

AMERICANS IN PARIS, OR TWO NOT-SO-INNOCENTS ABROAD

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THE MILITANT

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Ford Empire Shut Down by Strike Against Speedup

DETROIT, May 10 — By this time the whole world knows that 62,000 workers employed at the Ford River Rouge plant and 3,200 workers at the Lincoln plant are out on strike and that the whole Ford empire is shut down. Tens of thousands of additional Ford workers have been laid off throughout the country as well as workers employed in numerous feeder plants, supplying parts for Ford cars.

The simple issue in the strike is the speedup. It is a climax of the long smoldering resentment of this question throughout the industry and the inability of the Ford local leadership, in particular, to settle this issue satisfactorily at the Rouge plant.

For over three months the chief officers of UAW-CIO Local 600

have been meeting with the Ford Company over the speedup of the final assembly lines in the "B" Building. But despite numerous agreements on paper, the speedup went on unabated.

STRONG STRIKE VOTE

Finally the pressure from the workers grew so intense that the local leadership was forced to call for a strike vote to be taken simultaneously with the run-off election for local officers during the week of April 18. The strike vote carried by the overwhelming vote of 31,926 to 4,400.

The next step, according to the union constitution, was to call upon the international UAW to authorize the strike. The International Executive Board, at a special session in Detroit on April 23, refused authorization for a Ford strike (although it granted authorization for the small Lincoln strike) and instead appointed a special committee to investigate the matter further.

This stalling tactic of the board was motivated by its false theory that speedup was a side issue which would only divert the union from its main aim in negotiating a new contract demanded. Discussion of a new contract was scheduled to begin later this month.

PRESSURE OF THE RANKS

On April 29 the international's investigating committee headed by Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, walked into the "B" building. The workers warned the committee that the company was slowing down the lines for the occasion but, as previous experience showed, would speed them up again soon afterward. The committee took the position that it would test the company's "good faith" by getting an agreement to maintain the

(Continued on page 4)

Call Unemployment 'Healthy Correction'

The Division of Employment Security in New Jersey on May 9 announced that the number of unemployed in the state covered by compensation benefits has risen to a three-year high of 124,000. This figure does not include those who have already exhausted their benefits or who are out of work but not qualified for benefits under existing laws.

73,000 new claims were filed during the month of April, the period covered by the report. Officials of the division said that some industries had been "overproducing" and had hired more workers than "needed." The unemployment increase, they said, "represents only a healthy correction of that overproduced condition."

Atlantic Pact Aimed Against Socialism, Dobbs Tells Senate

Kutcher Group Will Carry Case Into Federal Court

NEW YORK — Declaring that the denial by the top Loyalty Review Board of James Kutcher's appeal "is an alarm signal for every American concerned with civil liberties," the National Committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee at its meeting May 4 voted to take the legless veteran's case into the Federal District Court. National Secretary George Novack said that the legal fight to restore Kutcher to his job would be carried to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary.

PUBLIC WORKERS RIGHTS

The statement adopted by the national non-partisan group defending Kutcher said: "The discharge of this legless veteran solely because of his political beliefs raises issues of constitutional rights which go beyond the discrimination against Kutcher and his party, important as these are."

"Two decisive questions are at stake in this case. First, have public workers the same rights as other Americans, including the right to their own political opinions, as guaranteed by the Constitution — or can they be demoted to second-class citizens? Second, do representatives of the party in office have the right to proscribe other parties and organizations by decree and penalize their members? Or shall the principle of free political activity be preserved so that the American people can enjoy full and free expression for their political ideas and affiliations?"

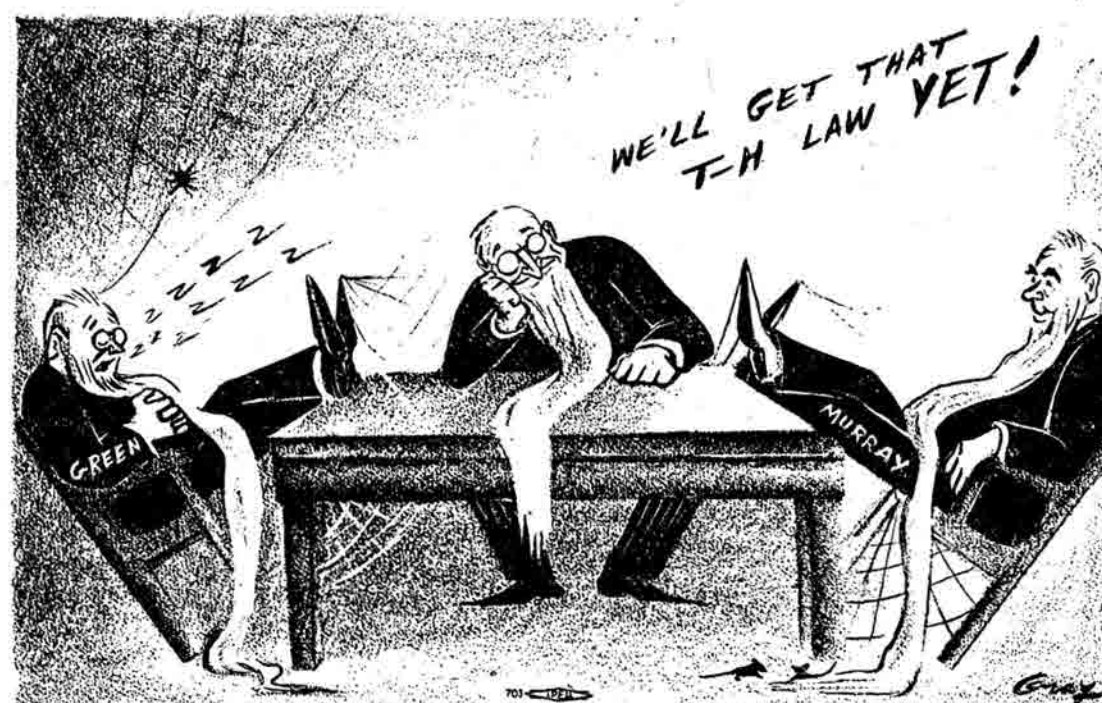
"CLEAR JUDGMENT" SOUGHT

Through its court action the committee hopes to obtain a "clear and conclusive judgment" on these basic questions.

"Above all, our Committee intends to carry Kutcher's case to the people of this country," the statement concluded. "An alert and aroused public opinion can be decisive in halting these restrictions upon our civil liberties. Organizations representing millions of Americans have already rallied behind our efforts on Kutcher's behalf. We call upon every supporter of democracy and fair play to join our campaign to win justice for the legless veteran."

PETITION FOR SIGNATURES

The National Committee meeting also approved a drive to secure the signatures of 500 American educators to a petition asking justice for James Kutcher. The statement sponsored by Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Harold C. Urey and signed by 105 faculty members of the University of Chicago, forms the text of this petition which will be presented to the Washington authorities.



NEWS ITEM: Truman says he's hopeful of getting Taft-Hartley Act repealed, reminds his term still has nearly four years to run.

Opponents of Purge Win New Strength in NMU

By R. Bell

Opposition to the yellow-dog amendments to the CIO National Maritime Union constitution has mounted since the National Council of the union first made public its proposal to purge all so-called "subversives" and compel all members to "affirm in writing" that they are not members of the Communist Party or any other so-called subversive group.

Sparking the opposition were 21 officials in the Port of New York who circulated a statement condemning the repressive character of the proposed amendments and calling on the membership to vote "No" in the 30-day referendum now in progress. Following their lead, all the union patrolmen and the dispatcher in the Port of Baltimore published a statement in opposition to the yellow-dog amendments.

Membership meetings in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore, the largest ports on the east coast, condemned the National Council amendments by huge majorities. From the largest ships sailing off the east coast has come a stream of resolutions blasting the proposal to subvert the non-discrimination clause in the NMU constitution.

The union's Lakes Area Director, a member of the National Council who originally supported the proposed amendments, last week published a statement reversing his position. All these developments reflect the tremendous pressure of the ranks who are thoroughly aroused at the attempt to establish a totalitarian

regime in the union under the pretext of combatting alleged "subversives."

The reaction of the sponsors of the yellow dog amendments is typical. From the southern ports have come reports that the members voting there are being intimidated and terrorized into supporting the amendments. The officials in the southern ports, where the yellow-dog amendments originated, have become known in the union as the Dixiecrats.

These officials have jammed through a stock resolution in their ports demanding that those who openly called for a "No" vote on the amendments be expelled from the union as "undercover agents of the Communist Party."

This move, exposing most clearly the utterly reactionary character of the amendments, roused a storm of indignation and protest from the membership in the large northern ports. The membership meeting in Baltimore, by a vote of 247 to 2, "condemned all of these Dixiecrats who with their threats of charges and expulsions are attempting to run this measure down the throats of the members."

After learning of the Dixiecrat threat against the opposition officials, a special meeting in the Port of New York took up a collection to circulate to the ships a resolution condemning the National Council proposals.

The opposition is led by members of the Rank & File Caucus which ousted the Stalinists from office last year. In this fight the Stalinists have been shunted to

one side where they play the role of "kibitzers" with no influence over the opposition movement.

Typical, for example, of the attitude of the opposition is the resolution adopted at the last Baltimore meeting, which asserts: "The membership has already defeated the Communist Party dictators and will not tolerate any new dictators."

David Drummond, New York Port Agent, has warned that "there are reports from the Gulf that some officials have been voting members without giving them a stamp in their book, and instructing them to vote in other ports, so they will have two votes." Because of such rumors the balloting in the 30-day referendum now in progress is being closely watched.

It is generally conceded that the yellow-dog amendments will be decisively defeated if there is no tampering with the ballots.

SWP Spokesman Demands Repudiation of War Alliance

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5—For the first time in the history of Congress, a Senate body heard the genuine Marxian socialist answer to imperialist war

when Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, testified against the North Atlantic Pact before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today.

"Although the Atlantic Pact is represented as an instrument to preserve peace, its real aim is to preserve oligued capitalism," he SWP's 1948 presidential candidate told the hearing.

"While propaganda in support of the pact is directed only against Stalinism, the pact itself is directed against the movement for socialism. This is demonstrated by the record of post-war diplomacy and by the presence of fascist totalitarians in the present alliance."

ALLIANCE OF DESPOTS

In a slashing 15-minute statement, Dobbs listed the dictatorial regimes and colonial despotisms, from fascist Portugal to the Dutch and French butchers of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples, "that have signed the Atlantic Pact, with its fraudulent pledge to safeguard the freedom of the people."

He drove the point home when he declared to the startled and infuriated Senators that "the people of Puerto Rico, ruled by the United States government in defiance of their democratic right to rule themselves, also have a right to question the sincerity of the high-sounding motives proclaimed in the Atlantic Pact."

The SWP spokesman caught the Senate committee off guard when he opened his statement saying, "I speak neither as an apologist for bankrupt capitalism, nor as a tool of treacherous Stalinism. I speak as a genuine advocate of socialism, which I sincerely believe represents the only road to lasting peace."

Realizing that they had an antagonist of real mettle, the Senators cut their questioning of



FARRELL DOBBS

Dobbs off short and rudely interrupted his answers to the few questions they asked. This was in marked contrast to the treatment accorded others who testified, including Henry Wallace.

SWP'S DEMANDS

Dobbs concluded by demanding repudiation of the pact, publication of all details of the secret negotiations, withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil, repeal of the peacetime draft law, cancellation of the military budget and of grants to foreign imperialists, a halt to the witch-hunt, and a referendum vote of the people to decide whether there shall be war or peace.

This was the first time a Trotskyist spokesman has ever been permitted to testify before a federal legislative hearing.

Full text of Dobbs' statement against Atlantic Pact is printed on Page 2.

A Senate Hearing at Work

By Farrell Dobbs

WASHINGTON, May 5—Perhaps you're interested to know what it's like to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the North Atlantic Military Pact, as I have just done. Here's the story from the time I entered the Senate Office Building at 10 A.M. today.

As I mounted the marble staircase to the second floor, I saw a large group of people queued up outside the door to the Senate caucus room where the committee is hearing testimony on the pact. At the door stood a uniformed guard, a gun slung from his belt and a blackjack protruding ominously from his hip pocket. What a fitting symbol, I thought, of the foreign policy of American monopoly capitalism.

IN THE COMMITTEE ROOM

My telegram of invitation from the committee got me past the gun and blackjack without delay. That is, the first gun and blackjack, there were others inside. The large caucus room, with its marble walls, scroll work, velvet drapes, red-carpeted floor and ornate chandeliers, struck me as gaudy, something like the inner lobby of a first-run theater, where you pay four-bits extra for the decorations.

Technicians swarmed all over the room, setting up their cameras and lighting for newsreel shots and hooking up their radio broadcasting equipment. I finally found Mr. C. C. O'Day, the committee clerk, in the midst of this

scramble, and he showed me every courtesy, for which I was especially grateful, since this was my first experience before a Congressional committee and I didn't know the ropes.

When the technicians were ready for the day's work, about 200 spectators were let in to fill the seats at the rear of the room. Next some 75 reporters and press photographers drifted in to take their places at four long rows of tables.

A few minutes before 10:30, the scheduled starting time, Senator Connally of Texas, the committee chairman, walked in. He was soon followed by Vandenberg of Michigan, McMahon of Connecticut, Hickenlooper of Iowa, Fulbright of Arkansas, Wiley of Wisconsin and an invited, unwanted non-member of the committee who has forced his way into the hearings, Senator Donnell of Missouri, an isolationist.

The committee's tables were laid out in a T-format on with long wings and a short stem. The Senators took seats along the wings, facing the reporters and spectators. The witness chair stood at the base of the T facing the Senators, with most of the press and all of the spectators behind it. At the right of the witness chair sat the committee reporter, pecking away at his little machine, taking down the record of the proceedings.

On the wall immediately behind the committee hung a large map of the world with the 12 member nations of the pact

marked out in black. That too, I thought, is a proper symbol for the reactionary governments gathered together in this holy alliance against the human race.

WALLACE'S TESTIMONY

Promptly at 10:30 Henry Wallace walked in with a substantial entourage. Looking much older than he did last fall, Wallace shook hands with Connally and Vandenberg and seated himself in the witness chair. Connally rapped the gavel, the Klieg lights went on, the newsreel cameras began to grind, the radio and

(Continued on page 2)

Next Week:

Farrell Dobbs will continue his on-the-scene reports of the Stalinist trial in New York, analyzing the government's case to date.

There was an explosion in the coal mine, and then the section boss told the miners to get back to work under dangerous conditions. Read how they reacted.

Also, J. Meyer will review Ray Sprigle's new book, *From the Land of Jim Crow*, and our Detroit correspondent will explain the latest Ford strike news.

Send to The Militant for extra copies. Only 3c. each in bundles of five or more.

Answer Congress With 24-Hour Stoppage

By Art Preis

Even if Truman and his Congressional colleagues pull a rabbit out of the hat, that is, finally push through a labor bill of their own sponsorship, the best labor can hope to get by dependence on the Trumanites will be a re-hashed version of the Taft-Hartley Act under a different label.

The maximum the Truman Democrats are now prepared to fight for is a measure along the lines of the Sims Bill, which the House defeated. So close to the Taft-Hartley Act in spirit and content was the Sims Bill, with its provision for injunctions in "national emergency" strikes, that even the pro-Trumanite labor leaders, who were ready for almost any kind of "compromise," were forced to repudiate it publicly.

But that did not prevent them from passing the word around privately to any Congressmen

they could button-hole to vote for the Sims Bill. They thus sought to "make the record" against the Sims Bill while secretly plugging for its passage.

TRUMAN IS PATIENT

If their slyster game had worked, they would now be hailing the adoption of the Sims Bill as a "big victory" for labor and would be claiming that it represented fulfillment of Truman's key election promise. Instead, the Trumanites are now claiming as a "big victory" only that something worse than Taft-Hartley is not on the books — that is, that the Wood bill, which they called "even worse" than the existing law, was recommitted to the House.

Truman, in his last press conference, talked blithely about winning repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act — if it takes the rest of his term. But he evaded the question of the Sims Bill, refusing to

commit himself on it publicly. However, his Congressional cohorts drafted it and pushed it, although they are now talking even further concessions to the avowed labor-haters.

In the next weeks, the Senate will be taking up the issue of Taft-Hartley repeal. This will give the labor movement another chance to fight for the kind of bill it wants. However, if the top union leaders are permitted to continue their present policies, labor is sure to end up tied and gagged by the Taft-Hartley Act or a virtual replica of it under a different name.

The only time these union leaders have shown any "militancy" has been in their frenzied opposition to any form of effective independent mass labor action. On the eve of the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act in June 1947, the Murrys and Greens frantically opposed a labor march on Washington initiated by a number

of local unions. They denounced even talk of a nation-wide general protest strike. Their "reasonableness" at that time did not prevent passage of the Slave Labor Law.

THE NET RESULT

In the struggle for Taft-Hartley repeal, they have continued all caution and timidity, offering every sort of "reasonable" concession and loudly disclaiming any suggestion of the mobilization of labor's ranks for a real battle. The net result of this policy has been to embolden the union-haters and assure continuation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The mood of the organized workers, however, is in sharp contrast to that of the top bureaucrats. The union ranks are giving substantial evidence of their growing readiness for militant action. A new series of strikes has begun against leading corporations, Ford, Singer Sewing Machine, Philco and others. Every-

where the workers are becoming fed up with the speed-up and company provocations that have been in large measure the result of the Taft-Hartley atmosphere and the retreat of the union officialdom.

This retreat has now reached its dead end, so far as the Taft-Hartley Act is concerned. The distance separating "compromises" like the Sims Bill from the Taft-Hartley Act is so small that not even the "labor statesmen" can find a space between in which they can still squeeze. They have no place to hide.

The only recourse left labor, outside of abject unconditional surrender, is to turn and fight with all its united power. The union ranks must force the leadership to mobilize real action — a 24-hour national work stoppage. That's the kind of language — and the only kind — the Big Business Congress understands.

Text of Farrell Dobbs Statement on Pact

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee:

Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party, I oppose ratification of the North Atlantic Military Pact.

You will find my position different from that of other witnesses appearing before you on this question, for I speak neither as an apologist for bankrupt capitalism, nor as a tool of treacherous Stalinism. I speak as a genuine advocate of socialism, which I sincerely believe represents the only road to lasting peace.

Although the Atlantic Pact is represented as an instrument to preserve peace, its real aim is to preserve outlived capitalism. While propaganda in support of the pact is directed only against Stalinism, the pact itself is directed against the movement for socialism. This is demonstrated by the record of postwar diplomacy

and by the presence of fascist totalitarianism in the Atlantic alliance.

From the Teheran conference down to the present moment, the central objective of American foreign policy has been to safeguard European capitalism against the mounting pressure of the European working people for socialism. All the evidence indicates that Roosevelt and Churchill, as the leading spokesmen for world capitalism, made a deal with Stalin at Teheran whereby he agreed to support the capitalists in Western Europe, in return for which Stalin was to be granted his present sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

STALINIST TREACHERY

Toward the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of European workers poured into the Stalinized Communist Parties,

mistakenly believing the Stalinists would help them establish socialism. But the Stalinist leaders in Western Europe entered capitalist coalition governments and helped to prop up the weak capitalist class. In the countries of Eastern Europe, they set up totalitarian regimes modeled after Stalin's brutal police dictatorship over the Soviet Union.

With the socialist aspirations of the European working people thus betrayed by the Stalinists, the puppets of the Kremlin were driven out of the coalition governments in Western Europe. World capitalism then launched the present cold war against the Soviet Union, a cold war that is growing dangerously warm.

The propaganda of the cold war is focused on the police-state methods of the Stalinists wherever they are in power. This propaganda has struck a responsive

chord because of the terrible crimes the Stalinists have committed against the world working class.

The criminal Stalinists must be overthrown in the course of the struggle for world socialism, but the working people dare not entrust that task to the capitalists. For it is the aim of world capitalism to destroy the system of nationalized economy in the Soviet Union, impose upon the Soviet people the rule of monopoly capitalism under a fascist-like dictatorship, and in the process stamp out all socialist movements everywhere in the world.

MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENT

To serve this sinister aim, a reactionary coalition is forming under the leadership of imperial America, whose only requirement for membership is support of the capitalist system. Examine the list of governments that have signed the Atlantic Pact, with its fraudulent pledge to safeguard the freedom of the people, founded on the principles of democracy and individual liberty.

Among signatories to the pact you will find the Salazar government that has kept the people of Portugal under totalitarian police rule for the last 23 years. Even before the Senate has acted on the pact, a campaign has started to include in the so-called freedom alliance the butcher Franco, who maintains his brutal fascist rule over the Spanish people by executing his political opponents.

As the Dutch foreign minister signed the Atlantic pact, his government arrogantly decreed that "Indonesia is outside the spirit of the pact," and the Dutch imperialists, with the aid of American dollars and military equipment, continue to suppress by force and violence the heroic attempt of the Indonesian people to win their freedom, founded on the principles of democracy and individual liberty.

No less hypocritical are the democratic pretensions of the French government, which seeks to crush by force of arms the struggle for freedom in Viet Nam, Algeria and Madagascar. By what stretch of the imagination can the Italian government be called a champion of democracy when it demands restoration of its imperialist rule over the people of its former African colonies?

The people of Puerto Rico, ruled by the United States government in defiance of their democratic right to rule themselves, also have a right to question the sincerity of the high-sounding motives proclaimed in the Atlantic Pact.

WATCHWORD OF ALLIANCE

Another candidate ear-marked for membership in the so-called freedom alliance will be the capitalist government, well-staffed by Nazis, which the State Department is trying to carve out of the Western zone of partitioned Germany.

The watchword of the reactionary coalition now gathering in the North Atlantic Military Alliance will be, "Preserve the status quo!" Secretary Acheson provided the diplomatic cover for this

objective when he indicated at a recent press conference that a revolution against any government in the coalition, alleged to be inspired, armed and directed "from the outside," would constitute an attack on that government within the meaning of the pact.

Secretary Acheson may have gotten the idea from the Dutch government, which launched its imperialist attack on Indonesia with the fantastic charge that the Indonesian Republic was a "communist movement instigated from the outside." If the people of Portugal should rise up against the fascist dictator Salazar, he could falsely pose as the victim of a revolution "from the outside" and demand armed aid against the Portuguese people from the other governments in the Atlantic alliance.

For the American people the cold war has already meant high prices, heavy taxes, a peacetime draft and a vicious attack on their civil liberties. Billions are appropriated for war, but the people can't get homes, schools or hospitals. The Negro people are abominably mistreated. The Taft-Hartley Act remains on the books.

CONSEQUENCES AT HOME

An unrestrained witch-hunt is raging among government employees and in the public school system. Conscientious objectors to the draft are persecuted. Liberal-minded religious leaders are harassed. Minority political parties are subjected to thought-control prosecution. A flood of bills curtailing traditional American democratic rights has been poured into the hoppers of Congress and the state legislatures.

These hardships and evils inflicted upon the American people are a natural consequence of the government's war-like foreign policy, for there is a direct and intimate connection between foreign and domestic policy. If the Senate should ratify the Atlantic Pact, conditions here will rapidly grow ten times worse as further steps are taken to impose military police-state rule over the American people in preparation for impending war.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I ask you to recommend the following measures for adoption by Congress:

Repudiate the Atlantic Pact and censure the President and Secretary of State for their unseemly haste in rushing to sign it.

Require the State Department to make public all the details of secret negotiations concerning the pact, so that the Senate and the American people may have all the facts about this unprecedented military alliance for atomic war into which the Truman administration is dragging this country.

Order the withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil.

Repeal the peacetime draft law.

Cancel the military budget and all financial grants to foreign imperialists.

Halt the witch hunt.

Initiate a measure to provide for a referendum vote of the people to decide whether there shall be war or peace.

Militant Fund Drive Near Successful Finish

By Reba Aubrey
Campaign Manager

Collections for the \$7,500 Militant Fund took an encouraging leap last week, rising from 68% to 86%, and bringing us within reaching distance of a successful conclusion of the campaign on time.

The last day for turning in funds is May 15, and the final scoreboard will be printed in next week's issue of this paper.

Morgantown, which had over-fulfilled its quota early in the campaign, sent in additional contributions that credit it with 180%.

Newark went from 76% to 100%, and then sent in more to take second place with 103%.

In the past week, the branches in Cleveland, Youngstown, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Boston, Worcester, Philadelphia and Flint all came through with additions on their quotas that placed them in the 100% category, which almost half the branches have now reached. Some say they may even be able to surpass their quota before May 15.

Most of the other branches have sent us communications promising that they will come through with their final payments before the deadline. Such assurances have come from Buffalo, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Chicago, and we have every reason to expect not only them but the other branches to meet their obligations on time. Incidentally, the last zero on the scoreboard was erased this week when Rochester submitted its first payment.

SCOREBOARD FOR MILITANT FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Morgantown	\$ 25	\$ 45	180
Newark	250	264	106
Flint	200	202	101
Seattle	50	50	100
Allentown	25	25	100
Los Angeles	600	600	100
New Haven	35	35	100
Cleveland	150	150	100
Youngstown	300	300	100
Pittsburgh	100	100	100
Boston	150	150	100
San Francisco-Oakland	500	500	100
Worcester	25	25	100
Philadelphia	400	400	100
Reading	50	46	92
Minneapolis	400	363	91
Toledo	50	45	90
New York	2,000	1,773	89
St. Paul	200	175	88
Lynn	50	37	74
Chicago	250	169	68
Baltimore	100	65	65
Buffalo	500	311	62
Detroit	500	304	61
Milwaukee	150	79	53
Akron	200	100	50
New Britain	50	25	50
Rochester	25	12	48
St. Louis	50	16	32
General	115	76	67
Total through May 10	\$7,500	\$6,442	86

From sympathizers we received more than \$18 during the last week, namely — A. Siegel, California, \$1; C. A. S., Texas, \$1; Eugene B. Hudsonville, \$2; F. N., New York City, \$1.75; W. Doty, Minnesota, \$5; J. Seward, Mrs. Seward and W. Stuart \$7; and from Mrs. M. of Minneapolis \$1.02 which she collected in small change from some friends. A supporter in California has also promised to send us about \$40 next week. At this rate we should be able to exceed even our "General" quota in the scoreboard.

Labor Union Trends

Recent Zigzags of Stalinists in the CIO

By Bert Cochran

The CIO convention in Portland last November took the conflict of the CIO bureaucracy against the Stalinists out of the undeclared guerrilla stage. Murray and his lieutenants formally declared war on the already-decimated Stalinist cohorts, and after the convention the Executive Board attempted to put the hostilities on an organized and centrally-planned basis, and complete the job of wiping out all Stalinist control.

WHAT GUIDES THE CP

This took on different forms depending on the tactical requirements in each situation. In the UE, the word went out to stop the raiding; the Carey-ACTU opposition was propped up, promised backing and readied to wrest the union away from the Stalinists. The Farm Equipment union was peremptorily ordered to get into the UAW. At the same time, both the Auto and Steel unions continued raiding expeditions against the already weakened Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, with the aim of putting this outfit out of business altogether.

The Stalinists, of course, are not as other trade unionists or radicals. Whether they act tough or flabby, whether they talk militant or conservative depends not on any set of principles, or even their own needs as a party, but on the policy of the Kremlin Poo-bahs at the particular time.

At the Boston CIO convention a year before, the Stalinists, still unsure of the Kremlin line, voted for the foreign policy "Marshall Plan" resolution and helped soap the red-baiting rope which was used to hang them shortly thereafter. They actually participated in drafting the red-baiting motion which stated: "We resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO."

But by the time the Portland convention rolled around, the line had stiffened. The "cold war" had reached the ferocious stage and Stalin was anxious to use his puppet parties abroad to blackmail the imperialists into new concessions. So the Stalinists went into whole-hog opposition. They didn't put on a very good show, though, at Portland. Partially, because they did not have the memberships of their own in-

ternational unions lined up behind them. Partially, because they had grown rusty at the opposition game and their own union fractions were corroded with opportunism.

THEIR NEW DEMANDS

After Portland, however, they went to work to polish up their new line and sell themselves again to the CIO members as militants and left-wingers. After years of pitching labor-management cooperation, piece-work, bonus systems, Roosevelt, the Democratic Party, the no-strike pledge, "win-the-war" programs and the like, they now began, without winking an eyelash, to fill the air with demands for a 30-hour week, militant action, pay increases, Congress of Labor, joint wage strategy and what have you.

The Stalinist UE leadership, who had stabbed the General Motors strikers in the back in 1946 and signed a contract with GM for less money than the Auto union was demanding, now wanted the CIO leaders to quit fooling around and devise a united wage strategy. The recent FE convention adopted a ringing program for the 35-hour work week at 40 hours pay and for a 24-hour work stoppage against the Taft-Hartley Law. On top of this, they told Murray to go to hell as far as dissolving their organization into the UAW was concerned. The Longshoremen's convention defied so-called "National CIO policy" and told Murray they intended to keep their autonomous rights.

Concomitantly, the Stalinist fuhrers are reorganizing their own party fractions in the unions, weeding out the untrustworthy, and stiffening the backbones of the others.

NEW STAGE BEGINS

There is more noise than substance in Stalinist "militancy." But one should not imagine that the Stalinists will limit themselves to talk and are incapable of actually leading struggles. They led militant strikes during the Stalin-Hilbert Pact at Allis-Chalmers, at North American Aircraft. They may do so again. As a matter of fact, they have already engaged in a few such fights, as witness the UE strike at the Fawcett plant in Cleveland. Have they had any success with

their latest zigzag? We are only at the beginning of a new stage and it is still too early to make definitive judgments and evaluations. But certain trends are discernible.

The Stalinists' previous zigzags have taken their toll. Active unionists, what with their own experiences and the unabated propaganda of the capitalists and the labor bureaucracy, have the Stalinists' number. Consequently the CP crew are finding it devilishly hard to catch fresh fish. They have certainly not made any appreciable headway, thus far, in refurbishing their tarnished reputations.

But don't kid yourself that the Stalinist career of crime, in and of itself, precludes their staging a comeback. It didn't stop them in Europe or Asia. When workers move left and look for radical leadership, they are not so much interested in history, as in backing whatever leadership seems to offer the best chance of achieving results in the present.

ANOTHER CHOICE

As in so many other spheres, developments in union politics and faction fights boil down, in the end, to the question of available alternatives. Were the choice to remain what it was in the past, the choice between a Murray-type conservative machine and the Stalinists, there is no question that, in time, big groups of workers would swing over to the Stalinist camp once again. The election victories of the Stalinist-led independent union in the New York department stores and the PE defeat of the UAW in key agricultural implement plants illustrate this.

But there are definite signs that the choice in the labor movement is not going to be limited to these two unworthy leaderships. A new genuinely progressive anti-Stalinist tendency is arising and in the days to come will more and more aggressively claim the support of the leftward-moving men and women of labor. Reference has previously been made to this kind of development in the auto union, where the opposition, despite the adverse circumstances of the past period, has maintained its influence for over a year and a half. Ditto for a roughly similar formation in the rubber union. And in the past weeks, we have seen the same type of manifestation in the National Maritime Union.

Here the Curran leadership dimaxed its reactionary evolution by proposing to throw out of the union and the industry Stalinists, radicals and opponents in general, sympathizers of radicalism and those falling in any other undesirable categories of an unspecified nature. This miserable crew finally succeeded, by their outrageous witch-hunt, in creating the stormiest opposition seen in the maritime union since the Stalinists were cleaned out. And here is what is very significant. It was not the Stalinists who were the beneficiaries of this development; it was not the Stalinists who were heading this movement. They remain discredited with the broad ranks. It was a new combination of genuine progressives.

Of course, in a lot of unions and places, the fight is still a two-sided business between the Murrayites and Stalinists. But don't underestimate the importance and national character of the events in auto, rubber and maritime. The Stalinists still have a lot of tricks in their bag but they are now up against Abraham Lincoln's dictum that you can't fool all of the people all of the time.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent P. B., reporting on San Francisco's trial effort at regular distributions of The Militant at selected union meetings, writes that "the reception generally has been quite favorable. Our perspective now is to cover even more of the union meetings in the city."

At a discussion held "some time ago," says P. B., "it was generally agreed that The Militant has made tremendous strides from every point of view. Our program has been expressed and stressed; the general lay-out has improved. Gray's cartoons were greatly praised."

Some of the suggestions for further improvement were: (1) That while "as much coverage as possible must be given to certain events, the length of the articles could be cut down." (2) A column should be "devoted to the various activities of the branches in different parts of the country." (3) "In many instances, better choice of headlines could have been made."

The discussion, reports P. B. was held over for another session at a later date.

Rena Breshi, Literature Agent for Boston, writes that "a group of comrades went out last Sunday on a door to door campaign. We sold 31 copies of the paper at a Negro housing project. The reception wasn't bad, although sales were not made as readily as a few years ago. We are going back again to the same people who bought the papers and will try our luck at getting subscriptions."

Some branches have tried mailings to former subscribers in their areas in an effort to secure renewals. The percentage of direct returns from this method is generally much lower than the expectations of the comrades who prepare the mailing. According to experts, capitalist newspapers generally consider any returns above four or five percent as excellent.

Milwaukee's Literature Agent, G. H., has found that "the biggest value of such a mailing is to keep up the link with the paper and help pave the way for personal contact." These mailings pay off. But, he adds, "no matter how well a leaflet or letter is composed, there is nothing like personal contact, with the opportunity to deal with specific individual problems and relate them to our general program."

Correction on Dates Of Bay Area Series

The Militant regrets its error in mixing up the dates for the opening of the series of weekly lectures on "Marxism and the Problems of the American Workers," being held in both San Francisco and Oakland.

The first lecture should have been announced here as Fri, May 13 at 8 P. M. for San Francisco, and Tues, May 17 at 8 P. M. for Oakland. The subsequent lectures will be held on the same evening of the week and at the same hour. The San Francisco address is 1739 Fillmore, 4th floor. The Oakland address is 1408 Webster. The second lecture will deal with "The State—The Political Structure of Society."

A Senate Hearing at Work

(Continued from page 1)

nouncers started talking and the hearing was under way.

Wallace read a 22-page statement, the essence of which was he wants American imperialism to make a deal with Stalin. The committee then questioned Wallace until 3 o'clock, with time out for lunch. Apart from a statement by Vandenberg to the effect that he thought capitalism and Stalinism might be able to get along in the world, which made Wallace very happy, the committee hammered Wallace mainly with the charge that he is "pro-Russian," which he denied.

Senator McMahon excused himself about noon to go to the Senate floor and fight for his amendment to the education bill which would compel the states to grant financial aid to Catholic parochial schools, first demanding that Wallace be kept on hand.

When he got back he put Wallace through the most vicious series of questions asked during the day.

When they had finished with Wallace, Senator Connally read a telegram from Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, reporting that Judge Medina had refused to adjourn the thought-control trial for Dennis to testify on the pact. Connally made a few wise-cracks indicating they had been eager to have a go at Dennis in the hearings.

FIRST QUESTIONS

Connally, who has a habit of stroking his nose with the ball of his right thumb, next called the names of three Progressive Party spokesmen scheduled to testify. None was present, so he made a few more wise-cracks about the Progressives "not progressing so good" and called on Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein of the American Labor Party who made a brief statement following the CP line. The committee talked among themselves, paying no attention to her, and dismissed her without questioning.

After sweating it out for five hours, my turn had finally come. Reporting from memory, here is the gist of the discussion.

As I approached the witness chair, Connally, who asked all the questions, but one, while I was testifying, said, "So you represent the Socialist Party."

"The Socialist Workers Party," I replied. "We were in the Socialist Party for a time, but we broke with them when we saw they were preparing to support the last war."

"Oh, you broke with Norman Thomas over the war. You didn't support the last war. I don't suppose you were in the army?"

"I registered for the draft, but they decided to put me in jail instead of the army because I said the war wouldn't bring peace to the world, that it was not in the interests of the working people, that it—"

"Oh, so they put you in jail. Didn't they let you out as soon as the war ended?"

"I got out when my time was up."

"You may proceed with your statement."

A NEW NOTE

The audience had remained quiet and very attentive until the questioning of Wallace began to peter out. Thereafter a light hum of subdued conversation had filled the room, becoming louder as Connally jibed at the missing Dennis, the missing Progressives and Dr. Rubinstein. I could still hear that murmur behind me until I reached the second paragraph of my statement:

"I speak neither as an apologist for bankrupt capitalism, nor as a tool of treacherous Stalinism. I speak as a genuine advocate of socialism."

The murmur died down. The reporters began to pay attention. Here was a new note, something different. The photographers began to snap pictures. However, judging by the lack of notice in the papers, I'd say the editors didn't show the same interest the reporters did.

"All the evidence indicates that Roosevelt and Churchill, as the leading spokesmen for world capitalism," I continued, "made a deal with Stalin at Teheran whereby he agreed to support the capitalists in Western Europe, in return for which Stalin was to be granted his present sphere of influence in Eastern Europe."

Connally stopped me. "Were you at Teheran?" he asked. "How do you know that's a fact?"

"I said all the evidence indicates it to be a fact," I replied. "For example—"

"It's just your opinion. You may go on."

I then completed without further interruption the statement printed elsewhere in this issue, the committee all the while staring at me coldly.

HOW DO YOU KNOW?

Then Connally returned to the Teheran deal which seemed to bother him. "You weren't at Teheran, yet you say a deal was made with Stalin to support capitalism in Western Europe and he was to get his present sphere of influence. How do you figure that out?"

"There are several key factors, the Stalinist line following Teheran, the policy of the Western powers, the—"

Senator Hickenlooper broke in with the sage observation, "But you get your information from the capitalist press."

"We use all available sources of information. Then from our reading of history and from our general knowledge of the nature of the class struggle we try to piece out the truth and state it as I have done here today."

"Oh, so you work just like a detective," Connally cut in. "But it's still only what you think. Now, you want us to cancel the military budget. Does that mean we shouldn't have any army, navy or air force?"

"We're against the whole present military setup. We favor a people's militia, with military training under the control of the trade unions and similar workers organizations."

"Why do you want that if you're against war?"

"The working people must have a means of self defense because—"

"If I may ask you a personal question, what is your occupation?"

"I work full time for the party."

"How is the party financed?"

"By the payment of monthly dues and by voluntary contributions from the members."

"You get wages for what you do. The party collects dues to pay you. Isn't that capitalistic?"

"We live in a capitalist world and we have to adjust ourselves to the realities of that world while we're fighting to change it."

"WHAT ARE YOU FOR?"

"You say we want to stamp out the socialist movement. We haven't tried to block socialism in England."

"In the first place, they don't have socialism in England. Only a few half-measures toward limited nationalizations have been taken, and there has been plenty of pressure from America even against that. A most recent—"

"I gather you're against the Russian system?"

"We are irreconcilably opposed to Stalinism. We are for—"

"You seem to be against everything, capitalism, Stalinism, Norman Thomas, British socialism. What are you for anyway?"

"We are fighting for genuine socialism."

"Does it exist anywhere in the world today?"

"No."

"That will be all."

I wasn't treated courteously by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Alternating between sarcasm and derision, they tried to laugh off my statement. To them, I represented only a small party with a true socialist program, not an organization with a huge block of votes.

But their tune will change when the powerful ideas incorporated into the program of the Socialist Workers Party find adherents by the millions, as they must and will. Because it is only through the program of scientific socialism that the workers will find a permanent solution to the grave problems of our day.

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TROTSKY

"The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial, Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with ten-fold force. Under these conditions the support by a workers' party of its national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell means the renunciation of an independent policy and the chauvinistic demoralization of the workers, that is, the destruction of the only factor which can save humanity from disaster."

—Leon Trotsky, War and the Fourth International, 1934.



LENIN

Full Support to the Ford Strike!

The battle has been joined on the fourth-round of wage increases. Whatever the immediate issue that set off the Ford strike, the entire employing class and its press are keenly aware that a defeat for the Ford workers at this time might prove a disastrous blow to the whole developing wage campaign of American labor.

Whether the top union leaders recognize the fact or not, the Ford strike is the first major offensive in the drive for a new round of wage increases. It is only in this light that we can understand why Henry Ford II chose to precipitate a show-down battle, eleven days before negotiations on wages were to begin, over an issue that he otherwise would have settled quietly through the normal grievance machinery.

How conscious Big Business is of the significance of the Ford strike with relation to the wage issue is shown in a statement of the May 8 N. Y. Times: "In the face of management's stand against increased labor costs [through wage raises], there has been speculation over the mood of the workers. In some circles there is a theory that, because of a general feeling of uncertainty about the economic outlook, the workers will be reluctant to force their demands to the point of strikes. Another theory is that insecurity will make the workers more aggressive. Last week the second theory seemed to be borne out in a strike against Ford."

The mood of the workers, as reflected in the determined struggle against Ford, has proved more decisive in determining when and in what manner the wage question will be fought out than all the plans and maneuvers

and slick strategy of UAW President Walter Reuther and the other top CIO leaders. The CIO leaders, including Reuther, undoubtedly envisioned a series of long drawn-out negotiations, with all the rigamarole of press propaganda and counter-propaganda, statistics and counter-statistics, and a final settlement with a few insubstantial concessions that could be palmed off on the workers as a "victory without a strike."

The Ford strike has knocked all these calculations into a cocked hat. The workers themselves have called the turn. They have decided and the top union officials like Reuther have been forced reluctantly to go along. It is on this ground that the wage battle must now be fought out.

Now that the Ford workers are out, their demands must be broadened to include all the wage and contract questions. If they go back before the wage question is decided, they will face the possibility of another bitter struggle after they have already expended their resources and energy in one hard battle.

A victory for the Ford workers is of crucial importance for all American labor. If the Ford workers are permitted to become isolated and starved back into the plants, it will embolden all the corporations and harden their resistance to labor's demands everywhere.

The Ford workers must win — and it is the solemn duty of the entire labor movement to give them the kind of backing that will ensure their victory. This is no time for half-way measures — every union should act now to give full moral and financial aid to the Ford workers.

How Liberals Aid Jim Crow

By Albert Parker

Last year we Trotskyists opposed the election of "liberal" capitalist politicians like Hubert Humphrey, Paul Douglas, Wayne Morse and Glen Taylor, whose major claim to fame rests on their repeated professions of opposition to Jim Crow in any form. Most of the labor leaders, Negro leaders, Trumanite "Socialists" and in some cases the Stalinists too did everything they could for the election of such liberals. Now, on the issue of anti-segregation amendments to housing and federal-aid-to-education bills, it is possible to draw a balance sheet and see who was right.

Both these amendments were killed in the Senate during the last month through an alliance between the Northern liberals of both parties and the Southern Democrats; and in each instance the leadership and initiative in this alliance were taken by the Humphreys, Douglasses, Morges and Taylors. As a result, the Negro people in particular have been given a thorough if rapid educational course on the real nature of capitalist liberals, and a rift has begun to develop between the Negro leaders and the very same politicians they were praising a year ago.

NAACP PROTESTS

NAACP Secretary Walter White puts the responsibility for defeating these anti-segregation amendments on "the new coalition of Northern and Southern Democrats." Their action, he says, means "the Senate has agreed to underwrite segregation in housing and education."

"Rejection of these amendments seems to indicate little possibility for the enactment of civil rights measures by this Congress. We are particularly dismayed by the curious logic which has impelled some avowed supporters of civil rights to reject specific civil rights amendments. If these Senators continue voting with the Dixiecrats, we will be unable to secure enactment of civil rights measures either as independent bills or as amendments to social welfare legislation."

In this dispute we Trotskyists stand 100% with the NAACP and Walter White, and 100% against the liberal demagogues. For the reasons explained below, so should every militant worker, white and Negro.

Let's begin by examining the main arguments of the liberals, which unfortunately are endorsed

by labor leaders and Uncle Tom Negroes. They start off by praising each other and themselves for their fine "principles" on racial questions. The heart of Douglas, Humphrey informed the Senate, "literally bleeds for those who are the oppressed and who are the underprivileged." By inference, Humphrey's own heart is in a similar condition. But, said Humphrey, "As much as I detest segregation, I love education more. The issue is federal aid or no federal aid [for education and housing]." How do they figure that out?

THEIR ARGUMENTS

Well, they say, the Republican anti-segregation amendments are hypocritical; even if they were added to the bills, most of the Republicans would not vote for the bills themselves. On the other hand, the adoption of these amendments would anger the Southern Democrats, who would then either vote against the bills or filibuster them to death. The defeat of the bills would harm Negroes as well as whites who need homes and better educational opportunities.

Furthermore, they say, civil rights should be enacted through independent bills, not through amendments to other bills, so this was not the time or place for discussion of the segregation problem. And anyhow, they conclude, segregated housing and education are better than nothing, even for Negroes; half a loaf is better than none.

But what was the result? Their opponents in the Senate charged that defeating the amendments would have the effect of "pre-empting," "approving," "condoning," "enhancing," "sanctioning" and "perpetuating" segregation. And no matter how hypocritical their motives, in this respect they were speaking the plain truth. That's precisely why the Southern Democrats were content to let their liberal brothers carry the ball and to vote in a solid bloc with them.

The essence of the matter is that in this case the liberals used federal money to prop up the Jim Crow system. Humphrey may or may not love education, but he certainly gave aid, comfort and

Locked Out at Philco



6,500 members of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers in some 22 plants are locked out. Pickets surround the Philadelphia plant of the Philco Corp. after the company refused to grant union demands for wage boosts and other benefits.

longer life to the segregation he professes to "detest." His heart may or may not bleed for the oppressed, but his feet have joined the feet of the Dixiecrats on the neck of the Negro people — and yes, on the neck of the white workers who also suffer from segregation. Not even the glibest speeches can hide the fact that aid to segregation today, no matter what pretext is used, makes it more difficult to fight segregation tomorrow.

Furthermore, the liberals lie when they claim the issue was either federal aid retaining segregation or no federal aid at all. The proof that they lie is that they made no effort whatever to achieve another alternative. What was there to stop them from putting through the amendment and putting on a fight to smash the filibuster? GOP Senator Lodge reminded them that both they and he had termed the present filibuster-closure rule as "unworkable." The best way to prove it, he said, and thus to lay the ground for getting a better and workable rule, is to test it out right now, on the legislation pending. But the liberals refused to accept this challenge.

And from a practical opportunist viewpoint, as another Repu-

blican noted, what was there to stop the liberals from at least trying to put through the anti-segregation clause, withdrawing it only after it had been proved in action that the bill could not be passed while it was included? But this proposal too the liberals disregarded, although it could not have been from any aversion to opportunist practices. Instead, they yielded without the semblance of a struggle to the Dixiecrats, pleading with them to yield a little themselves some time in the future.

THE AMENDMENT TACTIC

When Douglas kept repeating that segregation problems should be handled in separate bills, a Republican asked him flatly if he would favor the amendment "if he were certain the bill would pass." Douglas' reply is worth repeating: "Personally I do not believe in segregation; but I also know that the Southern states are firmly committed to that principle, and I do not want at this time to disrupt the United States of America during a period of grave national crisis when we are being threatened by the police state in order to force upon them what I believe to be correct." (Sounds like what the

Stalinists used to say during World War II.) In Douglas' case, at any rate, it was not the form in which the anti-segregation issue came up that was decisive, but his desire to preserve "national unity" with the Dixiecrats. (Don't be surprised if they support Douglas for President in 1952.)

Humphrey answered differently, implying he would favor the amendment if he thought the bill could be passed afterward. However, when he repeated the argument that the way to get civil rights legislation is through independent bills rather than through amendments to other bills, Lodge pointed out that because of the great difficulty in getting independent bills out of committee and onto the floor of Congress, "the way to get legislation enacted is to attach an amendment to some bill that will go through anyway." And this left Humphrey without any valid comeback, because it happens to be the truth. Rejection of the amendment tactic of fighting Jim Crow in Congress is equivalent to giving up nine-tenths of the battle in advance. (No important independent bill on civil rights has been passed since 1870.)

BETTER THAN NONE?

"Half a loaf is better than none." This is a plausible argument, even if it originates from the same people who are busy withholding the whole loaf. But it's not a good guide under all circumstances. For one thing, you should examine the half-loaf first. Suppose it is poisoned; or suppose it is part of a loaf from which all the good food has been extracted. Surely "none" would be just as good in such a situation.

Segregated housing, segregated education — these are tainted and harmful, contributing to social ill-health, debilitating in their effects on the victims of Jim Crow. Those who are willing to settle for such a half-loaf will never get a full and nutritious loaf, and are doomed to live in a state of permanent malnutrition if they don't starve to death altogether.

Because of their long experience with segregation, it is not hard for Negroes to understand these truths, and that is why most of them will repudiate the pretense of the liberals that they were really helping the Negro people when they killed the amendments. It may be harder to convince white workers that their interests too were subverted in this case, but it is equally true.

It is equally true because any measure that sanctions the continuation of the Jim Crow system contributes to the continued separation of the white workers from the Negro people, their best and staunchest ally in the struggle against their common enemy, the capitalist class, and works to the detriment of labor's struggle for genuinely adequate social reform legislation. The "half-loaf" with which the Dixiecrats and liberals hope to bribe and corrupt the workers does far more harm than good to white workers as well as Negroes.

That's why white and Negro workers alike should support the NAACP and oppose the liberals on this issue. Consistent support requires more than mere denunciation of the liberals, however. It requires merciless political warfare against them and their whole philosophy, before elections as well as after. A good start for the NAACP in this connection would be to remove Wayne Morse from its national Board of Directors, and to take the path of independent political action by participation with the labor movement in the formation of a Labor Party.

Murder of the Jehovah's Witnesses

Following the frenzied propaganda campaign by the U. S. State Department, Catholic hierarchy and Big Business press around the Mindszenty case in Hungary, Washington's spokesmen sought United Nations action on the issue in the name of "freedom of religion" and "human rights."

On April 30, the UN General Assembly adopted by a vote of 34 to 6 a resolution calling on the Stalinist governments of Hungary and Bulgaria, where 15 Protestant clergymen had been tried and imprisoned, to answer charges brought by Washington and London of violations of the "human rights" provisions of the peace treaties with the Allies. On May 4, Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that the United States and Britain would shortly move against Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania on the same charges.

That these actions have nothing to do with any real concern for freedom of religion, or any other freedom, is proved by the dead silence of the United Nations, the U. S. State Department and the British Foreign Office on the murders of members of the Jehovah's Witnesses by the U. S.-controlled Greek monarchist government.

When a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church, which is aligned with the capitalist powers in the cold war against the Soviet Union, is tried and sentenced by a Stalinist government, that is the occasion for an unrestrained campaign to whip up anti-communist hysteria and the witch-hunt against political dissidents, and to intensify the war preparations in this country.

But when obscure members of a devout religious sect that takes the Sermon on the Mount seriously are subjected to Nazi-like torture and murdered, after a kangaroo court martial, by one of Washington's junior partners in the cold war, these self-styled champions of "human rights" and "freedom of religion" are silent as the grave. The executions of John Tsoukaris and George Orphanides, reported on page one, demolish the pretense that the imperialist powers are championing "freedom of thought, conscience and religion," as proclaimed in the UN's "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Like the much-abused word "democracy," the slogan of "freedom of religion" is being used as a hypocritical cover for war incitation and the destruction of all democratic rights.

West Germany's Real Constitution

The Western German Constitution establishing a "Federal Republic of Germany," adopted May 8 by the U. S.-British-French-sponsored Parliamentary Council in Bonn, cannot be judged solely or even mainly on its contents. In words, at least, the Bonn constitution is certainly no worse than other capitalist constitutions now in force.

But all we need to know to correctly judge this Bonn constitution, is that it was drafted on orders of the foreign military governors of Western Germany; that it was enacted behind closed doors, with all correspondents barred; and that an American soldier stood outside the hall door permitting no one in or out. Thus, the new constitution is merely a paper mask concealing the face of the real law in Western Germany — the foreign armies of occupation.

The Bonn constitution will not be submitted to the vote of the German people. It will go into effect only when and if the

occupation powers approve it. They alone will ratify it, change it or toss it into a wastepaper basket. They will decide not according to the needs and aspirations of the German people, but their own tactical requirements for the "cold war."

We cannot say what final decision the occupation powers will make on the contents of the Bonn constitution. But undoubtedly they will attempt to exploit it as a demonstration of the "democracy" and "self-rule" they are bringing to Western Germany. Doesn't it say right in the new constitution that "all state authority emanates from the people?"

This is scarcely likely to be a source of satisfaction to the German people. The foreign occupation forces will remain. The conquering authorities can ignore at will any constitutional provision. The real constitution will continue to be symbolized not by the lengthy document drafted at Bonn, but by the American soldier guarding the locked door of the Parliamentary Council.

Two Not-So-Innocents Abroad

By George Breitman

As last week's article from Paris demonstrated, the two "world peace conferences" held in that city last month — the first by the Stalinists and the second by the anti-Stalinists — had more in common than in dispute, despite their bitter hostility to each other.

The first acted as a sounding board for the Kremlin, emphasizing the need for a deal between Truman and Stalin, while the second acted as a sounding board for the U. S. State Department, emphasizing the need to destroy Stalinist totalitarianism. But both preached class collaboration rather than class struggle as the method for achieving peace; both spread illusions and lies that can only misguide and disorient the genuine struggle against war; and both sought to divert the masses from their main enemy by pretending that war can be prevented under capitalism.

The article from Paris reported that the most reactionary speeches at the anti-Stalinist conference were made by the two American delegates, Professor Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell, who represented "Americans for Intellectual Freedom." The following additional details about their activities in Paris is based primarily on dispatches from the American press.

"INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM"

The "Americans for Intellectual Freedom" was organized in March as a group in opposition to the American Stalinist "peace congress" at the Waldorf. Its formation received the blessings of the Truman administration through a message from Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the chief link between the Truman cabinet and the Catholic hierarchy in this country, who hailed the AIF's courage in "exposing and opposing anti-democratic doctrines."

The only "intellectual freedom" this outfit seems concerned about is the kind being suppressed behind the iron curtain. At any rate, it has failed thus far to mention, let alone condemn, one of the most glaring attacks on intellectual freedom in the U. S. — the current purge of "subversive" teachers in the schools. (Hook, co-chairman of AIF, is the "ideological" leader of this

purge, but that apparently does not disqualify him from going abroad to deliver speeches on the brutality and immorality of Stalinist purges.)

Before taking off on a plane for Paris, Hook and Farrell told the press that "while they favored the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact, they were not committed to defend the foreign policy of any country." Which reminds us of the Missouri doctor's explanation for the buckeye charm he always carried in his pocket: "It ain't that I'm superstitious — I just don't want to catch rheumatism."

This was Farrell's first public endorsement of the Atlantic Pact. Just a year ago, in a letter published in Labor Action, he announced his support of the Marshall Plan and justified it among other things on the ground that "I do not see the Marshall Plan as a purely military measure." Today of course he supports the Pact on the ground that it is not a "pure" alliance for war, but in time he'll get over that reservation too.

NOT PAID FOR LABORS

Hook and Farrell also stressed that "they were themselves paying for their trip overseas." Whether this represented an attempt to prove their "independence" of the State Department or an oblique rebuke to that agency, we cannot say. But it seems to us they were getting gypped — by all rights the State Department should have paid at least their expenses.

The day they left for Paris, the State Department issued an attack on the "World Peace Congress" as "Communist-directed." All it rated in the N. Y. Times was 15 lines. But when Hook and Farrell got off the plane and issued a similar statement, it got 77 lines in the Times.

Similarly, Hook defended the Pact at the anti-Stalinist conference by saying: "No one need fear the Atlantic Pact except those who are planning to violate it." If that isn't an exact quote from State Department documents, it is the closest thing to it. And coming from a self-styled "socialist" speaking on a continent where hundreds of millions of people are genuinely apprehensive of the pact, it is a lot more effective for American imperialism than anything Dean

Acheson could say. But why should the State Department's "labor salesmen" get reimbursed for their labors overseas; and not its intellectual salesmen? Is that justice, is that the American Way?

PROTEST — AND SILENCE

Speaking about the American Way, our two not-so-innocents abroad undertook to defend that too in a kind of roundabout way. The Stalinists are "trying to fool the people of Europe" with false statements about the status of democratic rights in the U. S., they charged, but at the same time the Stalinists are covering up for the "intellectual strait-jacket" imposed behind the iron curtain. "This constitutes ideological hooliganism and ideological blackmail," said Farrell. (Perhaps Farrell is not the best man to be raising the question of blackmail. According to the Paris Herald Tribune, he also "warned" that the anti-American campaign could "sever the real bonds of sympathy which millions of Americans feel for the people of Europe." This "warning" may be polite and subtle, rather than hooligan-like, but it's a form of blackmail just the same.)

But if the Stalinists are to be condemned for not telling the whole truth, how about Hook and Farrell? Did they (with accurate rather than false statements) denounce the intellectual strait-jacket which the ruling class is imposing on the American people through its purges, persecutions and repressive laws? The nearest they came to doing so was apparently Hook's statement praising Truman for signing his name to a report on civil liberties "that freely admitted evils." But beyond the evils that Truman himself admitted, Hook and Farrell didn't seem to find any to discuss and denounce themselves — or if they did, the press reports certainly missed it. Is there any other term for such conduct than — intellectual prostitution?

Hook is the older hand at this game, which is perhaps why Farrell's degeneration strikes us as the more melancholy of the two. The first part of Farrell's life, when he moved to the forefront of American intellectual integrity, was marked by a courageous break with all remnants of Catholicism and a development toward Marxism. Today, utterly

demoralized by Stalinism, he is moving backwards toward collaboration with the same reactionary elements he rejected in his youth.

Secretary of Labor Tobin's endorsement of the organization Farrell represented in Paris is one manifestation of this retrogression. Another is the fact that the Paris conference itself was sponsored among others by representatives of the MRP, the Catholic government party that has waged war against the colonial people ever since it came to power. Farrell's degeneration can be explained in great part by the degeneration of Stalinism; but an explanation is not an excuse.

As always happens on such occasions, the Daily Worker took advantage of the affair to slander us by labeling Hook and Farrell as Trotskyists. Hook and Farrell, on the other hand, slander us by saying we are "the left wing of Stalinism." Here too, as in their attitude to the war question, the Stalinists and the Stalinophobes see eye to eye morally, even if they bend the knee before different masters.

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Socialized Medicine

By Grace Carlson

In the famous Oath of Hippocrates, which is administered to all graduating medical students, occur these solemn promises:

"I will follow that method of treatment which according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous."

As one observes the wild attacks of the American Medical Association bureaucrats upon all proposals for the betterment of the people's health through national health insurance, one is forced to the sad conclusion that many high-placed American doctors have violated their Hippocratic Oath. Most outstanding violator of the Oath to "abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous" is the vociferous editor of the Journal of the AMA, Dr. Morris Fishbein.

With the issuance of the Truman Health Plan, or the National Health Insurance and Public Health Program as it is named officially, Dr. Fishbein has pulled out all of the stops to attack what he twists around to call "socialized medicine." Almost weekly, editorial attacks are made in the Journal of the AMA upon the National Health Insurance Program now being debated in Congress. Here Fishbein follows the same pattern set in his past vitriolic attacks upon the Wagner Bill, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill and every other proposal to introduce a much-needed system of voluntary health insurance in the United States.

Here are a few choice quotations from the reactionary editor of the AMA Journal:

"The Congress, if it should adopt any considerable number of the recommendations made would move the nation away from its present status as a republic or a true democracy into a condition which resembles what is called in Europe a socialistic democracy."

And Fishbein, once again —

"At the same time that many of our political leaders oppose communism, they move toward communism by embracing socialism."

But Dr. Fishbein to the contrary notwithstanding, the National Health Insurance Program is not "socialistic." Here, I am in complete agreement with Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing, who maintains that the proposed health program is "no more socialistic than fire insurance." Ewing has also said, quite truly, on many occasions that neither President Truman nor any other advocates of national health insurance wanted to change the present system of medical care. The only change being sought, Ewing has insisted, was in the method of paying the doctor bill.

But paying the doctor bill is only part of the great problem of bringing better health to the masses of the American people. True socialized medicine will bring the benefits of modern medical science to all of the people all of the time. True socialized medicine would concern itself with "health care" as well as "sick care." In the bright light of the socialist future, the present National Health Insurance Program will appear as only the dimmest reflection of a genuine, all-embracing, well-rounded socialized medicine program.

But the National Health Insurance Program does represent a step in the right direction, and, as such, deserves the support of trade union workers and radical thinkers. For this reason, I will make a detailed analysis of the National Health Insurance Program, as well as rival Congressional bills, the Taft Bill and the Hill Bill, along with discussions of the AMA proposals, the voluntary insurance programs, the union-sponsored health programs, etc., in future issues of The Militant.

Box-Score of Marshall Plan

By Joseph Keller

Instead of leading to an integration and permanent rehabilitation of European economy, the billions of dollars spent by the United States through the European Recovery Program are having a directly opposite effect. This is the conclusion of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe in its annual survey issued in Geneva on May 6. The 100,000-word ECE report, according to Michael L. Hoffman, N. Y. Times correspondent, is "the most complete box score of European progress during the critical year of 1948 that has been issued or is likely to be issued."

Although last year saw a 16% rise in production and a 25% reduction in the overseas deficits of Europe as a whole, the present and future prospects for capital investment, says the report, are "far from adequate to secure any really substantial improvement in living standards."

Contrary to the avowed aim of the "planning" under the ERP "to bring about a higher degree of integration of European economy," continues the report, "the observable tendencies appear to move in the opposite direction. This is true, not only in relations between the two great complementary regions, the West and East of Europe, where political cleavages hamper the development of economic cooperation. It also appears to be true within these two regions. . ."

The principal effect of the Marshall Plan, according to the data assembled by the report, is to increase the tendency in each European country to "self-sufficiency" — the national "autarchy" that was part of the intensified nationalism that reached its prewar climax under fascism. This trend, stated Nicholas Kaldor, ECE research director and one of the principal authors of the survey, "is perhaps the most disturbing feature of the entire economic situation in Europe."

Production programs of all the Western European countries reveal their plans to import less goods proportionately than before the war, and to increase their home production. This increased home production, moreover, is by and large aimed for export.

To whom will they export? To one another, when each is trying to reduce its own imports on the "autarchy" pattern? To the colonial countries, which are dominated by the largest imperialist powers and where these powers are coming into increasing competition for shrinking markets? To the tariff-surrounded United States, which

has increased its own productivity enormously compared to Europe and is striving to increase its own exports at the expense of all its competitors throughout the world?

The report points out that in 1937 only six-tenths of one per cent of the goods consumed in the United States was of European manufacture. Since the war, this has shrunk to but two-tenths of one per cent. American capitalism, while seeking outlets everywhere for its manufactured goods, shuts out competition in its own home market from European goods.

The report concludes that the United States "faces the anomalous prospect that by the end of the program which it will itself have financed, it will have surpluses and excesses of productive capacity in commodities for which it has helped to develop substitute sources of supply elsewhere; its own exports will have been reduced below the depression-shrunk level of 1938; and Europe will nevertheless still be short of dollars to cover its imports from the United States."

Even a 60% increase in their overseas sales — a possibility that the survey itself virtually excludes — would still leave the European countries with a \$3 billion deficit in trade with the United States — if the current U. S. import volume were maintained. It is actually declining, while "competition for the United States in world markets will steadily become more intense, partly because of the success of our own efforts to aid Europe. . . (N. Y. Times, May 8.)

To balance its dollar accounts with the United States, Europe would have to increase its exports to this country by more than 300%. Will American manufacturers permit an expansion of European manufacture, with American funds, to permit a 300% increase of exports to the U. S. to compete with U. S. goods? Just last week, reports the May 8 N. Y. Times, the Economic Cooperation Administration is "moving too fast in its efforts to expand oil operations abroad" and "the Marshall Plan is causing the domestic units of the American oil industry to lose markets. . ."

The contradictions of capitalism are operating with increasing force, and all the efforts of American capitalism to get around them have the effect, in the end, of aggravating them. This is strikingly shown by the early consequences of the Marshall Plan, as admitted in the ECE report.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

7th PLENUM OF 4th INTERNATIONAL — The Seventh Plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, which met from April 9 to 18, according to the Fourth International press service report, was the most representative gathering of the International ever held. It was attended by regular members and fraternal delegates from organizations in Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Eastern Europe, France, Italy, Spain, Greece, England, Latin American, India, Ceylon, Indo-China, and China.

Most noteworthy was the increased representation from the organizations in the Far East, a delegate of the Chinese Trotskyists appearing at an international gathering for the first time.

In addition, there were also delegates from a newly formed group in Sweden, applying for membership in the Fourth International. There had never before been an organized Trotskyist movement in that country.

The report of the International Secretariat on the activity of the leadership and the sections, and the discussion on the report, noted the growing political maturity and homogeneity of the International as a whole as well as the consolidation of each of the national organizations. The gathering presented evidence, in particular, of improvement in the work of the European sections, some of which had been in the midst of a serious internal crisis a year ago.

There were also extensive reports on the situation in the Far East and on the development of the Trotskyist movement in Latin America, sections of which are being prepared for publication.

The main political resolutions of the Plenum, on "The War Danger and Our Tasks," "The Third Chinese Revolution," and "The Evolution of the Soviet Buffer Zone Countries," which formed the basis of the most important discussions in the ten days' sessions, are to be made public soon.

DUTCH TROOP MUTINIES — Negotiations for peace were resumed by the Dutch in Indonesia last week. This signifies the collapse of the "police action" undertaken by the imperialists of Holland against the embattled Indonesian masses since last December. Undoubtedly, pressure from the U. S. was one of the prime causes.

Wall Street is becoming ever more alarmed over the futile wastage of its loans to the old European powers on the boiling cauldron in the Far East. Protests from official labor organizations and liberal church movements probably also played a role, because such flagrant cases make it very difficult for these agencies to sell "Western" democracy abroad. But a more important, although less known reason, was certainly the restlessness among the Dutch masses and particularly, rebellions within the army.

Thus, the European Trotskyist press reports, a mutiny broke out recently in a military camp in Brabant among soldiers about to be embarked for Indonesia. It was accompanied by the issuance of a manifesto of a soldiers' committee, declaring: "We do not want to lay down our lives for the planters who are stuffing their pockets. We demand the recall of all troops from Indonesia. For peace and friendship! Not a single soldier for this war!" Many arrests are reported to have been made in these barracks.

Another report relates that, after Netherlands troops suffered heavy losses in the Surakarta region in Indonesia, the survivors refused to continue the combat. An entire unit was disarmed, 17 soldiers condemned to death and 72 to long prison sentences.

The Associated Press also carried a dispatch from Singapore recently regarding a mutiny of Dutch troops which was crushed in blood at Fort De Kock, in Sumatra. 200 soldiers, according to this dispatch, were executed "for revolt against their command."

THE PURPOSE OF THE PACT — What the North Atlantic Pact means to the reactionary politicians in Europe was plainly indicated by Percy Winner's column in the May 9 New Republic. The day before the Pact was signed, Mario Scelba, the Italian Minister of the Interior, "and by far the toughest man in the government," made a speech at Siena in which he said, "The arms entrusted to the state [by the Pact] do not constitute defensive elements but are instruments of defense and of attack." Winner says Scelba also "suggested that the Pact would now give the de Gasperi government the right to go beyond the Constitution and the law in its struggle to suppress Communism."

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"Right" to Fire for Political Views Claimed by Company

Strike Against Speedup Shuts Down Ford Empire

(Continued from page 1)

prevailing speed of the lines. But the committeemen had been the victims of precisely this kind of run-around for three months, and had learned the worthlessness of this type of "agreement" as a means of halting the speedup.

In protest against further stalling on the part of the union, 13 committeemen handed in their resignations, saying that under present conditions they could not honestly carry out their obligations to the members. Their action precipitated a walkout which resulted in the closing down of the "B" Building.

Reuther and Mazey, sensing that they were losing control of the workers, called an emergency meeting for the next day. At this meeting Reuther blasted the committeemen for not adhering to international procedure in provoking the walkout. The committeemen answered that the international was stalling and that they could not face the members under the circumstances.

On May 2 the company again increased the speed of the line. The officers of Local 600 now could buck the overwhelming pressure from the ranks no longer. The following day the local executive board voted to call a strike on May 4 at 10 A. M. Reuther, thrust into this difficult position, finally reached a compromise with the local leaders and agreed to authorize a strike for the following day, May 5.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY

The fact that the Ford workers have now hit the bricks in what may prove to be a prolonged strike is due, above all, to the Reuther leadership's policy of retreat on the speedup issue. The whole problem of speedup was posed sharply for the auto workers over a year ago in the major corporations. The international leadership permitted speedup in GM and in Chrysler. They did not fight the victimization of militants who were putting up a battle against the speedup.

As late as January of this year, the four top officers of the UAW issued a statement prominently featured in the United Automobile Worker, claiming that the charges of speedup were untrue and were being circulated for ulterior purposes by "Com-

"Ford Is On Strike!"



Joseph Palevranph (l.) and Edwin Fitzpatrick are shown getting signs ready for the picketline at the Ford plant, which has been called the "longest picketline in UAW history."

munist, Trotskyite and free-booting opportunists." It was this policy of retreat that emboldened the corporations to proceed with the speedup.

The campaign to squeeze more work out of the auto workers was accelerated with the model change-over and the narrowing of the market for automobiles. The Detroit News carried a series of articles by Ralph R. Watts, its industrial reporter, that "spilled the beans. On April 20 he wrote:

"Every point and detail of manufacturing processes are being critically reappraised and tightened up to eliminate every penny of needless cost. Suppliers of raw materials and component parts are being relentlessly pressured to tailor their quotations to the lowered prices initiated by GM, and followed by K-F, Willys, Nash, Ford and Hudson. Orders by top management to 'trim ship' are now being followed by 'call to stations' for the fight ahead. Previous bottlenecks in supply of materials having been eliminated and with labor playing ball like never before, the threatened slackening off of demand has electrified the industry into feverish backstage activity." (Our emphasis.)

The Ford Company understands fully how unenthusiastic Reuther and Mazey are about the present strike and how eager they are to reach any sort of "compromise" on the speedup issue. To further push them to the wall, the company, on the day after the strike began, announced the discharge of 14 workers who were involved in the earlier stoppages at the "B" Building; it also announced disciplinary layoffs would be imposed on 14 others. In addition, the company disclosed that it would not negotiate on wages or other contract demands while the strike was on.

But despite the preconceived notions on both sides, the Ford workers are now out on the picket line and intend to put labor-management relations on an entirely new basis before they return to manufacture more Ford cars.

Already there is evident a noticeable increase of militancy on the part of many auto workers. In the past week the Briggs workers staged a series of walkouts on the speedup issue. Workers of the Chevrolet assembly plant in Flint voted to strike because of the speedup. A new wind is starting to blow in labor's ranks.

WORK - STOPPAGE PROTESTS MURDER OF ILGWU MEMBER

NEW YORK, May 12 — 65,000 members of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union stopped work for four hours today as a public protest against the murder of William Lurye, a special organizer for the union.

All of the 2,100 unionized dress factories in the city were shut down this morning and a mass meeting was held in and around Manhattan Center, with speeches by ILGWU President David Dubinsky and other union officials, and a huge funeral procession by the union membership.

Lurye, who was a member of the executive board of Dress Pressers Local 60, had taken a leave of absence from his regular job in order to participate in the union's drive to organize a number of shops whose employees have been resisting unionization.

On May 9 he was in a telephone booth at 224 W. 35 St., when he

By A. Smith

LOS ANGELES, May 4 — In a precedent-making case, private industry has served notice of its intentions to use the present government "anti-subversive" drive to alter, amend and wipe out the seniority provisions in union contracts.

The case involves the Maywood, California plant of the Consolidated Western Steel Corp., a totally-owned subsidiary of U. S. Steel, and one of its employees, Robert Blair.

Blair was called to testify before a federal grand jury investigating "communist activities" in the Los Angeles area. Blair, along with other witnesses called, refused to answer certain questions, basing himself on his constitutional right not to give testimony that might tend to be self-incriminating.

Federal Judge Pierson M. Hall instructed him to answer the questions, and when he failed to do so, sentenced him to jail without bail until such time as he would answer.

The management of Consolidated Western Steel notified Blair that he had been discharged for unauthorized leave of absence. Blair was finally released on bail following an appeal to the circuit court in San Francisco, and immediately reported for work but was told that the discharge remained in effect.

THREE PRETEXTS

A member of Local 2058, United Steelworkers of America, Blair filed a grievance contending that he had complied with company rules pertaining to leaves of absence and that his discharge was unjustified.

In discussion of the grievance with the union, the company withdrew its charge of unauthorized leave of absence against Blair

and bluntly stated that they have the prerogative to discharge "undesirable employees."

When the union proved the contract does not give the company this prerogative, the company withdrew its second position and replaced it with a third; namely, that the clause on management prerogatives gives the company the power to discharge "for proper and lawful cause."

While the company officials agreed with the union that there was no law justifying Blair's discharge in connection with the agreement's use of the word "lawful," they contended that it was public policy to remove Communist Party members and fellow travelers from their jobs.

The union now must take the case to arbitration if the discharge is to be reversed.

UNITED TO DATE

To date, the grievance committee and officers of Local 2058 have been firmly united in the fight to prevent the company from establishing its right to discharge employees as "undesirable" either because of their political beliefs or their association with persons of certain political beliefs.

The union has also challenged the latest position of the company which, in effect, would give it the right to serve as a quasi-legal agency of the government with power to legislate, try, convict and execute sentence upon any of the union members.

District Director Charles Smith of the United Steelworkers' has written a letter supporting the position of the officers of Local 2058 in this fight.

On the basis of a previous vote of the local's membership, it is anticipated that Blair's case will be carried all the way through the grievance procedure including arbitration.

Longshore Union Votes Down Lay-off Plan for 2nd Time

By E. Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9 — At a stormy meeting in San Francisco's Civic Auditorium last Wednesday, 5,000 members of Local 10 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union rejected by a four-to-one vote a proposal to lay off 1,000 men from the industry in order to provide more work for those remaining.

According to ILWU statistics, work is off approximately 30% compared to 1948.

The latest lay-off proposal, advanced by James Kearney, right-wing president of Local 10, duplicated almost word for word the proposal by Harry Bridges, ILWU International President, last Feb. 9. However, despite a falling off of work since February, the Kearney plan was defeated even more decisively than the Bridges' plan. This time Bridges stood aside, declaring the employment problem is "a local question."

As on Feb. 9, the meeting was dominated by young rank and file militants. The Bridges-Kearney plan was tagged as "union splitting" which could only play into the hands of the ship-owners by furnishing them with a large body of trained men which could be used against the union in event of strikes.

One speaker declared that the leadership was using the question as a political football and called upon them to "advance plans which will hold the union together — not split us into two camps, employed and unemployed, with the employed fearing the unemployed and the unemployed hating the union. Let us all fight together for a program that will aim to get a decent standard of living for all of us." He concluded, "If the local and international officials cannot provide such a program they are bankrupt." He was roundly applauded by the meeting.

A UNION DUTY

Another speaker asked, "Why is it that Kearney is advocating a lay-off when it has always been considered a union duty to oppose lay-offs?"

The reason why the longshore union is faced so sharply with the unemployment question is precisely because it is one of the most advanced unions in the United States in the degree of control over jobs.

In other industries where the employer does the hiring and firing, it is easier for the union bureaucrat to turn his back on the problem. However, the West Coast longshore union has a union-controlled hiring hall through which all available work is rotated among all available men. The employers have nothing to say about hiring. Therefore the question of less work and what to do about it is thrown on to the union floor and the leadership is faced concretely with a major social problem under capitalism, unemployment; and is forced to grapple with it.

Thus far, neither the right-wing Murrayite local leadership nor the Bridges-Stalinist international leadership have come forth with any proposal except to lay men off.

A STOP-GAP MEASURE

The only plan which even begins to tackle the question was advanced at the Feb. 9 meeting by several rank and file longshoremen. This called for a rotation of all work on a four week basis, with each union member working three weeks at 40 hours per week and being laid off the fourth week, during which he would collect \$25 unemployment insurance, thus adding \$25 to his income for the four-week period.

At the present time longshoremen collect no unemployment benefits, because they always earn at least \$25 per week. Four-week rotation of work, instead of weekly rotation, would make them eligible for this money, which year after year has been returned to the shipowners, with the State of California keeping only one-quarter of one percent for administration costs.

Even this stop-gap measure has not been pushed by the present leadership although it was approved in principle by the membership. Union militants who, backed by an aroused membership, helped fight down both Bridges' and Kearney's plans are beginning to talk on the job and in union meetings of the necessity to develop a new and more far-reaching program to combat the menace of unemployment.

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