

**GEORGIA LYNCHING  
AND TRUMAN'S  
CIVIL RIGHTS PROMISES**

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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## CIO LEADERS PUSH RIGHTWARD DRIVE

### AVC Delegates Hail Kutcher's Civil Rights Fight

CLEVELAND, Nov. 27—Fifteen hundred delegates to the third national convention of the American Veterans' Committee last night gave James Kutcher a stormy ovation after he had delivered a stirring talk on his fight for civil liberties. Amid prolonged applause, the convention then took a standing vote to unanimously pass a resolution endorsing the Kutcher case.

Kutcher was an invited guest at the convention and sat on the platform with the other guests when the convention

#### Text of Resolution On James Kutcher Adopted by AVC

The following resolution on James Kutcher was unanimously adopted by the third national convention of the American Veterans' Committee in Cleveland, Nov. 26: "Whereas the right to work is a basic right of all members of a democracy, regardless of their race, religion or political belief, we protest the firing of James Kutcher from the Newark regional Veterans Administration. We demand that James Kutcher be reinstated to his job and any stigma against his name be wiped out. We will devote all possible efforts to see that justice is done James Kutcher."

#### New Jersey ADA Backs Legless Vet

NEWARK, Dec. 1 — The local Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reported today that New Jersey Council of the Americans for Democratic Action has voted to endorse its campaign in defense of James Kutcher. Leo Gamow, state secretary of the Council, was requested in behalf of the ADA, to participate in the work of the Kutcher committee and to extend it every possible cooperation.

The Kutcher defense group also announced that CIO locals in all parts of the state are sending in resolutions offering support for the legless veteran's fight against the government purge.

### ILA Dock Strike Wins Gains After Revolt Against Sell-out

NEW YORK, Nov. 29—Some 45,000 AFL longshoremen are returning to work today on the East Coast after voting Saturday to accept a new contract with substantially better terms than the sell-out agreement which their president, Joseph P. "King" Ryan, tried to put over before the strike.

The strike began Nov. 10 as a spontaneous revolt against Ryan's original contract. It spread so swiftly along the coast that he was forced to recognize the strike after three days and agree to "lead" it. This was not only the first general strike of Atlantic Coast dockworkers, but the first officially sanctioned strike in the history of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association.

A wage increase of 13 cents an hour for day work and 19 1/2 cents for night, week-end and holiday work was won. Ryan, whose machine voted him a life-time presidency at the last ILA convention, had originally agreed to raises of only 10 and 15 cents. The new contract calls for a week's vacation with pay after 800 hours work and two weeks' after 1350 hours. Ryan's original deal called for one week's vacation after 1250 hours, only 100 hours less than the old contract. A welfare fund, to go into effect by Jan. 1, 1949, was also won. No such fund was included in Ryan's first agreement. A guarantee of four hours work when hired on the morning shape-up and a total of six hours

opened in the Cleveland Public Music Hall yesterday. But he did not get the floor until the evening because the convention was from the beginning occupied with heated factional skirmishing, culminating in the announcement that the administration forces by a close margin had won the first test-vote over the exclusion of several Stalinist-controlled chapters from New York.

At this point, when the whole convention was present, Dan James, chairman of the civil rights panel of the AVC, took the microphone and introduced Kutcher. "The civil rights fight is all-important these days," he said, "and so I am very proud to introduce a member of AVC who is leading a fight on behalf of civil liberties. He has come here as an invited guest of the convention to tell you about his case himself."

The convention cheered Kutcher loud and long as he got up and walked to the rostrum. As he arranged his notes, the applause continued, only stopping when he began to speak.

ABSOLUTE QUIET This was a noisy convention, in constant disorder with groups meeting and buzzing all over the hall because of the factional fight. But when Kutcher spoke there was absolute quiet except for the bursts of applause during his speech.

Kutcher then told the story of his experiences in the Army, of how he was discharged after losing both his legs in action five years ago, of how he got a job as a clerk with the VA in Newark, and how he had been fired from that job last month because he belonged to the Socialist Workers Party.

He explained to the delegates how and why the Attorney General had placed the SWP on his "subversive" blacklist, and what a menace to civil liberties this (Continued on Page 4)

### Murray Machine Tightens Grip on CIO at Convention

#### Unleashes Smashing Attack on Stalinists

By F. Lang  
PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 26 — The Tenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) which adjourned here today was a "victory convention" for the official bureaucracy under the leadership of President Philip Murray. The Murray machine ran the convention in celebration of the victory of the Democratic Party in the national election campaign. This was combined with cheers for their own victory over their Stalinist opponents within the CIO.

Throughout the five days of the convention, Murray and his lieutenants and their supporters utilized this medium provided for them by the six million CIO workers to announce to the world that they subscribe to the foreign policy of American imperialism and are anxious to act as obedient servants of the Truman Administration and its State Department.

Not once during the convention did these top officials of the mighty CIO pause even to pay lip service to the solidarity of working people in all countries. The main problems facing the American workers were assigned to Truman, and his election promises were offered as the program for the American labor movement.

The Murray machine was especially anxious at this convention to demonstrate to the Truman Administration that it knows how to deal with the Stalinists and is capable of providing "loyal and responsible" leadership within the trade unions—loyal and responsible to the program and needs of the American capitalist ruling class.

In his opening remarks to the convention, Murray made it amply clear that the purge was on, and that the CIO national leadership intends to drive its Stalinist opponents out of leadership positions in the organization wherever possible.

This was foreshadowed by the pre-convention decision last week of the CIO executive board to revoke the charter of the Stalinist-dominated New York City CIO council for "violation of CIO policy." This council had refused to plug for Truman and had supported the campaign of Henry A. Wallace for president.

The insistent demand of the Murray machine men that was made at every session of the convention was "strict adherence to CIO policy." And by that they meant to serve notice on every international officer, organizer, and department head of the CIO: Follow the line laid down by Murray or get out!

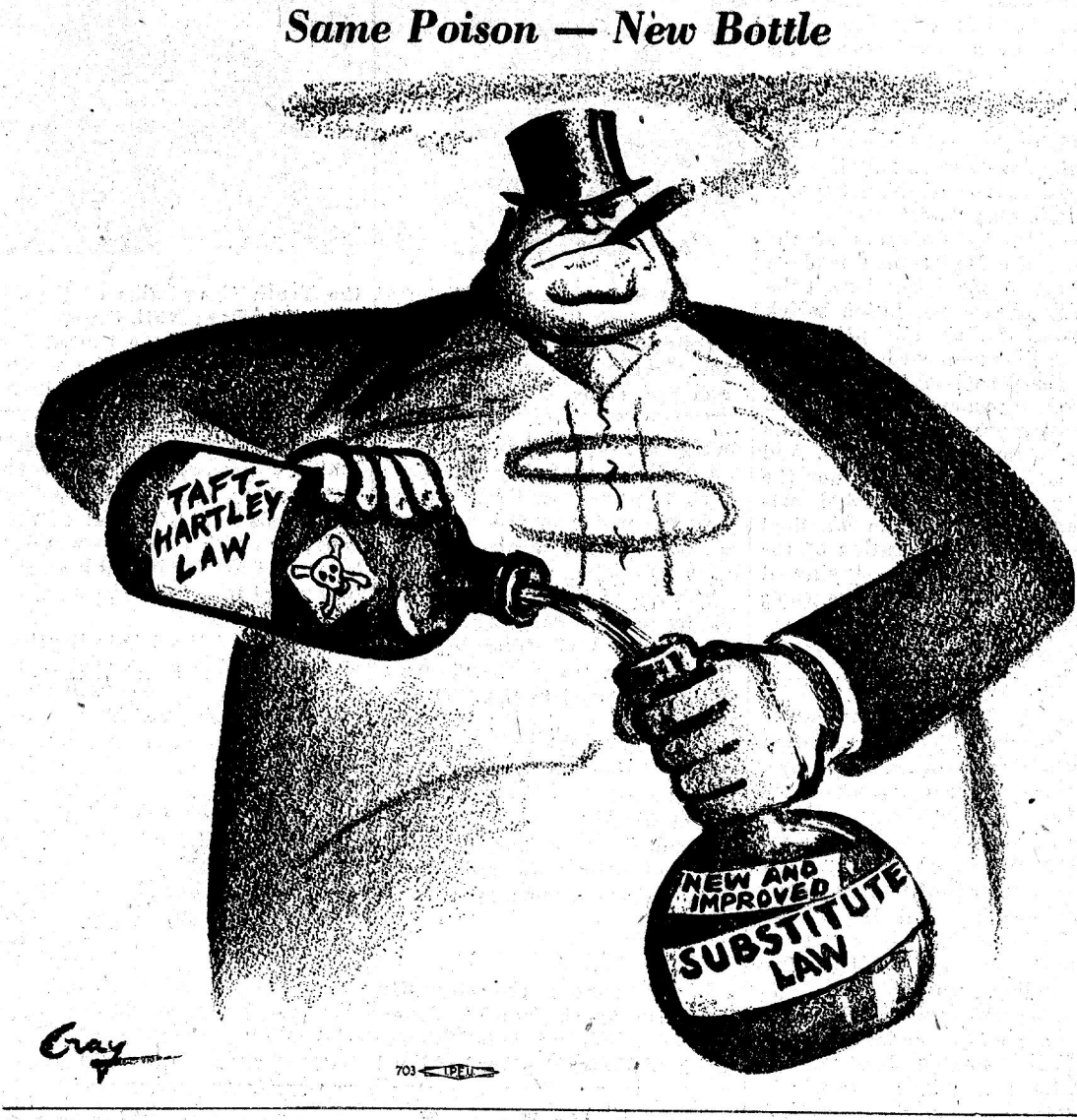
PURGE FORMULA Murray's purge formula for the immediate future was revealed at the outset of the convention when he said, "I am going to recommend" (Continued on page 2)

## Venezuelan Democracy Crushed

By Joseph Hansen

Totalitarianism scored another triumph in the Western Hemisphere when a clique of Army officers in Venezuela staged a coup d'etat in Caracas Nov. 24. The program of the new Brass Hat regime can be judged from the decree they issued the following day suspending all sections of the Constitution "relative to the inviolability of correspondence, of the home, of liberty of thought, of travel, of changing address, of leaving the country and returning to it, of public assembly and of individual security."

On the same day, Lieut. Col. C. Delgado Chalbaud, who appears to be the central conspirator, hastened to assure American Big Business that his military regime would continue "to maintain con-



### V. R. Dunne, G. Breitman Obtain Encouraging Vote

MINNEAPOLIS — Vincent R. Dunne, former leader of the Minnesota teamsters movement, received 4,951 votes as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from this state. Although the vote represents a drop as compared with the total cast for the SWP candidate for the same office in 1946, it constitutes a significant achievement in view of the national attention given to this senatorial contest.

The national CIO and AFL intervened directly in this election with a lavish expenditure of campaign funds and a concentration of personnel to insure the defeat of the anti-labor Republican incumbent, Joe Ball. The American Workers for Democratic Action, liberal supporters of the Truman-

Marshall Doctrine, considered the election of Hubert Humphreys, one of their top leaders, as a key point in their struggle for control of the Democratic Party. The final vote demonstrated that the anti-Ball movement was the decisive factor in the Minnesota election. Humphrey's plurality, 34,000 larger than received by the national Democratic ticket, helped carry the state for Truman.

Dunne was the only opponent

### Chicago ACEWR Schedules 2-Day Xmas Bazaar

The Chicago chapter of the American Committee for European Workers Relief is holding its annual Xmas Bazaar on Friday and Saturday, Dec. 10 and Dec. 11. The bazaar will open at 3 P. M. on Friday afternoon. On Saturday the bazaar will run all day and conclude with an evening of entertainment.

The place is Old Fitzgerald Hall, 777 W. Adams St., third floor. All the merchandise featured at the bazaar has been contributed by the Chicago merchants, consequently big savings will be offered. Among the items are clothing for the entire family as well as objects of art.



V. R. DUNNE

of Ball and Humphrey. The Wallace Party withdrew their candidate and threw their support to Humphrey. Neither the Norman Thomas Socialist Party nor the Socialist Labor Party ran a candidate for U. S. Senator. The 4,951 votes cast for Dunne represent a clearcut opposition to the capitalist two-party system and its bi-partisan policy of world war and reaction.

NEWARK — 8,056 votes were cast for George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator from New Jersey in the 1948 election. Breitman's total represented a sizable percentage of the minority party vote and a substantial increase over the vote he received for the same office in the 1946 election.

Breitman's vote is 17% of the combined total of votes cast for the Senatorial candidates of the Wallace Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the SWP. Their vote was as follows: Progressive Party — 22,658; Socialist Party — 11,441; Socialist Labor Party — 3,910. Breitman surpassed his 1946 vote by 3,069.

Election returns for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates of the SWP, are coming in to the National Office of the party and should be available for publication soon.

### Use Convention to Whoop Up Program of U. S. Imperialists

By Art Preis

In contrast to the leftward shift of the American workers as reflected in the national elections, the recent CIO national convention marked a demonstrative push to the right by the top CIO leadership.

The election results were, above all, a mandate to the union leaders themselves to mobilize labor's ranks for an aggressive fight to secure improved living standards, adequate housing, civil rights.

These crucial needs of the workers were completely subordinated by Philip Murray and his top machine at the CIO convention. The bureaucrats turned the convention into a "victory demonstration" for the Democratic politician they had salvaged from the trash bin and for his basic program of militarism and imperialist war preparations.

They concentrated almost entirely on a drive to crush the Stalinists, a vulnerable and discredited minority to whom they attributed all evils. This was a convenient means to divert the convention from its real duties—the elaboration of a militant program of action to win what had been promised by Truman in the election campaign.

In the process of attacking the Stalinists, the Murray machine grasped new bureaucratic powers. It voted itself dictatorial authority not only over local CIO councils, but over the international unions—a new and far-reaching concentration of power in the hands of Murray and his lieutenants. It laid down the ultimatum that everyone and every section in the CIO must conform to the political views and foreign policy held by Murray and his group.

A GRAVE OMISSION

Only incidentally, sandwiched in between long hours of ballyhoo for the Marshall Plan and Wall Street's bi-partisan foreign policy, was brief recognition paid to the real problems confronting the workers—unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, fourth-round wage increases, organizing the unorganized, etc.

#### Profits Hold Lead; Wages Trail Prices

Here is how prices, average manufacturing wages and corporate profits have fared in the past four years, according to latest government figures.

	Prices	Wages	Profits
1945 ...	100	100	100
1946 ...	108.5	98.5	147.1
1947 ...	124.0	110.9	208.0
1948 ...	135.2	123.1	234.5

Resolutions on all these questions were adopted by the convention. But both the resolutions and the brief discussion on them suffered from a grave omission. Not a word was said about how to implement these resolutions, how these progressive aims are to be won.

A FOOL'S GAME

Take the question of the Taft-Hartley Act. The CIO called for unconditional repeal of the act and restoration of the Wagner Act without change. But no one knows better than Philip Murray that reliance on promises of capitalist politicians—even those so indebted to the labor bureaucrats as the Trumanite Democrats—is strictly a fool's game. He knows Truman is seeking to replace the Taft-Hartley Act with a "substitute" law embodying many Taft-Hartley features.

Only a united nation-wide fight by labor will force Truman and the Democrats to live up to their promises on the Slave Labor Law. But the Murray machine is first of all concerned with cementing its coalition with the Trumanites and proving how "right" it was in supporting Truman and opposing the formation of a labor party.

NEW WAGE BOOST

Take the question of wages. The resolution adopted showed black on white that the workers need higher wages. But there (Continued on page 3)

## New Defeats Hit Chiang Regime

Chiang Kai-shek's boasts of major military successes in the battle for Suchow have proved just as fraudulent as were his similar claims on the eve of the fall of Mukden in Manchuria. A military debacle followed Chiang's order to "evacuate" Mukden. Another debacle on an even bigger scale appears to be now unfolding in the wake of a similar order to "evacuate" Suchow.

One of Chiang's armies, a force of 140,000 men, is reportedly caught in a trap 65 miles south of Suchow. The strongest military formation in this area that could come to their aid is the evacuated Suchow garrison, estimated at 180,000 men. But this garrison is itself, from all reports, a disorganized mass of stragglers whose officers have already fled in panic.

Within striking distance of Nanking itself, at Pengpu, another Nanking army of 80,000 is threatened with encirclement. Everywhere Chiang's military fronts seem to be in a state of utter confusion and demoralization. Meanwhile, strong Chinese Stalinist armies are converging on Nanking.

WEAK NANKING DEFENSES

Walter Sullivan, N. Y. Times correspondent in Nanking, asserted flatly that there exist no "effective forces to bar the way" to direct thrusts against Nanking itself. (N. Y. Times, Dec. 1.)

The same dispatch reports fears in the capital that such attacks may be imminent. Chiang

has reportedly issued a ban on "the mooring of any ships along the north bank of the Yangtze,

Hands Off China!

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fearing attempt by the Communists to cross." The defense of Nanking has been placed under the "personal command" of Chiang himself, who has boasted he will hold the capital "for three months" under the most adverse conditions.

READY TO FLEE

Meanwhile his government is making hasty preparations to evacuate Nanking. Where it intends to flee has not been decided as yet. Conflicting reports say Formosa or Canton or Chungking. The speed with which the events are unfolding in China cannot be ascribed to developments on the military front alone. By far the more decisive factors lie in the economic and political fields.

Chiang's corrupt and reactionary regime is utterly bankrupt economically and politically. It has lost all support among the mass of the people. All this has been translated in recent days into the crushing military defeats and the incapacity and outright refusal of entire armies to continue to fight in its behalf. Conversely, the Chinese Stalinists continue to score successes not because of their own policies but despite them.

# Murray Bureaucracy Tightens Its Grip on CIO

(Continued from page 1)

mend, although it is not contained in the report which the officers will submit to you later in the day, that the Executive Board be empowered by this convention to meet these difficult organizational problems which arise and which we are constantly required to meet, particularly as it has affected industries and the unions to which I have made reference."

The industries and unions he named specifically are "government services, public workers, white collar workers, workers employed in the retail and other fields" — most of them now under jurisdiction of Stalinist-dominated organizations. Murray attempted to sheath the sharp edge of his purge formula by explaining, "It is not a question of communism with me. It is a communist leading a labor organization in the CIO and, after years of existence he is unable to demonstrate his fitness to organize the unorganized, then, in justice to the people employed in that industry he should resign. That is a practical, realistic, factual description of certain situations which confront the Congress of Industrial Organizations today."

**STALINIST ABSTENTION**  
The resolution granting Murray dictatorial re-organizational power over international unions was introduced and adopted during the fourth day of the convention. The vote on the resolution was approximately the same as that on other crucial issues. The Murray machine had 537 votes to the Stalinists' 49 on the Political Resolution. But by the time this resolution on reorganization came up, the Stalinists appeared to have lost some votes. Many of their delegates abstained from voting on some questions because of the pounding they took throughout.

The real issue dividing the firmly entrenched Murray machine and the Stalinists hit the convention floor the afternoon session of the first day, Nov. 22. Donald Henderson of the Food and Tobacco Workers Union introduced some "minority exceptions" on the Report of Officers. These "exceptions" constituted the minority report on the work of the CIO during the past year. It was signed by Henderson, Irving Potash of the Fur Workers, and Joseph Johnson of the Marine Cooks and Stewards. In the debate that followed it was clearly revealed that the dividing issue is the Marshall Plan. Murray and his smooth-talking, heavy-handed lieutenants are attempting to sell the Marshall Plan as "economic aid to the destitute peoples of Europe." This is "CIO Policy" as set forth in Murray's Report of Officers.

The Stalinist "exceptions" sought to amend Murray's line by pointing to the reinstatement of Nazi industrialists to their former positions of power in Western Germany and Marshall Plan funds being used to rebuild the German cartels and trusts; to the use of French armed forces, maintained with American funds and supplies, against striking French miners; to Marshall Plan bolstering of dictatorial regimes in Greece, China and Turkey where all bona fide unions are destroyed. While the "exceptions" favored aid for the relief and rehabilitation of war-devastated countries, they opposed "a plan administered by the representatives of Wall Street to further a cold war against the Soviet Union" and American union officials serving as advisors to the Marshall Plan administration to cloak its true imperialist aims.

**UPHOLD UNITED NATIONS**  
But the Stalinists added, "To achieve the fine objectives for foreign economic aid as set forth in the Report (Of Officers), an effective program must be carried through the United Nations" — that is, through an agency dominated by U. S.-British imperialism. The Stalinist statement also took "exception" to Murray's report because: (1) it failed to criticize the "malicious testimony" of CIO Secretary James B. Carey against officers and members of the United Electrical Workers Union at a hearing of the 80th

Congress House Labor Committee; (2) it failed to denounce raiding within the CIO under the Taft-Hartley law; and (3) it did not mention that "those unions, their officials and members who gave support to the Progressive Party and Wallace made their contribution" — to the Truman election victory!

These then were the issues upon which the Stalinists were forced to state their position. They announced in advance that they were abstaining from the vote on Murray's report. Having stated their opposition to the Marshall Plan, the Stalinists in the same statement compromised any principled opposition to this master plan of American imperialism by endorsing the imperialist-dominated United Nations and urging that it administer the Marshall Plan. They also sought to climb on the Truman band wagon by taking credit for "the general awakening of the people to the dangers of reaction" that made Truman's election victory possible.

**NO INTENTION OF FIGHTING**  
The Stalinists had no intention of making a real fight. What fight was made was left to the pages of the Daily Worker. Throughout the remainder of the convention the Stalinist delegates were concerned with defending themselves as best they could from the furious attacks of the Murray machine. And it was a very despirited defense. The whole



ALBERT FITZGERALD

recorder of the Stalinism completely disarmed them. Soon after convening the morning session on the second day of the convention, Murray announced that there would be no more minority reports. Apparently he had decided to turn the screw another notch and see what the Stalinists would do under added pressure.

Joseph Selly of the American Communications Association attempted to make the record for the Stalinists when he rose to support the Murray resolution on "Organizing the Unorganized." The Stalinists had planned to make a fight over the question of jurisdictional raiding within the CIO in debate on this resolution, but Allan Haywood, director of organization, took some of the wind out of their sails by speaking against jurisdictional raids (a worthy cause), and Emil Rieve, head of the Textile Workers, who was in the Chair, ruled all discussion of jurisdictional matters and "so-called raids" out of order under discussion on this resolution.

However, the Stalinists took occasion here to make a few veiled threats. James Matles of the Electrical Workers spoke for the resolution to organize the unorganized, concluding with the following warning to the Murray wing: "Don't mistake this attitude of our union for a sign of weakness that we do not or we are afraid to use the weapons of destruction if we are convinced we have to use them to protect the integrity of our organizations."

**SPURS MURRAY GROUP**  
Whatever Matles meant by this, one thing is certain: it was intended as a signal that the Stalinists would bolt the convention.

It only served as a spur to the Murray group.

George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers answered Matles, "It is high time that we shed ourselves of our own internal enemies, to make the job (of organizing) a little easier." Attempting to justify the raiding tactics of other CIO unions against Stalinist-dominated unions, Baldanzi declared, "We do not have raids. We have revolts of workers against communist domination."

Baldanzi revealed the aim of the CIO top leadership to demonstrate its complete responsibility and respectability under pressure of the Big Business-inspired anti-raid drive, when he shouted that the whole organization work of the CIO, particularly in the South, "will be wasted until we can wipe our face, and face the workers of America as a one hundred per cent American organization."

The Murrayites took up this cry and used the Stalinists, identified with the Soviet bureaucracy, as whipping-boys to ballyhoo the dubious virtues of Wall Street's Marshall Plan "aid." The Murray followers of the U. S. State Department made a field day of the discussion on the Foreign Policy resolution which occurred during the afternoon session of the second day. They used the forum of the CIO convention to announce to the world that they are the loyal servants of American finance capital. And that is the way Murray put the matter. He pledged whole-hearted endorsement of the Marshall Plan and full cooperation of the CIO officialdom in carrying it into practice. That was the whole tenor of the convention.

**NO CONDEMNATION OF BI-PARTISAN POLICY**

Van A. Bittner, reporting on the Foreign Policy resolution, complained, "I am sick and tired and sore (Murray's words of the day before) of hearing these Communist's condemning the United States of America and never a word of condemnation about Russia." But he did not mention that there is no word of condemnation in the CIO foreign policy resolution about the bi-partisan program of American Big Business administered by Truman-appointed bankers, industrialists and Brass Hats who are out to enslave the workers of every land — including America.

The Stalinists made a show of putting up a fight against the endorsement of the foreign policy of the American employing class and their "labor advisors," but it was a poor show. They are too vulnerable to attack. And they know it. Murray and Reuther baited the Stalinists with detailed accounts of the crimes of Stalinism, reviewing the history of Stalinist foreign policy from the days of the Stalin-Hitler pact, through the wartime alliance with American and British imperialism, and into the present post-war period.

The Stalinists had to content themselves with pleas to the delegates to "respect our right to express our opinion" and craven tributes to the "democratic attitude of President Murray." The pressure wasn't off when the debate on foreign policy ended — though the Stalinist delegates seemed to heave a sigh of relief.

**HOWL FOR BLOOD**

The resolution on Political Action which came before the convention on the third day was the big occasion most of the Murrayites had been waiting for. If they had a field day over the question of foreign policy, this was to be their feast day. The whole pack set up a howl for the blood of the beaten and defenseless Stalinist supporters of Wallace.

The Political Action resolution states categorically, "We reaffirm our decision and reject any and all proposals for a third party at this time."

Jack Kroll, CIO Political Action Committee director, reported on the resolution. He expressed the jubilation of the labor bureaucracy over the Truman election victory, and castigated the Stalinists as supporters of Dewey. In this use of false amalgams Kroll demonstrated that he may have learned something from the Stalinists. He deplored "the harm the Wallace party could have done the liberal cause this year," adding that in the Wallace Party "we saw the extremists of the left make their brazen bid to put Tom Dewey in the White House."

Looking along his own limited sights to the future, Kroll predicted, "Two years from now — or four years from now — the Communists and the NAM may again be seeking to delude the American people into giving up their sacred institutions and their free heritage. They may again seek to confuse and divide us in order that they may conquer us." This kind of

## CIO Leaders at Portland Convention



Listening to proceedings at the Tenth Convention of the CIO in Portland, Ore., Nov. 22-26, are (l. to r.) the city's Mayor-elect Dorothy Lee; Natl. Organizing Director Allan S. Haywood; CIO President Philip Murray; Pres. Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers; Pres. Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers Union; Director Van A. Bitter of the CIO Southern organizing campaign and Sec. Treas. Frank Rosenblum of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. (Federated Pictures)

amalgam was not invented by the Stalinists, but they have done much to perfect it. Kroll's words were the words of the Stalinists in 1944 against advocates of a labor party.

The cry of the pack was taken up by Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who gloated over the Truman victory, referred to the CIO convention as a "victory convention," taunted the Stalinists with the poor showing Wallace made, and incited the Murrayites by crying out that "when Mr. Wallace called Philip Murray a misleader of labor it was a dastardly attack upon democracy in this country."

**JOIN IN ATTACK**  
Lesser figures in the convention joined the attack. John W. Livingston of the United Auto Workers told how Walter Reuther had lined

up the UAW executive board behind the candidacy of Truman and Barkley, and how the policy was carried out. Typical of the spirit in which he spoke was his boast that the UAW had been the first union to endorse the wartime no-strike pledge.

Throughout the debate Reuther and Emil Mazey of the UAW remained silent. They voted for the resolution which rejected "any and all proposals for a third party at this time," though before the election they supported a resolution of the UAW Executive Board on the need to form a new party.

The Murrayites had plenty of speakers without Reuther and Mazey. Delegate after delegate got up to reiterate how they had supported the Truman campaign and the CIO policy. They followed one after the other: Michael Quill of the Transport Workers;

Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers; Weber of the Virginia Industrial Union Council—all to praise the leadership of Murray and declare their staunch adherence to "CIO policy," and to demand that this policy be carried out by all CIO unions. This insistent demand that the fixed policy of the top CIO executive committee be carried out by all affiliated unions was a recurring theme throughout the entire convention.

**FEEBLE DEFENSE**

Under this kind of pounding the Stalinists made an attempt to defend themselves and justify their actions, but it was a weak and feeble defense. Speaking for the Stalinists was Selly of the ACA; Reid Robinson of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Joseph Johnson of the Marine Cooks, and Ben Gold of the Fur

Workers. They tried to gain sympathy for their position by claiming the democratic right to endorse and work for any political candidate they chose. But they found it impossible to squirm around the "majority rule" argument of the Murrayites.

Ben Gold, who is in a better position than many of the other Stalinists in weaker unions, simply declared that his membership would not go for the kind of policies the CIO leadership was trying to put over.

The only one who came close to meeting the arguments of the official bureaucracy was Reid Robinson, who reminded the delegates that if a minority at the 1935 AFL convention had not remained true to the principle of industrial unionism, there would have been no CIO today. Here Robinson was talking about a principled position.

**STALINISTS UNPRINCIPLED**

The main trouble with the Stalinists at this convention was that they are people without principles. There is no principled difference between the support of the capitalist party of Wallace and the capitalist party of Truman. Similarly, their position on the question of foreign policy was devoid of principle. They only wanted to amend the position of Murray. They wanted to oppose certain aspects of the Marshall Plan and give support to the United Nations.

The Stalinists did not attempt to make a stand on the principle of international working-class solidarity. Instead they were concerned solely with amending the program of American imperialism so as to bring that program more in conformity with the present needs of the Stalinist bureaucracy. That is why they supported the capitalist Wallace against Truman, and will support any section of the American ruling class today that favors a softer approach to the Soviet Union.

That is why Murray was able to deal with the Stalinists in such a cavalier fashion, and to expose them so thoroughly. He read from the minutes of past CIO conventions, pointing out

that the present resolution on Political Action "is exactly the same resolution that he (Reid Robinson) advocated and supported in the Chicago convention in 1944."

Under pressure of this kind of exposure some of the Stalinist supporters showed signs of cracking. Albert Fitzgerald, president of UE and Wallace supporter, got up to denounce the Stalinist bureaucracy as "saber rattlers" and to indicate his future political course. He said, "I was never married to any political party in my life; I never will be. I have always tried to maintain my independence when it comes to supporting political candidates. If President Truman makes a sincere effort to carry out the promises that he made in his platform, I will tell the Progressive Party to go to hell, and I will be on President Truman's bandwagon."

If these Stalinist bureaucrats in the trade unions remain true to their past, they have no place now to go but to seek a realignment with the official top machine. The masters in Wall Street, through their labor lieutenant Murray, put some pressure on these fellows at this convention to transfer their allegiance from the Kremlin to the bosses closer at home. Fitzgerald took a step in the direction traveled by Curran of the Maritime Union, Quill of the Transport Workers, and others — and Fitzgerald will not be the last.

The Stalinists would have to repudiate their whole past if they wanted to make a real fight for any genuine working-class program today. There are not many among the top leadership of the CIO who will do that. It is far easier for them to line up with Murray.

Murray made a spectacle of demonstrating his loyalty to the imperialist program of the American employers at this tenth national convention of the CIO. He did a hatchet job on the Stalinists and promised to rid the CIO of their influence. He rallied his supporters to go out and put his program over in the locals of the mighty CIO unions.

## Highlights and Sidelights of CIO Convention

By E. Harris

Joseph Curran, secretary of the resolutions committee, had just started reading the resolution on Political Action when Justice William O. Douglas entered the speaker's platform. Symbolically, all attention was turned upon Douglas — Murray and his lieutenants gathered around Douglas, and Curran was forced to stop reading the CIO resolution for want of an audience. The convention suspended its own consideration of political action to hang on Douglas's words. His speech is to be reprinted in pamphlet form for every member of the CIO by the Political Action Committee.

The "victorious" battle for civil rights conducted by the CIO and Truman found its immediate echo in the CIO convention in the drive against "the Reds." Murray is out to prove that he can do a better job than J. Parnell Thomas. In an interview with U. S. News Murray said, "I think if you're going to eliminate Communism it's got to be eliminated within the labor movement. Labor people are better equipped. . . . At this convention Murray tried to demonstrate to the American employers that as long as they have him they don't need a Taft-Hartley law or an Un-American Activities Committee."

**While Murray railed against "subversive" influences, sinister black-robed agents of the foreign power in the Vatican applauded his remarks. These agents of world reaction were everywhere at the convention, speaking from the platform as guests of honor, following the proceedings, and distributing their propaganda.**

Throughout the convention there was a parade of speakers from the Churches, the Democratic Party, and the Republican Party. Secretary of Labor Tobin, speaking about Truman's election, said: "This victory is going to be of help to everyone . . . from big business down." Tobin tried to pass this off as a slip, made the following correction: "We should put it the other way." (Especially when speaking before a union convention—E. H.) "The philosophy of American business is to create a prosperity at the top and let it drip down from the top. The democratic philosophy is to create a prosperity at the bottom."

**Decorations at the Hall:** 14 American flags, miles of red, white, and blue bunting; heroic pictures of Truman and Barkley on top, and Murray, Carey and Haywood below and in the background.

How Murray saved the world: (Speaking to the Convention.) "I thought of you. I thought of the millions whom you are privileged and honored to represent. I thought of your children and their homes, and the millions of children of your constituents. I thought of my country. I thought of my God. And I made my decision." (To support Truman—E. H.) "And we helped save the world."

There are one million women in the national CIO, only one spoke on the convention floor. Six Negroes spoke.

The convention was a rally for the Murray machine; it laid down the line for the fight against the Stalinists in every local CIO union. The catch-phrases and slogans of the convention will undoubtedly seep down to the lowest ranks of Murray's followers. Here are some of the pet epithets that will be hurled against opponents of the Murrayites: "We are sick, sore and tired of the Communists. . . ." "The government and the CIO speak almost the same language (Quill, Potofsky);" "ideological dive-bombers"; "The line has changed"; "Uphold CIO policy or get out."

Murray-machine logic: George Baldanzi of the Textile Workers called Stalinist thinking "dialectical minestrone," and then served up this dish of hash from the Murray recipe book: "If you are for Wallace to defeat Truman, you are for Dewey. If you are for Dewey you are for the Taft-Hartley law. If you are for the Taft-Hartley law you should be defeated as a Vice-President of the CIO."

Stalinist delegates called the Convention the "meat grinder," and after the first day spent most of their time in the corridors.

Typical of Murray's arrogance in the closing sessions of the convention, and Stalinist reaction: (Fourth day, afternoon session.)

Delegate Stanley: Mr. President, the UOPWA is abstaining on the question (to empower Murray to reorganize UOPWA and other unions), and with your

indulgence I would like to explain that for just a minute.

President Murray: You say you rise in behalf of your organization to abstain from voting?

Delegate Stanley: Yes, sir.

President Murray: And would you like to explain it?

Delegate Stanley: Yes, sir. President Murray: If every delegate in this Convention asked the Chair for the privilege of explaining to the Convention the reason why he voted for something or against something we would never get through with the Convention, would we?

Delegate Stanley: That is right. President Murray: The delegate will please be seated.

**Overheard comment:** "The Murray men drank to Truman's victory and smashed their empty glasses on the heads of the Stalinists."

On civil rights: George Bernard of the United Public Workers spoke in support of the CIO resolution on "Civil Rights and Protection of Democracy," but warned the delegates that "we are taking on some mighty important people. We are taking on Kenneth Royall, Dwight Eisenhower. . . . This is not a simple matter, the fight for civil rights in the armed forces; if we mean it seriously, it means a fight." This was deleted from the official minutes.

Bernard also said, "Mrs. Matthews, appointed by Truman on the FEPC, opposed the entrance of a Negro woman into the Association of University Women." "Executive order 9835 is being used as a witch-hunt against federal employees, especially my people." This was also deleted from the published proceedings.

On AFL-CIO unity: "Our organization will work with all right thinking groups toward the enactment of this program." (Truman's campaign promises.) "We invite the cooperation of the AFL and all like bodies." Murray now feels he has the inside track with the Administration, and wants to use this advantage against other labor organizations if possible.

Albert Fitzgerald, President of the Stalinist-dominated United Electrical Workers Union, was nominated for fifth vice president by Enspak and supported by the official bureaucracy. Many of the Murrayites had not been notified that Fitzgerald was on Murray's slate. They wanted to

continue nominations, but were ignored by Murray when his slate was placed in nomination. All vice presidents were unanimously elected. Haywood and Murray tried to get the delegates to demonstrate when Fitzgerald's name came up, but the response was poor because most of them failed to understand the full importance of his speech during the Convention when he denounced the Stalinist spokesmen of Soviet Russia, Molotov and Vishinsky, calling them "saber rattlers."

**One of the cries of the Murray machine throughout the CIO convention was "The Sheep Are Separated From The Goats." We don't know who are supposed to be the sheep and who the goats, but apparently the officialdom meant to designate the Stalinists the goats. This makes the Murrayites the sheep, following that great shepherd Truman.**

Murray was nominated for CIO president by Potofsky and a "spontaneous" demonstration broke loose. Confetti was on hand, noise-makers were ready for the delegates, and a brass band miraculously appeared. They all sang "Hail! Hail!"

The Gang's all Here." Then they went into Roosevelt's 1932 campaign song, "Happy Days are Here Again." Delegates shouted, "The New Deal is Back," and they all started a snake dance around the hall.

Stalinist delegates stood up, drifted to the back of the hall, and a Murray follower yelled out, "The sheep are separated from the goats!" This demonstration lasted for more than 45 minutes. Joseph Curran was the center of a group of top leaders waving a huge American flag. Finally the band struck up "Over There" and the delegates all joined in singing justly the words, "The Yanks are coming and we won't come back till it's over over there," in martial (Marshall) fashion.

After 20 minutes of chanting by the delegates, "We Want Murray, We Want Murray," he appeared from the wings and was presented by Walter Reuther as "that great American, a citizen of the world, a friend of the working people everywhere, our good friend Philip Murray."

And Murray said among other things in his acceptance speech, "Thank God Almighty. He was declared elected unanimously."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Anniversary Affairs

**Net \$196 to Date**  
Militant Anniversary proceeds reached \$196.66 this week as three more payments came in from branches which held celebrations. Receipts so far, in the order they arrived, are:

Newark	\$35.00
Minnesota	\$60.66
Flint	\$40.00
Los Angeles	\$61.00
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$196.66</b>

Several anniversary celebrations are still to be heard from. Grace Carlson reported for the Twin Cities celebration: "We had about 75 people. At least 25 had never been in our headquarters before. A number were students. A gratifying amount of literature was bought by these new contacts. We showed the film Thunder Over Mexico. V. R. Dunne was chairman and I spoke briefly. A social hour followed."

Flint celebrated The Militant's 20th anniversary with a ball and "a birthday cake with 20 candles and all the trimmings," wrote Genora Dollinger.

Los Angeles had "a fine affair, one of the best we have had," according to J. Blake. There were spontaneous speeches by a white-haired former Left Oppositionist, a young oil worker, an early member who recalled how The Militant found Trotskyists in the far corners of the earth, a handicapped worker who proclaimed The Militant's Trotskyism "the only living ideas the working class has known," a seaman who has defended the SWP against Stalinists since the unemployed days of the 1930's, a girl from the former YPSL, a former Proletarian Party member, other trade unionists, intellectuals and youths, and a Mississippi Negro worker who cherishes The Militant and "personally, will always be a Trotskyist."

If you sometimes miss an issue of The Militant, it may be because your address is not as complete as it should be. In large cities, the delivery zone is necessary. Such designations as "rear" or "upstairs" or 1/2 number are usually helpful. Rural route should be indicated. Ask your postman.

## THE MILITANT

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Monday, December 6, 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

## Douglas's Speech to the CIO

Hailing Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas's speech to the CIO convention, Philip Murray said it "will ring through the land, and its effects will be felt." It was indeed a significant speech, even if not precisely in the sense Murray meant.

Douglas, one of the shrewdest and ablest spokesmen of American imperialism, publicly admitted that Washington is meeting tremendous popular hostility in Western Europe to the Marshall Plan. The European workers do not accept the claims of the American diplomats and propagandists that the Marshall Plan is a strictly humanitarian venture.

On the contrary, they view the Marshall Plan as a scheme to extend Wall Street control and to prop up rotten and bankrupt capitalist regimes that the masses hate and yearn to overthrow as speedily as possible. "A gap has been growing between the United States and Europe," said Douglas. And the American labor leaders alone are "peculiarly qualified" to bridge that gap. His speech expressed the hope that American imperialism would be able to sell the Marshall Plan to the European workers by assigning the job of chief salesmen to the American union leaders.

In developing his thesis, Douglas pointed out that "a new Europe is being born," that new leaders have come to power in Western Europe and "in almost every case their political strength is in the labor movement." These labor movements are "bitter" and "suspicious of all those who may be undisclosed agents of predatory interests"—and, specifically, agents of "an American imperialism . . . extending its power into Europe

through cartels, banks and other powerful instruments of industry and finance."

American imperialism is so discredited, distrustful and feared that it cannot speak through its own mouth and in its own name. "But American labor carries good credentials to western Europe. Doors tightly closed to all others may open at its knock." It is "in this precise respect that American labor can render a unique service, whether it represents the government in particular missions, or as an observer of the European scene, or acts as an educator of the rank and file of the people."

Thus, as Douglas sees it, the main role of the American labor leaders is to do for American imperialism what it cannot do for itself. They must be assigned the key task and the dirtiest chore—to appeal to the class consciousness of the workers abroad and serve as the "labor" bait to lure the European masses into the Wall Street trap.

Murray hailed the words of Douglas as recognition of the great force and influence of the American labor movement in the world today. And that is so. But the real meaning of Douglas's appeal is that this influence is to be used not to aid the European workers to rid themselves of hated regime, but to fasten their shackles tighter and to add new imperialist chains.

That role will not increase the influence of the American labor leaders. Rather it will lead to their speedier discreditment. In the minds of the European masses — and the American workers too — it will link these "labor statesmen" with all that the peoples hate and fear most, the capitalist system and rulers that have dragged them to the edge of the abyss.

## The AVC Convention

The national convention of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) in Cleveland last week struck a blow for civil liberties in this country when it unanimously endorsed a resolution to support the defense of James Kutcher, Jeggless Newark veteran who was fired from his government clerical job because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This action does credit to the AVC and we take this occasion to commend it.

But, unfortunately, other actions taken by the convention can only serve to harm the cause of civil rights and to help embolden the very witch-hunters who are persecuting Jimmy Kutcher and others who do not agree with the political beliefs current today in Washington.

The denial of seats to the elected delegates of 13 Stalinist-controlled New York chapters of the AVC was a highly anti-democratic act. It is a method borrowed from the arsenal of bureaucrats and totalitarians of every stripe, including the Stalinists.

## Hands Off China!

The next major decision affecting the course of the Chinese civil war will be made in Washington, D. C. That is why Chiang Kai-shek, "the Butcher of the Chinese people," has sent his wife across the Pacific to plead for the tottering Kuomintang dictatorship. And that is why a section of the American capitalist class, frightened at the danger to their investments in China, are shouting for "all out aid" to the hated despot.

They speak about a "Marshall Plan for Asia." They suggest five billion dollars to keep Chiang's private war going. They even talk about an American Expeditionary Force to invade China and fight the dictator's battles against the Chinese people. Chiang himself is less out-spoken. In his latest interview he does not "expect American troops" but does "hope for munitions from the nearest American supplies in the Pacific."

Chiang has made clear his willingness to subvert Chinese sovereignty for the dollars and bullets he needs so desperately. The dictator "would welcome appointment of Gen. MacArthur or some other leading American military man as supreme military adviser" and would serve him humbly like the Japanese Mikado.

If this plan went through, the direct conduct of Chiang's war would become the responsibility of the U. S. Armed Forces and we would see the horrors of blood-soaked Greece expanded on the vast scale of China. The inner circle of America's 60 richest

The convention also passed a resolution instructing the incoming officers to stage a purge against members of the Communist Party. To deny membership to anyone because of his political beliefs is to uphold the very principle on which all reactionary witch-hunts and political persecutions are based. It can only weaken the AVC as a non-partisan organization fighting for veterans' rights.

The AVC resolution on behalf of Kutcher struck a greater blow at the Stalinists than any purge. It helps to expose their criminal silence in the Kutcher case and the falsity of their claims to be defenders of civil liberties.

We have long pointed out that the Stalinists are a menace to any liberal and labor organization. But the way to fight them is not through witch-hunts and anti-democratic methods. It is to expose their aims and program, to destroy their influence in the ranks.

families have apparently not yet made up their minds what to have Truman do. It is not difficult to see why they hesitate.

The policy of supporting the Chiang dictatorship has ended in disaster. What guarantee is there that continued support will prove more successful? If America's armament factories are opened wide to Chiang's corrupt bureaucracy, will not great quantities end up as in the past in the hands of the opposing forces? To seat this tyrant firmly in the saddle would require a major effort—direct intervention. Can Wall Street get away with plunging America into armed conflict on the continent of Asia to save the despised Kuomintang regime?

For the labor movement there can be no question of the correct policy to follow toward China. The Chinese people have demonstrated in the most decisive manner that they want no more of Chiang's brutal dictatorship. Without American guns, this blood-stained monster would have gone down long ago and been replaced by a popular government of the Chinese people's own choice. To continue to block the will of China's teeming millions can only build up such hatred for America as to poison relations for generations to come.

Let the Chinese people decide their own fate! Help them achieve the peace they seek. Stop the shipment of arms to Chiang's regime. Withdraw all American troops! Hands off China!

# Party-Building Fund Hits \$22,816, 91% of the Goal, as Campaign Ends

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

The final figure on the Party Building Fund of the Socialist Workers Party is \$22,816, bringing the total to 91% of the goal of \$25,000. Although the 100% mark was not reached, the grand total contributed represents a magnificent achievement for the members, friends and sympathizers of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

The entire sum came from the pockets of self-sacrificing working people who believe in the socialist future of mankind and who understand the necessity of building a genuine Marxist party to fight for that future.

The fund campaign was conducted during the first Presidential campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Strenuous campaigning slowed down some of the branches in their collections, yet the final total is the highest ever achieved by the American Trotskyist movement in any of its fund campaigns.

Connecticut sent in \$74 in the final week to jump from 75% into the 100%-or-better category, the final score being 104%.

Akron crossed the tape with \$41 for the week. "This represents quite an achievement on our part," writes D.H., "since our resources were decidedly limited."

Buffalo contributed \$104 to hit the bull's eye of 100% of their \$1,000 goal.

Detroit came through with the final punch, a \$45 contribution that gave them their 100%.

Newark too turned the trick with \$45 that took them across the goal line.

New York tried hard to reach that 100% mark, but \$115 for the week took them only to 97%.

## 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
Connecticut	250	261	104
Akron	400	402	100
Buffalo	1,000	1,000	100
Cleveland	400	400	100
Detroit	1,600	1,600	100
Flint	400	400	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Minnesota	2,000	2,000	100
Newark	750	750	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
New York City	7,500	7,300	97
Seattle	600	580	96
West Virginia	100	90	90
San Diego	50	41	82
Los Angeles	2,500	1,830	73
Chicago	2,000	1,372	69
General	1,050	190	18
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$25,000</b>	<b>\$22,816</b>	<b>91</b>

Seattle came through with another \$50, but needed twice that much to hit the 100% ring on the target.

Chicago did its valiant best with another \$110.

## CIO Chiefs Push Rightward Drive

(Continued from page 1) wasn't a hint of any program on how to win higher wages. There was no proposal for a unified struggle. It was clear that the wage drive is powered solely by the hope that the corporations will toss the workers a few more crumbs without any serious fight.

The problem of organizing the unorganized—of whom there are tens of millions — was raised primarily as a factional issue against the Stalinists. It remains to be seen whether the slogan of "organizing the unorganized" will be used simply as the pretext for Murray's intervention in Stalinist-dominated international unions or for a genuine campaign to bring new millions into the CIO ranks.

The Murray leadership was mainly intent on demonstrating to the Truman administration how indispensable the CIO bureaucrats are in putting over the program of U. S. imperialism. This war program is a huge road block in the path of any progressive reforms.

The vast arms expenditures, the subordination of civilian needs to war production, the bolstering of rotten dictatorial regimes in Europe, Asia and Latin America, can only result in economic dislocations and crisis, the imposition of new burdens on the American masses.

This fear haunts the workers. They hang between the pit and the pendulum — the swinging blade of inflation that slashes their living standards and the black abyss of depression and unemployment.

This is the same crucial problem the workers faced before the election. But the labor leadership gave no sound answer to it. They played the old senseless game of capitalist two-party politics and backing the "lesser evil" instead of building a labor party fighting for labor's own program.

Denied this latter choice, the workers voted for the "lesser

evil" once more and thereby gave expression, however misdirected and ineffective, to their desire for a real change in the direction of economic and social betterment. The Murray machine betrayed that desire.

As for the Stalinists at the CIO convention, they showed once again, through their total failure to offer any program of action to meet the needs of the workers, that they can never be a progressive force. They went right down the line with Murray on these issues.

The CIO convention once more demonstrated to the hilt that a new and different type of leadership is needed—a militant, class-conscious leadership paying allegiance neither to Wall Street's State Department nor the Kremlin. That leadership must arise from the union ranks in the process of struggle against the bureaucracy and will make giant strides in the days of unfolding economic and social crisis that are bound to come.

### INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

More American workers have been disabled and killed during the past 15 years by industrial accidents than were killed and wounded during World War II, according to Government statistics. More than 32,000,000 casualties have been charged to American industry since 1932.

## Letter from Carner Explaining His Political Views

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just sent to the Washington Post. Identical letters were sent to the N. Y. Post and the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin. I would appreciate your reprinting the letter in full or in part.

Francis E. Carner

I am one of the participants in the security cases mentioned in Marquis Child's column of Nov. 12 which dealt with the "Joint Orientation Conference" held recently in Washington by the Department of National Defense. These "poor security risk" cases of Herb Levin and mine at the Lester plant of the Westinghouse Corporation reveal in startling detail the drive being conducted against organized labor and political radicals under the guise of security measures.

I advocate a change in the social and economic system through political action. I believe the interests of the nation would be best served through social ownership of the basis industries and democratic control of the industries and government by the people. Because I am serious about the problem of social improvement, I have naturally favored those organizations which have a general socialist orientation, particularly the Workers Party because of its constructive attitude on the union movement, its determination to work for social change, and its uncompromising struggle against

## WORKERS FORUM

and friends here in Los Angeles last Saturday. Introducing comrades who joined the movement at various stages of the struggle to build the party, Master-of-Ceremonies C. Charles traced the history of the organization in California from a large graphic map on a wall of the hall. The trials, the humor and the confidence of the vanguard were expressed in the anecdotes and reminiscences of comrades from the oldest, who has participated consistently since the "dog days" of the movement, to the newest oil worker recruit.

Particular tribute to The Militant for the role it has played in the development of the international movement was given in a speech by a comrade who was the only Trotskyist in a distant part of the world when the first issue of the paper appeared. Entertainment included a violin soloist and a skit depicting the plight of a recent "liberal" candidate for Congress who ran against a Trotskyist, Comrade Myra Tanner Weiss.

The affair netted \$61 for The Militant.

J. Blake

## U. S. Marines in China



U. S. marines marching through the streets of Tsingtao, China, sent there to aid evacuation of 4,000 Americans, 1,500 additional marines were sent to reinforce 4,500 troops already in China as Chinese Stalinists-led armies drove toward Nanking against Dictator Chiang Kai-shek's demoralized armies.

Forrestal Reimposing Wartime Censorship? Ben Hibbs, editor of the Saturday Evening Post, is indignant over attempts of the Pentagon to have him revise the memoirs of Gen. Holland M. (Howling Mad) Smith currently running in that magazine. A friend of Defense Secretary James F. Forrestal phoned Hibbs on a "very delicate matter," namely, completely rewriting the memoirs. Hibbs denounced Forrestal for trying to "hush up" history.

## Los Angeles Banquet Celebrates 20 Years Of "The Militant"

Twenty years of the Trotskyist movement in California and of the role The Militant played in its development was celebrated at a banquet attended by 135 comrades

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BALTIMORE — 121 E. Baltimore St., 3rd floor, front. Phone WOLFE 3221M. Open daily 8-9 p. m. 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, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADISON 3900. 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., 9:00 p. m. Post's Hall, 1416 E. 92nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TX 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.

FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-5490. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Ass'n., 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. 7:30-9:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE — SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BROADWAY 2-9645.

MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone MAIN 1781. 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, 555 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-10 p. m.

NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone EISENBERG 3-2574. Reading room, Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.

NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 114 University Pl., Phone GR. 8-1449.

LAST SIDE — 251 E. Houston St. 1st fl. Phone BR 2-9404.

HARLEM — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 12-4:30 p. m.

BROOKLYN — 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone JU. 9-0101.

BROOKLYN — 633 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHICAGO — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9404.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.

PHILADELPHIA — 1302-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone STEVENSON 4-5320. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. forums, Sun., 4 p. m.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1729 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 2-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone MAIN 2278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forums, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL — 640 Cedar St. Phone GARFIELD 1157. Open daily, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kapps Hall, 415 Summit St., Rm. 5.

YOUNGSTOWN — 324 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1255. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

# Another Negro Lynched

By Albert Parker

Civil rights promises come and 'civil rights promises go, but lynch terror continues as usual in the South, and as usual the government does nothing about it. The latest evidence of this grisly fact is the story of Robert Mallard and his wife, Amy.

On the night of Nov. 20, less than three weeks after the elections, Mallard, accompanied by his wife, 18-month old son and two other persons, was driving to his home, 20 miles outside of Vidalia, Georgia, when he found the road blocked by a group of automobiles and a gang of 50 to 75 hooded men. Mallard was dragged from his seat and shot to death; the mob would not even permit his horror-stricken family and friends to take the body, which they left lying by the roadside.

For several days the fact that a man had been lynched was hushed up and kept out of the press. When a newspaper finally did break through the curtain of silence on Nov. 23, and it was revealed that Mrs. Mallard accused the Ku Klux Klan of the crime, the Georgia authorities moved into action—and arrested Mrs. Mallard at the funeral of her husband, charging her with his murder!

This was so raw that the Georgia police were later compelled to release her. But, as this is written, they have not yet arrested the member of the mob whom she had positively identified, or the owner of an automobile which she recognized in the roadblock. Add those facts together, and you will understand the real attitude of Georgia authorities toward prosecuting known white lynchers of a Negro.

That's the attitude of the Southern ruling class—but what about the attitude of the gov-

ernment in Washington? It's substantially the same. Truman's agents are not trying to arrest Mrs. Mallard, but neither are they trying to do anything to apprehend or punish the lynch mob. Walter White assures us that Truman assured him that his civil rights program, including an anti-lynching bill, will get top priority in the 81st Congress. It remains to be seen if Truman will actually do this, or if it will have any success if he does.

This does not mean that foes of lynching should sit back now and wait to see what will happen next year. If we do that, little or nothing will be accomplished and the lynch murderers will remain free to continue their savage practices. What we need now is the mobilization of mass pressure, through a conference of Negro and labor organizations in Washington to force the new Congress to take appropriate action.

Finally, we must recognize an important truth—the passage of an anti-lynching bill will not automatically end lynch terror any more than the presence of an anti-murder law in the Georgia statutes has prevented the mob murder of Negroes. It is possible to have an anti-lynching law that will achieve nothing, just as it is possible to have one that has some real teeth in it. And much will depend not only on the kind of law passed, but also on who enforces it, and how.

That is why, while pressing for the strongest possible kind of anti-lynch law, we must also work unceasingly for the abolition of the capitalist-bred Jim Crow system that encourages lynching and for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government that would really be concerned with wiping out terror and violence against minority groups.

# Those "Timid" Profiteers

By Joseph Keller

It's surprising how shy and coy the big corporations are when it comes to discussing publicly their profits and how they are made. Get some Congressional hearing going to "investigate" the unions, or to reduce corporation taxes, and the corporation spokesmen swarm about thick as flies around molasses and buzzing twice as loud. But let some Congress committee ask the corporations for a little first-hand information about their profits and prices, and they wing for open country like they were just an inch ahead of a spray of DDT.

Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont Republican, admitted last week that his Congressional sub-committee to investigate prices and profits is being strangely shunned by "some" corporations. No matter how politely and invitingly the committee's invitations are worded, these corporations are reluctant to appear and testify.

Of course the worthy Senator didn't mean to imply that these corporations have anything to hide. The trouble he said is with the corporation lawyers. They suffer from "timidity." Lawyers, he said, "are timid folk, the most rabbit-like of the human race." And he might have added—which he didn't—that it's a strange coincidence that the higher-paid the lawyer and the bigger the corporation he represents and advises, the more "timid" he is.

Although Senator Flanders didn't give the names or industries of any of these reluctant corporations, he cited the example of one that "is under, or facing, indictment under the anti-trust laws, and their attorneys have assured them that they should not say a word, not even mutter to themselves in a closet."

Some naive soul might well ask, "Why doesn't the committee subpoena these corporations?" After all Congress committees haven't hesitated to subpoena "reds" and labor leaders when they

want to grill them and send them to jail for "contempt" should they refuse to answer questions.

But Senator Flanders said that the committee felt "in doubt" about its power to issue subpoenas to wealthy and powerful corporations. In any event, he added, the committee would not issue subpoenas "for we felt that we can get further, and get more information, without them." He didn't say how.

We are not surprised that the corporations are particularly tight-mouthed about answering questions about the sources and scope of their profits at this season. The third quarter returns have come in and the figures take a lot of explaining.

Aggregate profits for the three months ending September 30 were 39% higher than in the same period a year ago, and this follows a rise of 24% for the first quarter and 28% for the second. And that's during a period when wages went up hardly at all.

Bernard T. Frevert, of Standard & Poor's Corp., business advisors, writes in the Nov. 27 N. Y. World-Telegram that "this excellent showing" is "largely the result of price advances"—that is, of milking the consumers. He predicts that when the full year's profits reports are in they will show a profits increase over 1947 of "25% or more."

We don't think the workers should wait for "timid" lawyers to advise "timid" corporations to testify before timid Congressional committees. The unions should undertake their own investigating. They should demand to see the books and records of the corporations. We have no doubt that this kind of "peek at the books" will reveal good reasons why the corporations play shy violet on the matter of profits.

# Notes from the News

**CAPITALIST DESTRUCTION** — Europe's largest drydock, the 80,000 ton one at Wilhelmshaven, Germany, was blown up Nov. 25 by occupation authorities. It took 40 tons of explosives to smash this costly product of human labor.

**DIDN'T GET HIM SOON ENOUGH** — J. Parnell Thomas of the House Un-American Committee is seeking to quash the indictment against him for defrauding the Government. He claims that his alleged crime of padding the payroll occurred more than three years ago and hence under the statute of limitations he cannot be prosecuted.

**TAFT-HARTLEYISM IN JAPAN** — On "suggestion" of General MacArthur, the Japanese House of Representatives has outlawed strikes and collective bargaining by Government employees. Japanese unions unanimously opposed MacArthur's version of the Taft-Hartley Law.

**WANT A BASIC CHANGE** — Delegates of 530,000 coal miners in Western Germany voted Nov. 30 for a resolution to socialize the German coal industry.

**NAZI SPIRIT MARCHES ON** — Phi Kappa Psi, the fraternity which expelled its Amherst

College chapter for pledging a Negro student, is now being urged by the Johnstown, Pa., alumni to ban "adherents of all Semitic creeds." The Johnstown group wants "our unwritten traditions" written down in the fraternity constitution and by-laws.

**IMMIGRATION BARS DOWSON** — Ross Dowson, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) of Canada, was refused permission by U. S. immigration authorities to return from a national tour to Ontario via the United States. Dowson ran for mayor of Toronto in January 1948 on a program of revolutionary socialism, polling more than 15,000 votes.

**TASTE OF HIS OWN MEDICINE** — Eric A. Wildman, president of the National Society for the Retention of Corporal Punishment, was taken by surprise when he delivered a lecture at a school in England on the virtues of whipping children with canes. The students overpowered him and gave him six blistering strokes with the canes he had used to demonstrate his lecture. Besides lecturing on corporal punishment, Wildman manufactures canes.

**IS NOTHING SACRED?** — An Italian company holding an unpaid debt against the Government, has attached the battleship Vittorio Veneto. Unless the Government pays up, the battleship will be sold at auction within 10 days.

## American Committee for European Workers Relief Announces Annual

### XMAS SHOPPING BAZAAR

Sterling Silver, Fur Coats, Paintings, Moroccan Leather, Perfume, Jewelry, Hats, Blouses, Dresses, Luggage, Foreign Handicraft, and Curios, Kitchen Utensils, and many other articles at bargain prices.

Do your shopping and at the same time help send food, clothing and medicine to needy European workers.

Open Two Days

Fri., Dec. 10, opens at 6 P. M. Sat., Dec. 11, opens at 10 A. M.

Auction Saturday Night

130 WEST 23rd STREET, NEW YORK

Admission 60c, incl. tax

# THE MILITANT

## Pacific Coast Longshoremen Defeat Union-Busting Drive

At AVC Convention



James Kutcher, victimized legless war veteran, being greeted at the AVC convention by Chairman Chat Paterson (L) and George L. P. Weaver, Director of AVC National Committee to Abolish Discrimination (r.).

## GIFT VOLUME INDICATES BIG ACEWR XMAS BAZAAR

The American Committee for European Workers Relief reports that articles are pouring in for its annual Xmas Shopping Bazaar. The volume of choice gifts from merchants, manufacturers and individuals indicates that this year's bazaar may have more merchandise available for Christmas shoppers than in previous years. The bazaar will run for two days at the ACEWR headquarters, 130 West 23rd St., New York City, on Friday, December 10, the bazaar opens at 6 P. M. and closes at midnight. The doors will be open Saturday, December 11, at 10 A. M. for a full day of shopping. The auction will take place Saturday night.

Budget-wise New Yorkers will find unusual bargains in clothing for adults and children, electrical appliances, ceramics, leather goods, plastic products, art objects, native handicraft from all over the world, toys, jewelry and an endless array of other articles. A feature of the bazaar will be a display showing photographs of some of the Europeans to whom ACEWR packages have been sent. Thus shoppers can see a sample of the people they will be aiding as they purchase gifts at a fraction of department store prices.

The ACEWR stakes that many people mistakenly believe that reported economic recovery in Europe and Marshall Plan shipments have lessened the need for relief work in Europe. But relief packages are just as vitally needed by European workers as ever before. This is especially true in the cases of those anti-fascists who spent long years — in some cases from 1933 till 1945 — in concentration camps and have still not recovered their health.

How important relief packages are to them is seen from the following paragraph taken from the letter of a German worker to the ACEWR: "The entire official restitution received by us former concentration camp inmates is less than what we receive in these packages. By this comparison you will be able to understand what great help your solidarity action means to us. Let us shake hands. We feel strong and proud in the knowledge that we are not fighting alone."

You can help this German worker and many other European workers — French, Italian, Dutch, Greek, Austrian, Spanish refugee — by coming with your family and friends to the gala ACEWR Xmas Shopping Bazaar. Every penny you spend will help speed parcels of food, clothing and medicine to Europe.

## AVC BACKS KUTCHER

(Continued from Page 1) represented. He demonstrated that his own case was a touchstone for the whole government, purge, and promised to fight it to the end as a matter of principle because its outcome could determine the fate of thousands of other victims of the purge.

**OPPOSES ALL WITCH HUNTS** — Although Kutcher, as a guest speaker, could not intervene in the bitter convention fight on the Stalinist issue, he made it unmistakably clear that he and his party were strongly opposed to any witch hunts anywhere; "My party's differences with the Communist Party are fundamental and irreconcilable. Nevertheless we believe that they too have constitutional rights which must be guarded and defended."

Kutcher closed his talk by thanking the AVC's National Planning Committee and many of its members for the help they had already given him. He asked for the extension of additional moral and financial help for the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which has been organized to fight his case.

When he had finished, the convention again broke into cheers. Dan James took a floor mike and

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 28—The Pacific Coast maritime strike which began last Sept. 2 appeared near settlement yesterday as 6,000 members of the CIO International Longshoremen & Warehousemen's Union in this area voted overwhelmingly to accept a contract recommended by ILWU president Harry Bridges.

The new agreement, underwritten by the national CIO, extends until June 15, 1951. It continues the rotary system of hiring through the union hall that has been in effect since 1934, recognizes the principle of the six hour day and limits the work day to 9 hours (except when ships are ready to sail and work can be completed in 11 hours), raises the wage scale 15 cents an hour, bringing the straight-time rate to \$1.82 for six hours (overtime rate of \$2.73 is payable after six hours and/or after 5 p.m.), and provides for an annual wage review on Sept. 30 each year. Also gained is a vacation clause providing for one week with pay after 800 hours work, two weeks for 1,344 hours. Hereafter, the starting time for work shall be 8 a.m.; and longshoremen will get one day off each week, at least two Sundays a month.

These are the gains longshoremen voted to accept. Inasmuch as the employers undertook to smash the maritime unions on this coast and restore open-shop conditions, this is considered a victory after nearly three months on the picket line. Longshoremen do not intend to return to work until all other maritime workers have reached satisfactory agreements with the employers.

### OTHER STILL NEGOTIATING

Still to complete negotiations are the CIO Marine Cooks, the Independent Marine Firemen, and the CIO radio operators. Both Cooks and Firemen are expected to vote on agreements early this week. The operators have offered both unions an approximate wage increase of \$20 a month across the board without retroactivity. This has been rejected and the seamen's unions are standing pat on their original demands of \$17.50 with retroactivity or \$22.50 without. In all other respects the pattern of the offers follows that set by the longshoremen. The union hiring hall is recognized. The contract proposal is to extend for 3 years with annual wage reviews.

Harry Lundeberg, secretary of the non-striking AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific, has announced that members of that union will not return to work until certain jurisdiction questions with the striking maritime unions have been settled. Lundeberg attempted a raid upon the CIO Marine Cooks during the strike when he attempted to secure an NLRB election under the Taft-Hartley law for the steward's department on vessels operating out of Seattle in the Alaska run. Last week, Thos. P. Graham, regional director of the NLRB, dismissed the SUP petition for hearings. The CIO Marine Cooks are presently negotiating a contract for the Alaska ships.

It does not appear now that the other questions of jurisdiction raised by Lundeberg will be a deterrent to strike settlement.

### STRIKERS STILL SOLID

After nearly three months on strike the ranks of the seamen and longshoremen are as solid as the day the strike was called. The employers, who announced at the beginning of the strike that they would not negotiate with the present leaders of the CIO longshoremen's and cooks' unions, have been forced to negotiate and come to agreement with these unions.

At the moment the striking unions are in a position to force the operators to accept the original demands. Some of these demands which have been given up by the leadership are central to the future enforcement of the contract. The three-year contract with a no-strike clause renders the annual wage review provision meaningless so far as demanding any needed wage increase is concerned. It makes the unions dependent upon the decision of an arbitrator, and experience in this respect has demonstrated that such awards always lag behind rising living costs.

Longshoremen were fed up with the clause in their old contract which allowed the employers to order work changes and forced the longshoremen to follow these orders. This opened the way for speed-up on the job. That

### NEW HIRING HALL CLAUSE

A new clause in the contract, inserted by the employers, gives them greater control over the hiring hall. This new clause established qualifications for the election of the union dispatcher and provides that the dispatchers shall hold office for the life of the contract. Formerly the dispatchers were elected according to the rules of the union and held office for one year, same as all other elected local officials.

Under the new contract the union business agent is required to notify the employer of his intent to visit a dock or board a ship. This is one of the demands of the employers which they have insisted upon for a number of years, but were never before able to insert in the contract. It allows the employers to build up their black list which they hope to use at a later date.

The union officials are campaigning for the proposed contract by claiming that "longshoremen and ship clerks won practically every demand the unions made previous to the strike." What they fail to report is that the employers also won many of their demands. In the enthusiasm for the gains that have been won and the back-to-work rush whipped up by the officialdom, the membership has momentarily lost sight of what has been given away in the new contract.

## CONTINUED SAG IN SALES ALARMS BUSINESS MEN

By John C. Wright

The decline in retail sales shows little sign of abatement. On the contrary, every section of the country without exception continues to report sagging sales for the fourth consecutive week. These monotonously gloomy reports stress one feature, that the most recent declines have not been as sharp as the previous ones.

For the week ending Nov. 20, department store sales throughout the country were off 6 percent. This compares with previously reported weekly drops of 3 and 8 percent as against last year's sales. While fluctuations in the rate of decline are by no means unimportant, the "improvements" reported thus far hardly denote any significant change in the situation.

In the first place, the declines are cumulative. When consecutive weekly declines keep piling up, this fact in itself outweighs such developments as weekly variations of a few percentage points one way or the other. In the second place, the circumstances attending the recent week-by-week shifts are just as important as the shifts themselves. It is common knowledge that big department stores everywhere have been holding special sales, in many cases store-wide clearances.

Characteristic of the mood among the big merchandisers is a report from the Philadelphia district that top store executives there intend to move their stocks "regardless of promotional expense." The reference here is not so much to advertising expenditures as to continued price reductions, the sole effective means of pushing up sales in a narrowing market.

### CUT INTO SMALL RETAILERS

What the current figures do not disclose is the extent to which the big stores by their "promotions" have been cutting into the sales of the small and medium retailers. And what is no less important, the degree to which these same sales are cutting into trade that normally follows the Christmas season.

That both of these factors are beginning to play an important role is indicated by reports from the biggest district, the New York area. Specialty store sales here, which are indicative of smaller retailers generally, have been falling off at approximately twice the rate of the department stores. Meanwhile, the stepped-up "promotions" of the big retailers in the last three weeks of November have failed to bring up their dollar volume to that of last year, but have retarded the rate of decline. Their sales for this three-week period show declines of 13 percent, 10 percent and 8 percent.

There is no longer any talk of setting sales records. The question now is: Will it be possible to stay near last year's levels? A special N. Y. Times survey, Nov. 28, has the following to say: "Business forecasters who were making predictions a few weeks ago of a holiday season that would bring dollar volume gains of 5 to 10 percent over last year are now estimating that the ag-

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In the enthusiasm for the gains that have been won and the back-to-work rush whipped up by the officialdom, the membership has momentarily lost sight of what has been given away in the new contract.

The officials arrived at the new contract in a spirit of amicable relations with the employers. They now believe that they have made their peace with the employers for another three years. Before those three years have elapsed they will surely be forced to answer for those clauses favorable to the employers which they failed to report to the membership.

gregate sales of November and December will be doing well to break even with those of last year."

In plain language, some top business executives are already accepting the initial sag of Christmas sales as indicating a deep-going dislocation of the domestic market. They hope that this dislocation will not prove too severe. If last year's sales levels can be maintained, then the current developments may be accounted for simply as severe strains, with a few cracks appearing here and there, but with the domestic market as a whole left unimpaired.

On the other hand, a continued sales drop within the range of current declines would mean that inflation has slashed the purchasing power of the masses to the point of severely damaging the domestic market. The full extent of the actual dislocation remains in doubt because the critical tests — the biggest sales weeks — still lie ahead.

### ANXIETY AND TENSION

Meanwhile, anxiety and tension in business circles are mounting. This is by no means confined to the stock market, where prices are hovering near the year's low marks.

According to surveys, 98 percent of purchasing agents are now placing orders on a hand-to-mouth basis, ordering only enough to cover immediate requirements. Drastic measures to trim existing swollen inventories are already in evidence, especially among retailers.

Similar conditions in the past have been accompanied by sizable cut-backs in production, and by lay-offs. But this has not been the case recently, except for hardest hit light-goods branches. Nevertheless rumors of projected cut-backs and layoffs have reached such proportions that the N. Y. Times, Nov. 28, found it advisable to conduct a special survey among the "heavy industries in the New York area" in order to allay all these "scare rumors."

### "CAUTIOUS" ATTITUDE

Typical of the "cautious" attitude beginning to be heard in business circles is a statement issued last week by Richard E. Moulton, director of marketing for General Foods Corporation, one of the giant food monopolies. "It is conventional," said Mr. Moulton, "for people to talk about deflationary periods as the time in which purchasing power is reduced to less than that required to effectively consume what is produced. But for some reason they insist on overlooking the obvious fact that the same condition prevails during a period of inflation."

"In such a period," he continued, "there is (also) a steady diminishing of consumer purchasing power as prices outstrip the people's capacity to consume." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 26.) This simple truth, let us add, is what underlies the current lag in retail sales.