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THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 22, 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...



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.

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.

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 channeling the discontent behind the pro-Wall Street Democratic Party. They will further conclude that to realize their aims, they have to break with the Tweedledee-Tweedledum system of capitalist politics and strike out on their own by building their independent labor party, responsive to their needs and controlled by their ranks.

Crisis of American Imperialism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Union Democracy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The total receipts now stand at 88% of the \$25,000 goal. The branches have 14 days,

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

SCOREBOARD FOR \$25,000 SWP PARTY BUILDING FUND

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Rows include Rochester, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Allentown, Tacoma, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Flint, Lynn, Minnesota, Pittsburgh, Reading, San Francisco-Oakland, Toledo, Youngstown, Newark, New York City, Akron, Buffalo, West Virginia, Detroit, Seattle, San Diego, Connecticut, Los Angeles, Chicago, General, and Total.

Crisis of Chiang Rule - A Blow to Imperialists

(Continued from page 1) American imperialism decided to underwrite Chiang Kai-shek's regime. American ships and planes transported his troops into the key areas formerly held by the Japanese. American Army officers were assigned to train new armies for the dictator. The sluiceways of the U. S. Public Treasury were opened up for Chiang's benefit, and supplies poured into his hands from American armament factories.

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

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 denomination notes to meet the astronomical price quotations that doubled and tripled from one day to the next.

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

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

Another section, unwilling to acknowledge the debacle of its foreign policy, contemplates sending American armies on a major scale to China, even at the risk of precipitating World War III.

Washington's support of the Chiang regime has aroused bitter hatred of America among the Chinese people. This became evident soon after V-J Day, when giant student demonstrations in Shanghai and other cities demanded that American troops get out of China. Save reprisals by Chiang succeeded in suppressing the open expression of this sentiment but not in wiping it out. Two American citizens in Peiping wrote a letter to The New York Times, published in the Nov. 17 issue, calling attention to the hatred which American support of Chiang has aroused. Chiang's planes, they say, followed a policy that "seems to be to bomb and strafe any concentration of people they can sight, to attack any building of size whatever its use, and to specialize on cities that have just suffered the trials of siege and capture whether there is any hope of early recovery or not."

Profit Bonanza for Big Business

Graphic containing various financial reports and statistics. Key items include: Republic Steel's Sharp Rise in Net Results in an Extra Dividend (profits of \$2,874,398 in 3 months compared to \$6,380,016 in same quarter in 1947); Chrysler and Subsidiaries Earn \$59,887,601 Net in Nine Months; U.S. RUBBER SHOWS \$15,216,798 PROFIT; RCA REPORTS GAIN FOR NINE MONTHS; BETHLEHEM STEEL SETS OUTPUT MARK; Standard Oil Company profits of \$17,073,083; U.S. RUBBER SHOWS \$15,216,798 PROFIT; Chrysler and Subsidiaries Earn \$59,887,601 Net in Nine Months.

WORKERS FORUM

Interest Won By Hansen Work Editor: I have lately read a book you sent me free of charge by Joseph Hansen, entitled, The Socialist Workers Party - What It Is, What It Stands For. It presented to me a great party, the Socialist Workers Party. It gave to me the true meaning of a democratic socialism by the working people of America. In it, under "Inside the Socialist Workers Party," it stated there was a monthly magazine entitled, Fourth International. I should like information about this magazine. L. O. S. Eau Claire, Wis.

Credit Goes To Hansen

Editor: Yesterday I gave a copy of Joseph Hansen's, SWP - What It Is, What It Stands For, to a worker at the plant I work in.

I've known this man for four years but had not worked close enough to him in the shop to do much talking to him. He is a good rank and file member. Today at lunch there were four of us, this same guy, my alternate committeeman who is a Stalinist, another worker, and myself. This non-political worker, who had just read Hansen's pamphlet, led the conversation. He talked as one inspired. He told us about the pamphlet. I was amazed at how well he remembered the points. One after another he made them.

"This is the truth," he said, "I'm 54 years old," he said, "and I've been going along trying to figure things out in my own way, and pretty much taking things for granted. But now," he said, "my eyes are opened. I want to learn what it's all about. Can you get me some of Marx's writings?" he asked me.

The Stalinist tried to discredit the pamphlet but the worker answered him from the text. "Wallace is a capitalist," he answered. "How can he do anything for us?" Then together we went to work on the Stalinist and gave it to him, but good. The credit goes to the pamphlet. Hansen did a wonderful job. A Reader Chicago, Ill.

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

Who rules America? Who are the "informal, invisible, shadow" figures behind the White House? What future do they plan for America? What do the inside works of capitalism look like? Where is the capitalist system headed? How will socialism work out? What inspires the members of the Socialist Workers Party? These questions answered by Joseph Hansen in this 32-page pamphlet. Send for your copy. PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- List of local headquarters for the Socialist Workers Party in various cities: AKRON, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, BUFFALO, CHICAGO, CLEVELAND, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, MILWAUKEE, MINNEAPOLIS, NEW YORK, PITTSBURGH, ST. LOUIS, ST. PAUL, TORONTO, WASHINGTON, etc.

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...

zation of which Norman Thomas is a director — is the official sponsor of the get-together. And the dinner committee boasts of such "Socialists" as Harry Fleischman, National Secretary of the S.P., William Becker and Jasper MacLevy. This testimonial dinner is not just an excuse for a grab-bast altho we can be sure there will be plenty of that. It represents a studied effort to cement more firmly the new anti-Stalinist Peoples Front which has beaten Wallace and the Stalinists so effectively in the elections, has secured positions of power in the political machinery of the State and feels more cocky than at any time since the advent of the New Deal.

The Negro Struggle

Help the Purge Victims!

By Albert Parker

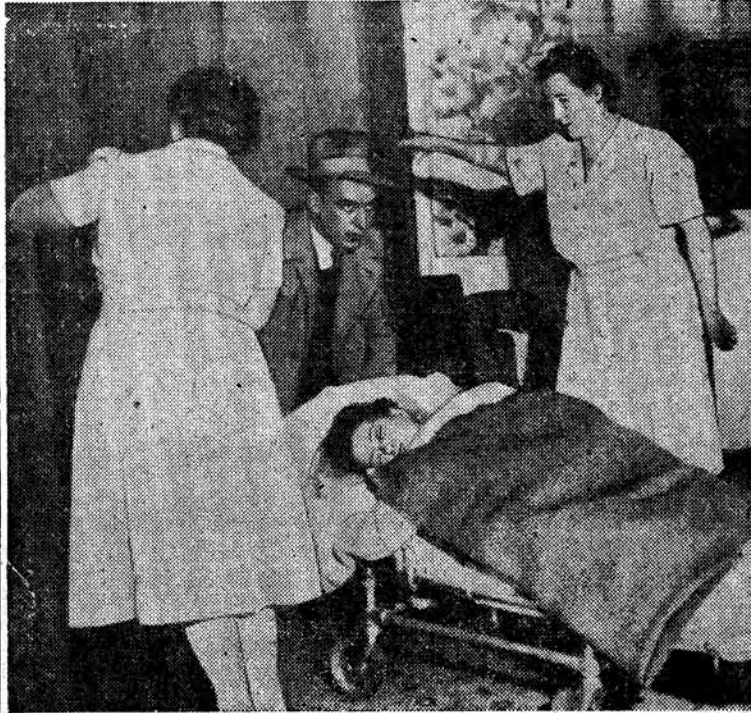
The "loyalty" purge is striking hard and fast at Negro government employes, especially in the Post Office. Charges have already been brought against scores of purge victims in Cleveland, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore and many other cities. And that's only the beginning. The NAACP Board of Directors points out that a year ago, when the so-called subversive list was issued, it called attention to the danger that "prejudiced officials could utilize false charges of disloyalty against minorities to eliminate them from government."

Loyalty Review Board "to take steps to prevent the persecution of colored employes solely because they have dared to stand up and be counted on the side of those who believe in justice for all men." Such a stand by the NAACP is entirely justified. But the matter doesn't end there. Not only the Negro people, but the whole labor movement is affected by the government purge. For that reason, the labor movement too must swing into action to help the Negro victims of this witch hunt—especially that section of the labor movement which has already shown its understanding of the issues involved by coming to the aid of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who was fired from his job in the Veterans Administration.

West Coast Shipping Bosses Resume Talks with Strikers

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

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.

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."

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

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

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

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

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

In the negotiations, the employer group has substituted new faces for the former spokesmen who declared that they would not "do business with Communism."

Frank Foisie, president of WEA, T. G. Plant, and Gregory Harrison are conspicuous by their absence from the negotiations. In their place, appeared Colonel John Kilpatrick of the American President Lines, which is 90 per cent owned by the U. S. Maritime Commission, as chairman of the WEA committee.

Kilpatrick announced that "we who represent the employers are here with a new committee, a new outlook and a desire and determination to negotiate with you a fair and workable agreement."

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

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

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 of the limit.

"2. 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.

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

UAW PROGRESSIVES HOLD SECOND STATE PARLEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Student Caravan Protests Firing of Professor

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

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

Attempts on the part of the students to have Akeley reinstated have been met with intimidation and threat of expulsion and withdrawal of scholarships. Fifteen students are still on strike and face the possible termination of their college careers. The committee for Academic Freedom will meet in Chicago over the Thanksgiving weekend to review the case and plan a vigorous campaign.

Mr. Astor Gets A Summons

By Joseph Keller

If you have good eyes and you read even the one-inch items buried among the ads on page 19, you may have seen an obscure bit in the New York papers last week about John J. Astor being served with a court summons by his ex-cook for a matter of \$172 back wages due and unpaid. Now the John Jacob Astor in question lives at 998 Fifth Avenue in something more than a flophouse. He is direct in line to inherit most of the famous Astor fortune. This fortune was started by that old miser John Jacob Astor, who traded off rot-gut liquor to the Indians for fine furs. It has since been pyramided to hundreds of millions by miles of New York real estate bought cheap and rented dear. So the latest namesake of the rum-for-fur trader isn't so short of the ready that he can't pay a cook's wages.

after the summons was issued, Nov. 9, Deila Curran got a check in the mail. So the case was dropped. That's when the press recognized it at all. Now, if you are addicted to regular reading of the Big Business press, you might after a while get to think of the rich as not such bad folks after all. You read all about their "philanthropies" and the new stained-glass windows they contribute to churches and similar good deeds. But the little story about Astor's cook gives a better insight into the true character of the plutocratic leisure class. They're pretty mean and cheap. They'll hand out five dollar tips ostentatiously in a night club—that's for the society column gossip. But where there's no publicity attached, they'll chisel a nickel every time. The monied class of this country, through its press, has put out an awful lot of bunk about itself — patrons of the arts, preservers of culture, big-hearted philanthropists. The truth is they're vicious, mean in small things as in great. Ask Mr. Astor's ex-cook.

Notes from the News

JOINS WITCH-HUNTERS — David 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 breach its contract with the Electrical Workers.

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

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 15% cents accepted last July and their original second-round demand for a rise of 30 per cent.

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

CAN BE HAD—William E. Collier, 25-year-old Marshall College freshman, is not too particular. For only \$100,000 he is willing to marry "any woman in the United States." With the money, he says, he can finish his education and set up practice as a psychologist. NOT UNION BUSINESS—A proposal of top bureaucrats of the British coal miners union and the National Coal Board to have union locals discipline members for absenteeism has been turned down by the union rank and file. They refused to go for union punishment of absentee miners on grounds this was a management and not a union problem. CLOSED SHOP—Proposed bans on the closed shop in Massachusetts and New Mexico were decisively rejected by the voters on Nov. 2.

Advertisement for 'Now on Sale' featuring 'Fourth International'. It lists contents for December including 'World in Review' and 'The Truman Landslide'. Pricing is 25¢ a copy and yearly subscription \$2. Order from Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.