEM STEEL SETS OUTPUT MARK
\$22,584,752 Third Quarter Net Equivalent to \$3.24 a Share Also a Company Record

Buried in the financial pages and lost in the excitement of the elections is the news of record-breaking profits piled up by the big corporations in the first nine months of 1948. Survey of 155 companies in 15 industries shows profits for the third quarter of 1948 were higher by 41% than the profits in the same period last year.

WORKERS FORUM

Interest Won By Hansen Work
Editor:
I have lately read a book you sent me free of charge by Joseph Hansen, entitled, The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is, What It Stands For. It presented to me a great party, the Socialist Workers Party. It gave to me

the true meaning of a democratic socialism by the working people of America. In it, under "Inside the Socialist Workers Party," it stated there was a monthly magazine entitled, Fourth International. I should like information about this magazine.
L. O. S.
Eau Claire, Wis.

Finds Right Party
Editor:
Thank you very much for the publications and information on the SWP. I know that I have at last found a party that is for the common working man and not the rich bureaucratic interests. Find enclosed \$1.00 and please enter me as a subscriber to The Militant. Thank you very much.
L. O.
Ames, Iowa

Crisis of Chiang Rule—A Blow to Imperialists

(Continued from page 1)

American imperialism decided to underwrite Chiang Kai-shek's regime. American ships and planes transported his troops into the key areas formerly held by the Japanese. American Army officers were assigned to train new armies for the dictator. The sluiceways of the U. S. Public Treasury were opened up for Chiang's benefit, and supplies poured into his hands from American armament factories.

Blood and iron, Wall street hoped, would prove sufficient to bolster up Chiang. With this despot in power, American Big Business saw China, the richest prize of World War II, converted into an American colony.

CHIANG DOOMED
But their calculations went awry. Not even American gold and American bullets could save Chiang from the disastrous consequences of his rule.

To man his armies, Chiang employed the most brutal methods of forced conscription, robbing batches of "recruits" together to prevent them from escaping. To furnish his armies with food and other essentials, he ravaged civilian supplies, dooming millions to starvation. In the unending strife, Chiang's armies swept over the countryside like hordes of devouring locusts, stripping everything clean.

Inflation reached such fantastic heights that even the printing presses could no longer keep up with the demand for higher denomination notes to meet the astronomical price quotations that doubled and tripled from one day to the next.

Since the end of the war, the popular rebellion has grown in scope and intensity.

The difficulties faced by Chiang's armies are immeasurably heightened by the hostility of the population. The opposing armies are welcomed and aided by the local population. Chiang's American-trained, so-called "crack" troops melt away. A big percentage turn up, along with their American equipment in the opposing camp. The political factor, in brief, is coming more and more to the fore in China and is proving to be the decisive element in determining the outcome of the civil war.

American imperialism is now faced with the question, what to do next? A section of the capitalist class favor pulling completely out of China, leaving Chiang Kai-shek to his fate. They argue that continuing to send Chiang arms is useless since they slip through his military machine like a sieve.

ing American armies on a major scale to China, even at the risk of precipitating World War III.

BITTER HATRED
Washington's support of the Chiang regime has aroused bitter hatred of America among the Chinese people. This became evident soon after V-J Day, when giant student demonstrations in Shanghai and other cities demanded that American troops get out of China. Savage reprisals by Chiang succeeded in suppressing the open expression of this sentiment but not in wiping it out.

Two American citizens in Peiping wrote a letter to The New York Times, published in the Nov. 17 issue, calling attention to the hatred which American support of Chiang has aroused. Chiang's planes, they say, followed a policy that "seems to be to bomb and strafe any concentration of people they can sight, to attack any building of size whatever its use, and to specialize on cities that have just suffered the trials of siege and capture whether there is any hope of early recovery or not."

"The resentment and hatred piling up throughout China," they observe, "and the identification of the Central Government and of America with meanness and destruction rather than construction are ominous."

The leadership of the armies opposing Chiang Kai-shek rests at present with the Chinese Stalinists. Their record is not one to inspire confidence. Chiang could achieve power in 1927 only because of their blind docility in following Stalin's orders.

STALINIST RECORD
Since that great betrayal of the Chinese people they have added to their ignominious record, selling out to Chiang again and again at crucial times and thus helping to stabilize his regime.

Even as late as 1945, when Stalin made a deal with Chiang, they acted the part of faithful pawns in the Kremlin's moves on the international chessboard. They were willing to again enter a coalition government with Chiang on the proposal of General Marshall, and this scheme blew up only because of Chiang's refusal to go along with this policy.

Whether the top Stalinist bureaucrats would serve merely as Moscow's lackeys should the popular rebellion thrust them into power over all China is not at all sure. The same factors that operated in tiny Yugoslavia compelling Tito to take an independent course, would apply in China with incomparably greater force. The heads of the Chinese Stalinist machine are not Russian agents sent into a satellite country conquered by the Soviet Army.

Credit Goes To Hansen

Editor:
Yesterday I gave a copy of Joseph Hansen's, SWP — What It Is, What It Stands For, to a worker at the plant I work in. I've known this man for four years but had not worked close enough to him in the shop to do much talking to him. He is a good rank and file member.

Today at lunch there were four of us, this same guy, my alternate committeeman who is a Stalinist, another worker, and myself. This non-political worker, who had just read Hansen's pamphlet, led the conversation. He talked as one inspired. He told us about the pamphlet. I was amazed at how well he remembered the points. One after another he made them. "This is the truth," he said, "I'm 54 years old," he said, "and I've been going along trying to figure things out in my own way, and pretty much taking things for granted. But now," he said, "my eyes are opened. I want to learn what it's all about. Can you get me some of Marx's writings?" he asked me.

The Stalinist tried to discredit the pamphlet but the worker answered him from the text. "Wallace is a capitalist," he answered. "How can he do anything for us?" Then together we went to work on the Stalinist and gave it to him, but good.

The credit goes to the pamphlet. Hansen did a wonderful job.
A Reader
Chicago, Ill.

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A Reader
Chicago, Ill.

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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BALTIMORE — 1121 E. Baltimore St. Phone Wolfe 1753. Daily 9 a. m. — 9 p. m. O. Cover St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m. Wed. 7-10 p. m.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 622 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADISON 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted). Phone DEARBORN 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a. m. — 5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND — Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m. Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone WY 7-3237. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.

FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VANDYKE 8061.

SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

WATTS — Militant, 1720 E. 97th St.

LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Publ' Ass'n, 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed., Thurs., 8:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE — SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 6th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BROADWAY 2-9645.

MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. — 5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK — 425 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University Pl. Phone GH. 6-8149.

WEST SIDE — 251 E. Houston St., 1st fl.

HARLEM — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23. Phone MO. 2-1886. Open discussion. Tues., 8 p. m.

BRONX — 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.

BROOKLYN — 635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7453.

CHELSEA — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone OH. 2-9424.

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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-95 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820.

Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH — 415 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. forums, Sun., 4 p. m.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. South & Washington. Phone Main 9776. Mon. through Sat., 11-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 315. Militant Forums, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. Branch meeting, 11:37. Open daily. Bookstore.

TOLLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kappa Hall, 115 Summit, Rm. 5.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

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American Peoples Front

By E. R. Frank

The newly forged Social Democratic coalition of labor bureaucrats and liberals isn't letting any grass grow under its feet. It's getting right down to business after the elections. Its first public action is the holding of a super-duper "Testimonial Dinner" to honor one of the young up-and-coming liberal fakers, Hubert H. Humphrey, fast-talking Mayor of Minneapolis now elected as Senator of Minnesota. The dinner will be held at the Grand Ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel in New York and the price of admission is a modest \$12.50 per cover.

The membership of the Testimonial Dinner Committee is a real eye-opener as to the makeup and character of this new American version of the "peoples front." On the committee you can find such "forward looking" labor fakers as Walter Reuther, Emil Rieve, David Dubinsky, Wm. Green, Louis Hollander, James B. Carey and numerous lesser lights. The New Deal politicians are represented by a similarly impressive galaxy of luminaries: Adolf A. Berle, Leon Henderson, William O'Dwyer, Robert F. Wagner, Chester Bowles, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. and many others. The renegades and ex-radicals have also graciously been permitted to participate in this grand reunion. The committee list glitters with such notables as Jay Lovestone, Bertram D. Wolfe, Max Eastman, Sidney Hook and their most recent and clamorous recruit, James T. Farrell, who after warning up for his new role as ex-Marxist by backing Norman Thomas in the election has now lined up in honoring the Democratic politician, Humphrey.

No one should imagine that this will put him in bad with his new friends of the "Socialist" Party, because they're all in there pitching for Humphrey too! In fact, the League for Industrial Democracy — an S. P. intellectual front organi-

zation of which Norman Thomas is a director — is the official sponsor of the get-together. And the dinner committee boasts of such "Socialists" as Harry Fleischman, National Secretary of the S.P., William Becker and Jasper MacLevy.

This testimonial dinner is not just an excuse for a grab-bast altho we can be sure there will be plenty of that. It represents a studied effort to cement more firmly the new anti-Stalinist Peoples Front which has beaten Wallace and the Stalinists so effectively in the elections, has secured positions of power in the political machinery of the State and feels more cocky than at any time since the advent of the New Deal.

This Peoples Front bloc operates within the framework of the Democratic Party and is firmly resolved to continue doing so. Their demands are so modest and their program so niggardly, they see no bar to a long and peaceful cohabitation inside one party with the Jim Farleys, Harry Trumans, the big-city bosses and the millionaire Democratic Party backers.

But are the plans and ambitions of politicians on the make and up-and-coming labor careerists the last word in determining the course of history? Hardly. The millions of hard working, exploited people upon whose shoulders the Humphreys and Reuthers rose to their present estates will soon turn away in disillusionment from the Democratic Party. And the careerists will again have to think of forming a new party to maintain their leadership of the working people. The political education of the masses is now proceeding more intensively and this will provide the class conscious workers with a suitable arena to educate the workers in the necessity of setting up a party of their own and installing — not liberal and labor fakers — but genuine militants and Socialists in positions of leadership.

The Negro Struggle

Help the Purge Victims!

By Albert Parker

The "loyalty" purge is striking hard and fast at Negro government employes, especially in the Post Office. Charges have already been brought against scores of purge victims in Cleveland, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore and many other cities. And that's only the beginning.

The NAACP Board of Directors points out that a year ago, when the so-called subversive list was issued, it called attention to the danger that "prejudiced officials could utilize false charges of disloyalty against minorities to eliminate them from government."

"One year later," the NAACP declares, "our worst fears have been realized. Charges of disloyalty based on flimsy and prejudiced information have been filed against colored government employes. . . . In practically all of the cases before us it is apparent that the employes have been placed in the position of defending themselves because of their opposition to segregation and discrimination, against un-named accusers, before officials who are hostile to, or unaware of, the broad implications of the fight for civil rights in this country."

The NAACP statement finishes with a new warning: "Not one of the more than 150,000 colored government employes will be safe if the present trend continues." For this reason, the NAACP has decided to defend Negroes who are being victimized in this purge because of their race, and has called on the president and the

Loyalty Review Board "to take steps to prevent the persecution of colored employes solely because they have dared to stand up and be counted on the side of those who believe in justice for all men."

Such a stand by the NAACP is entirely justified. But the matter doesn't end there. Not only the Negro people, but the whole labor movement is affected by the government purge. For that reason, the labor movement too must swing into action to help the Negro victims of this witch hunt—especially that section of the labor movement which has already shown its understanding of the issues involved by coming to the aid of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his job in the Veterans Administration.

Kutcher was fired under the same presidential order that is being used to hound the Negro government workers. The charge against him was his political beliefs and his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. But the essence of the matter is the same—his "crime" too is that he "dared to stand up and be counted on the side of those who believe in justice for all men."

White workers must defend the rights of Negro victims of the purge, and Negro workers must defend the rights of the white victims. Only in this way will we be able to successfully combat and defeat this drive to terrorize and intimidate the government employes who dare to exhibit a spark of independence or to exercise their rights to speak and act freely.

Mr. Astor Gets A Summons

By Joseph Keller

If you have good eyes and you read even the one-inch items buried among the ads on page 19, you may have seen an obscure bit in the New York papers last week about John J. Astor being served with a court summons by his ex-cook for a matter of \$172 back wages due and unpaid.

Now the John Jacob Astor in question lives at 998 Fifth Avenue in something more than a flophouse. He is direct in line to inherit most of the famous Astor fortune. This fortune was started by that old miser John Jacob Astor, who traded off rot-gut liquor to the Indians for fine furs. It has since been pyramided to hundreds of millions by miles of New York real estate bought cheap and rented dear. So the latest namesake of the rum-for-fur trader isn't so short of the ready that he can't pay a cook's wages.

The cook, Delia Curran, went to court and got the summons against the Astor heir on the complaint that she tried repeatedly to get her pay after leaving the job on Oct. 23. It seems that any mere cook who just works for a living and has the effrontery to quit on the Astor millions without being fired, can just wait for her money. The case never went to trial because the day

after the summons was issued, Nov. 9, Delia Curran got a check in the mail. So the case was dropped. That's when the press recognized it at all.

Now, if you are addicted to regular reading of the Big Business press, you might after a while get to think of the rich as not such bad folks after all. You read all about their "philanthropies" and the new stained-glass windows they contribute to churches and similar good deeds. But the little story about Astor's cook gives a better insight into the true character of the plutocratic leisure class. They're pretty mean and cheap.

They'll hand out five dollar tips ostentatiously in a night club—that's for the society column gossip. But where there's no publicity attached, they'll chisel a nickel every time.

The monied class of this country, through its press, has put out an awful lot of bunk about itself — patrons of the arts, preservers of culture, big-hearted philanthropists. The truth is they're vicious, mean in small things as in great. Ask Mr. Astor's ex-cook.

Notes from the News

JOINS WITCH-HUNTERS—David Lillenthal target of a vicious, red-baiting, smear campaign in the Senate last year because of his supposedly liberal views, is now in the forefront of the witch-hunting pack. As Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, he ordered General Electric to breach its contract with the Electrical Workers.

The National CIO is backing the U. S. in its \$1,000,000 suit for damages against the Lillenthal Commission. By its "unprecedented action," said Philip Murray, the Commission "goes beyond the requirements of security and is a dangerous precedent."

WIN A DIME—Heads of three railroad unions representing 150,000 engineers, firemen and switchmen, ended their third-round wage demands by accepting 10 cents an hour increase.

Their demand at opening of negotiations was \$1.76 a day increase representing the difference between an increase of 15½ cents accepted last July and their original second-round demand for a rise of 30 per cent.

FIRED FOR P.S.—A postal employe in Paris France, was fired for putting his own P.S. on telegrams passing through his hands. Outraged over the use of armed police and troops under Jules Moch, Minister of the Interior, in the coal

strike, the employe had done his part to publicize the miners' side by adding the following phrase to all messages he handled: "Jules Moch, assassin."

SWITCH UNIONS—Employes of Remington Rand in Syracuse, N. Y., voted for the United Automobile Workers as their bargaining agent. They turned down the International Association of Machinists as well as a plea of their former bargaining agent, the United Electrical Workers, to vote "no union."

CAN BE HAD—William E. Collier, 25-year-old Marshall College freshman, is not too particular. For only \$100,000 he is willing to marry "any woman in the United States."

With the money, he says, he can finish his education and set up practice as a psychologist.

NOT UNION BUSINESS—A proposal of top bureaucrats of the British coal miners union and the National Coal Board to have union locals discipline members for absenteeism has been turned down by the union rank and file. They refused to go for union punishment of absentee miners on grounds this was a management and not a union problem.

CLOSED SHOP—Proposed bans on the closed shop in Massachusetts and New Mexico were decisively rejected by the voters on Nov. 2.

VOLUME XII

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1948

NUMBER 47

THE MILITANT

West Coast Shipping Bosses Resume Talks with Strikers

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 14—Greatly strengthened by the strike of AFL longshoremen on the East Coast, striking maritime unions here last week entered negotiations with the employers.

These negotiations for settlement of the 73-day-old Pacific coast strike got under way between representatives of the CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association. They are proceeding under what is now referred to as the "Murray-Roth peace formula" which provides for the national CIO and the San Francisco Employers' Council to participate as interested parties.

Under terms of the Murray-Roth formula "the national CIO shall participate with the ILWU negotiating committee throughout the negotiations"; any contract shall be underwritten by the National CIO and "shall contain language providing for no strikes or lockouts"; if no contract is negotiated within ten days "the last offer made by the WEA . . . shall be submitted to the ILWU membership for acceptance or rejection."

In addition to provisions of the "peace formula," the following was agreed to among the San Francisco Employers' Council, the national CIO, the ILWU, and the WEA: 1. Disputes between employers and ILWU shall be settled, wherever possible, through collective bargaining; 2. The San Francisco Employers' Council will not back up the WEA unless it has been notified in advance and given its approval to a lockout; 3. The national CIO will not back up the ILWU unless notified in advance of action leading to a strike; 4. The national CIO and the San Francisco Employers' Council will attempt to conciliate any dispute between the ILWU and WEA; 5. This is not intended to replace the grievance or arbitration machinery of the longshore contract, but is a supplement to any contract that may be negotiated.

AGREED POINTS

In the first days of negotiations it was mutually agreed that the former contract should provide the basis for discussion. A joint statement by the ILWU and WEA announced agreement on the following points:

"1. A 1000-hour work limit in any consecutive 26-week period, in accordance with the terms of the Wage-Hour Act, with equal-

ized work opportunity to be preserved.

"2. A scheduled day off each week, this (day) being Sunday as much as possible, with a survey to be made port by port to determine how many Sundays-off can be scheduled.

"3. A minimum of four hours paid when reporting for work.

"4. A 9-hour maximum work shift."

It was also announced that "agreement in principle" had been reached on the hiring hall question.

The union's wage demand of \$1.82 straight time for a 6-hour day has not yet come up for discussion.

In the negotiations, the employer group has substituted new faces for the former spokesmen who declared that they would not "do business with Communism." Frank Foisie, president of WEA, T. G. Plant, and Gregory Harrison are conspicuous by their absence from the negotiations. In their place, appeared Colonel John Kilpatrick of the American President Lines, which is 90 per cent owned by the U. S. Maritime Commission, as chairman of the WEA committee. Kilpatrick announced that "we who represent the employers are here with a new committee, a new outlook and a desire and determination to negotiate with you a fair and workable agreement."

The idea that there has been any real shake-up in the employer group was belied by the fact that Foisie remains president of the WEA.

Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, whom the employers previously declared they would not negotiate with, heads the ILWU negotiating committee.

OPEN NEGOTIATIONS

Negotiations are being conducted in the Veterans Memorial Building here and are open to all members of the ILWU. A large attendance of rank and file longshoremen has followed the progress of these negotiations.

One of the principal issues in dispute has not yet been resolved. That is the hated section 11-b of the old contract. According to this clause "if a dispute arises concerning the manner in which work shall be carried on it shall continue in accordance with the orders of the Employer, except in those cases where the longshoremen in good faith believe that to do so is to immediately endanger the health and safety of the men."

This clause has been used by the employers to introduce speed-up. In some instances the

new practices are in violation of other sections of the contract.

Longshoremen have thus been forced to continue work at the orders of the employers until an arbitrator's decision on the disputed question comes through. This usually takes months and always means the loss of thousands of dollars in wages. For example, the employers could arbitrarily order longshoremen to load 45 cases of canned goods on a sling board instead of the customary 40-case load limit. This speeds up the work so much that a gang of longshoremen might get a day less work on the job operation. Even when the arbitrator rules favorably for the longshoremen, they are not able to collect the loss in wages. So the employers gain regardless of how the ruling goes.

Aiming to halt the employers' drive against long-established working conditions, ILWU Local 10 went on record to eliminate section 11 of the old contract and substitute a "willing and able clause." This would provide that for purposes of the contract no member of the union would be required to work unless willing and able to do so.

SIMULTANEOUS DATES

Another important demand of the union is that all agreements shall expire simultaneously. The ILWU negotiating committee is demanding a three-year contract to expire June 15, 1951.

Other striking maritime unions yet to come to terms with the employers are the independent Marine Firemen, the CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards and the CIO Radio Operators. The Pacific American Shipowners' Association has resumed negotiations with the CIO Marine Cooks on the basis of the Murray-Roth formula. The independent Marine Firemen are scheduled to negotiate later with PASA.

Any settlement signed by the longshore union is expected to set the pattern for agreement with the other striking maritime unions on this coast.

Subpoena 22 Heads Of Corporations in Anti-Trust Probe

Twenty-two executives of some of the country's largest corporations have been subpoenaed in a federal grand jury anti-trust investigation.

Among the corporations affected are General Motors along with its Cadillac, Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac, Chevrolet, and GM Truck and Coach Divisions; the Ethyl Corporation; United States Rubber; Bendix Aviation; North American Aviation; Remington Arms and Kinetic Chemicals Inc.

Felled by Smoke



One of the hundreds of victims of the death-dealing smog that blanketed the town of Donors, Pa., claiming 20 lives. The CIO Steelworkers Union donated \$10,000 to local health authorities to aid the investigation. Fumes from the nearby zinc smelters of the American Steel and Wire Co. combined with fog and smoke to poison the atmosphere. Federated Pictures

UAW PROGRESSIVES HOLD SECOND STATE PARLEY

FLINT, Nov. 13—The issue of speedup played an important part in the deliberations of the Leonard-Stevenson Committee for Militant and Democratic Action in the UAW at its second state-wide meeting held last Sunday, Nov. 7, in Flint. This issue has again come to the forefront in the Chrysler strike as one of the key problems facing the auto workers.

The facts in the Chrysler situation are as follows: Workers of the Chrysler Jefferson plant in Detroit walked off the job when the company increased production standards by 15% in the crankshaft division. A huge membership meeting of Chrysler Local 7 was held after the walkout and voted overwhelmingly to stay out until the speedup was licked.

As the effects of the walkout spread and four more plants closed, the Reuther-Mazey leadership of the AutoUnion got panicky. On Friday they ordered the workers to return to work, although the issues in dispute had not been settled. This action was taken without even a new meeting of the Local 7 membership.

STATE-WIDE MEET

This conflict and its significance was taken up at the state-wide meeting presided over by William C. Stevenson, former Director for Region 1A of the UAW and Acting Chairman of the Committee for Militant and Democratic Action.

200 leading auto militants and local officers representing over 45 local unions were in attendance. Some locals were not represented only because of membership meetings in progress at the same time. Stevenson was selected as Acting Chairman during Leonard's absence.

Stevenson began the meeting with a brief explanation of the personal problems which had dictated Leonard's temporarily accepting the post of CIO Director of Arizona and that this was sanctioned by the caucus steering committee and a meeting of the Detroit caucus membership.

THE SPEED-UP

The conference then proceeded to discuss the problem of speed-up. Concrete resolutions were adopted for submission to the locals designed to rally the membership against the auto corporations and the do-nothing policy of the Reuther-Mazey union administration. Speaker after speaker took the floor to report the increased efforts of the companies to squeeze out more profits by speedup and the consistent refusal of the International Union to back up the workers in their fight.

The most glaring example of this policy was the case of the Flint Chevrolet workers who after battling speed-up for many months, climaxed by a strike vote of more than 7,000 to 1,000, were confronted with the refusal of the International Union to authorize strike action. As a consequence, not only were the Flint strikers victimized and increased production rates put into effect, but

this success on the part of the GM Corporation encouraged the Chrysler Corporation to follow suit.

Resolutions adopted by the Flint gathering called for a broad UAW conference to formulate a coordinated plan of action to fight speedup; for a UAW-CIO conference in Lansing in January to elaborate a Michigan legislative program for labor; and a final resolution calling on the UAW CIO delegation to the National CIO convention to fight to implement and effectuate Truman's campaign promises for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and to demand the immediate firing of NLRB General Counsel Denham and his anti-union colleagues on the board.

The concrete resolves of the resolutions were fighting, constructive proposals, but unfortunately the "whereases" showed that a section of the leadership of the new caucus still had New Deal Democratic Party leanings. This contradiction will only be cleared up by the actual experience of the caucus in the months to come.

FINANCES

A report and discussion followed on finances, and plans were perfected for an energetic campaign to raise funds for the publication of the caucus program and a bulletin.

The constructive discussion on the practical problems confronting the men and women in the shops and the work of the caucus was disrupted in the final stages of the meeting by an attempt of a small group led by Tracy M. Doll, ex-President of the Wayne County CIO Council, who has been increasingly recognized as a front for Stalinist activities, to reopen the question of the caucus program and particularly the references to the Communist Party.

The Committee for Militant and Democratic Action had previously spent many hours of discussion and debate on every aspect of its program, including the section which summed up the attitude of the caucus to the Communist Party. This position is based upon a decade of experience with Stalinist twists and turns, their rotten policies and double dealing. While strongly condemning the Communist party policies, the caucus vigorously opposed the red-baiting of the Reuther-Mazey administration.

After a spirited discussion, a motion to reopen the issue was decisively defeated.

IMPLEMENT PROGRAM

It was clear from the temper of the Conference that the leading militants of the opposition recognized that it was time to stop discussing this program and begin implementing it. The problems in the plants are crying for action. How effectively the Leonard-Stevenson group intervenes in this fight will determine to a large extent its progress in the next period.

Student Caravan Protests Firing Of Professor

A caravan of students from midwestern colleges staged a demonstration at Olivet College, Olivet, Mich., Sat. Nov. 6, to protest the dismissal of T. Barton Akeley, Political Science Professor, because of "radicalism." The students have been on strike since late August when Akeley was dismissed without notice or cause. All student demands for a hearing have been turned down. Akeley's wife, who has been a librarian in the college for six years, was also summarily dismissed.

The Committee for Academic Freedom at Olivet, composed of representatives of many colleges throughout the Midwest, and the American Civil Liberties Union have been investigating the case. They have reported the following facts: The only "cause for cancellation of contract" set up by the Olivet Board of Trustees is that the instructor be judged seriously incompetent by the president. Akeley has been on the faculty for twelve years and has never been questioned. L. W. Shell, alumni secretary gave as reasons, in an interview with a Chicago newspaperman, the alleged radicalism of the couple and their reputation as "ringleaders" of a campus group that wants to give control of the college to students and faculty and do away with the Board of Trustees. Recently appointed Dean James F. Mathias stated that "he failed to satisfy the Board of Trustees."

Attempts on the part of the students to have Akeley reinstated have been met with intimidation and threat of expulsion and withdrawal of scholarships. Fifteen students are still on strike and face the possible termination of their college careers.

The committee for Academic Freedom will meet in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend to review the case and plan a vigorous campaign.

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