

RETAIL SALES DECLINE WORRIES ECONOMISTS

— See Page 4 —

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII — No. 48

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY NOVEMBER 29, 1948

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Murray-Stalinist Fight Keynotes CIO Convention

The bitter conflict between two top bureaucratic cliques—the Murray machine which follows the foreign policy of the U.S. State Department and the Stalinists who serve the interests of the Kremlin—provided the keynote of the CIO national convention which began Nov. 22 in Portland, Oregon.

This struggle has been climaxed by CIO President Philip Murray's ruthless moves to break up the Stalinist machine by revoking the charter of the Greater New York CIO Council, key stronghold of the Stalinists in the CIO, and by launching a full-scale offensive to dislodge the Stalinists from unions under their control.

The decision to reorganize the New York City CIO under a Murray-appointed administrator was made by a pre-convention meeting of the CIO National Executive Board on Nov. 20. The Board, by a vote of 38 to 5, declared the New York body guilty of "slavish adherence" to "the line and dictates of the Communist Party."

It also charged that the New York CIO Council "has flagrantly disregarded and acted contrary to CIO policy, to the CIO constitution and to the CIO rules for industrial unions councils." It instructed Louis Hollender, right-wing head of the New York State CIO, to take over the offices, funds, records and other properties of the city council.

FIVE VOTE AGAINST

Only five Stalinists on the national board voted against this decision. They are all acknowledged Communist Party members or supporters, including Joseph Selly, of the American Communications Association; Ben Gold, of the Fur Workers; Morris Pizer, of the Furniture Workers; Robert Weinstein, of the Public Workers; and James Durkin, president of both the New York council and the United Office and Professional Workers Union. Alfred Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak, Donald Henderson and William Lawrence—all long associated with Stalinist policies—abstained from voting. Harry Bridges was absent.

Before the devastating attack of the Murray machine, with which the Stalinists were closely allied until the Kremlin-Washington honeymoon went sour, the Stalinists just folded up. Durkin announced that the decision would not be appealed in the convention itself and would be accepted "in the interests of unity."

THE REAL REASONS

In a speech at the opening session of the convention, Murray specified the real reasons for the all-out offensive against the Stalinists, with whom he collaborated

Witch Hunters Move Against Libraries

In scores of cities in the United States, according to Prof. David K. Berninghausen of the American Library Association, libraries are being attacked for permitting so-called "subversive" and "immoral" books on the shelves.

Los Angeles County officials, for instance, have set up a censorship board to examine all books in the county library.

Similar moves for censorship boards and probes are under way in other cities.

By Art Preis

America's Big Business press and radio have lowered a curtain of silence around one of the most sensational criminal proceedings in U. S. legal history—the current federal grand jury investigation of anti-trust law violations by the du Pont financial and industrial empire.

The mere names of the key defendants and witnesses who have been summoned to testify before the Chicago grand jury should have made thundering headlines. They include Lamont du Pont, Alfred P. Sloan and other heads of 22 giant corporations.

The grand jury investigation, in process since September, is based on charges by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice that E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the chemical and

until American imperialism decided on its "get tough" policy against Russia. He demanded to know if the Stalinists were going to "continue expressing their criticism and condemnation of the national CIO in its support of the Marshall Plan." And he assailed the Stalinists, who backed Henry Wallace, for wanting "to drive Truman out of the White House."

Thus, Murray served notice not only on the Stalinists but also on the genuine militants in the CIO that support of U.S. State Department policies and of capitalist policies, the Truman brand in particular, is compulsory. This is a deadly bureaucratic blow to freedom of political ideas in the CIO.

BACKED WITCH HUNT

The Stalinists, for their part revealed themselves incapable of



PHILIP MURRAY

defending themselves from this attack. They themselves during their period of open support of U.S. imperialism were the most vociferous in demanding suppression and expulsion of those who "violated CIO policy" by opposing the no-strike pledge and Wall Street's war.

At the CIO convention in 1946, the Stalinists abjectly voted for a Declaration of Policy "presenting and rejecting" the "outside interference of the Communist Party" in the CIO. They voted for a revision of the CIO by-laws, giving new dictatorial powers to Murray to intervene against local councils that do not accept his policies.

Murray made his most telling point against the Stalinists when he attacked them for their failures to organize the unorganized, citing the scandalously low membership of such Stalinist-led unions as the Office and Professional Workers and the United Public Workers. Here the Stalinists are completely vulnerable, for they have always sacrificed the needs of the workers to the requirements of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

All indications are that the Stalinists would like to creep back into Murray's favor and save their positions in the CIO. They are incapable of a principled fight, either on the question of union democracy or on broader political issues. The Stalinists are bureaucrats, knowing only bureaucratic methods. They cannot rally rank and file support in a struggle against a more powerful bureaucratic rival.

AFL Chiefs Play Into Hands Of Labor's Foes on Taft Act

Dock Strikers Keep East Coast Ports Shut Tight

NEW YORK, Nov. 25 — Striking AFL longshoremen will vote Saturday on a 13c raise, improved vacation pay and welfare plan offer of employers. This time ILA President Ryan says he will submit the offer "without recommendations."

NEW YORK, Nov. 24 — Atlantic ports from Maine to Virginia continue paralyzed as 45,000 members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association hold their strike lines firm.

Attempts of the ship operators to divert big luxury passenger liners as well as freighters to Halifax, Nova Scotia, have failed. Dock workers in Halifax, also members of the ILA-AFL, have refused to unload boats originally scheduled for strike-bound ports.

Negotiations between the ILA officials and the New York Shipping Association have been stalemated to date by the arrogant refusal of the employers to yield an inch. The union committee turned down a proposition to discuss a welfare plan after the men ended their strike.

There is little doubt that ILA President Joseph P. "King" Ryan would be willing to end the strike on almost any terms. But he has been forced to go along with the strikers so far because he fears revolt against his rule.

The struggle began on Nov. 10 as a spontaneous revolt against a sell-out contract which Ryan and his committee had already agreed to present to the membership with a recommendation for acceptance. Within three days some 45,000 men "voted with their feet" against Ryan's contract. Ryan then agreed to "lead" the strike.

He announced on Nov. 22 that he had reduced the union's original demand for a 50-cent hourly raise to 25 cents in the present negotiations. Before the strike he proposed to settle for 10 cents.

Democratic Senator Outlines Plan For Substitute Anti-Labor Law

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act will come only as part of a new labor law, according to Democratic Senator James E. Murray, who will head the Joint Congressional ("Watchdog") Committee on Labor-Management Relations in the 81st Congress. A single bill is being prepared, one section repealing the old law, another setting up a new law.

The new Democratic majority in Congress, Senator Murray assured the employers, will not take a "high and mighty" attitude but will enact a law "for the betterment" of capital as well as labor. This new law would duplicate the Taft-Hartley Law section by section, and though less stringent in some provisions, would include the use of injunctions in "national emergencies" and a ban on certain types of strikes.

structure; General Motors, world's largest industrial corporation; United States Rubber; Ethyl Corporation; Bendix Aviation; North American Aviation; Kinetic Chemicals, Inc.; and Remington Arms.

It is charged, among other things, that the du Ponts own over 22% of the voting stock of General Motors, more than sufficient for effective control. This fact has long been known and was reported by "The Militant" three years ago when the General Motors strike began.

The inquiry has now been extended to more than 60 top-ranking corporations, all linked by the Department of Justice to the du Pont interests. In addition, the grand jury has asked for all correspondence between the officers of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Remington Arms

East Coast Dock Strike Solid



Solid strike of 45,000 members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association brought rail freight traffic to a standstill along the East Coast (above). Left, John D. Rockefeller 3rd, debarking at strikebound port, lugs his own baggage. Federated Pix

Chinese Stalinist Policy Delays Chiang Collapse

The position of Chiang Kai-shek's regime remains precarious militarily and economically, with prospects for any significant improvement in the economic sphere being the slimmest of all. Overshadowing the developments on the military fronts, where the initiative still remains in the hands of the Chinese Stalinists, is the catastrophic condition behind Chiang Kai-shek's lines.

With the dismal failure of the currency reform (the introduction of new "gold" currency), inflation continues to rage un-

abated as the sharpest expression of the economic crisis. Chiang is now confronted with an economic breakdown verging on chaos.

SUCHOW BATTLE

The latest reports from the military fronts indicate that the vaunted successes of Chiang's armies around Suchow represent nothing more than the first phase of the battle. The initial assault has been repulsed, and that is all. The decisive battles for Suchow, the gateway to Nanking, still lie ahead, with the besieging armies already regrouping for another thrust. At the same time, the Chinese Stalinists have scored important advances on other fronts and are apparently tightening a ring around Peiping and several other far more strategic centers.

The demands of the military fronts are becoming more and more pressing; and Chiang's regime is unable to supply the cities with the bare necessities. Recent dispatches make it quite clear that only emergency measures by American Far East authorities brought scanty supplies of rice to Shanghai, Nanking and other places.

Chiang's "personal" plea to Truman for help must be judged in the light of this situation. Chiang's chances for survival hinge entirely on the decision now being made in Washington.

To the American imperialists China appears as a bottomless pit. The conservative columnist Mark Sullivan outlines the dilemma facing Washington rather graphically. Here is what he writes:

"But the cost (of making Chiang economically and militarily strong) would be unthinkable, literally so, in the sense that no one can think accurately about what the cost would be. A figure current in Washington is \$5,000,000,000. But the more accurate estimate is one which admits that it cannot be accurate at all. A phrase used by persons who earnestly desire to save China, but are also realistic and candid, is 'an indefinite amount for an indefinite number of years.'" N.Y. Herald-Tribune, Nov. 24.)

STALINIST POLICY

The surprising thing is not that Chiang's regime is tottering but

(Continued on page 2)

Turn Convention into Orgy Of Reaction, Warmongering

By Art Preis

From the debate and decisions of the AFL convention in Cincinnati last week, you'd never know that American labor had just given a powerful demonstration of its strength

and an overwhelming expression of its desire to combat reaction. The AFL leaders converted the convention into a rampage of reaction itself, cynically betraying the progressive aspirations voiced by the workers on Nov. 2.

Even as they boasted of labor's "victory," these leaders showed utter cowardice about pushing labor's demands, particularly on the key question of repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Instead of pressing to the utmost for unconditional repeal of the Slave Labor Laws, they virtually invited Congress to pass a "substitute" law that would be a Taft-Hartley Act with its face lifted. "Restraint," "moderation," "caution"—this was the keynote of the AFL bureaucrats when it came to labor's needs.

Now that they had helped restore an unregenerate Democratic Party to full power, the AFL high moguls tossed out of the window all their pre-election hints about forming a new party after the election. Although they voted to continue Labor's League for Political Education as a permanent organization, they made it clear their aim is to use the LLPE merely to tie labor more firmly to the capitalist two-party system. They rejected a resolution for the building of an independent labor party.

All the problems of the workers — inflation, housing, health and education, civil rights—were shoved into a corner. Instead, the dominant theme of the conven-



WILLIAM GREEN

tion was anti-communism, militarism and war preparations.

The well-heeled bureaucrats went far beyond anything even the capitalist bi-partisan coalition itself has dared attempt in unrestrained incitation of war hysteria. They adopted a resolution calling for a blockade of Russia and a full-scale military alliance of world capitalism, armed by the U.S., against the Soviet Union.

If there is one thing all past experience teaches about capitalist politics, it is that politicians once in office quickly forget their promises or try to water them down. This fact dictates to the union leaders the absolute duty to mobilize the workers to fight for the fulfillment of Truman's

(Continued on page 2)

N. J. CIO URGES LOCALS TO AID JAMES KUTCHER

NEWARK, Nov. 22—The New Jersey State CIO Council this week urged all local unions to give financial and moral support to the fight to get justice for James Kutcher, legless of certain individuals, groups or organizations as 'subversive' without affording those accused with the opportunity to face their accusers and to either deny 'subversive' activities, or reaffirm their loyalties to the United States is a flagrant violation of our basic constitutional guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights.

"The injustice of these decrees is highlighted to a greater degree in the case of James Kutcher. It is difficult to countenance the logic of the Attorney General, which would, in effect, make Kutcher eligible to fight for this country in times of war, but ineligible to work for this country in times of peace."

"We cannot stand by idly, while the undemocratic principles of 'injustice by decree' and 'condemnation by association' are invoked in complete disregard of the basic guarantees of freedom of thought, and the fundamental precepts of American jurisprudence."

The resolution then reaffirms belief in Kutcher's "right to his own opinions without the fear of discriminatory reprisals" and extends "all possible aid to James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in the fight to remove the abuses attendant to his own case and to guarantee the principle of the right of all Americans to live and work in freedom without being subjected to the undemocratic dictates of thought control."

The resolution then reaffirms belief in Kutcher's "right to his own opinions without the fear of discriminatory reprisals" and extends "all possible aid to James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee in the fight to remove the abuses attendant to his own case and to guarantee the principle of the right of all Americans to live and work in freedom without being subjected to the undemocratic dictates of thought control."

The recent excursions by the Attorney General into the realm of 'injustice by decree' have adversely affected the processes of democracy as traditionally practiced in our country. The labeling

The Iron Curtain Around Probe of du Pont Empire

By Art Preis

America's Big Business press and radio have lowered a curtain of silence around one of the most sensational criminal proceedings in U. S. legal history—the current federal grand jury investigation of anti-trust law violations by the du Pont financial and industrial empire.

The mere names of the key defendants and witnesses who have been summoned to testify before the Chicago grand jury should have made thundering headlines. They include Lamont du Pont, Alfred P. Sloan and other heads of 22 giant corporations.

The grand jury investigation, in process since September, is based on charges by the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice that E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the chemical and

munitions trust, is the chief corporation in a network of monopoly corporations spreading through dozens of other industries, including auto, aviation, rubber and steel.

Control of this vast empire, worth tens of billions, rests in the du Pont family. This is the first case in which federal law-enforcement agencies have sought the dissolution of a monopoly cutting across many different industries.

SUBPOENA RECORDS

Although only a hint of the nature of the case has leaked through the iron curtain of the daily press, it has been revealed that the grand jury last Sept. 24 subpoenaed the records of eight leading corporations under du Pont control. These were the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., keystone of the vast monopoly

structure; General Motors, world's largest industrial corporation; United States Rubber; Ethyl Corporation; Bendix Aviation; North American Aviation; Kinetic Chemicals, Inc.; and Remington Arms.

It is charged, among other things, that the du Ponts own over 22% of the voting stock of General Motors, more than sufficient for effective control. This fact has long been known and was reported by "The Militant" three years ago when the General Motors strike began.

The inquiry has now been extended to more than 60 top-ranking corporations, all linked by the Department of Justice to the du Pont interests. In addition, the grand jury has asked for all correspondence between the officers of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Remington Arms

and Kinetic Chemicals and the German I. G. Farbenindustrie, the British Imperial Chemical Industries, J. P. Morgan & Co. and the United States Steel Corporation.

BURIED IN PRESS

An example of the conspiracy of silence the press is maintaining around this case is the treatment of the news about the appearance before the grand jury of the first witness, Lamont du Pont, a director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, who was questioned on Nov. 17, 18 and 19.

One of the wealthiest and most powerful men in America, Lamont du Pont's personal appearance before a criminal investigation grand jury—a unique and sensational fact—rated four brief paragraphs on pg. 14 of the Nov. 18 N. Y. Times, one paragraph on Page 48 of the Nov. 19 issue and

four paragraphs in the Nov. 20 issue on the radio page.

The single bit of information as to what actually transpired in these secret proceedings was given out by du Pont himself. He is quoted as saying, "I still don't know what it's all about." He added: "I made a bad showing at the end of the session. I testified that I had not written a certain letter and then the Government pulled the letter out of the files. It was most embarrassing."

NO MONOPOLIST JAILED

But it is unlikely that du Pont and his co-conspirators and monopolists will be embarrassed by the proceedings as a whole or their eventual outcome. From Department of Justice charges and a grand jury investigation to actual indictment and trial is a long step in itself. And in the

more than 50 years of anti-trust laws and trials not a single capitalist has even been sent to jail, nor has a single monopoly ever been broken up.

Even in the most outrageous cases of anti-trust law violations, the corporations have nothing to fear. No capitalist judge will ever send a big monopolist to jail. A striking demonstration of this occurred on Nov. 12, in a seven-year long case involving General Electric Corporation.

Back in 1941, several officials of GE and its subsidiary, Carbonyl Company, were indicted for anti-trust law violations involving the monopoly of carbonyl, a metal alloy used for cutting edges of machine tools. The government charged GE with maintaining a patent cartel agreement with Nazi corporations in Germany

(Continued on Page 2)

Max Eastman, Renegade Ex-Radical, Beats War Drum on AFL Rostrum

By Joseph Hansen

On conclusion of a speech by a visitor advertised as a "Marxist scholar" and "one-time follower of Leon Trotsky," the delegates at the AFL convention in Cincinnati, according to the enthusiastic report in the capitalist press, "stood up and applauded for several minutes."

No, the top bureaucracy of the AFL is not going Marxist. In fact the applause was one more proof, if any were needed, that these house servants of America's 60 richest families have not yet developed the capacity to think.

The speaker was Max Eastman, renegade from the Marxist movement and bitter opponent of Leon Trotsky's views. The war-mongering speech delivered against the Soviet Union by this intellectual wreck would have brought a gathering of the National Association of Manufacturers or the Daughters of the American Revolution to their feet cheering with no less enthusiasm than it did the AFL clique.

A "CRITIC"

Eastman pretended to be a "critic" of the State Department and its foreign policy. Marshall isn't getting tough enough, Eastman feels. The war drive isn't being pushed fast enough. If that's "criticism," then Charley

McCarthy is a model independent thinker.

This spokesman of the State Department did not forget, naturally, to praise capitalism. In a brilliant and strikingly original metaphor that went straight to the hearts of the high-paid AFL bureaucrats, Eastman called capitalism a "goose" that really lays "golden eggs." "Don't kill the goose," he pleaded.

That's advice which William Green and his fellow chair-warmers are certain to follow — with undying gratitude to Max Eastman for calling it to their attention.

ANTI-STALINIST APPEAL

Eastman covered his war-mongering with an appeal to the widespread anti-Stalinist sentiment that exists in the labor movement, demanding an end to the Stalin regime. That objective is a highly desirable one, as the Trotskyists have maintained since Stalin came to power. But we oppose farming out the job to the imperialists, who aim at converting the Russian people into colonial slaves.

Eastman's brand of anti-Stalinism might be dismissed as just another instance of the casuistry to be expected in the propaganda of American Big Business. It was not for the fact that it can discredit some people.

The demands of the AFL bureaucrats for democracy in the Soviet Union are scarcely convincing in view of the dictatorial regimes they maintain in the unions. Stalin puts in practice on a governmental scale what the Tobins apply on a union scale. But a Max Eastman holds no czardom in the labor movement. His anti-Stalinism thus may appear more genuine than that of the AFL dictators.

In addition, the AFL bureaucracy is known to take its views on foreign policy without question from the State Department. In the early days of the Soviet Union when the Russian workers established a government truly representative of the people, the AFL bureaucrats, in slavish conformity with State Department views, opposed recognition of the young workers' republic.

After the Stalin gang destroyed democracy in the Soviet Union, the State Department decided to recognize this counter-revolutionary regime. Official policy was to whitewash Stalin. Under State Department inspiration Hollywood turned out *Mission to Moscow*, presenting Stalin's version of the infamous Moscow Frame-up Trials, and the publishers of a truthful biography of Stalin written by Leon Trotsky decided not to release it to the public.

No protest was uttered by the

AFL bureaucrats during this period. They went along with the State Department.

FAIL TO PROTEST

Then after 1945, when the strategists of American Big Business began preparations for World War III and the State Department began implementing its new "get tough" line toward the Soviet Union, the AFL bureaucrats again followed the official lead like sheep.

Anything they might say against the Soviet Union is therefore taken as nothing original. Everybody knows they didn't think it up.

Here is where a renegade like Max Eastman earns his keep. He did support the Soviet Union in the early days. He did stand up against the capitalist system at one time. Consequently, what he says can carry weight. Workers who never heard of Max Eastman before wonder why he changed. And giving him the rostrum at the AFL convention places a kind of union label on his utterances, no matter how profoundly anti-union they are at bottom.

Small wonder the bureaucrats stood up and applauded. The munition-makers too, no doubt, stood up and applauded when they heard how well their message had been delivered at the AFL convention.

Japanese Union Leader Jailed



Shoichi Tabata (left), a leader of the Toho Motion Picture Workers Union, was sentenced to five years in prison for "agitation against the occupation forces" in the recent strike of Toho film studio workers. Tabata's actual "crime" was indulging in free speech. He quoted from U.S. and British dispatches which revealed that U.S. armed forces helped break the strike. The MacArthur military government decided this violated American censorship regulations.

Federated Pictures

IRON CURTAIN AROUND DU PONT EMPIRE PROBE

(Continued from page 1)

which had seriously impeded U.S. war production.

OVERHEAD EXPENSE

It was such an open and shut case that the indicted companies and three officials were found guilty—unusual in itself. Malcolm M. Hoffman, the government's prosecuting attorney then pleaded with Federal Judge John C. Knox to impose prison sentences on the convicted defendants. Hoffman said:

"The present feeling which seems to prevail in the business community is you need not be alarmed if you are caught in a violation of the anti-trust laws because so far as past transactions are concerned you can pay a fine which is merely a license fee which may be charged off as the cost of doing illegal business acts. Frequently, the amount which is to be gained by such law violations is very large compared with the amount which would be lost by fines if the violator is caught."

"If this feeling of indifference to the penal provisions of the Sherman Act is allowed to prevail . . . there seems little possibility of using the criminal sanctions of the anti-trust acts. . . ."

Judge Knox confirmed this when he refused to jail the GE officials, giving them and the other companies fines totalling \$36,000 for criminal acts over a period of 15 years that had netted tens of millions in profits. The Judge said that after all, these crimes were "stale."

CAMPAIGN STUNT

As a matter of fact, the present charges brought against the notorious multi-billionaire "Merchants of Death"—as the du Pont arms trust has been called since World War I—were begun by the Department of Justice as a pre-election stunt in line with

Truman's campaign propaganda about "gluttons of privilege." Not expecting Truman's re-election, the Justice Department officials undoubtedly figured the case would never get very far.

On Sept. 30, the Attorney General's representatives asked Federal Judge John P. Barnes to issue an order impounding books and records of eight du Pont companies. Judge Barnes complied, as he said, with reluctance, because he did not believe the case would be carried through to the end. "Sometimes," he said with candid cynicism, "they result in indictment, but seldom do they result in trial. I am now entering this order because you are asking me, but if anyone comes in here and asks me to vacate it, you know how I feel."

MAY BE SHELVED

The grand jury has already announced it will go into indefinite recess after Nov. 22. In all likelihood the case will drag on for years, or gradually and quietly be shelved. Meanwhile the du Pont empire and profits swell.

E. I. du Pont has just announced a year-end dividend for stockholders of \$3.75 per share, bringing the grand total for 1948 to \$9.75, the technically highest dividend since 1928, which was \$17.50. Since the stock was split 3-1/2 for one in 1928, this year's dividends actually amount to \$34.15 for every share of old common stock. General Motors has likewise declared a special \$2-per-share dividend on the basis of the highest profits in its history.

The du Pont empire will continue to drain profits from hundreds of thousands of workers, maintain high monopoly-fixed prices and reap billions from war until the American working class does its own "trust-busting" by expropriating the basic industries and operating them without profit under the control of the workers themselves.

Four Textile Union Officials Sentenced For Mass Picketing

Four CIO Textile Workers officials were sentenced in Rome, Georgia, Nov. 23, for defying an injunction against mass picketing secured by the Celanese Corporation.

International representative Joseph D. Pedigo and C. L. Ross, secretary of Local 689, were given a 20-day jail sentence and fined \$200 each. Two others were given 100 fines and 10-day sentences.

Another 174 unionists, including TWU Vice President George Baldanzi, are awaiting trial. The arrests came after 1,500 strikers out of the 1,800 employed in the plant formed a mass picket line in defiance of Judge Nichols' order limiting the number of pickets at each gate to two.

Chinese Stalinist Policy Delays Chiang Collapse

(Continued from page 1)

that it has survived as long as it has. For this Chiang owes thanks not to the billions that Wall Street's government in Washington has already pumped into China, but rather to the policy of the Chinese Stalinists. Had they followed a revolutionary program, uprisings would have flared in one city after another and swept Chiang and his rotten regime away long ago.

It is an ironic fact that in 1925-27, when the Stalinists were betraying the revolution in China by their alliance with Chiang, they won victories for this warlord through precisely such uprisings of workers in Shanghai and other key cities. So fearful of the revolutionary workers have the Stalinists become in 1948 that they dare not employ — in their own behalf—the tactics they once so unhesitatingly employed for Chiang's sake.

LIMIT STRUGGLE

There has been thus far not a single report of workers' risings on the approach of Chinese Red armies, even though several big Manchurian cities have already fallen. Nor has there been the slightest sign that the Stalinist leaders in China would welcome such developments. On the con-

trary, they have done, as they continue to do, everything in their power to limit the struggle to the military plane.

This course flows from their entire policy which is not that of revolution but of compromise with the Chinese bourgeoisie.

They are not at all opposed to a coalition government; they have simply "refused" a coalition with Chiang, and this only because it has been flatly rejected by Chiang. They have not withdrawn their demand for a coalition with the "progressive" capitalists.

Their actual program is limited to a number of agrarian reforms and to the preservation of capitalism in a "modified" form in China. This is a repetition, in an altered form, of the same policy the Stalinists pursued in 1925-27, when they betrayed the revolution on the pretext that China was not ripe for the same historic road as was taken in Russia in 1917.

If in 1925-27, they called for the establishment of the "democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants," then today they call for a "new democratic revolution," a Chinese version of the "New People's Democracies" promoted by Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

MAO'S LINE

The basic line of the Chinese Stalinists was summed up by their leading spokesman, Mao Tse-tung. One year ago he declared in an address to the Central Committee of the Chinese C.P.:

"The objects that the new democratic revolution pursues are to eliminate only feudalism and monopoly capitalism, only the landlord class and bureaucratic bourgeoisie — not capitalism in general and not the petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie. Because of the backwardness of China's economy, it will still be necessary to permit the existence for a long period of the capitalist economy represented by the broad petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie even after the nationwide victory of the revolution."

These remarks were levelled at the time against the so-called "left extremists" inside the Stalinist ranks, who questioned the official line. The same policy continues to be conducted today against the interests of the Chinese proletariat and the peasant poor. It is this policy of the Stalinists that must be above all borne in mind by the American workers in following the course of the Chinese events.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Tito Flounders with Stalin's 'Theory' Of Building 'Socialism' in One Country

The rift between the Kremlin and Tito appears to be deepening. In a speech Nov. 16, Tito referred to his opponents in Moscow's Information Bureau as "wiseacres" and "hacks" and complained of the op-

pressive economic relations ruthlessly enforced on war-weakened Yugoslavia by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Tito called once again for the institution of "correct relations" between "Socialist countries" so that these relations can serve as "an example—a stimulus to further development of socialism in the world and not a brake."

If Tito had said no more than this, one might conclude that he is beginning to break from Stalinism in the basically important field of program and theory. One might even hope for progress in the direction of the Trotskyist program of world socialism in opposition to both imperialism and Stalinism, particularly since this is the only course that can win Yugoslavia's independence and at the same time save Tito's own neck from the Kremlin's hatchetmen.

However, Tito is doing his utmost to keep the Yugoslav communists from taking that course. He still has hopes of reconciliation with Moscow as indicated by his continued kowtowing toward Stalin.

At the same time he is struggling to find a theoretical basis for what might be called an "isolationist" policy. Thus, he declares: "In their works Lenin and Stalin said that it is possible to establish socialism in one country."

NOT LENIN'S VIEW

This reactionary theory was never held by Lenin or any other orthodox Marxist. It was first advanced by Stalin in 1924 as "justification" for scuttling the Marxist program of world socialism. It became the central dogma of the Stalinist bureaucracy. In practice it meant establishing unlimited privileges for a parasitic bureaucracy in the Soviet Union leading to the abysmal degeneration of the first workers' state which we see today.

Tito declares that "they were thinking of the Soviet Union, but nowhere did they say it would be possible outside the Soviet Union" to build socialism in one country. Now comes Tito's brilliant extension to Stalin's "theory." "Not to mention other countries, I can say that it has been proven in Yugoslavia as well. . . ."

ALREADY ACHIEVED

In his opinion, apparently, the building of socialism has already been secured in Yugoslavia, for he says: "I must emphasize the fact that we could have built socialism in our country more rapidly and easily if various leading people in various peoples' democracies did not put obstacles in our way."

In this way, Tito has succeeded in reducing Stalin's infamous formula to absolute absurdity. Backward, agricultural Yugoslavia, a tiny Balkan country still suffering from the ravages and dislocations of war, already enjoys the boons of socialist construction!

To show how far-fetched and reactionary this utopian nonsense is let us once more recall the most elementary meaning of socialism as viewed by Marxism.

From its earliest beginnings, the Marxist movement has always considered that socialism starts where capitalism leaves off. Socialism brings order and planning

into the industrial system. Socialism expands that industrial system and develops it to new heights impossible under capitalism with its wars and depressions and profit limitations.

Since capitalism is an international system, socialism by its very nature must likewise be international. Doing away with the arbitrary national frontiers that now chop across the great worldwide arteries of industry, socialism is based on the integration of economy on a world scale.

A BEACHHEAD

That is why Lenin and Trotsky and all the Bolshevik leaders in the early days considered that the Russian workers had won no more than a good foothold in the world-wide struggle for socialism. They did not even believe this beachhead in the international class struggle against capitalism could be held for long without at least several industrially advanced countries joining the Russian workers in their revolution.

Anyone advancing such a nonsensical formula as "socialism in one country" would have been laughed off the floor; it's as ridiculous as proposing to build a nation-wide industrial union in one machine shop.

'Trotskyist' Deviation Shakes Albanian CP

A crisis over "Trotskyism" has shaken the Albanian Stalinist party. The 11th plenary session of the Central Committee convened from Sept. 13 to 24 "on the subject of the situation created in the party as a result of the Trotskyist influence in the leadership of the Yugoslav CP."

The committee unanimously passed a resolution presented by E. Hodja condemning the "Trotskyist deviations" of the party since November 1944 and the leaders responsible for these "deviations," Koci Xoxe (Organizational Secretary) and Pandi Kriste (member of the Political Bureau). They were accused of having "worked knowingly to apply the Yugoslav Trotskyist line in our party. They have not yet made a healthy self-criticism of these faults."

Xoxe and Kriste were expelled. Both are reported to have gone into hiding.

Others on the carpet did purge themselves of their alleged "Trotskyist" sins: "Comrades Kriste Temelke, Pallumb Dishnica, deputy political secretary, and Xhoxi Bilushi had the most influence and blindly applied the Yugoslav Trotskyist line, but these comrades have recognized their errors and made a self-criticism before the party."

The "deviations" began no less than four years ago, according to the resolution: "The 8th plenary meeting of the CC in February 1944 was prepared on the basis of a platform that was anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet and against our country and party on the part of the Trotskyist leadership of Yugoslavia. The decisions of that meeting have seriously upset and gravely affected the unity of our party, its leadership and its general secretary, Comrade Enver Hodja."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Newark Sends \$35 For Anniversary

First return from the various Militant Anniversary affairs being held throughout the country was \$35 received this week from Newark branch, proceeds of a social held Saturday night, Nov. 20. Art Preis, Militant labor editor, addressed the Newark group, reviewing the 20 years of The Militant. A motion picture of the 1948 presidential campaign convention of the Socialist Workers Party was shown.

Many thanks to the Newark comrades and friends for this donation, which will help reduce The Militant's heavy weekly deficit until the higher subscription rates beginning Jan. 1 start to put this paper on a more solid financial basis.

Milwaukee branch plans a Militant Anniversary celebration Dec. 4. New York's observance has been postponed until December. Several affairs are already past but not yet reported.

From a Milwaukee subscriber: "Enclosed find one dollar for a bundle of Nov. 15 Militants for distribution. More power to you." —M.B.C.

That date that appears beside or under your name, on nearly every copy of The Militant you receive, is the date on which your subscription will end. Any date above your name belongs to someone else's sub, just as the date below your name is sometimes cut off by the mailing machine. You can always determine your sub's expiration date by watching the address labels.

Readers wishing to renew or extend their subs before the \$2-a-year rate goes into effect Jan. 1 need not wait for an expiration notice, but may send in \$1 at once and a full year will be added to their present subscription. There is no time to lose, however.

Detroit, which obtained the most subs in the country during the SWP presidential campaign, will start a renewal drive next week. And Detroit knows how!

THE MILITANT

116 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

GET YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW!

- ☐ Regular 6-month 50c
☐ Regular 1-year \$1.00

Name

Address

City

State Zone.....



Subscriptions: \$1 per year: \$6 for 6 months. Foreign: \$8 per year: \$1 for 6 months. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

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 4-9380)
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

Single Copies (5 or more copies): 5c each in U.S., 4c 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. 48

Monday, November 29, 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

The Lesson of Peru

The seizure of power by the brass hats in Peru, reported in last week's *Militant*, climaxes an instructive series of events. A great mass party in Peru, the Apra, made the mistake of setting out to "reform" capitalism instead of replacing it by the better system of socialism. The leaders of the Apra supported Bustamante, a capitalist politician, for President.

In office, Bustamante turned against this support from the left. He legalized the Apra and attempted to smash it with force and violence.

But without this support from the left, he was no longer strong enough to maintain himself against the most nakedly reactionary forces to the right. And so Bustamante fell victim to the very forces which he himself had set in motion, just as the Apra had fallen victim to the capitalist politician it helped put in office.

The kind of regime that can be expected from General Odría, head of the military clique which ousted Bustamante, can be judged from his first statements after seizing power: "Peru will be rebuilt on a new basis. Political parties poison the hearts of the people and sicken their minds."

The manhunt against the Apra, begun by Bustamante, is being intensified by General Odría. The aim of this dictatorial representative of the native capitalists, feudalistic landowners and their Wall Street backers is to crush all political opposition, gag all

criticism and entrench totalitarianism in Peru.

The Truman Administration has not voiced a word of protest against this brazen military coup d'état. Not a single official in the Truman retinue has spoken up against the fascist-like suppression of the Apra. In fact, Odría's regime has been recognized by Washington.

This, of course, is to be expected, since the Truman Administration represents the economic and political interests of American Big Business which regards Peru as its semi-colonial preserve and the native ruling class as glorified company agents who must be bolstered against mass unrest and discontent.

But what about liberal public opinion in the United States? Where are the voices protesting imposition of military-police rule and the suppression of a popular political party, a mildly reformist pro-capitalist party untainted with Stalinism, that has been cut to pieces under the shadow of the American eagle? Where are the editorials explaining to the American people the role Big Business and its Washington representatives play in bringing fascist-like regimes to power in South America?

The liberals and Social Democrats are so occupied with Stalinism and its evils, so busy shouting for war against the Soviet Union in accordance with State Department policy, that they have become indifferent to the growth of totalitarianism in the Western Hemisphere.

The AFL and Taft-Hartleyism

It was primarily the vacillation, weakness and cowardice of the top union officialdom that made possible the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law. Had the power of organized labor been mobilized for a determined fight at the time, it could never have been written into the statutes even in the days of the 80th Congress.

A repetition of similar conduct by the union chieftains could easily undermine the struggle for the repeal of this infamous law, a struggle that has far from concluded.

The strategy of the monopolists is an obvious one, to repeal Taft-Hartleyism in name only while retaining all its essential features through the passage of substitute legislation.

For the success of this maneuver the Wall Street strategists have been banking heavily on a coalition with the Dixiecrat Congressmen. To their glee, they now find themselves recipients of support from an unexpected quarter. We refer to the resolution on the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law adopted by the AFL at its Cincinnati convention.

The chief mouthpiece of the monopolists, the *N. Y. Times*, greets with unrestrained joy

what it calls "encouraging news" from Cincinnati, and proof that "labor will collaborate." The *Times'* leading editorial, Nov. 24, leaves no doubt concerning the object of this "collaboration."

The resolution, say the editors, "may be interpreted to mean that the AFL endorses the principle of what many regard as the most important sections of the Taft-Hartley Law. These are sections 206-210. . ."

What these gentlemen have in mind is the use of the federal courts for strikebreaking by injunction in cases of "national emergency." This would indeed mean the retention of Taft-Hartleyism in "principle."

It is hardly surprising that Wall Street and its chief mouthpiece should be so overjoyed by an AFL resolution that opens wide the doors not only to such interpretations but actually to the passage of another law which would, in a masked form, continue the reign of Taft-Hartleyism under Truman's, "new New Deal."

When such rabid enemies of labor start cheering, that is the signal for workers to sit up and take close notice of just what all this cheering is about!

Just Campaign Propaganda

President Truman, like Wilson and Roosevelt, clearly understood in campaigning for office that the issue of war or peace dominates the thinking of the American people. Wilson rode back into office on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Roosevelt won a third term on the promise that American boys would not fight on foreign battlefields. In the last days of what seemed to be a losing campaign Truman resorted to the very same tactics that proved so successful in the past. He minced no words in declaring that he, unlike his Republican opponent, was the apostle of peace.

Stealing Wallace's thunder, Truman in the very midst of his campaign tour proposed to send Chief Justice Vinson on an alleged peace-seeking mission to Premier Stalin in Moscow. He was denounced by Dewey and over-ruled by the Marshall-Dulles team that dominated the State Department. But this slap in the face helped his campaign. He not only defended his action but implied that he would make further efforts along this line, stating: "I will always explore every possible means, no matter how unconventional, for reaching agreement."

Before the American Legion convention in Miami Truman stated that he "detests the thought of war" and that he "would rather see the peace of the world preserved than be President of the United States." He declared "that the peace of the world depends on increasing understanding and better working relationships between the Soviet Union and the democratic nations." In Brooklyn, four days before election, Truman again asserted that "the heart and soul of American foreign

policy is peace."

He answered the criticism of his Republican opponent with the following counter-thrust: "I welcome the abuse that is showered on me by those who have made up their minds that war is inevitable. But when Republican leaders deliberately misinterpret my private consultations with the Secretary of State and try to tell the people of America that my constant concern about peace is wrong, then I must protest."

But that was before election. The hope that Truman would somehow disentangle himself from the war-mongering bipartisan foreign policy has received a cruel jolt in the last few days. On November 16 Truman, contrary to pre-election promises, barred all discussion with Stalin as long as the Berlin blockade continued. Anthony Leviero, *New York Times* correspondent, was forced to comment: "In some of his campaign speeches Mr. Truman left open, by implication, the possibility that at some time of crisis he might again consider sending a personal envoy to Premier Stalin. He was asked if he planned to send such an envoy and he replied that he did not." And two days later Truman smashed all hope that a "new deal" was in store for the State Department by ostentatiously singling out the discredited and defeated symbol of Big Business, John Foster Dulles, to head the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly in Paris during Marshall's absence.

Election promises notwithstanding, the same reactionary clique of bankers and monopolists continues to dominate U.S. foreign policy.

\$25,000 Party-Building Fund Hits 89% of Goal with One Week to Go

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

With only one more week to go before the final figures are chalked up on the scoreboard, the Party Building Fund of the Socialist Workers Party stands at 89% of the goal aimed at.

The total so far contributed is \$22,232.

This represents a magnificent achievement of our friends and sympathizers who understand the importance of keeping a genuine Marxist party in the political field fighting 365 days of the year against capitalism and for socialism.

Detroit sent in a contribution of \$145 for the week, bringing this hard-plugging branch from 88% at last report to 97% — within 3% of the coveted 100% or better category. No doubt the Detroit comrades will manage to punch through in time with the amount needed to put them across

the goal line. New York City collected another \$100, bringing the Local to 96% of its goal of \$7,500. New York has been steadily nosing upward and this week succeeded in moving ahead of the Newark branch with which it was tied last week.

Chicago also sent in \$20 for a 1% gain, but still remains at 63% of its heavy objective, \$2,000.

All our comrades and friends are urged to do their utmost to send in every dollar they can this week in order to get under the wire. Rush all funds to the Fund Director at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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
Detroit	1,600	1,555	97
New York City	7,500	7,185	96
Newark	750	705	94
Akron	400	361	90
Buffalo	1,000	896	90
West Virginia	100	90	90
Seattle	600	500	83
San Diego	50	41	82
Connecticut	250	187	75
Los Angeles	2,500	1,830	73
Chicago	2,000	1,262	63
General	1,050	190	18
Total	\$25,000	\$22,232	89

GM Speed-up Provokes Detroit Chrysler Strike

DETROIT — Members of CIO auto workers Local 7 in the Jefferson and Kercheval plants of Chrysler Corporation returned to work Nov. 15 after a strike in protest against the firing of six workers in the Jefferson crankshaft department for failure to meet the company's new speed-up production quota.

Although no new production methods have been introduced, the company arbitrarily raised the crankshaft quota from 480 to 600 per day. Since each crankshaft weighs a hundred pounds, this means each operator had to lift 30 tons of steel daily. On Nov. 9, six men were fired for failing to meet this inhuman quota.

The night shift met this pro-

vocation by walking out, followed by the day shifts of both plants the next morning. A special meeting was called at that time in the local union hall.

More than 1,500 attended in the largest gathering ever held at the hall.

An overwhelming vote favored a motion to remain out of the plants until all fired men were returned to their jobs, including four others fired in the Kercheval trim-shop.

After a long session between a union committee, composed of Local 7 officials, international staff members and Norman Mathews, UAW Chrysler Director, and the company, the union representatives ordered the men back to work on Monday, Nov. 15.

While six fired men were reinstated, no clear settlement of the disputed speed-up quota was announced. The union committee

agreed to a "fair day's work" formula—which in practice has meant a boost of from 480 to 520 crankshaft output.

In line with the General Motors speed-up campaign, the company several months ago put "mechanical stool-pigeons" on some of the machines in the Jefferson plant to record all output and the time each operator spent on each operation. On this basis the quota was raised to 600. Then the company fired 6 men on Oct. 29. They were reinstated when the shop committee agreed to the "fair day's work" formula, which actually meant a raise in individual output requirements from 480 to 520.

The men have never agreed even to this increase. It is correctly regarded as a move toward a general speed-up. The workers have shown their readiness and desire to fight this speed-up, but the Reutherite leadership does nothing.

D. P. Duluth, Minn.

William Green Greets AFL Delegates



Seated on the platform as AFL Pres. William Green opens the 67th annual AFL convention in Cincinnati are executive council members (last row, background): Joseph N. Weber, William C. Birnhaugh, Matthew Wolf, Harry C. Bates, Dan W. Tracey, Charles McGowan, David Dubinsky, Daniel J. Tobin and Herman Winter. Foreground, backs to camera: Phil Hanna and George F. Harrison. Federated Pictures

WORKERS FORUM

Stalinists Spread Slander Book in Great Britain

Editor:

I wonder if you could let me have back copies of *The Militant* or the *F. I.* in which you dealt with that slander book, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*.

The Stalinists have shipped large quantities of this book over to England and are making it MUST reading for their membership. To sell it as widely as

possible they are offering it at a fantastically low price.

You must be very busy with your Presidential campaign and I am sure all the comrades here are wishing you every success in raising the banner of Trotskyism and greatly broadening your contacts and sympathizers.

Manchester, England

Hopes to Beat Us To the Revolution

Editor:

Enclosed please find postal note for 35c. for 15-week trial sub to *The Militant*, for a contact of mine. We are using your paper to beat you to the revolution.

B. G. Canada

Advocates Replacing Labor Bureaucrats By Militant Unionists

Editor:

With the election over, the Socialist Workers Party must concentrate on getting the Trotskyist message across to the militant non-Stalinist unionists that voted for Wallace.

Most of these workers were swayed into voting for Wallace by his false promises for peace. According to Winchell and Pearson, the Stalinists have orders from Moscow to dump Wallace. This should convince these honest, but confused workers that their best bet lies with the Socialist Workers Party.

The labor bureaucrats that sold out to "Injunction Harry" should be replaced by militant unionists. Only when the workers unite in a Labor Party of which the Socialist Workers Party is the vanguard will they have a nation free from poverty and fear of war.

D. P. Duluth, Minn.

Tells "The Militant" To Keep Up Its Good Work for the Truth

Editor:

Some of your numbers I enjoy especially well. Keep telling the truth as it seems to your sincere, honest mind. That will keep up the battle now raging for truth and justice. A crisis will soon be reached when the wrong MUST yield to the right.

P. L. D. Penna.

Grateful to ACEWR For Timely Package

The gratitude of destitute European workers for aid received from the American Committee for European Workers Relief is well indicated by this excerpt from a letter:

"A few days ago I learned that my youngest daughter has contracted tuberculosis. Because of the bad food situation, it is impossible in our zone to get her into a sanitarium, nor could I send her to Switzerland because there are so many sick children. It was then, while I was trying to satisfy her with dry bread and black coffee that I received your second package with milk, eggs, cocoa, chocolate, sugar, fats and clothing. I thank you. I will never forget this."

Canadian Trotskyists Announce New Local In Vancouver, B. C.

Labor Challenge, newspaper of the Canadian Trotskyists, announces that the Revolutionary Workers Party has opened headquarters in Vancouver, B. C. The address is 61 Cordova St., West, Room 12A.

Special Offer!

"Writings and Speeches of E. V. Debs"

This important 500-page book containing many unpublished letters, articles and speeches by the great American Socialist, recently issued at \$4.00 NOW AVAILABLE FOR \$2.25



Limited Time — Limited Quantity — Rush your order

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m.
BALTIMORE — 1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1733. Daily 8 a.m. - 5 p.m. O. Coover St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale.
BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 20 Stuart St., open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m. Wed. 7-10 p. m.
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 632 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, bookstores.
CLEVELAND — Militant Forum, Sun. 8:30 p. m. Week's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave., Phone TY 7-6207. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.
FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2490. Open House Saturday evenings.
LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VANDYKE 8001.
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 BRADWAY 2-9645.
MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 8 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. Phone 2-2274. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University St., 1st fl. Phone GR 5-8149.
LAST SIDE — 251 E. Houston St., 1st fl.
HARTLEM — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1886. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p. m.
BRONX — 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone BR 2-2274. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.
CHICAGO — 139 W. 23rd St. Phone CH 2-9434.
OAKLAND (Cal.) — Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4.
PHILADELPHIA — 1505-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5620. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Tues., Wed., Fri., 7 to 9 p. m. forum. 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 8378. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstores.
ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL — 540 Cedar St. Phone GARfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore.
TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kappa Hall, 413 Summit, Rm. 5.
YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 5-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:25 p. m. 4 p. m.

Expulsion of Max Bedacht

By George Breitman

You cannot hold the belief that the fundamental issue in America today is capitalism or socialism — and belong to the Communist Party at the same time.



charges of factionalism against the party leadership.

Because Bedacht has not yet issued a statement of his own, and because falsification and distortion are component parts of all Stalinist charges against dissidents, it is impossible to say with any certainty what the precise nature of Bedacht's differences with the CP is. But that does not in any way alter the significance of the charges placed against him.

"The main tenets of the line advanced by Bedacht," says the New Jersey CP, "...were that the issue in America today was Capitalism vs. Socialism, and that the Progressive Party is equivalent to the French 'Third Force.'"

Leaving aside the accuracy of this charge, the charge itself should serve as an eye-opener to those members and sympathizers of the CP who took seriously the Foster-Dennis attacks on the revisionist policy followed by the Stalinists under the leadership of Browder.

Again and again the Foster-Dennis leadership

denounced Browder for revising Marxism, soft-pedaling on socialism and collaborating with capitalists. Again and again they promised to return the party to a consistently Marxist and class struggle policy.

Now comes the expulsion of Bedacht to demonstrate once again how worthless those promises were. What kind of Marxist party is it that expels people because they advocate a socialist alternative to the evils of capitalism? What kind of change has such a party made from "Browderism" when it has no room in its leadership or ranks for those who ask for the abandonment of class collaboration, which is the essence of "Browderism?"

Bedacht has been in disgrace for over two years, and has been up on these charges for some time. It is probably not coincidence that his expulsion took place just now.

The Nov. 20 N. Y. Times says: "During the recent campaign when the Progressive party backed the Presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace, many Foster followers were disquieted by Mr. Wallace's repeated declarations that he stood for 'progressive capitalism.' This report has been confirmed on many occasions in recent months by people in close contact with the Stalinist ranks."

Bedacht's expulsion, following on the heels of the Wallace fiasco in the election, is undoubtedly intended to give pause to the members who are uneasy over CP support for that millionaire capitalist.

"Don't dare to question our policy of supporting progressive capitalists!" That is the substance of the CP leadership's warning to the members, expressed in Bedacht's expulsion. "Don't dare to question this policy if you want to remain a member!"

Too Many People?

By Mary Wood

Have you seen the articles sprouting like weeds in the newspapers lately? The articles and columns solemnly declaring that there are "too many people" in the world? Do they seem to you like a ghastly joke, as you think of the dead of World War II?

Fifty million lives lost in the war; hundreds of thousands more wiped out by three years of "peace" with its hunger, cold and disease; and the still grows in the shattered cities of Europe.

Yet the stooges of capitalism dare to raise that old scare-story: "There isn't room for us all!" It was one of their leading spokesmen who brought the subject up a few weeks ago—Dr. Brock Chisholm, director-general of the United Nations World Health Organization. And no sooner had he opened his mouth, than all the smug, fat capitalist editors took up the chant that the masses will eat themselves out of the world.

Chisholm was repeating the words that made Robert Malthus infamous over a century ago. But whereas Malthus tried to prove his case with figures, Chisholm's satisfied with a wild guess. The world's population is increasing by two million a month, he says, and therefore the starvation point may come "in a year, 10 years, or 55 years," tomorrow or half a century away.

In this "scientific" manner he predicted that the world's resources won't support the human race "much longer" without "an organized, universally accepted policy of limiting the size of families."

Neither he nor any of the writers who echo his thoughts, have a word to say about what science could do to guarantee plenty of food for everyone. It would be possible to prevent devastating floods, to reclaim swamplands, to irrigate the desert areas, even to grow plants by water culture as was done on an experimental scale during the war. But to do any of these things on a large

scale, takes money; and the capitalists won't spend money to preserve humanity. They prefer to wipe it out by bombs.

Naturally, as socialists we're in favor of birth-control education; we believe that every woman must have the right to decide how many children she will bear. But this decision should be based on her own wishes, not the frantic hue-and-cry of capitalist propagandists.

The capitalists are not interested in helping mothers shape their own lives. Their real purpose in reviving the old scare-story is simple and cynical.

The hysteria they hope to create about overpopulation, will screen their apologies for the coming war. Like Malthus, they will use these false figures to justify all the preventable terrors that capitalism heaps upon the working class.

Malthus was infamous not only for his "overpopulation" predictions, but for the conclusions they led him to: that wars, famine, and pestilence are not altogether bad, because they're "nature's way" of keeping the world's population in check. And since the human race must die of hunger if it isn't wiped out by man-made catastrophes, who can oppose disasters that kill a few tens of millions of men, women and children?

But history will answer the Chisholms even more emphatically than it answered Malthus. New lands provided sustenance for millions whom Malthus thought could never live. New methods under socialism, will provide for all the population of the future, a bounty that we can only dream of today.

The problem isn't "too many people." It's "too many capitalists" who stand in the way of progress. When we workers kick them out, the voices of Malthus and Chisholm will be forever silenced.

(Reprinted from Nov. Labor Challenge, Canadian Trotskyist newspaper).

Notes from the News

BRITISH UNIONS GROW — In 1947 membership in the British trade unions was 7,758,262. This is an increase of 3,063,262 over the 1937 figure. Contributions to the Labor Party increased in the same period from \$504,000 a year to \$1,200,000.



AXE OUT FOR O'KONSKI — Alvin E. O'Konski, Republican Congressman from Wisconsin, has been charged by the AFL Labor's League for Political Education with payroll-padding and kick-backs on salary checks. These charges are similar to those on Congressman J. Parnell Thomas will face trial in January.

DIXIECRATS UNDER FIRE — The National Negro Council and the National Conference on Civil Rights wired Truman to insist on the next Congress taking steps to deny the oath of office to Senators-elect from Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. Some 2,000,000 Negroes are disfranchised in these four Dixiecrat states.

SOMEWHAT BEHIND THE TIMES — According to the Colonial Office in London, three percent of the British people think that the United States is still a colony of Great Britain.

LAY-OFFS HIT DRESS INDUSTRY — Employment in the dress industry of New York state

is down 25 percent from a year ago. Union officials say that the lay-offs are counter-seasonal.

HAD ENOUGH — After 20 years of married life, Mrs. Beatrice Boria, aged 35, sued her 35-year-old husband, Charles, for divorce. Up before the judge, she agreed to a compromise. She will return home to take care of their two children. However, her husband must consider her as a "housekeeper" and refrain from trying even for a kiss.

IVORY TOWER — The extent of the demoralization among Kuomintang officials can be judged by the case of Wong Wen-hao, Premier of China. Dictator Chiang Kai-shek refused to accept Wong's recent resignation because of the urgent need of the Premier's services in the civil war. However, Wong has not showed up at his office since then. He is staying home reading and writing — poetry.

NEGRO FOOTBALL CAPTAIN — For the first time in Yale's history a Negro has been elected captain of the football team. He is Levi Jackson, star halfback. He was the unanimous choice of his teammates.

WALL STREET EXPERT — Frederick N. Goldsmith, stock market forecaster, is stoutly defending his right to predict stock trends from "signs" he noted in such comic strips as "Bringing Up Father." Some of his customers claim they made money from his tips.

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

Open Two Days

Friday opens at 6 p. m. Saturday opens at 10 p. m. Auction Saturday Night

130 WEST 23rd STREET, NEW YORK

VOLUME XII

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1948

NUMBER 48

THE MILITANT

National Retail Sales Decline Worries Wall St. Economists

By John G. Wright

The key to this country's economic situation lies in the condition of its internal market. Up to a few weeks ago there appeared to be little question about its stability. The consensus of capitalist opinion has been especially optimistic concerning retail trade prospects in the final quarter of this year. But unexpected developments have now placed a big question mark over all the authoritative forecasts.

Let us briefly review the situation. It was assumed that the critical test of the internal market for the whole of this year had been successfully passed during the Easter sales season. After the sharp break of farm prices earlier in the year, serious difficulties were indicated ahead, and considerable nervousness and apprehension was aroused at the time.

FEARS ALLAYED

But when the retail trade withstood the Easter sales test, all these fears were quickly allayed. The internal market was pronounced to be in the best possible health. Confidence in the business circles was further bolstered by the passage of the 7 billion dollar ECA program. This not only propped up foreign trade but also domestic production. Additional billions were pumped into industry by stepping up the arms program. It appeared that all these new billions were the best possible security against any economic troubles for at least 12 to 18 months.

And indeed, during the first nine months of this year retail sales kept rising to new levels, averaging monthly increases of five to ten percent. At the same time, the columns of the press continued to bristle with new peak figures of annual production rates, output of goods and services, number of employed, personal consumption expenditures and so on. In the face of all this, there was not the slightest expectation of any difficulties, least of all in the final quarter of the year with its normally heavy Christmas buying season, the biggest season of all.

OPTIMISTIC MOOD

On the contrary, the outlook was, as we said, highly optimistic. The prevailing mood was quite

accurately summarized by Business Week, one of the authoritative business weeklies, which wrote the following in its leading article, Nov. 20 issue:

"At the moment the retail picture looks brighter than it has at any time for the past year. If the retail sales are no longer carrying the business boom, as they did in 1946, at least the boom is carrying sales. Retail volume has been marching up steadily with the rise in personal incomes. With a half-way decent Christmas, 1948 retail volume will break all records."

Christmas sales, it was confidently expected, would average five to ten percent higher than last year. One big New York retailer informed Business Week that his store's sales might even go up 20 percent. In expectation of such sales, the retailers have been expanding their inventories rather briskly. In September alone retail inventories shot up by almost two-thirds of a billion dollars.

SALES DROP

But contrary to expectations sales have not been booming in the initial period of the Christmas season. Instead there have been signs of weakness. They first became apparent in the middle of October when retail sales started falling behind last year's levels in the Middle West and on the West Coast. By the first week in November similar conditions spread to other areas and reports of declining sales became nationwide.

Federal Reserve figures for the week ending Nov. 6 showed that the Chicago district had passed through its third consecutive week of lagging sales. Another key area, the Cleveland district recorded declines for the second consecutive week, as did the New York district. The West Coast reported "the most severe decline in retail business activity during the year to date." From New England came the warning that "extreme caution is warranted."

The latest figures available at this writing are for the week ending Nov. 13. They show a nationwide drop of 9 percent as against the previous week's drop of 8 percent. The sales lag has

already proved severe enough to show a four weeks' decline as compared with sales a year ago.

EXPLAINING IT AWAY

The capitalist press has naturally tended to minimize the implications of this development. The most common explanation is "unseasonable weather" or some other accidental factor. The truth is, of course, that the internal market is neither so healthy nor stable as the apologists for "free enterprise" pretend. The lagging sales amidst a normally busy season are actually the latest ominous signals of the insoluble capitalist contradictions that undermine the economy.

A recent dispatch from Philadelphia sums up the situation quite well, even if unintentionally:

"Retail distribution has become spotty. The weather has been favorable. Store traffic has been at least as heavy as last month, but dollar volume totals are falling behind the like weeks of 1947. Irregularity in recent retail sales applies to durables as well as soft lines." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 21.)

The need for goods remains as urgent as ever. The people flock to the stores as before. But the distribution of goods is not in accordance with needs but solely in accordance with the pocket-book. Soaring prices have eliminated more and more families from the market. They simply haven't the purchasing power to obtain the goods they so sorely need.

Under capitalism this contradiction between the available goods and the people's ability to buy is a chronic condition. It is only a matter of time before it becomes acute and breaks out to the surface in terms of "irregularity" in retail sales.

If the conditions as reported from Philadelphia persist and if they are representative of the country as a whole, then it means a sharp turning point in the domestic market.

With the heaviest weeks of Christmas sales still in the offing, it is too early to say that such a turning point has already been reached. But we shall not have to wait very long for a definitive answer. It will come by Christmas.

Workers' Savings Dwindle

Decline in Average* Reserve (U.S. Bond and Bank Savings) Held by Workers' Families

FAMILIES OF SKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED WORKERS:



FAMILIES OF UNSKILLED WORKERS:



The drain on family savings caused by the steeply rising cost of living is illustrated in this chart, published by the CIO Economic Outlook, based on an official survey. Winthrop W. Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, "deplored" the decline in savings and told fellow bankers at a banquet of the Association of Stock Exchange Firms that it was a "weak spot" in American economy. Federated Pictures

Bohannon Urges Independent Political Action by Negroes

NEWARK, Nov. 24.—William E. Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 11th District in New Jersey, is now arousing even more interest about the party's anti-Jim Crow program in Newark's Negro community than he did during the recent election campaign.

In part, this is due to the fact that on Nov. 2 Bohannon received 2,387 votes, or more than 2% of the total. This represented less than the margin by which the Democratic candidate defeated the Republican incumbent, and compared favorably with the 3,088 votes given to the Wallaceite candidate.

NEW PROPOSAL — Another reason for growing interest in the SWP program was a new proposal advanced by Bill Bohannon and prominently featured on the front page of last week's New Jersey Afro-Amer. This proposal, offering a practical program of action for Negroes in the next election to be held in this city, is already the subject of serious discussion throughout the Negro community.

Five members are scheduled to be elected to the City Commission, Newark's governing body, next May. Although Newark has a large colored population, no Negro has ever been elected to the Commission.

LACK OF REPRESENTATION — In his open letter to the Negro press, Bohannon calls attention to the lack of Negro representation in Newark's government, which is even worse than the situation in the national government where Negroes represent less than one-half of one per cent of Congress, although the Negro people compose about 10% of the country's population.

CAN WIN — Bohannon expresses the belief that Newark Negroes can win representation in the May election, and explains how this can be done:

"By calling for a united conference of all Negro organizations in this city, preferably under the auspices of the influential Negro press."

"This conference, with delegates democratically elected by their organizations, could work out an anti-Jim Crow program acceptable to most of the Negro community, select one competent candidate to run on this program,

and ask for the united support of the community.

"On this basis, the conference could then appeal to the trade unions and other progressive organizations and ask their alliance and help in winning one place on the Commission for the Negro people."

Subscribe to

THE MILITANT

Pacific Coast Strikers To Vote on Agreement

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 25.—An agreement to settle the 85-day-old Pacific Coast Maritime strike has been reached by the heads of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Waterfront Employers Association.

The agreement, which includes a 3-year contract and a non-retroactive wage increase of 15 cents an hour, will be submitted to the union membership for ratification or rejection.

The Marine Cooks, Marine Firemen and CIO Radio Operators have not yet reached terms.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 21.—The West Coast shipowners have launched what striking maritime workers call a "peace" offensive. Trying to create the impression that the shipping kings are making concessions in the 80-day-old struggle, the press says that both union spokesmen and employer representatives are speeding up negotiations "in order to take advantage of the East Coast longshore strike to recapture business lost while Pacific ships were tied up."

The CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has been in negotiations with the Waterfront Employers for the past ten days without reaching agreement on: (1) freedom of union business agents to consult with union members on the job; (2) sections 11-A and 11-B of the old agreement which requires longshoremen to work as directed by the stevedore boss regardless of past work practices; and (3) the union right to respect picket lines.

The union business agent shall not be allowed on the docks unless accompanied by a representative of the employers who shall at all times be in hearing distance when the business agent talks with union members on the job. This would allow the em-

ployers to spot the most militant members of the union when disputes over interpretation of the agreement occur on the job, and thus provide the conditions for an extensive black-list.

The union is also insisting that the hated sections 11-A and 11-B be stricken from the old contract. Under these longshoremen have been forced to work under speed-up until an arbitrator's ruling is handed down. This usually requires months. Meanwhile longshoremen lose thousands of dollars through reduced working hours.

Another example of what the employers mean by a "binding contract"—one that gives them the right to issue any orders they choose and requires the longshoremen to continue work—is their insistence that the union will respect only "legal" picket lines. If the union accepted this kind of a clause in the new contract, longshoremen would be in violation of their agreement every time some judge issued an injunction against dock picketing by seamen or other striking workers.

The Stalinist officials who are conducting negotiations under the watchful eyes of an alert rank and file have indicated that they consider the main issues near settlement. They are now stepping up the release of certain cargoes.

While this further loosening of the strike grip is encouraged by the top officialdom of the unions, the Pacific American Shipowners Association has just begun negotiations with the CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards and the Independent Marine Firemen. This section of the Pacific Coast marine employers has stiffened its attitude toward the Marine Firemen since resumption of negotiations. These employers had hoped to split the Firemen away from the other striking unions early in the strike because officials of

this union had signed the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits. However this attempt failed. Now that negotiations are proceeding with all striking unions, the vindictive employers have withdrawn their retroactive wage offer and are insisting on onerous revisions in working rules.

The striking maritime workers here have no intention of giving up any of their basic demands. They have been on the picket lines now for two and a half months and are not in a mood to make major concessions in a last minute settlement rush. On the contrary, the rank and file now seeks to take full advantage of the East Coast tie-up to force the employers to grant the full demands of the workers.

Union officials here, however, are inclined to retreat on some of the most important demands, hoping to get a "package settlement" that can be sold to the strikers. They have virtually given up all talk of the "willing and able clause" which was one of the demands of all the striking unions.

The important question of wages has not yet been broached in the current negotiations, except for the employer announcement to the Firemen that they will not grant any retroactivity. Seamen are demanding an average wage increase of \$17.50 per month, bringing the scale to \$222.69 for firemen-water-tenders. Longshoremen had scaled their wage demands down to 15 cents per hour before the strike was called last Sept. 2. However, this modest demand is conditioned upon a wage review next month. The new scale demanded by the ILWU amounts to only \$1.82 for straight time. A wage review based upon the recent rise in living costs should bring the wage raise up to something near the 25-cent increase now demanded by longshoremen on the East Coast.