

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 23, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

FORD STRIKE AND THE "FOURTH WAGE ROUND"

By Bert Cochran
— See Page 2 —

Ford Maneuvers Fail to Shake Strike Solidarity

DETROIT — Thousands of Ford workers are maintaining their 24-hour picket line around the huge Rouge plant in Dearborn as the strike against second week. Bendix strikers in South Bend, Ind., Chevrolet workers in Flint who have voted for the second time in a year to strike against speedup, workers in every UAW plant in the country are anxiously watching developments in the Ford strike, which can have a decisive effect on the outcome of "fourth wage round" negotiations this year.

The latest "peace formula" of the UAW international team of negotiators headed by Walter Reuther has been rejected by the Ford Motor Company. This proposal asked that the company

guarantee assembly line production at a constant speed geared to "normal work practices" and not require workers to make up production lost through power failures, parts shortages, etc.

COMPANY'S ANSWER

The company responded by announcing the firing of seven more UAW officials on charges they had "invaded" the company's offices to intimidate salaried employees into leaving their jobs on the day the strike began. This was in addition to 14 other UAW members fired last week, and 14 suspended.

Ford himself issued a statement claiming that it was a "political strike" — an obvious effort to throw a smokescreen over the real issue, the speedup. The company has also refused to open negotiations on the contract, pension and wage proposals requested by the union. And it has sought to split the workers' ranks by inviting back to work all of the strikers except the 5,000 employed in the "B" Building and the Lincoln-Mercury plant.

The Rouge workers do not favor the further application of Reuther's one-at-a-time strategy — that is, his insistence that the speedup issue be restricted to the "B" Building. It is this rank-and-file sentiment which is responsible for the statement made by Local 600 President Thomas Thompson, who now insists that the settlement of the strike must include guarantees against speedup in all Ford buildings, and not merely in the "B" Building.

The feeling is also becoming widespread among the members as the strike continues that it might be best to stay out until all issues are settled — contract and pension questions as well as speedup. This attitude is very realistic, and not merely because it recognizes the foolishness of going back to work only to come out on strike again in a short while.

NOT LIMITED ISSUE

The inability of the Reuther leadership to grapple with the problem of speedup (or, as the company calls it, the problem of union control of production) is further shown when Reuther states that all he is trying to achieve at Ford's is the satisfactory relationship already in effect with GM, Chrysler and Hudson on the question of speed of production.

The strike vote on this very question just taken at Chevrolet, a GM company, shows how misleading Reuther's statement is. (Continued on page 4)



PAID FBI STOOLPIGEONS PARADED AT CP TRIAL

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, May 18 — The dreary parade of FBI stoolpigeons and provocateurs called to testify here at the thought-control trial of the 11 Stalinists drags on and on. In every case their testimony bears the stamp of the police mind, the trade mark of J. Edgar Hoover.

When asked the simplest political questions, their replies are vague and confused, revealing downright ignorance of the ABC's of politics. But they remember names, dates, places and a few well-rehearsed phrases like "violent action" and "sabotage the war effort."

Planted in the Communist Party by the FBI, these police spies bored in as deeply as they could, sneaked copies of letters, minutes, bulletins and membership lists to the FBI for photostating, and at every opportunity supplied pictures of CP members to Hoover's political police.

'Billion Dollar Club' Has 56 Members

Six American corporations in 1948 joined the most exclusive fraternity in the world, the "Billion Dollar Club," according to a United Press survey issued on May 16. There are now 56 members, comprising corporations with more than a billion dollars of assets. Only 20 were in the club in 1929 — the famous "golden year." On Dec. 7, 1941, the membership stood at 32. The combined assets of the club now total \$130 billion — equal to 40% of the whole national wealth in 1940.

PAID FOR TREACHERY

For these outrages against human decency, J. Edgar Hoover's spies received expense allowances from the government to cover party dues, literature, traveling expenses and time lost from their regular jobs while doing special stoolpigeon chores. In addition they were usually paid on a piece-rate basis for their written reports to the FBI, a system obviously devised to speed up production.

Since my last report seven more informers have testified against the Stalinists. Garfield Herron, an Arkansas farmer, went to Chicago during the war to work at the Douglas Aircraft plant. In 1943 he subscribed to the Daily Worker, after which the FBI paid him a visit and he agreed join the CP as an FBI spy. While attending a CP study class he stole the instructor's outline.

Angela Calomiris of New York (Continued on page 2)

"Trenton Six" Appeal Frame-up Death Sentence

The "Trenton Six" — Negroes who were framed up and sentenced to death last year — asked the New Jersey Supreme Court on May 16 to reverse the convictions.

Lawyers for the defense, representing the Civil Rights Congress, the NAACP and other organizations, presented a variety of arguments showing that the convictions were a gross miscarriage of justice.

The six defendants — Collis English, Ralph Cooper, Horace Wilson, McKinley Forest, James Thorpe and John McKenzie — were charged with the murder of an elderly junk dealer in Trenton. Scores of witnesses at the trial proved that all of them had been elsewhere at the time of the crime.

But Prosecutor Mario Volpe held the defendants without charges for "protracted questioning" when they were arrested, and by means of intimidation illegally extorted "confessions" from five of them, which were later repudiated. The prosecution also suppressed important evidence about the case which was demanded by the defense.

Furthermore, the trial judge's charge to the jury was improper and prejudicial. And when the jury returned the verdict it failed to specify the degree of murder, which the judge himself set as first degree.

The New Jersey Court will hand down its decision some time this month. Meanwhile the fight for the freedom of the six should continue full-scale.

CIO in Detroit Urges National 'Labor Holiday'

Oil, Ship Unions Ask Shorter Week With Same Pay

Calling upon all labor organizations to join in a drive for a shorter work week to combat layoffs and unemployment, the CIO Oil Workers International Union has announced that it will seek a 36-hour week in the oil industry with no reduction in take-home pay.

"Like their brothers in practically every industry, the Oil Workers are feeling the sharp edge of the axe. Many companies are already curtailing employment, and others rumor of future firings. The OWIU believes that a return to the pre-war 36-hour week will keep all its members employed."

Before World War II, the 36-hour week had been won in the oil industry. Under pressure of the war, it was stretched to 48 hours. Today the standard is 40 hours, with a much greater productivity per man-hour than before the war.

The statement of the National Policy Committee of the OWIU also points out that in 1948 the average oil company "made net profits greater than its entire wage bill," and will "still maintain handsome profits" if the workers win the same take-home pay for the shorter week.

The Committee postponed discussion on "any demands for increased take-home pay," but indicated that these may be taken up later "at any time conditions warrant."

SHIP UNION ACTION

Almost simultaneously, a demand for shorter hours was made by the CIO Shipbuilding Workers Union who called for a 35-hour week in place of their current 40-hour week without any cut in pay; an additional wage boost; a health and welfare plan; and other demands not yet published.

According to the report in the May 9 CIO News, the shipbuilding workers are clearing the path for a fight. "Under the present contract, which expires June 23, 1950, the union is barred from striking, except for 'money issues.' IUMSWA President John Green made it clear that each of the demands is a 'money issue' and that consequently the no-strike clause in the contract would not apply."

Both statements show the increasing awareness of the need to defend labor's ranks against the scourge of unemployment. The Oil Workers' appeal to all unions to join now in the fight for shorter hours, should win wholehearted support. It should become a starting point for a national campaign, to safeguard remaining jobs, and restore employment to five million victims of present layoffs.

Next Week:

Paul Blanshard's new book, American Freedom and Catholic Power, which is under attack by the capitalist press, will be analyzed by Art Preis.

Home of the Brave, the new film on race discrimination, is reviewed by Paul Schapiro.

"One Year of the French RDR — A Case History in Centristism" by Pierre Frank traces the development of a group that started out as "independent thinkers" and ended up in Wall Street's camp.

Send to The Militant for extra copies. Only 8c. each in bundles of five or more.

Calls for 24-Hour Stoppage To Win Taft-Hartley Repeal

DETROIT, May 17 — The Greater Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council at its meeting tonight adopted a resolution calling for a 24-hour Labor Holiday as the best means of securing repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The resolution also urged the holding of a special session of Congress for this summer to act on civil rights legislation and all other social legislation so far neglected.

To exert pressure for the passage of this legislation, the Council called for a mass conference of labor to convene in Washington simultaneously with the proposed special session of Congress.

[The call for a special session of Congress parallels the proposal made by the New York branch of the NAACP last month which will be acted on by the national NAACP conference in Los Angeles in July.]

Full details of this important step by the Detroit CIO, giving a lead to the whole labor movement and all the minority groups fighting for the adoption of civil rights measures, will be printed in next week's Militant.

CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED

The campaign for the 24-hour Labor Holiday was launched last week in Detroit by the Executive Board of Hudson Local 154, CIO United Automobile Workers, through a resolution urging the CIO and AFL to call a 24-hour national work stoppage "in protest against the failure of the 81st Congress to carry out its clear election mandate" on Taft-Hartley Act repeal, housing, civil rights and other labor demands.

U.S. BEHIND-SCENES MOVES GAIN SUPPORT FOR FRANCO

By Ruth Johnson

LAKE SUCCESS — The Latin-American resolution to restore diplomatic missions to Franco Spain was defeated but not lost in the United Nations session on May 16. If that sounds like double-talk, it is purely intentional — for the entire debate I heard reeked with hypocrisy.

There were 26 votes for the proposal, 15 against, and 16 abstentions. A two-thirds vote was necessary to pass the resolution. Had a few of the abstainers voted, as they will the next time this question is raised, the motion would have carried. The vote was scarcely a defeat for Franco; it showed only that the trend in the UN is developing in his favor, even if the big powers feel it is still premature for them to openly embrace Spanish fascism.

Washington and London pulled the strings for Franco behind the scenes, while U. S. delegate Warren Austin abstained at the Assembly, and British delegate Hector McNeill sanctimoniously voted "no." But the real truth of the situation was exposed in sudden wrath by the Bolivian delegate, infuriated by his lack of support from the big powers.

"Some people here express amazement that four small Latin-American countries dare to propose this resolution," he shouted. "But it is not we who have changed. It is you, the great powers, the United States and the United Kingdom, who set the policy. . . There is a new political wind blowing in the world, and we have only dared to take notice of it."

Not one of the capitalist papers that I have read, reported this revealing outburst. They pretend that the vote was a "victory" for liberalism. But the facts prove it was only a tactical stage in the cold war against the USSR.

Charging that the "months since the election have shown only too well that Congress intends to deliver none of its election promises," the resolution calls on the UAW International Executive Board, heading the country's largest industrial union, to take the lead in urging all unions to join in a "24-hour Labor Holiday."

The Hudson Local leaders voted to send copies of the resolution to the UAW international board and to all locals of the UAW. It concluded by urging "all local unions of organized labor to adopt similar resolutions."

Stress was placed in the resolutions on the ineffective methods so far pursued in pushing labor's legislative program. "The method of pressuring Congress by post-cards, by visits to your Congressmen, by polite resolutions, by clever speeches has not brought us one step closer to the fulfillment of the goal set for itself by labor," states the resolution. "It becomes increasingly evident that Congress does not intend to pass legislation in the interest of the working people of this country."

The benefits promised labor by the Democratic Party and its candidates, says the resolution, "are instead being siphoned off into super-profits." The 1949 first quarter profits of the giant corporations gives "ample proof" of who has benefited from the Democratic victory.

Diplomatic missions to Madrid have already been sent or are projected by 11 of the nations voting for the resolution. Washington officially declares it will not take this demonstrative step, but Secretary of State Acheson himself has opened the way for a change of line. On May 11 he told a news conference that the question of diplomatic missions was "of no real importance at all."

What is important for Wall Street's plans, Acheson admitted, "is what can be done to bring Spain into the community of free nations in Europe in both the economic and the defense fields," to make it a full partner in the anti-Soviet bloc. "None of them (the Western European nations) say, nor do we say," Acheson underlined, "that Spain, which has never been a full-flowered democracy, must become so."

Acheson still hopes that Franco may first yield one little token reform, so that the "democratic" imperialists will not be completely exposed before the workers of the world.

If Franco still refuses to save Wall Street's face, then perhaps he must wait for further aid. The Chase National Bank has already loaned him 25 million dollars. But the big bait — a \$1,250,000,000 loan through the Export-Import Bank — was postponed on the day of the UN vote.

Washington says there is "still some possibility" that the loan will be granted. Like diplomatic recognition, this financial support is only deferred for a more favorable time.

Norman Thomas Gives Pact His Blessings

By The Editors

The pin-striped State Department spokesmen and the multi-starred Big Brass were not the only distinguished figures who beat the drums for the North Atlantic Pact at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings. The capitalist press was pleased to note and report at length the appearance of Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, who also counseled the Senate to ratify the greatest military alliance in history.

Not that the Senate needs any special urging, since it is generally recognized that the hearings are a mere formality and the anticipated ratification of the pact by the Senate will be a simple rubber-stamp. But that did not prevent the Senate committee members from according Thomas a cordial welcome and treating him with the elaborate courtesy they reserve only for those who loyally support the program of American imperialism.

To them, Thomas speaks for "socialism" and they are not at all averse to having a "socialist" label attached to the pact, along with other misleading tags like "democracy" and "peace."

Treatment of Thomas and Dobbs

Both the friendly reception of the Senators and the warm praise of the daily press for Thomas were in sharp contrast to the treatment accorded the spokesman for genuine socialism, Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, who vigorously denounced the pact. The Senators rudely interrupted Dobbs' answers to their few questions and could not dismiss him from the stand fast enough. While Thomas rated front-page headlines and a large photograph in the N. Y. Times for giving his "socialist" blessings to the imperialist war pact, Dobbs was "covered" by one sen-

tence at the very bottom of a lengthy story jumped to an inside page.

There is method and calculation in this contrasting treatment of Thomas and Dobbs by the capitalist politicians and press. It is not that they consider Thomas a more significant and influential figure, for they are well aware that the Socialist Party has degenerated into a small sect, rapidly disintegrating and even now seeking final dissolution in some "broader" body like the Social-Democratic Federation where they can keep their "socialism" completely anonymous.

They Need "Socialist" Label

What the sponsors of the Atlantic Pact want is to be able to represent this Washington-dominated military alliance to the peoples of other countries not merely as the product of the American financiers and monopolists, but as the program even of the "socialist" movement in America. The endorsement of the pact by Norman Thomas, they hope, will serve that purpose.

Nowhere in Europe, including the western pact countries, do the capitalists dare to speak in their own name. The imperialist politicians abroad long since have been forced to appeal to the workers through the mouths of the so-called "socialists" and, when necessary, even through the so-called "communists" of the Stalinist parties. The popular hostility to American imperialism and all its works is so great in Europe that the rulers of the pact countries are having the greatest difficulty "selling" their military alliance with Wall Street's government to the masses. But who would be suspicious of such an alliance when it has the endorsement of the American "labor movement," that is, the top union bureaucrats, and even of the American "socialist movement," that is, Norman Thomas?

True enough, Thomas was speaking to the Senate hearing as a private individual, according to a subse-

quent statement issued by the Socialist Party. It seems that while Thomas has long since made up his mind on the question of the pact and is using his prestige as the most prominent figure of the SP to swing support to the pact, there is still some unresolved doubt on the question in what is left of the SP ranks. The SP National Committee, at last report, was being polled on the question.

As on most other issues, Thomas expressed "critical" support of the pact, which means he urged the Senate to ratify the pact, but to do so in a fashion that would blur and conceal its real aims and make it more easy to palm it off on the people as a pact for "peace" and "democracy" and even "socialism."

The failure to ratify the pact, he said, "might be a tremendous jolt to governments and parties in Europe on which the hope of democracy depends." At the same time, he warned of "dangers" — namely, the building up of a network of military machines everywhere "insatiably crying for more; the danger of aggravating rather than minimizing the armaments race without a compensating guarantee of that precarious thing — military security."

What "Critical Support" Means

And so, Thomas appealed to the attentive Senators to surround the pact with certain safeguards. He urged them to "steadfastly oppose" the entry of Fascist Spain into the pact; not to use the pact to furnish moral or economic aid "to the wretched colonial wars" in Indonesia and Indo-China; to declare that the result of the pact must be to reduce armaments; and for the United States to appeal for an end to the armaments race "under effective international controls."

Now, of course, no Senator embarrassed Thomas by asking him if they eliminated from the pact all dictator-

(Continued on page 3)

Labor Union Trends

FORD STRIKE AND THE "FOURTH WAGE ROUND"

By Bert Cochran

The poor state of health of the CIO, as of labor unions in general, is nowhere so well illustrated as in the sorry spectacle of what is euphemistically called "the fight for a fourth wage round."

The old tradition of the AFL in wage negotiations was based on the principle of every local for itself and the devil take the hindmost. It was a commonplace for a craft to reach a settlement with the employer without any reference to, and often at the expense of, the other crafts involved.

Naturally, under this type of unionism, craft divisions and jealousies were more prevalent than labor solidarity and only the skilled workers managed to secure some benefits, generally at the expense of the broad mass of unskilled and semi-skilled.

The CIO in its heroic days changed all of that. It cut through all of the craft and jurisdictional rivalries and organized workers from the tool and die workers right down to the sweepers, all enjoying equal rights within the union. Out of the pioneering CIO struggles came corporation-wide and industry-wide agreements. At long last, bargaining between labor and capital was taken out of the piecemeal and local scale and assumed the massive and weighty character of a national tug-of-war between the two basic classes of modern society.

This general trend reached its high point after the war in the 1946 wage fight. Spurred on by the head-strong behavior of the corporations, one sector of the working class after another struck, until the capitalist class was face to face with, what for all practical purposes, was a general strike. These strikes — shattering all precedents — forced through what amounted to a national wage settlement.

But the 1946 strike wave frightened the labor leaders even worse than it did the capitalists. They saw that if the labor unions continued on this tack, some pretty fundamental social ques-

tions would be up for solution before very long. Than which no greater calamity can be conceived by Murray and Green. So they connived around to "split up the working class into a lot of craft and industry and corporation divisions and make sure that never again would they be confronted with millions of workers simultaneously hitting the bricks.

Murray signed a contract with the steel corporations in 1946 which contained the joker of a two-year clause. By this clever little device, the steel union was taken out of the running in the 1947 wage fight. Reuther, who along with other talents also includes that of a "theoretician," worked up a fancy thesis that in auto, as distinct from steel or coal, the only correct strategy is to strike the companies "one-at-a-time." As if this wasn't sufficient, he emulated Murray by signing last year a two-year contract with General Motors.

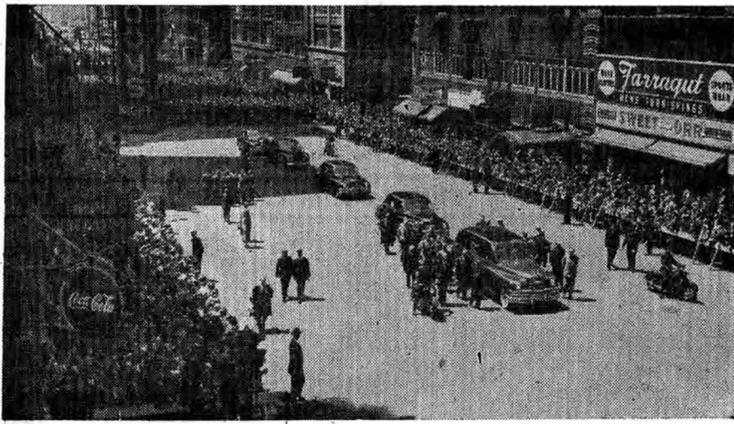
BITTER RESULTS

This atomization of the working class — with malice aforethought — has borne its bitter fruit. The subsequent wage settlements describe a sharply downward graph, although after the OPA was abolished in 1946, prices and profits shot up higher and faster than during the war. In 1946 the wage settlement was 18-14 cents. In 1947 the wage settlement declined to roughly 16 cents. In 1948, the grand precedent of a national pattern was all but effaced and unions signed up for 13, 11, 10, 9 cents, and in the case of smaller locals, for even less. In this same year, the mighty CIO permitted one of its striking affiliates, the Packinghouse union, to be starved and slugged into submission, while the other unions stood around, without lifting a helping hand.

The 1949 wage picture illustrates how badly the high-paid union officials have messed things up. In the two and a half years since the first quarter of 1946, corporation profits have risen by 138%, while the total wage and salary bill has risen by 42%. In the same period prices have risen to such an extent that a better than 20% wage increase is now required merely to get back to the 1946 standard of living.

In the face of this the labor leaders have simply been flunking out. The first big union involved in wage discussions was the CIO Textile Workers. The Textile leaders started the ball rolling in the early part of this

Pay Tribute to Slain Organizer



Out on a four-hour work stoppage, members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union walk in silent tribute behind the coffin of 40-year old William Lurye, ILGWU organizer who was stabbed in a phone booth in New York's garment district.

year by submitting their demand for a 10-cent wage increase, at the American Woolen Company to arbitration. The arbitrator, in his wisdom, ruled that the union was not entitled to any increase. The geniuses that lead this outfit thereupon decided to drop the fight for wage increases for 65,000 workers in woolen and worsted mills as well as 100,000 others working in cotton textiles.

Shortly thereafter the leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers decided to do the "statesmanlike" thing and forego any fight for a fourth wage round in view of "unsettled" business conditions. Many AFL leaders resolved to save themselves the headache of a tough wage battle by a similar display of statesmanship. The Ladies Garment leaders in St. Louis postponed wage talks for six months because of "uncertainty over the business outlook." The Carpenters District Council of Cleveland voted to forget about wage increases in 1949 "if the rest of the unions go along."

With the union leaders in retreat, smaller locals are scrambling around settling for whatever they can get. A survey in the May 20 U. S. News reports that out of 102 settlements in the chemical industry, 70 were for increases of 10 cents an hour or less and 7 were for no increases. In public utilities, AFL unions signed up for wage increases ranging from 6 to 11-1/2 cents. In apparel, out of 43 agreements, 22 were for raises of 6 cents or less and 6 gave no raises.

This is the somewhat less-than-inspiring background upon which the big industrial unions in steel, auto, electrical, rubber were preparing to enter upon their negotiations for a fourth wage round

this summer. The rank and file, for understandable reasons, were little impressed with the fancy lists of wage, pension and contract demands drawn up by their leaders and did not have too much faith in the final results. Relying on their own observations, they were, in the first instance, concerned with threatening unemployment, the layoffs and the speedup. This anxiety, and their feeling that union leaders did not have the answers, expressed itself in a series of widespread strikes in the auto industry over the question of speedup — now climaxed by the big walkout at Ford.

From the point of view of Reuther, Mazy and the other UAW leaders, the Ford strike is very unfortunate and interferes with their wage "strategy." To their way of thinking, speedup is a side issue. For a year they followed a calculated policy of pooh-poohing it and squelching all strikes that erupted over the question. Their idea was to sidetrack all this "small stuff" in favor of the big negotiations with Ford this summer, where they hoped to set the pattern for the industry.

But the Ford workers didn't think very much of this "strategy." First, as they watched the company speeding up the lines and laying off workers, they became concerned first of all with the security of their jobs. From their point of view, speedup and working conditions were not side issues at all, but, as the resolution of the National Ford Council stated, were to be considered of equal importance with the wage and contract demands. Besides, Ford needs cars very badly right now. What the situation will be a few months hence when the

dealers are stocked up with the new models, nobody knows. Strikes are not of much use, even if led by Reuther personally, if the Ford Company doesn't need cars.

If we consider the Ford strike only from the point of view of the fourth wage round, it is obvious that its outcome may well determine what workers will win in other major industries. The concessions gained by any group of workers from the capitalists depend on the relationship of power, not on hot-shot strategy, or who can reel off more statistics or talk fastest at the negotiating table. Sometimes this test of strength is made by a number of pressure moves back and forth. Sometimes the test of strength can only be determined by a strike. But invariably, the relative strength of labor in relation to capital determines the size or the absence of concessions.

If this law of the class struggle is correct — and all experience attests to it — then the decision of the Ford workers to strike now, obviously constitutes a superior strategy than the over-elaborate scheme concocted by Reuther. The business community appraises the struggle in the same way. John W. Love, business columnist of the Cleveland Press writes: "The winner of the technical argument in the 'B' building at Dearborn will decide the terms of the settlement of the pensions and wage demands." Love is right. And because he is right, labor everywhere must view the Ford strike as — for the present — the decisive test of strength between capital and labor, and viewing it so, cannot permit this struggle to end in any way but as a decisive victory for the union.

Branches Go Over Top In \$7500 Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey

Campaign Manager

On April 4 the Militant Fund campaign was publicly announced by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. In his article he reported that the National Committee, after consultation with the party branches, had promised \$7,500 to The Militant by May 15 and stated confidently that the promise would be kept.

He said: "We know for sure that the Trotskyist vanguard of the American Revolution, whose members have been educated and inspired by The Militant, will not let The Militant down. . . . This conviction enables me to conclude this announcement of the campaign with the confident prediction: The promised fund of \$7,500 will be paid on the line and the regular appearance of The Militant will be assured."

This prediction has been fulfilled to the letter by the rank and file of the movement.

On May 15 the campaign terminated and in this issue we print the final scoreboard with a total of \$7,585. This victory proves once again that faith in the members, friends and sympathizers of the SWP is well founded. The triumphant conclusion of the campaign is all the more inspiring because of the considerable unemployment and partial employment which affected throughout the country.

Every city on the scoreboard fulfilled its quota 100% or better. Only the "General" quota of \$115, assigned to miscellaneous contributions, fell behind the goal by \$13; but this was more than made up by branches which exceeded their quotas.

Because of local difficulties, several of the branches lagged in

SCOREBOARD FOR MILITANT FUND

Table with 4 columns: Branch, Quota, Paid, Percent. Lists various cities and their contributions to the Militant Fund.

collections during the course of the campaign, but every single one of them rallied toward the end and came through on time.

Akron, for example, which was toward the bottom of the scoreboard for a long time, took a sudden leap and then, on May 14, sent in its final payment with a note from S. H. saying: "Enclosed check puts us \$5 over the top. I'll never know how we did it."

Buffalo, which was at 49% as late as May 3, says: "We are very happy to send the enclosed, our final payment on the Militant Fund, which fulfills our pledge."

M. Baker of Detroit sent a partial payment last week, assuring us: "There is no doubt that the Detroit quota will be collected in full, as in the old tradition of Trotskyist campaigns. The comrades here have been making a very serious effort to keep all obligations paid up as promptly as possible, in view of the many recent 'let-offs.' A few days later, the balance of Detroit's quota came in the mail."

The successful finish of the Militant Fund campaign was enhanced by the fact that most of the branches kept up to date on their Sustaining Fund, and

made regular payments on their Militant bundle and literature accounts.

Morgantown writes: "We feel that we have expanded in membership and stability to the degree of maintaining a monthly payment to the national Sustaining Fund, beginning with May. If we are successful in maintaining this, we will increase it later."

Seattle added to its final payment on the quota a substantial remittance for literature.

Grace Carlson writes: "I am enclosing a check which completes Minneapolis' Militant Fund quota. We are very glad to note in the latest Militant that the fund is moving along well. We certainly hope that all of the branches will put on a spurt and finish on time. This would be a good morale-builder."

We feel confident that the sentiment voiced by Comrade Carlson is echoed in all the branches. The final scoreboard is an eloquent reply.

The hard-working staff of The Militant asks us to express its appreciation to all the friends of the paper and members of the Socialist Workers Party for their wonderful demonstration of solidarity and support.

FBI Stoolpigeons on Parade at CP Trial

(Continued from Page 1) spent the last seven years as a professional photographer and as a professional informer working inside the CP, which she joined at the request of the FBI. Hoover's thought-control cops gave her \$50 to contribute to the CP defense fund. She induced a former member to rejoin the CP and then reported him to the FBI.

Thomas A. Younglove, a St. Louis cement contractor, joined the CP in 1945 as a police stoolpigeon. Younglove seemed the most dull-witted of all the government witnesses, fumbling for the answer to simple questions with the awkwardness of an oxcart lumbering over rough ground. But he was good at

stealing Stalinist documents and membership lists and boasted he had received several raises in pay from the FBI.

William Cummings works for the Electric Auto-Lite Co. in Toledo and belongs to the UAW. In 1943 the FBI planted him in the CP where he was pushed into prominence as a Negro activist. Cummings became vice-chairman and organization director of the Lucas county CP, a member of the Ohio state committee and was sent to a regional school in Chicago, which the prosecutor had him tell the jury was "held above a Russian co-operative restaurant."

Cummings recruited several relatives and acquaintances into the CP and reported them to the

FBI. He told about a summer school held on an Ohio farm, which everybody knows is strictly un-American because right-thinking people prefer to spend the summer in the hot city.

John V. Blanc of Euclid, Ohio, a suburb of Cleveland, works at the Park Drop Forge Co. as an inspector and is a member of the UAW. He first belonged to the CP in 1934-36, dropped out, then rejoined in 1944. A short time later the FBI called on him and he too became an informer. He attended the 1946 UAW convention in the dual capacity of a delegate from his local union and a police spy.

Blanc passed himself off as a hot-shot party recruiter, often turning in phony names, but also signing up "between 35 and 50 real people," including his brother-in-law. He liked to get up at party meetings and lecture the membership for their laxity in recruitment. But he didn't tell them that the people he recruited were reported to the FBI.

Charles W. Nicodemus works at the Celanese Corporation plant in Cumberland, Maryland and is a member of the CIO Textile Workers Union. He joined the CP in 1937 and dropped out in 1946. Last year he pleaded guilty in a Pittsburgh court to a charge of carrying concealed weapons. Then he was visited by an FBI agent to whom he gave two signed statements against the CP. Thereafter he was found not guilty of the concealed weapons charge.

Nicodemus testified that he got it straight from the Maryland CP organizer that 600,000 Red Army troops were poised in Siberia, itching for a chance to jump over to Alaska and rush down and wipe out Detroit.

Balmes Hidalgo, Jr., employed by the Colonial Trust Co. in New York, joined the CP in 1946 after talking to the FBI. He wormed his way into the post of financial secretary of his party unit, sneaked the record book of membership dues payments to the FBI for photostating and

then returned it to the party files.

Such are the stoolpigeons and provocateurs testifying in support of the indictment charging the Stalinists with conspiracy to "publish and circulate books, articles, magazines and newspapers" and to "conduct schools and classes for the study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in which would be taught and advocated the duty and necessity of overthrowing the government of the United States by force and violence."

At the start of the trial the prosecutor falsely described Marxism-Leninism to the jury as a doctrine of unrestrained violence that called for the physical extermination of all opponents. He compounded the falsehood by calling the Stalinists advocates of Marxism-Leninism, when in reality they have betrayed everything Marx and Lenin stood for.

Then the prosecutor put the Stalinist renegade Louis P. Budenz on the witness stand, the judge qualified Budenz as an "expert," and he proceeded to lay the foundation for the frameup of scientific socialism.

Quotations from the Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels, and from Lenin's State and Revolution were torn out of context and presented to the jury in a manner that completely distorted the real meaning of the Marxist program. These mutilated quotations formed part of a broad analysis of the need for the majority to defend itself against acts of violence by the minority ruling class in periods of great social change.

But the "expert" Budenz defined Marxism-Leninism as "the theory that society can be altered only by violently shattering the capitalist state and setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat by force and violence."

The judge admitted writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin in evidence, cynically describing these literary classics as "mere

instruments for the perpetration of a conspiracy." A horrendous tale of the alleged "conspiracy" has since poured from the lips of the FBI spies.

As they tell it, the Stalinists were to concentrate in the war industries, run secret schools to teach "violent revolution," and if war came, go underground, turn the imperialist war into civil war and holler for help from the Red Army. Cummings outdid all the other stoolpigeons with his wild story of plans to make the streets of America "run red with blood."

The jurors, at whom these police interpretations of political theory are aimed, brought with them to the jury box their own individual prejudices, induced by limited political knowledge and hardened by the hysterical propaganda of the press, radio and Catholic hierarchy. In this atmosphere of trial by frameup and prejudice, the magnificent concepts of scientific socialism are under police attack, with Stalinist betrayers of Marxism in the prisoners dock, and freedom of thought at stake in the verdict.

The capitalist rulers of America don't really consider the Stalinists a threat. They know the Communist Party is weak and widely discredited; they also know that the Stalinists are not guilty of the charges in the indictment; and they know full well they can buy the lickspittle services of the CP leaders anytime they want to, simply by making a deal with Stalin.

Yet the capitalist government is using every known police trick in an effort to get a conviction, because they want to use the discredited Stalinists as whipping boys to achieve their real aim, which is to outlaw the movement for socialism and strangle all opposition to the atomic war for world conquest now being prepared by American monopoly capitalism.

That is why, traitors though they are to the working class, the Stalinists on trial here at Foley Square must be defended.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Another increase in the bundle order for Los Angeles came this week from Literature Agent Bert Deck. "The Militant is selling well," he writes, "and we hope to be able to make another increase in our bundle soon."

The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party is trying out regular sales at union meetings and other public gatherings. "Ruth N. and Helen W. covered a meeting where Johannes Steele spoke. They sold ten Militants, two copies of the Fourth International and a copy of the pamphlet, Socialism on Trial." Results at the Teamsters Building have been encouraging. On her first try Ruth sold one copy of the paper; the next week she sold four, "practically holding an outdoor meeting for ten Teamsters while she was at it."

To judge from the rising curve of the Los Angeles bundle order, distributing The Militant regularly at key places is an effective way to win friends and influence people.

A few weeks ago, writes Literature Agent Rena Breshi, the Boston comrades covered a Wallace meeting. "We sold seven copies of Socialism on Trial and several copies of The Militant. Considering the opposition of the Stalinists, we thought this 'enough good.' Boston has also been working house to house for renewals on expired subscriptions but has found it slower going than a few years ago. Other branches report a similar experience. It requires more time and perseverance to get subscriptions than in the flush days immediately following the war.

However, it's not nearly as tough as in the pre-war days. Ask any of the old-timers! Literature Agent Natalie Smolen of New Haven reports that "We are now hitting shop gates and union meetings. Sales are small but everything helps." She suggests that from time to time, we print the box that used to appear in The Militant listing key points of our program. In her opinion this "would help single copy buyers to want a sub to such a paper." This was one of the features we were forced to sacrifice when mounting printing costs compelled us to reduce The Militant from six pages to four. Comrade Smolen also thinks that a pamphlet on unemployment would meet with a favorable response.

L. B. Courts of Sharonville, Ohio, sending in for some pamphlets, explains that it is difficult for him to contribute to the financial campaign as he is now 78 years old and hasn't "made any money for five years." A Socialist for 40 years, he is still opposed to imperialism and considers parents who "send their own sons to the mouth of the cannon" as bad as the people of Baal who "put their children on fire and then danced around the metal god to drown their screams."

N. M. of South Gate, Calif., sending in a change of address, tells us that he has been "enjoying reading the paper for some time now" and that he hopes to continue receiving it without missing any issues. Which reminds us that many of our subscribers forget to notify us in time when they move. To make sure you get The Militant regularly, let us know what your new address will be several weeks before you move.

mediately following the war. However, it's not nearly as tough as in the pre-war days. Ask any of the old-timers!

Literature Agent Natalie Smolen of New Haven reports that "We are now hitting shop gates and union meetings. Sales are small but everything helps." She suggests that from time to time, we print the box that used to appear in The Militant listing key points of our program. In her opinion this "would help single copy buyers to want a sub to such a paper." This was one of the features we were forced to sacrifice when mounting printing costs compelled us to reduce The Militant from six pages to four. Comrade Smolen also thinks that a pamphlet on unemployment would meet with a favorable response.

L. B. Courts of Sharonville, Ohio, sending in for some pamphlets, explains that it is difficult for him to contribute to the financial campaign as he is now 78 years old and hasn't "made any money for five years." A Socialist for 40 years, he is still opposed to imperialism and considers parents who "send their own sons to the mouth of the cannon" as bad as the people of Baal who "put their children on fire and then danced around the metal god to drown their screams."

N. M. of South Gate, Calif., sending in a change of address, tells us that he has been "enjoying reading the paper for some time now" and that he hopes to continue receiving it without missing any issues. Which reminds us that many of our subscribers forget to notify us in time when they move. To make sure you get The Militant regularly, let us know what your new address will be several weeks before you move.

POLITICALLY IMPORTANT

Are you doing everything you can to hasten the victory of socialism in America?

Have you introduced The Militant to your friends and shopmates so that they can learn the truth about the socialist program for enduring peace, unlimited plenty and boundless progress?

There's no task of greater political importance today than widening the circle of Militant readers. Every new reader means another potential sower of socialist ideas in the working class. That's why The Militant can be regarded as the best organizer of the socialist movement.

But The Militant can't introduce itself to new possible supporters of socialism. Your help is needed to bring The Militant to the attention of workers who have not yet learned about the socialist alternative to the misery, fear, insecurity and bloodshed of capitalism.

Why not take out a subscription for a friend who should be reading The Militant? Mail the coupon with \$1 for a six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Send The Militant to: Name, Street, City, State, Zone.

San Francisco-Oakland Marxism and the Problems of the American Workers Series of 9 Lectures 3rd Lecture: San Francisco - Fri., May 27 1739 Fillmore, 4th fl. Oakland - Tues., May 31 1408 Webster Admission Free - 8:00 PM Refreshments

BROOKLYN Youth Forum THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN FASCISM Speaker: Sam Laurence 635 Fulton Street Fri., May 27 - 8:30 PM Admission Free

Italian Publications No. 5 of "4a Internazionale" Articles on the Agrarian Question in Italy, and on the role of the Italian Social Democracy. Price 25 Cents. PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Subscriptions: \$5 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$5.50 per yr.; \$2 for 6 mos.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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

Vol. XIII - No. 21

Monday, May 23, 1949



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."

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



LENIN

What Shall Labor Do Now?

The current United Mine Workers Journal correctly denounces the top AFL and CIO leaders for their "sell-out of labor's fight" against the Taft-Hartley Act.

More details have come to light of how these self-styled "labor statesmen" secretly lobbied for the Sims Bill, including its injunction section, while they publicly claimed to oppose this Taft-Hartley substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act.

Thus, the CIO and AFL officials have not dared to deny the report in the May 16 New Republic magazine that "lobbyists for the majority of CIO unions, including the United Steelworkers, the Textile Workers' Union, the United Auto Workers and the national CIO organization urged every Representative they could reach to vote FOR Sims' substitute measure as the least of the evils."

The net result of this snivelling policy of "compromise" and retreat was not a victory for the "lesser evil" but the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act, the emboldening of the avowed labor-haters in Congress and the preparation of the Truman Democrats to make still further concessions to the Taft-Hartleyites.

Now AFL President William Green publicly admits his readiness to accept a "compromise" along the lines of the Sims Bill, with the sole

condition that it be altered to authorize government strikebreaking by plant seizure instead of by injunctions.

How far and fast the Trumanite union leaders have retreated is indicated by Louis Stark's story in the May 13 N. Y. Times observing that Truman, at least in his public utterances, has "placed himself to the left of President William Green of the AFL" on the question of labor legislation.

The question before organized labor is what to do now. Here, for all its denunciation of the Trumanite union leaders, the United Mine Workers Journal is woefully silent.

For the answer to what to do next, the American workers must turn to the program proposed by the Detroit CIO, as reported on Page One. The heart of this program is the proposal for a 24-hour national work stoppage.

Here is a call to militant mass labor action that holds the key to a successful fight for labor's legislative program, particularly repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. If every union local and local labor body answers this call, passes resolutions demanding this program and puts the heat on the top union leaders to put this program speedily into action, the picture will change over-night.

Stalinist Policy on Deportations

Gerhart Eisler's flight from the United States and his seizure by the British authorities on the demand of the U. S. government have attracted the most publicity in the press. But even more significant is the fact that three other well-known Stalinists facing deportation — John Santo, Ferdinand Smith and J. V. Peters — all suddenly announced their willingness to leave the country voluntarily instead of fighting their ouster through the federal courts.

These three, unlike Eisler, had been trying to remain in this country and had promised to lead the fight against deportation of foreign-born workers. There is no doubt that their decision to give up the fight was made in accordance with official Stalinist policy at the highest level — that is, Moscow.

What is most important, however, is that the Stalinist policy in these cases means the

abandonment of any serious CP opposition to the victimization of hundreds of other foreign-born workers, many of whom have lived most of their adult lives here and raised families, who have been torn from their homes and face the threat of expulsion from the country.

The action of Santo and Smith strikes a blow most directly at the labor movement as such. Both were prominent former union leaders. In attacking them, the government was attempting to establish a precedent for similar attacks on other foreign-born union leaders and members who, whether Stalinist or not, might oppose the government's foreign policy or engage in militant union activity.

No class-conscious worker will bewail the personal fate of these Stalinists who had many times sacrificed the interests of American workers to the twists and turns of the Kremlin's diplomacy. Now they themselves have become the latest sacrifices to the newest turn in that diplomacy. But what is of real concern is the fate of hundreds of others who will be made the victims of the Stalinist capitulation on the deportation issue. It is these innocent persons, and the labor movement as a whole, who will suffer from the latest Stalinist treachery.

A "Minor Incident" of Hooliganism

Last April 20 a gang of goons led by one of Philip Murray's lieutenants, Nick Zonari, a CIO Steelworkers representative, assaulted and severely injured Maurice Travis, Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, in the studio of radio station WJLD, Bessemer, Alabama.

Travis was assaulted and sent to the hospital as a result of what had all the earmarks of an organized and planned physical attack. The only dispute is over the extent of Travis' injuries. The Mine, Mill leaders say Travis' eye was so badly injured he is likely to lose its sight. Spokesmen of the Murray machine claim the extent of Travis' injuries was exaggerated.

Whether Travis was hurt more or less, however, is beside the point. The fact remains that hooligan methods of physical intimidation and violence were used by Murray's

representatives against an opponent in the union movement.

At the CIO executive board meeting last week in Washington the Murray-machine majority adopted a resolution which tries to pass off the Travis beating as a "minor incident." But hooliganism and gangsterism can never be condoned as "minor incidents" inside the labor movement.

Such "minor incidents," moreover, have taken on the character of standard practice on the part of Murray's machine. At the last steel union convention, a delegate who opposed Murray's wage policy, Nick Migas, was followed from the convention hall and beaten up after Murray had violently incited the convention against him.

Murray, at the recent CIO board meeting, claimed that the Stalinists have committed similar acts against their union opponents. That's quite true. Does Murray now propose to take Stalinist gangster methods for his model?

Negro Life in the South--An Honest Report

IN THE LAND OF JIM CROW by Ray Sprigle, Simon and Schuster, 1949, 215 pp., \$2.50.

By J. Meyer

The author of this book is a successful journalist, a Pulitzer prize-winner, a trained, honest and acute observer, and a white man. He pretended to be a Negro and travelled as one in the South in order to experience for himself what it feels like to be a Negro in that section of our American democracy.

With a Negro to help him and to introduce him to other Negroes, he claims that only once was his racial identity challenged. The present reviewer must take leave to doubt that he got away with it among the Negroes as completely as he thinks he did. Negroes are very alert on such questions — they have to be. But they also have learned to observe and say nothing on a number of questions. Yet there is no need to doubt that in general he spoke, and more important, was spoken to as a Negro, by other Negroes.

Secondly, he could not possibly experience the feelings of a Negro. He did not have the past, the years of conditioning. And, more important, he did not have the future of a Negro in the South. He was there only for a month. He was going to get out. In one sense it made him more acute, more sensitive, but on the surface only. The deep, permanent, fundamental disruption of the Negro's personality, such as for instance is insisted upon by a writer like Richard Wright, THAT he could not experience.

No intellectual going into a factory for three months can ever know what it is to have been on the assembly line for 15 years and to have no other prospect in life but to continue to be on it until death.

The author is not a political writer. Such politics as appear are childish and can be ignored. His work is newspaper journalism — he was on the track of a good story, but the subject is a serious one, and on the whole he has managed to overcome the temptation to dramatize. This has to be remembered because at times a reader might feel that what he was reading was modern, high-power, high-lighted newspaper business.

I have thought it necessary to say all this, so that what I am going to say now will not be misunderstood. I do not believe that I have read anywhere a book which, in short compass and simply written, brings home so sharply the general, daily, minute to minute life of a Negro in the South. Not the Negro's intimate feelings, his deepest responses. It is precisely this, which Sprigle

set out to do, that he cannot do. What he does convey is the external circumstances, what every Negro meets every day, and has to deal with, or come to sudden and violent death.

That is the primary reality. To try to quote, to give examples, would do precisely what other books have done, and thus give the impression that such and such an act of violence is something that happens "very often" in the South, "more often," "much more often" than in the North. This illusion is what Sprigle's book destroys. I give only one quotation, not of any incident, but of his conclusions. "... Every Negro in the South, no matter what his station in life, his accomplishments, his possessions, his college degrees or his services to humanity, lives dangerously every moment of his life. Particularly is that true when he ventures outside his own community. If he is black, then he is fair game for any white man — especially if that white man wears a badge and carries a club and gun!" (P. 104.)

Every Negro in the South knows this. This is where his life BEGINS. Therefore to relate incidents gives a totally false impression. Negroes are shot down and quietly lynched in the South in numbers that no statistical reckons. But lynchings or murders in the South are not 20 times one murder in the North. In the North, murder even for a Negro is, on the whole, an exception to the underlying pattern of existence. In the South it is not. You can turn a corner, and meet it by bouncing into a white man or his wife.

Other books do not express this. You can read all of Gunnar Myrdal's statistics and notes and observations and not grasp this basic fact. The Southern Negro does not refer to the Mason and Dixon line, he calls it the Smith and Wesson line. Between murder and the daily, hourly insults and brutality, the connection is continuous. Sprigle as is the modern practice faithfully tries to tell the experiences of sharecroppers and the poor. But his book is essentially that of a middle-class observer who is sympathetic to middle-class Negroes. And this makes his book even more effective.

The book should be read and pondered over. It places the struggle for FEPC, abolition of poll-tax, anti-lynching bill, etc., necessary as these are, in their proper perspective. It helps us to remember what the heat of the daily struggle should never let us forget, that only a new society, a completed proletarian reconstruction, carried through to the end, can make the Southern Negro "free and equal."

Socialist Call Condemns Firing of Jim Kutcher

An editorial in the May 13 Socialist Call attacks Attorney General Clark's political blacklist system, singling out for special attention the listing of the IWW as subversive and the purge of James Kutcher, legless SWP veteran. Kutcher's discharge "is a violation of his political rights and of the American constitution," says the editorial. "We are glad the Kutcher case is to be brought into the federal courts, but we are distressed that such action should be necessary."

Kutcher Defense Wins Support in Washington

Following similar action by the California CIO-PAC, the recent executive session of the Washington State PAC for National CIO Policy voted to endorse James Kutcher's fight for his government job and to send communications to all affiliated organizations informing them of its stand on this important civil liberties case.

The Seattle Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has also received endorsements of its work from Dr. Max Savelle, professor of history at the University of Washington, author of "Seeds of Liberty" and an outstanding authority on American history; Dr. Ivan C. Rutledge, president of the Seattle chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and assistant professor of law at the University of Washington; and Reverend Fred W. Shorter, pastor of the Church of the People.

New trade union contributors to the defense fund to carry Kutcher's appeal through the federal courts are headed by the New York City Joint Board of the Dress & Waistmakers Union, ILGWU-AFL, representing tens of thousands of garment workers in the metropolitan area; the Greater Detroit & Wayne County CIO Industrial Union Council, representing hundreds of thousands of auto workers; and UE-CIO District Council 6 of Pittsburgh.

Local union bodies aiding Kutcher include UAW-CIO Local 365 of Long Island City; ILGWU Local 291, Malden, Mass.; AFL Bakery & Confectionery Workers Local 39, Cleveland; CIO United Steel Workers Local 3120, Cleveland, and Steel Workers Local 2651, Bridgeport, Conn.

NORMAN THOMAS GIVES HIS BLESSING TO PACT

(Continued from page 1)

ships like Portugal, Greece and Spain and all imperialist powers waging "wretched colonial wars" like the Netherlands, France and Great Britain, just whom would Washington be able to make a pact with? Or what would be the point of cementing the greatest military alliance in history if the aim was to appeal for disarmament?

But nobody, least of all the capitalist politicians, takes the "critical" part of Thomas' "critical support" seriously. What they are interested in is his "socialist" endorsement, signed in his own hand-writing, on the blank check of the imperialist war alliance. Whatever Thomas' windy sighs and misgivings as he affixes his signature, the capitalist politicians will fill in the amount of the check as they see fit.

The Big Business press played up Thomas' endorsement of the pact as though it were some unexpected and startling event. Look, see, Norman Thomas, the "SOCIALIST" leader has come out publicly for the pact! As though that were a surprising event.

Dobbs' Prediction Last Year

That Thomas would endorse the pact, that he will goose-step in line with every further stride of the American imperialist war preparations, was a foregone conclusion. For Thomas' whole record before and during the Second World War revealed him as a perfect sample of those "socialists of the word" who mouth all the phrases about "peace," "democracy" and "socialism" while they uphold each move of the worst imperialist enemies of peace, democracy and socialism.

Farrell Dobbs, who represents the socialists of the deed and who denounced the Atlantic Pact at the Senate hearings, in a public debate with Norman Thomas last October subjected the latter to a complete scientific analysis. Dobbs said then: "It is not necessary for me to ask Norman Thomas what position he is going to take in the impending war. You and I already know. His whole course shows that he is going to support the same American imperialist gang that he supported in the last war."

An essential part of the war program, said Dobbs, will be "the cementing of alliances with the most reactionary elements in all countries." And Norman Thomas and the other "socialist" apologists for American imperialism, "gagging and protesting, but going along just the same," said Dobbs, will accept the partnership of Franco, the Dutch butchers of the Indonesian people and all the other rotten regimes, just as they accept American imperialism and its war for "democracy."

Before the last war, Dobbs pointed out, Thomas promised that he would oppose it, but when war came, he gave it "critical support." Now he is giving his "critical support" in advance of the war. If and when war comes, Thomas will be so busy aiding U. S. imperialism's "war effort" that he won't even have time to be "critical."

International Solidarity For Canadian Strikers

TORONTO, Canada, May 2 — The Canadian East Coast seamen's strike, moving into its fifth week and spreading into all the major ports in the world, is meeting with an unprecedented police, police court and government terror. But despite injunctions, court sentences, police-sab hooliganism and government incitements, the seamen are holding fast and winning increasing support in inspiring demonstrations of solidarity from the world working class.

Latest move in Ottawa's attempt to crush the militant seamen and sweep the Canadian Seamen Union (Trade and Labor Congress, AFL) from the scene was a joint statement from Transport Minister Chevrier and Labor Minister Mitchell threatening the seamen, who are answering the strike call in the world's ports, with persecution under the

Captain Bligh-inspired Canada Shipping Act upon their return to Canada. This shameful act in support of the shipping moguls is only the latest in a whole series of moves by the government agencies which should end for all time the myth of government impartiality and which clearly reveal the class nature of the capitalist state.

In both Quebec and Montreal, striking seamen have been served with court injunctions forcing them to quit their ships. At St. John, New Brunswick, the police in a carefully timed and planned sally and brandishing axe handles swept down on a small and peaceful picket line to smash the way clear for scabs to get through and man two struck ships.

On April 8 the Minister of Transport stated in the House that "no one was dangerously hurt" at Halifax when police

escorted 176 scabs to man Canadian National Steamship vessels that had been struck. Once on board, the scabs, armed to the teeth, fired upon CSU pickets, blasting out the right eye of one seaman, sending another to the hospital in serious condition and injuring another five.

The strike broke out following a government conciliation board's recommendation that would mean a \$20 a month pay cut and the elimination of the union hiring hall. Leading the shipping owners, at the head of the pack, is the government-owned Canadian National Steamship Line. Ottawa is solidly behind the strike-breaking CNS.

Working hand in glove with the shipping magnates and the capitalist government, the AFL bureaucracy is hiring the scabs and granting them with membership cards of the Seafarers' International Union. Joseph Ryan, boss of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), has warned longshoremen at St. John that unless aid to the CSU strikers is stopped the local will lose its charter.

Trades and Labor Congress officials, who are facing continued attempts on the part of the William Green hierarchy to destroy Canadian trade union autonomy, have been strangely silent about this assault on one of their affiliates. They thereby aid the boss attempt to mask the strike as a jurisdictional struggle between two unions. The Canadian Congress of Labor (CCL) bureaucracy has made no protests, no doubt traitorously justifying its silence with the observation that the CSU is Stalinist-dominated.

But despite the treachery of the leaderships, news continues to flow in of increasing support to the heroic seamen. Shipping bosses have issued instructions to their captains not to tie up in ports where their crews may come under the influence of seamen and longshoremen who support the strike.

Longshoremen at St. John have reaffirmed their refusal to cross CSU picket lines. More than 1,300 dockers at Bristol who refused to work struck ships returned to work only on the promise of their leaders that scab crews would be removed. London dockers are refusing to man blacklisted ships. Australian unions are gladdening British ships under the Canadian flag and paying less than the Canadian basic pay. London tug boat operators have refused to move out an SIU-manned boat.

MAY 17—Latest developments in the Canadian seamen's strike are marked by the continuation of international solidarity, despite the scabby role of the International Federation of Transport Workers, to which both the striking CSU and the strike-breaking Seafarers International Union belong.

Harry Davis, CSU president who flew to England last week to address striking Canadian seamen, was assured by the Avonmouth dock-workers of their continued support. The Canadian ship Gulfside has been held up in Bristol since April 1. Previously the Liverpool Trades Council voted to back the strike. In Melbourne, Australia, the Canadian freighter, Haligonian Duke, manned by a scab crew, is tied up because the Waterside Workers Federation refuses to work it.

Workers Forum

What Brass Hats Plan for U. S. Labor Editor: An indication of what high-ranking military officers have in mind for the workers of this country in the next war was given this week when Col. George A. Harvey of the Army in a lecture to business executives and reserve officers in New York urged a vicious three-point program for regimenting labor. His recommendations were:

1. Freeze individuals in their jobs. 2. "Prevent the use of wages for recruiting of labor." 3. Make every employer, including the government agencies, use the employment agencies.

On the same day in Washington, Dr. John R. Steelman of the National Security Resources Board, a high ranking official of the Truman administration, published a series of recommendations for the mining industry in the next war which included the advice that "Universal Service should be imposed in the event of a war to control manpower, since the Selective Service would not be adequate." In other words — draft labor.

Nowhere in the programs of either of these two officials is there a suggestion that capital should also be drafted or that profits as well as wages should be frozen. It shows that the ultra-reactionary military officer caste and the Truman administration, which pretends to be a friend of labor, are in full agreement on

a plan that would make the Taft-Hartley Act seem, in comparison, like a friendly gesture to labor. P. C., New York City

Rent Hearings Set For Chicago June 1

Hearings to prove that rent increases should take place in Chicago will begin June 1. The hearings were initiated by the landlord representatives on the Cook County Rent Advisory Board, which consists of representatives of tenants, landlords, and the public. Its purpose is to advise Tighe Woods as to the state of the rental situation in Cook County, and it has the power to raise or lower rents, and to recommend decontrol of rents.

For a year the tenants representatives on the Rent Advisory Board have been able to prevent a general increase in rents. The landlord representatives have been demanding hearings for some months, and have been helped by new directives which make hearings mandatory when an interested group demands one. The representatives of the tenants are prepared to contest any increases on the specific grounds that:

1. The average family in Chicago is paying the highest rent of any city in the United States except Washington, D. C. 2. On the basis of the 1935-39 index figures, Chicago bears the highest percentage of rent increases in the country. 3. An overwhelming majority of landlords have already received increases of 15% since 1947, either through leases or "hardship" increases. The Tighe Woods formula will add another increase to the already overburdened tenants.

The Chicago Tenants Federation is rallying all civic, labor, and fraternal organizations to fight against the general rent increase asked by the landlords. The CIO, which is represented on the Cook County Rent Advisory Board by Michael Mann, secretary of the Chicago CIO Council, has officially stated its position against a general rent increase. Within the ranks of the AFL, however, there is some difference of opinion on this question. Some of the locals, especially in the Building Trades, have refused to put up any sort of a fight against the proposed increases. J. C. Chicago, Ill.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m. BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. open Mon. 5:30-9:00 p. m., Wed. 7-10 p. m. BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 628 Main afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO — 166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment. CLEVELAND — 7100 E. 144th St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun. 8 p. m. DETROIT — 608 Livewood Ave. Phone TY 7-6227. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings. LOS ANGELES — Student Publ. Assn., Room 225, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vanduyke 8061. SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-8 p. m. Library, bookstore. LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Publ. Hall, 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m. MILWAUKEE — 611 N. 3rd St., 2nd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337. MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-8 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. O. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287. NEW HAVEN — For information telephone 7-3780. NEWARK — 423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m. NEW YORK CITY (City) — 116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149. HARTFORD — 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Friday, 8 p. m. BOSTON — Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd., Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p. m. BROOKLYN — 625 Fulton St. Phone 5-7455. CLEVELAND — 130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2483. OAKLAND (Cal.) — 1408 Webster. PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-6820. Open daily, Forum, Fri., 8 p. m. PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forum 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p. m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p. m. SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FT 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m. SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201. So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9275. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri. 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, Third Thurs. 8 p. m., Kappa Hall, 418 Summit, Room 3. WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P. O. Box 554, Worcester. YONKERS — 224 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1255. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

By Grace Carlson

There is no doubt in my mind but that the supporters of private medicine pay lip service to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. They always profess to believe that "all men are created equal" and that, therefore, they have an equal right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." But when the proposal is made to put these equalitarian ideas into action, what then?

The answer to this question comes very clearly in the wild attacks that the supporters of private medicine made upon the National Health Insurance Program, which proposes a relatively mild correction of the glaring inequalities in American medical care today. Pushed to the wall in their attempts to prove that American private medicine represents the best of all systems of medical care in this best of all countries, they water down their equalitarian ideas.

A recent report of the Brookings Institute, a staunch supporter of the "free enterprise" system of medical care, has this to say:

"Probably no other great nation in the world has among its white [emphasis mine] population better health than prevails in the United States. A few small homogeneous countries such as New Zealand with respect to white population are slightly ahead of the United States as a whole, but certain states of the United States with larger populations equal them."

In a country supposedly based upon the idea that "all men are created equal," what must one think of a medical survey that considers only the health of the "white population"? One must conclude, of course, that in their eagerness to defend private medicine, its supporters manipulate their statistics in order to leave out the most shamefully exploited section of the American population — the Negro people. And these American citizens represent one-tenth of the population!

The sad state of Negro health — the fact that poverty and neglect drive the life expectancy of

the average Negro down to ten years below that of the average white — should deserve more consideration than is ever given by the American Medical Association and all of the other self-styled "guardians of the public health."

But if one represents the statistics of the health of all of the people, the picture is not as bright as private medicine paints it. A much darker picture is outlined by Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, in the Nation's Health — a Report to the President, which was issued a few months ago and forms the basis for the National Health Insurance Program. Most of the report is a result of a national health assembly held in Washington, D. C., in May 1948. More than 800 leaders from such organizations as the Farmers Union, CIO, AFL, American Medical Association, American Dental Association, and the National Association of Manufacturers joined to talk about public health problems.

It must be clear to every one that this was not a socialist gathering. And it must be equally as clear that Truman's aide, Oscar Ewing, is not a socialist. But even Oscar Ewing is forced to make these devastating charges against the system of private medicine in the richest country in the world:

Every year, 325,000 people die whom we have the knowledge and the skills to save.

Each year, workers lose 4,300,000 man years because of bad health.

Only 20% of the people in the country can afford the medical care that they need.

Premature deaths cost the people of the United States 27,000,000 years of life in 1947.

Of the 17 million draftees — young men in the prime of life — 30% were found unfit.

Forty million American citizens live in communities which lack a full-time public health service.

Where are the rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? They cannot be found in the United States of America. Not yet!

VOLUME XIII

MONDAY, MAY 23, 1949

NUMBER 21

Job Down-trend to Continue, Capitalist Press Now Admits

Four Men Die in Mine



Fellow miners are shown waiting tensely at the entrance to the No. 5 colliery of the Gilberton Coal Company, Gilberton, Pa. for news of four men trapped 1,000 feet underground. Rescue crews found all four dead. For an account of a near-tragedy in another mine, see the article, "Incident in a Mine," elsewhere on this page.

The "spring upturn" so confidently predicted by capitalist economists has failed to materialize. Unemployment continues to grow. Production, including output in the key steel and auto industries, is on the downgrade.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to get reliable figures from government agencies. But the trend is admittedly in the direction of increased unemployment.

According to the May 20 U. S. News, unemployment is double that of six months ago, and layoffs by industry are increasing again. By next spring, says U. S. News, "as many as 6,000,000 may be unemployed." It adds: "Some estimates of Government appraisers are higher than that."

The U. S. Census Bureau report for April estimated 3,100,000 out of work. However this report, an analysis, revealed at least 5,000,000 jobless last month, with another 12,000,000 reduced to part-time employment of from one to four days per week.

The unreliability of official unemployment estimates was indicated in a May 6 report of Edward Corsi, New York State Industrial Commissioner, who revealed that 110,000 workers in the state have exhausted their unemployment compensation benefits. How many of these are still without jobs, Corsi said, is unknown. Only those still getting benefits or applying for them are officially listed as jobless. He added that when the new benefit year opens on June 8, repeat applications will send the insurance lists to record highs.

An extensive coast-to-coast survey in 20 major cities by the N. Y. Times, reported in its May 16 issue, reveals that unemployment is "still going up" everywhere except in southern California and a few areas of the South, where, however, layoffs are continuing; in most parts of the section, but at a declining rate.

On the West Coast too, all is far from rosy, since San Francisco reports a continuing increase in unemployment and the "slight abatement" of the March record high in Los Angeles "has

not been sufficient to create any substantial optimism" and "most observers feel some further 'receding' in employment levels is likely."

The New England section, with a tenth of the country's industrial output, has been hardest hit so far. Industrial Connecticut, for instance, "has the longest list of unemployed in ten years and every section of the state's economy seems to be declining or just holding its own."

New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan — the country's key industrial states — are all showing steadily increasing unemployment. In Pennsylvania, unemployment and part-time work has struck hardest at the coal miners, but the basic steel industry is now operating only at 96% of capacity and "fabricating plants are off" considerably more, but exact figures are not available."

The N. Y. Times survey states that not only has the decline hit all light-goods industries, but "was now pronounced in the heavier industries, including automobiles and steel." Most significantly, "in almost all areas there was skepticism about the extent to which Government spending under the European Recovery Program or the rearmament effort would bring about a spurt in production in the next few months."

Underlining the N. Y. Times findings, the Department of Commerce on May 16 estimated the country's 1949 first-quarter output declined from the previous quarter by 9 billion dollars. The previous highest quarterly postwar decline was only 1.3 billions in the first quarter of 1946.

This trend toward economic decline, indicated by all indexes, underscores the program for the reduced work week at the same take-home pay which the CIO Oil and Shipyard unions are demanding, as reported on Page One.

Tenney Witch-Hunt Bills Are Aimed at Almost Everyone

By Al Lynn

LOS ANGELES — A series of bills introduced recently into the California State Legislature by Senator Jack Tenney and others, will, if passed, constitute an attack against civil rights unopposed in the legislative history of the country.

They provide for denial of old age pensions (Assembly Bill 2267) and of Social Security benefits (Senate Bill 1127) to present and past believers in Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, communism, advocates of governmental title to production and distribution, etc.

These bills would deny the right to appear on the ballot to individuals who did not file a loyalty oath (SB 132). Loyalty oaths would be required of teachers (SB 130), government employees (SB 280 and AB 255), lawyers (SB 298 would disbar all

those who were radicals at any time in the past, and set up a committee to investigate all current lawyers), private employees of firms holding government contracts (SB 515), union members (SB 516).

Owners of buildings in which subversives meet would be subject to \$1,000 fine and six months in jail. The Tenney Committee Investigating Un-American Activities would be granted \$150,000 for use by the committee or its members.

In these bills definitions of communist and subversive are very broad. Broad enough to include liberals, Social Democrats and unionists, as well as Stalinists and revolutionists. Tenney, for example, would undoubtedly consider acceptance of the labor theory of value as "Marxist," although there are non-Marxists who agree with it.

As is to be expected the Tenney Committee would be one of the chief judges of who and what are subversive. The implications of this are described by liberal columnist Leslie Claypool of the Los Angeles Daily News who relates how Tenney had the Senate Rules Committee defer action which would place W. J. Bassett, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Los Angeles Central Labor Council, on the Advisory Committee of the Social Welfare Department.

Tenney gave as his reason the endorsement by the Council of Democratic Assemblyman Edward E. Elliot, whom Tenney suspects of supporting "communist objectives." The Council had supported him because he had a good record on their legislative check list.

Even before these bills have gone through the legislature, the capitalist state is attempting to put them into effect. Irma Sapuro, a social worker member of CIO Social Service Employees Union Local 95, was refused unemployment compensation for refusing to sign a loyalty affidavit with the County, which had demanded such an oath before placing her on a job. The California State Employment Service ruled that she rejected a job by not signing the affidavit.

Ford's Maneuvers Fail To Shake Strike Ranks

(Continued from page 1)

Moreover, the Hudson management vigorously denied that the section of its contract dealing with speed of production gave the union any voice in determining the number of cars to be produced. The Hudson workers have been forced to protect their standards, not by contractual procedure but by direct action on a number of occasions, against the will of the international leadership. Reuther's pretense that speedup is an issue limited to the Rouge "B" building does nothing

but harm to the campaign to win support for the Ford strike from the rest of the UAW and the labor movement as a whole.

The week-long strike of UAW Local 203 against the speedup at Motor Products Corporation is now apparently over. A number of workers were fired when those in the final assembly department resisted speedup; and then the international intervened. While the company has been unable to reach any agreement with the leaders of Local 203, it has reached the understanding, after the international sent a time-study man into the plant, that "the union will not interfere with the rates of production established by the company."

The probationary employees and those discharged on May 6 are not being called back to work under the terms of this rotten agreement. Ford workers must be on guard to prevent attempts to make any such "settlement" in their fight.

WHAT MUST BE WON

It thus becomes clear and imperative that the voice of the rank and file, which was successful in raising the question of the speedup as the primary issue, be heard on the terms for settling the strike, if it is to be settled satisfactorily.

This means that the issue must be broadened to take in grievances which exist all over the Rouge plant. It means that the question of contract changes must be taken up in direct relation with the speedup question. The company security clause which strangles and discourages on-the-job action by the rank and file must be eliminated. The slogan of "a steward for every foreman" must become an actual contractual fact.

These are the very minimum gains which must be won before there can be any talk of a settlement of the speedup problem. Yet it was these simple necessities which Reuther rejected point blank when he said that speedup will not be an issue in the coming contract negotiations and that it is not a national Ford issue.

FORD'S OWN DOCUMENTS CLARIFY SPEEDUP ISSUE

DETROIT — The Ford Motor Company in a statement issued on May 14 tried to cover up the real issue in the current strike by using the phrase "featherbedding" and by trying to make it appear that the workers are demanding the right to work less than 100% of standard when what they actually are fighting for is the right not to work at more than 100% of standard.

What is 100% of standard? An indication of how Ford is trying to change the interpretation can be found in two of the company's documents on policy. The first was outlined to a Supervisory Conference on Oct. 26, 1945 in the following terms:

"You expect your men to do a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. But, what is a fair day's work? The standard amount of work that an operator should do in one hour on any particular job, should not vary from month to month or year to year if the methods of operation remain the same. If the standard is properly set to begin with, it should re-

main unchanged. Constantly revising the Time Study standard without a change in method is bound to result in labor trouble, and charges of a speedup. What we need, and what Work Analysis will do, with your help, is set an accurate standard for each operation in your department which will be changed only when a new method is applied to the job, and not for any other reason."

The second Ford document, an executive communication to all manufacturing supervisors and labor relations staffs, dated Mar. 5, 1948, had the following to say on "Work Standards Policies": "It will help in reaching full efficiency on the new models as quickly as possible and with a minimum of disputes to have a uniform understanding on the following points. . .

"2. Running Lines at Faster than the 'Standard' Speed. The Company has the right to set any line speed it desires as long as (a) the all-day output does not require more than 100% of anyone, and (b) when a faster speed is necessary at times, no one is required to work too far above 100% nor for too long at a stretch. We want to make sure no supervisor is hesitant to enforce our rights in this respect."

AFL Proposes Labor "Unity" -- State Dept. Style

For many years the two largest labor bodies in the United States, the AFL and CIO, have been at war with each other. The old-line AFL craft leaders have fought not only against organic unification on a sound basis, but against any form of united action in defense of the common interests of all organized workers.

The AFL moguls several times rejected CIO proposals for joint action to fight anti-labor legislation. The raiding, scab-herding and strike-breaking between and within the AFL and CIO, while both organizations have been under the heavy fire of the Taft-Hartleyites, have been a crying scandal of the labor movement.

But the AFL chiefs, who could find no basis in the need to defend the interests of American labor for any form of united action with the CIO, now have found a proposition on which they are not only willing but downright anxious to join with the CIO. The AFL Executive Council on May 16 unanimously approved participation of the AFL jointly with the CIO in setting up a new international labor body in competition with the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, from which the CIO is withdrawing.

The aim of this "unity" is frankly to fight "communism" throughout the world. It has nothing to do with strengthening organized labor everywhere for defense against the attacks of the capitalist enemy. It is a program cooked up many months ago, with the advice and approval of the U. S. State Department, as a means of splitting union movements abroad and swinging them into political line with Washington and its reactionary allies. Symbolically, the same AFL council meeting that endorsed the new basis for "unity" with the CIO, likewise called on the Senate to ratify the North Atlantic military pact "with all possible speed."

It is a devastating commentary on the top labor bureaucrats in this country that they cannot achieve labor unity to defend the living standards and democratic rights of the workers, but that they can quickly unite at the nod of the State Department and in the interests of American imperialism's cold war.

One Man's Whim

By Joseph Keller

How completely the welfare, the very lives, of the American people are at the mercy of a handful of incredibly wealthy private owners of industry is shown, in part, by the effect of billionaire Henry Ford II's willful provocation of the Ford strike.

When Ford's speed-up tactics drove the workers at River Rouge to go on strike, it cut off about 20% of all truck and auto production in the country. In addition to the Ford, Mercury and Lincoln employees affected by the strike, some 100,000 employees of 7,200 dealers all over the country began to be hit, because dealers could not get cars. Thousands of concerns manufacturing parts and accessories for Ford were also affected, as well as materials suppliers in steel, lumber, electrical equipment, rubber and textiles.

In all, more than 300,000 workers and their families are directly affected by the strike — a strike, we repeat, provoked by the arbitrary act of one man.

But the effect spreads indirectly far wider — to the groceries, the butcher shops, the clothing stores that sell to the workers, to the companies that supply the suppliers. In the end, the whole economy and the 147,000,000 people dependent upon it, suffer as the result of the whim

of one man who has the control, by inheritance, of a fifth of the auto industry.

The Ford family is but one of about 60 families in this country who between them control most of industry, transportation, communications, banks, mines, raw materials — in short, the whole country. Their only interest is their own profits. Any one of them, at their own whim, can bring blight and suffering to hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people.

Would any truly democratic country tolerate a condition where five dozen families, who got their wealth by inheritance, hold such power over the welfare and lives of a great people — and, in fact, because of America's position in world economy, over the destiny of the entire planet?

The people of America and the world will never be truly free and enjoy real security until the power of the plutocrats like Henry Ford II is broken. That means, first of all, that all the industries, all the basic means of production and distribution must be nationalized and operated under the control of the producers, the workers. Then, and only then, will the needs of the people, not the arrogant whims and greed of a few monopolists, determine how our economy shall be run.

Incident in a Mine

By Walter Prince

We heard a loud bang just as the motorman went through the first trap door on our section with a train of "empties." I started away from the face with a hollow throbbing of fear and saw the section boss running to the haulage way of our section. The men congregated in the dinner hole, which was off the haulage way a few hundred feet from the trap doors. The scene of the explosion was between us and the entry of the mine.

We stood and sat waiting to see what was going to happen. I looked around at the other guys. Most of them weren't scared at all, but I was new in the mine and not yet accustomed to being miles back under the ground. Pretty soon the section boss came up.

"Okay, get back to your place," he said, "everything is fixed up now." As we started back we heard another bang. This time the motorman's face was burned badly. We didn't know it at the time, but our section had been closed before because of gas. The boss knew it though. Between the two trap doors on our haulage way a "bleeder" had developed, and, as the air was not directed through it but sent to the face beyond, gas had accumulated. Sparks from the motor had set it off.

In the dinner hole we stood for a while. Then a husky Italian boy picked up his bucket and coat. "Well, if there isn't going to be any work, let's go home." He started off and two colored men and I picked up our buckets and followed him. On our way to the main haulage-way we met the boss. He told us to go back. The pit boss (in charge of the whole shift) was going to fix things up. The Italian boy kept right on going, and we sidestepped the boss and followed him.

The pit boss came and monkeyed around with the brattice and sent air into the haulage way. We knew that he was only "robbing Peter to pay Paul." If he ventilated the haulage way, he would weaken the flow of air to the face. I wasn't feeling too happy about mining, especially when one guy said matter-of-factly, "It's a damned good thing this is a wet section. If that explosion had kicked up any dust, it would have been curtains for all of us." Then they told stories about other things that had almost hap-

pened. I remembered my buddy who was in the hospital now, recuperating from another accident which might have been a front-page disaster.

Then the pit boss came puffing up to us in the main haulage way where we were waiting for a ride out of the mine. The whole section was there now, except for two guys at the face.

"Okay, men," he said with authority, "there won't be any more trouble. Get back to work."

"Yeah, how do we know?" the Italian boy said. "Yuns said that once before tonight. We aren't trustin' management no more. We'll let our Safety Committee decide."

"You'll get fired for refusing to work — all of you!"

The pit boss had a glint in his eye. When he saw he couldn't impress the four of us who had left first, he turned to the others, especially to a couple of "company men" — people who are afraid for their job and will let the boss bulldoze them all over the place. Such people don't even realize that a union man can't be fired for refusing to work in an unsafe place.

These two decided to go with the boss and "look the situation over." The rest of the section stayed. One Negro miner, young, but old at mining, said, "Hell, I don't have to look. I know it's no damn good."

Our shotfireman is another company man. He had been working at the face and getting ready to shoot number two place. While the others were "looking the place over," he came running down and reported that he couldn't fire. There was too much gas on the face, just as the Italian boy had said there would be.

Pretty soon everybody, including the bosses, came out, and we were told that we could go home. We weren't fired. The Italian looked at us, the ones who had stuck, and smiled.

The upshot of it was that our whole section was at the union meeting today. I used to wonder why the meetings weren't better attended. Now I know there's no need to worry. When something comes up, the union belongs to the men. It's their organization. Our Safety Committee is going to inspect the section with us tomorrow.

Notes from the News

MORE CONFIDENT THAN CAPITALISTS — "I think it unlikely there will again be a really severe economic crisis in this country; capitalism — rather, State capitalism — in America has learned how to use the State power to avoid such recessions in my opinion," says Dwight Macdonald, editor of Politics, in a letter to the British Socialist Leader.

THEY CALL THEMSELVES SOCIALISTS — The headline on the May 14 New Leader reads as follows: "Only Union-Industry Confab Can Bring Fair Labor Law."

OUTSIDE THE LAW—Irving Feiner, Syracuse University student sentenced to 30 days in the penitentiary because he made a street speech protesting the denial of a school building for a Wallaceite meeting in Syracuse, was "outside the law in setting race against race and class against class," said Judge William H. Bamerick, whose sentence is being appealed.

DEEP IN THE HEART OF REACTION — The Governor of Texas on May 12 signed a bill prohibiting any Communist Party member from having his name on the official ballot of any general election in that state.