

## THE FACTS ABOUT LEWIN-CARVER CASE

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# THE MILITANT

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# TRUMAN STANDS PAT ON WAR POLICY

## Crisis of Chiang Regime-Blow to U. S. Imperialism

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

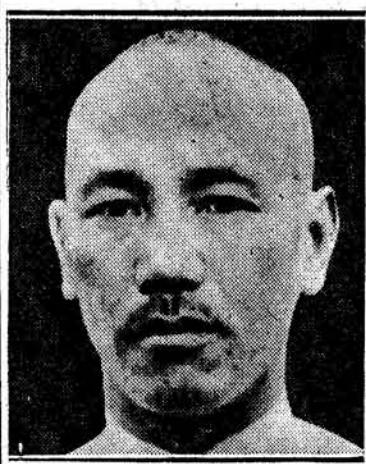
To answer these questions correctly, it is necessary to know precisely who Chiang Kai-shek is, what forces he represents and why he cannot maintain himself in power any longer without the aid of foreign imperialism.

### 1927 REVOLUTION

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

They were backed by the vast peasant population which sought to break up landlord monopoly of the land and end the feudal relations which held China in abysmal ignorance and poverty.

Unfortunately, leadership of this movement rested in the hands



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

of the Stalin clique which was consolidating its power in the Soviet Union. Stalin forced the young Chinese Communists Party to submit to the Kuomintang, the bourgeois nationalist party dominated by Chiang Kai-shek.

At a favorable moment this warlord crushed the Chinese revolution, executing tens of thousands of militants, driving the labor movement underground, and setting up a personal dictatorship that was not exceeded in brutality by the regimes of Mussolini, Hitler or Franco.

### BLEED COUNTRY

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

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

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

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

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

### Will Soon Have Final Returns On Vote for SWP

George Clarke, Campaign Manager of the Socialist Workers Party, reports that he has received numerous inquiries about the total vote cast for Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson, the SWP Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

This information, declares Comrade Clarke, should soon be available. All states where SWP candidates appeared on the ballot have been asked to report the total vote they received. "Two or three weeks" is the time most of the State Secretaries have indicated as needed before the count is completed and made official.

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

## Union Groups Back Defense Of Fired Legless Veteran

A growing number of important trade union bodies are rallying to the defense of James Kutcher, legless Purple Heart veteran who was discharged from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration at Newark, N. J., for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The latest to back Kutcher is Local No. 5 of the CIO United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers at Akron, Ohio.

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

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

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

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

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

### SUBVERSIVE LIST

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

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

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

himself would now graciously consent to 'lead' it."

### 'COOLING OFF'

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

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

Because increased speed-up and decline in shipping have resulted in reduced work-time, the average

pay of New York longshoremen fell from about \$42 a week last year to less than \$40 this year. They are hired by the day at a "shape-up" by the pier bosses and have only a guarantee of two hours' pay under the old contract.

The men are seeking a guarantee of four hours' wages. Ryan's contract contained a four-hour clause but included "exceptions" which would have enabled the bosses to evade the four-hour stipulation in many cases.

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

When the strike began, Ryan said he was not in favor of it and

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

### CHANGES TONE

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

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

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

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

**DIFFERENT TACTICS**

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

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

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

No genuinely militant opposition leadership has yet come to the fore to organize the resistance to Ryan's gangster rule. Whatever organized opposition exists seems to center around John J. "Gene" Sampson, President of Chelsea Local 791 and brother of Frank Sampson, recently deposed Tammany Hall leader.

While John Sampson came out immediately in support of the strike, his opposition to Ryan stems in part from conflicts with

(Continued on page 2)

## Longshoremen Revolt Against Ryan's Sell-out Deal

NEW YORK, Nov. 16 —

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

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

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

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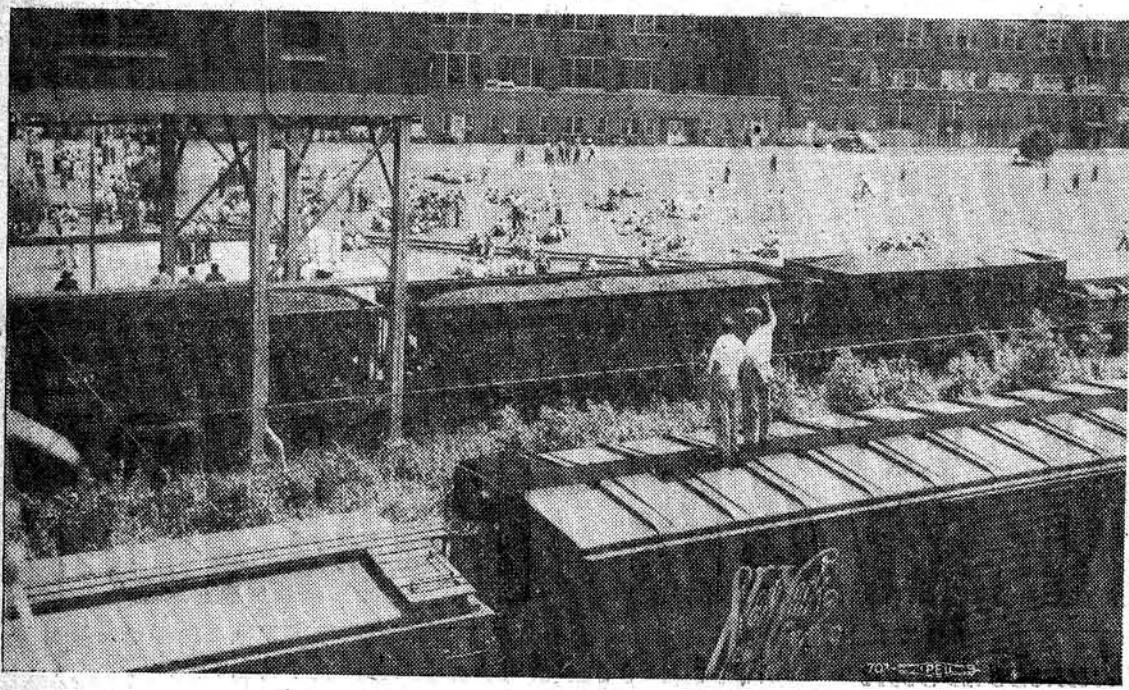
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## Sit-Down Strike



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

## The Fruits of Stalinist Opportunism in Election

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

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

### LEADERS "EXPLAIN"

The concern among the top bureaucrats over this disappointment is evidenced by their continued attempts to offer a rational or at least plausible explanation for the rebuff Wallace suffered at the polls.

They speak of the masses remaining "confused and misled," of Truman "stealing" Wallace's program, of "weaknesses" in the Progressive Party campaign, and so on. The principal explanation they advance, however, is the pernicious effect of the "lesser evil" theory.

### LESSER EVIL

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

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

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

### OUSTED BROWDER

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

### PURE DEMAGOGY

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

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

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

That is correct. But a labor party would be a progressive step in the advancement of the American working class, whereas supporting a Wallace — but the labor bureaucrats beat them at the opportunist game and lined up the working masses behind Truman as the "lesser evil" to Dewey. The Stalinists tried to build a Peoples Front around Wallace. The labor bureaucrats and liberals succeeded in building a far bigger Peoples Front — minus the Stalinists — within the framework of the Democratic Party.

## Longshoremen Revolt Against Ryan's Contract

(Continued from page 1)

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

### A "FORMULA"

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

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

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

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

Ryan is a badly-scared man. He's afraid he may not last as "King" of the ILA if he doesn't come through with substantial gains for the workers. At the same time, he is beginning to feel the "heat" from the press because he is "losing his grip" on the longshoremen and can't "hold them in line" as in the past.

### NO LEADERSHIP

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

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

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**THE MILITANT**

## Hits Army Star-Chamber In Lewin-Carner Hearing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1946, during the Westinghouse strike, the Local 107 publication

reports, "Lewin's picture was flashed around the world when he was photographed being beaten with clubs by at least ten police while he lay on the ground with a cop on horseback hovering over him."

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

### Bradley Reports on "Risk" Hearing

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

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

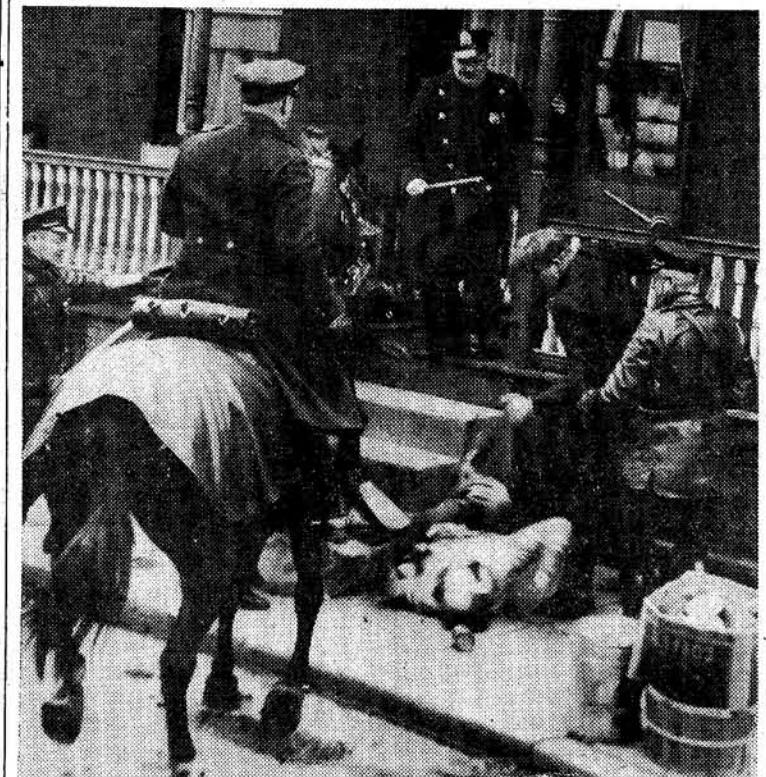
As our members know, both Lewin and Carner are opposed to the policies of the Communist Party and of Russia, although

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

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

### Police Brutality



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

## Relief Group Schedules Bazaar December 10-11

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

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

men.

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

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# THE MILITANT

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FARRELL DOBES, Editor

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Monday, November 22, 1948

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

TROTSKY

LENIN

## Labor Party—Still, The Need

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Crisis of American Imperialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHIANG DOOMED

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another section, unwilling to acknowledge the debacle of its foreign policy, contemplates send-

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

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

This week only two branches forwarded sums of money on their quotas for the \$25,000 Party Building Fund.

New York came through with \$351 bringing it just 6% short of its quota total.

Buffalo mailed in \$51 boosting that branch to 90% of its goal.

The total receipts now stand at 88% of the \$25,000 goal.

The branches have 14 days.

## SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP PARTY BUILDING FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Rochester	\$ 50	\$ 75	150
St. Louis	50	69	138
Baltimore	50	65	131
Boston	275	355	129
Allentown	50	61	122
Tacoma	50	61	122
Philadelphia	500	550	110
Milwaukee	400	419	105
Cleveland	400	400	100
Flint	400	400	100
Lynn	125	125	100
Minnesota	2,000	2,000	100
Pittsburgh	200	200	100
Reading	150	150	100
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	1,500	100
Toledo	200	200	100
Youngstown	800	800	100
Newark	750	705	94
New York City	7,500	7,085	94
Akron	400	361	90
Buffalo	1,000	896	90
West Virginia	100	90	90
Detroit	1,600	1,410	88
Seattle	600	500	83
San Diego	50	41	82
Connecticut	250	187	75
Los Angeles	2,500	1,830	73
Chicago	2,000	1,242	62
General	1,050	190	18
Total	\$25,000	\$21,967	88

## Crisis of Chiang Rule--A Blow to Imperialists

(Continued from page 1)

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

Blood and iron, Wall street

will, prove sufficient to bolster up Chiang. With this despot in power, American Big Business saw China, the richest prize of World War II, converted into an American colony.

CHIANG DOOMED

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

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ing them rest on their own apparatus, deeply rooted in the peasantry.

They yet to be heard from as an independent force is the Chinese working class. A number of strikes

had already been recorded behind Chiang's lines, but the Chinese workers, so long beaten down and suppressed, have not yet entered the political arena in their own right. When they do, they can decisively determine the course of events.

NEW PARTY

The first great problem facing the Chinese workers is to organize their own mass revolutionary party. At first they may turn toward the Stalinists in view of the victories of the Stalinist-led armies and the old tradition of the November 1917 revolution still associated in their minds with the Soviet Union.

But the Stalinists do not even advocate socialism for China. They talk of a long period of capitalist relations tempered with reforms.

Such a program is completely illusory. It was advocated in Czarist Russia by the Mensheviks. Trotsky showed its falseness in theory and the Russian revolution showed in practice that the workers must take leadership of the country and establish a Workers and Farmers Government to solve the social problems of our era.

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

Their record is a heroic record. Many of them spent long years in Chiang's dungeons, for they never

made deals with the Stalinists or with their political opposition to his despotic regime. During the Japanese invasion, they fought against the occupying forces without giving an inch to Chiang.

STALINIST RECORD

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

Even as late as 1945, when

Stalin made a deal with Chiang, they acted the part of faithful pawns in the Kremlin's moves on the international chessboard.

They were willing to again enter a coalition government with Chiang on the proposal of General Marshall, and this scheme blew up only because of Chiang's refusal to go along with this political

coalition.

Whether the top Stalinist bur-

eaucrats would serve merely as Moscow's lackeys should the popular rebellion thrust them into power over all China is not at all sure. The same factors that operated in tiny Yugoslavia compelling Tito to take an independent course, would apply in China with incomparably greater force.

The heads of the Chinese Stal-

inist machine are not Russian

agents sent into a satellite country

conquered by the Soviet Army.

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Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.

4 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Dis-

cussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m.

## American Peoples Front

By E. R. Frank

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Negro Struggle

## Help the Purge Victims!

By Albert Parker

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Mr. Astor Gets A Summons

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

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

Now, if you are addicted to regular reading of the Big Business press, you might after a while get to think of the rich as not such bad folks after all. You read all about their "philanthropies" and the new stained-glass windows they contribute to churches and similar good deeds.

But the little story about Astor's cook gives a better insight into the true character of the plutocratic leisure class. They're pretty mean and cheap.

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

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

## Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* \* \*

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

\* \* \*

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

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

\* \* \*

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

\* \* \*

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

## THE MILITANT

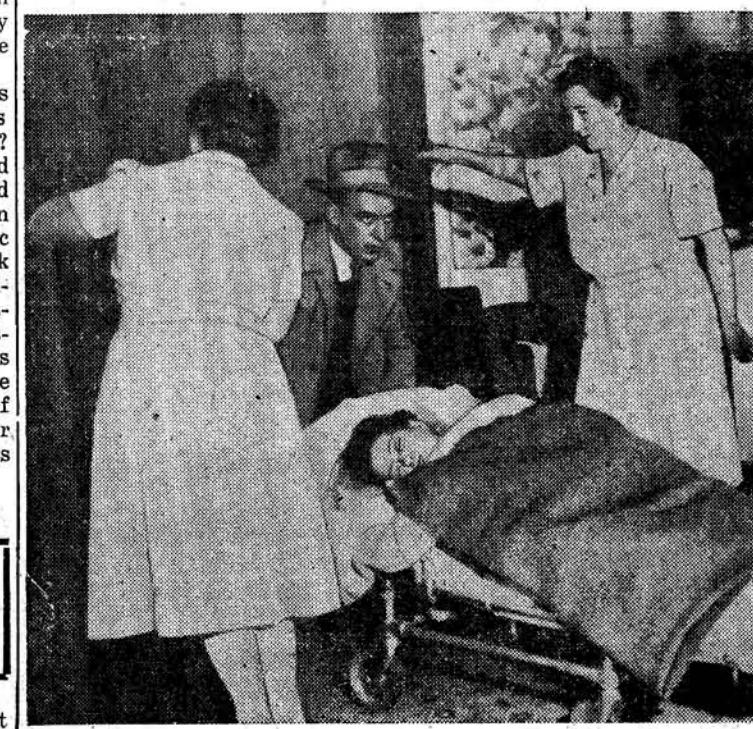
VOLUME XII

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1948

NUMBER 47

# West Coast Shipping Bosses Resume Talks with Strikers

Felled by Smoke



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

Federated Pictures

## UAW PROGRESSIVES HOLD SECOND STATE PARLEY

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

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

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

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

**FINANCES**

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

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

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

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

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

ed work opportunity to be preserved.

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

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

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

**AGREED POINTS**

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

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

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

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

4. A 9-hour maximum work shift.

5. A minimum of four hours paid when reporting for work.

6. A 9-hour maximum work shift.

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