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WHAT DID CIO GET FROM RELIANCE ON TRUMAN?

An Editorial

-- See Page 3 --

CP TRIAL VERDICT HITS RIGHTS OF ALL

Lewis Urges Joint Labor Defense Fund to Support CIO Steel Strike

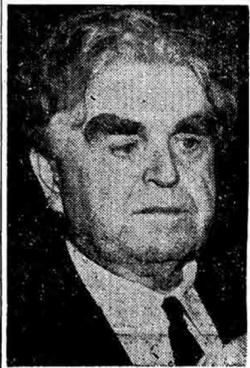
United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis has pointed the way to victory for labor in the crucial test of strength between the American plutocracy, spearheaded by the steel trust, and nearly a million striking steel and coal workers.

In a dramatic appeal for labor solidarity, Lewis on Oct. 14 proposed to AFL President William Green that the nine largest affiliates of the AFL join with the UMW in providing a \$2,500,000 weekly strike fund to back the CIO United Steel Workers strike. Lewis offered \$250,000 a week from the UMW treasury to match a similar sum from each of the nine AFL international unions.

The day before his letter to Green, Lewis stated his uncompromising opposition to government interference in strikes through "fact-finding" boards or "seizures." He said the only way the miners will welcome government operation of the mines is if the mines are worked not for the greater profit of the owners but for the "people's account."

strike fund) the giant adversaries which would decimate one by one the major units of organized labor."

In his statement on government intervention, Lewis pointed out that the government has used "seizures" only as a strike-breaking device, with the operators still in control and making their huge profits. If the government does take over the mines,



JOHN L. LEWIS

MURRAY'S REPLY

CIO and United Steel Workers President Philip Murray responded to Lewis' proposal with the statement that the steel union and the CIO "stand prepared to join with the United Mine Workers and affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to pool their resources for the common defense and general welfare of the labor movement."

Paying tribute to the "mighty struggle" of the 400,000 soft coal miners, Murray said he was for a joint defense fund to aid the miners and "all unions which are forced into necessary strike action" by "the monopolists and financial interests who dominate the great industries of this country."

In his letter to Green, Lewis pointed out that "one of the great segments of organized labor," the United Steel Workers, is facing a "vast and barbaric attack" of the "entrenched" steel industry and its "formidable allies" who "are out to crush the power and destroy the structure of the steel workers' union."

Lewis demanded that it be a "bona fide seizure" and that the mines be operated "on the account of the people and the Government, and independent of the operators."

Lewis' proposals for labor solidarity and joint action against the steel corporations, which also own many "captive" coal mines, and his declaration of opposition to government intervention in any form undoubtedly have the approval of the overwhelming majority of union men and women.

What is necessary to make this program a reality is a United Congress of Labor, representing all sections of the union movement, to take the practical steps to put this program into action.

If Lewis and Murray mean business by their statements on joint strike defense, either of them or both together should take the initiative in issuing a call for a national conference of all unions to be held as quickly as possible. Once the ball is set rolling, we can be confident there will be a tremendous pressure of the AFL ranks on their leaders to join forces with the CIO and UMW to beat back the offensive of Big Business.

Canton Surrender Assures Stalinist Rule of All China

By John G. Wright

On Oct. 14 the Stalinist-led armies of insurgent Chinese peasants marched unopposed into Canton, occupying the last big city on China's seaboard. The city's surrender was, as elsewhere, arranged in advance by the Nationalist military authorities and by "local negotiators," that is, by representatives of Cantonese capitalists.

In Canton, as in Shanghai, Nanking and other cities, the workers remained silently in the background. There were no demonstrations, let alone any mass uprisings. Underground Stalinist cells were obviously under strict orders to maintain "law and order." It is reported that they even issued "warnings" to the municipal police "to continue their services."

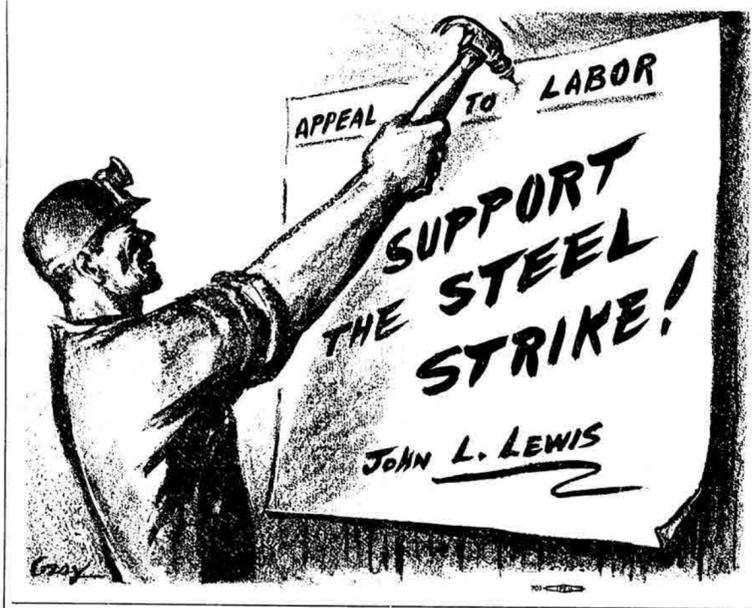
The fall of Canton, within six months after becoming Chiang's "provisional capital," virtually assures a speedy termination of large-scale warfare on the mainland. The Nationalist government — a government in name only — has now fled to the hinterland, establishing a new "provisional capital" at Chungking. Completely surrounded, amid a hostile population, the Chungking regime is in a hopeless position. Its liquidation is a matter of mopping up operations.

A NEW STAGE

The fall of Canton thus marks a new phase: For the next period the Chinese Stalinists have established themselves as the undisputed masters of all China. On Sept. 22 the "People's Republic of China" was formally proclaimed at Peiping, with the new government headed by Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese CP.

Mao and his colleagues rode into power on the tidal wave of the agrarian revolution. The Stalinists did not initiate this revolution. Beginning with 1945 the mass of the peasantry showed time and again that it was determined to settle the land question and started to rise spontaneously. Throughout 1945, the whole of 1946 and up to the spring of 1947, the Stalinists opposed this spontaneous movement and tried might and main to limit it to rent reforms.

The peasant uprisings then (Continued on page 3)



\$12,000 Party-Building Fund Launched by SWP

By James P. Cannon

The life of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party during the fall and winter months will be dominated by an intensive Party Building Campaign outlined by the National Committee and enthusiastically greeted by the party membership. To finance this program of expanded activities to build and strengthen the party and increase the circulation of its press and publications, the National Committee has called for a \$12,000 Party Building Fund and has assigned the quotas (listed on Page 2) after consultation with the party branches on the matter.

The opening gun in the fall and winter Party Building Campaign is the national tour of Morris Stein, Organization Secretary of the party, which has been under way since Oct. 1.

A second national tour by Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the party, is already scheduled to begin with a meeting at Pittsburgh on Nov. 15, and will keep him on the road for nearly two months

around the whole circle from coast-to-coast.

Additional plans for other tours, the publication of new books and pamphlets, and strengthening of the organizational staff of the party are all in the works for gradual unfolding as the necessary funds come in from the Party Building Campaign.

Times have been tough for revolutionary militants for quite a long time now. They have had to stand up against the general atmosphere of reaction, the wholesale assaults on civil rights, and the anti-radical witch-hunt in the shops and trade unions. But the important thing is that they have stood up firmly. And as is characteristic of the Trotskyists, who never surrender and never quit, they now propose to answer the challenge of reaction with a bold program to extend and intensify their propagandistic work and strengthen their organization.

The Party Building program has been hailed with enthusiasm, and the party members have pledged

themselves, after thorough consideration of the matter in branch meetings, to make all the necessary personal sacrifices to raise their quotas in full and on time. We also count on friends and sympathizers, who have never failed us in the past, to help the campaign to the full extent of the quota assigned to them under "General."

Reba Aubrey has been appointed Campaign Manager.

The deadline for the completion of the Party Building Fund is Dec. 31.

We all confidently look forward to a Happy New Year celebration of 100% success in this great endeavor.

Conviction of 11 Stalinists Emphasizes Need for United Front Against Witch-Hunters

By The Editors

Friday, Oct. 14, 1949, will go down as a black-letter day for civil rights in America. The conviction on that day of 11 Communist Party leaders in the political trial at Foley Square struck a hammer-blow against the democratic liberties of the whole working-class.

We are irreconcilably hostile to Stalinism. But we recognize that the trial and conviction of the 11 gives a green light to the government witch-hunters, the book-burners, all the storm troops of reaction.

The war against the Bill of Rights, launched in 1941 when the government used the Smith Act to convict 18 Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case, has assumed blitzkrieg force with the conviction of the 11 Stalinists under the same Smith Act.

"Great satisfaction" at the outcome of the nine-month trial is expressed in Washington. "Elated" members of the House Un-American Committee claim the verdict proves that the CP is an "illegal conspiracy." Senator Mundt, co-author of the infamous Mundt-Nixon "police state" bill, hails the verdict as showing the "need for speedy passage" of his law to straitjacket free political thinking in the United States. Truman's newest cabinet appointee, Attorney General McGrath, finds the outcome of the trial "gratifying" — a sinister hint of what the Truman administration has in store for political dissenters.

Green Light for Witch-Hunters

The purgers and thought-controllers are rolling up their sleeves for a busy season. The witch-hunt against teachers, aliens, scientists will be whipped up to greater ferocity. Open-shoppers in industry will be hunted and victimized militant workers. "Illegal conspiracy!" will be hurled at all groups that dissent from the domestic and foreign policies of the party in power.

Every agency of capitalist power and propaganda — government, press and church — is being mustered to bolster the trial and its verdict and to glorify the judge and prosecutor. Medina is portrayed as a long-suffering, patient martyr, and a model of judicial wisdom and impartiality. McGohey, one day after the verdict, is elevated to a federal judgeship by Truman — prompt recognition for services rendered.

But the defendants — and their attorneys — are subjected to public degradation. Benjamin Davis, Negro defendant and elected member of the City Council of New York, is threatened with removal from office on the grounds he is a "felon." The five attorneys for the defense, on the sole order of Judge Medina, are charged, convicted and sentenced to jail for "contempt," as an act of intimidation against future legal defenders of civil rights.

The political mouthpieces and press of Big Business are trying, above all, to represent the trial and conviction of the Stalinists as no threat to the liberties of the American people. We are assured that the whole trial was "democratically" conducted. This was "no political trial," we are told repeatedly. All that was involved was a "criminal conspiracy" by eleven individuals — who just happened to be the leaders of the Communist Party — to "advocate and teach" . . . the overthrow of the government by force and violence" in violation of the Smith Act of 1940.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Medina cynically said: "Books are not on trial here . . . It is not your function to pass upon the relative merits of communism or capitalism or any other 'ism.'" It was not even charged, he said, that the defendants "personally" have actually advocated forcible overthrow of the government or that the "Communist Party as such" has so advocated. The "crime" was that the defendants had "conspired" to advocate.

But the very wording of the charges made plain that what was on trial were precisely books and ideas — and specifically the books and ideas of Marx and Lenin. The defendants were accused of building a group "dedicated to the Marxist-Leninist principle of the

(Continued on page 2)

REUTHER'S PRESTIGE BADLY SHAKEN BY ROTTEN AGREEMENT WITH FORD

By Joseph Keller

Due to his miserable settlement with Ford, CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther has suffered a severe loss of prestige among the UAW ranks and local leaders, according to reports from Michigan auto centers.

The myth of Reuther's "militancy" and "brilliance" as negotiator and strategist has been badly cracked. He now appears of the same stripe as other old-line conservative union leaders with whom he had been favorably contrasted in the past.

At this writing it is still a moot question whether the Ford workers will ratify the contract, although Reuther has mobilized his whole apparatus and the union's press to persuade the Ford ranks to approve his agreement. But even if they do, it will not be because they believe Reuther's claim that the proposed contract contains "more basic improvements" than any contract since the first major ones won in the industry.

Reuther's lieutenants had freely predicted the contract would be slicked through with little opposition. But the conference of the UAW's National Ford Council proved a big surprise. Reuther wangled a majority vote only after a bitter two-day battle and more than a third of the votes were cast against the contract.

In the past couple of weeks, widespread opposition has been expressed not only among Ford workers, but by General Motors and Chrysler workers who fear and resent the Ford "pattern."

This opposition has become strong in sectors of the union where Reuther's influence has been dominant. Thus in Flint, heart of the GM empire, Chevrolet Local 659, Buick Local 599 and Fisher Plant 2 Local have all adopted resolutions opposing the Ford contract. A similar resolution was adopted by the Greater Flint CIO Council.

Reuther is attempting to sell his contract with the crudest kind of false claims. Here are some examples from the "Special Ford Edition" of the United Automobile Worker, the official UAW paper controlled by Reuther:

1. The Ford settlement provides "for a pension plan of \$100 a month paid for by the company" and is based on "the principle of no contributions by the workers."

Actually, about a third of the \$100 pension is federal social security for which the workers are taxed. Ford's share of the pension will be reduced as federal benefits rise, so will workers' payroll deductions. Moreover, in return for this pension at the age of 65 after 30 full years of service, the Ford workers are

required to sacrifice all wage increases under a 2 1/2-year contract.

2. "The old 'Company Security' clause has been completely wiped out. . . ." says the UAW paper. Actually, the only major change is in the title of the clause, now called "Strikes, Stoppages and Lockouts." The company still has "the right to discipline (including discharge) any employee who instigates, participates in or gives leadership to an unauthorized strike in violation of the Agreement."

3. . . the Production Standards clause has been re-written and strengthened to protect workers against speedup," says Reuther's paper.

Actually, the company retains the sole right "to establish and enforce production standards" and may make its own "reasonable" rules on safety, etc.

Next Week:
A report on the controversy at the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference.
The Ford pension contract—the reaction of the auto workers and the employers.
Answers to some recent slanders about the role of the Trotskyists in Bolivia and Ceylon.
Articles on Yugoslavia, the repercussions of the CP trial, and the review of Deutscher's biography of Stalin.

Split in CIO Would Be Crime Against Labor

By Art Preis

Will the CIO rally all its forces in the face of the corporate onslaught led by the steel monopolists or will the struggle for power between the Murray-Reuther and Stalinist factions disrupt and split the CIO? This is the crucial question confronting the CIO convention delegates when they convene on Oct. 31 in Cleveland.

This convention will witness the climax of the divisive "cold war" between the Murray machine and the Stalinist clique. The Murrayite tools of the U. S. State Department are threatening their minority opponents with expulsion. The Stalinist stooges of the Kremlin are preparing, if no other course is left open to them, to scrape together what they can from the CIO and embark on an "independent" adventure. The barons of industry and the AFL craft raiders are poised to take full advantage of any split.

The Murray machine, it must be pointed out, has taken the

initiative in forcing this disruptive conflict. It has carried the war to the Stalinists from the start and has moved ruthlessly and bureaucratically to drive the Stalinists from the CIO.

The fight began with the break-up of the Washington-Moscow honeymoon. The Murray-Reuther forces — who didn't find it too hard to stomach the Stalinists when they supported the no-strike pledge, incentive pay, the wage freeze and the War Labor Board — turned on these Stalinist partners of many years standing at the behest of the U. S. State Department.

At the November 1946 CIO Convention the Murray machine pushed through unanimous endorsement of its "Declaration of Policy" stating that the CIO "resents and rejects" the "interference of the Communist Party." Murray got his main support for this "interference" resolution from the priest-ridden Association of Catholic Trade Unionists and the Stalinophobic Social-Democratic elements like Walter

Reuther. This same convention gave extraordinary bureaucratic powers over local CIO bodies to the top CIO leaders — the preliminary to moves to take over local councils under Stalinist control.

WIDENING RIFT

By the time of the November 1948 convention, the Murray machine was prepared to push its war against its one-time Stalinist allies to the limit. Declaring that it was now "CIO national policy" to support every "cold war" measure of U. S. imperialism and to maintain a dirty political alliance with the Truman gang in Washington, the Murrayites declared they would no longer allow anyone to live in the CIO who did not conform in word and deed to this policy. Murray also secured further bureaucratic powers to yank local CIO council charters and to dictate to affiliated international unions.

The Stalinists, far from defending autonomous rights and union

democracy in the CIO, sought as long as possible to appease Murray. They had voted in the 1946 Convention for the "resent and reject" resolution and for the anti-democratic regulations on local CIO councils.

The Stalinists gave the Murray machine a new weapon when they tried to thrust the Wallace movement for a third capitalist party on the CIO. This was the occasion for the Trumanite majority of the leadership to crack down with "CIO national policy." And in unions like the Electrical Workers, where the Stalinists control, their bureaucratic ruthlessness against open factions has given Murray an example to justify his own anti-democratic actions against the Stalinists.

In the course of the irresponsible warfare between these two bureaucratic factions, the CIO has been in steady retreat before the corporations and government reaction. The real interests of the membership have been thrust aside. The CIO put up no mili-

tant fight against passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Every year since the 1946 strikes has seen bigger and bigger compromises on CIO wage demands. And this year has brought the biggest compromise of all — the agreement to abandon the "fourth round" wage increase.

But further retreat can mean disaster. American capitalism is now lined up behind the steel trust to break the power of the CIO. A split in the CIO would be a crime against the whole American working class.

Unfortunately, the independent militants will have little voice in this CIO convention, whose delegates are picked by the top bureaucrats of both factions. But whatever the outcome of the convention, the independents will oppose any move to split the workers from the mainstream of industrial unionism, the CIO, where they will continue to fight for democratic, militant unionism against the totalitarian methods of both the Murray and Stalinist camps.

Labor Union Trends

The New Reformism In the Labor Movement

By Bert Cochran

Last week I began describing how Widick and Howe identify their thinking with that of the labor bureaucracy in their recently published book, *The UAW and Walter Reuther*.

On page 51 they speak of Rose Pesotta as "an aggressive radical" and Powers Haggood as "a militant Socialist." This is rich, and revealing in the extreme. Both Pesotta and Haggood were broken down ex-radicals when the CIO was formed and entered into the service of John L. Lewis as subservient agents. Both had played distinguished roles as militants years back but were completely played out by 1936. Lewis used them and others in the same way that Hillman cynically used to hire Socialists to do the "rabble rousing" in organizing campaigns after which the machine men would take over and "do business" with the bosses.

On page 80 the book states: "In 1941 the Reuther group, feeling that the time had come to move against the Stalinists in the UAW, introduced a resolution to bar them and fascists from union office." In this section our authors, by innuendo and suggestion, place their stamp of approval on this injection of red-baiting and anti-democratic procedure into the unions.

ROLE OF RADICALS

On page 81, in a discussion of the faction fight during the Homer Martin period, Howe and Widick state: "Part of the responsibility, however, for the internal UAW debacle must be placed on the radical groups." This was common gossip in the Reuther circles during this period. The expression went, "The radicals built this union and now they are trying to bust it up." Varieties of all shades and varieties probably had more to do with building the UAW than any other CIO union. Stalinists, Trotskyists, Lovestonites, Norman Thomas Socialists — all were active. Even the Oehlerites took a crack at things. Naturally the presence of these different political tendencies exacerbated the faction struggle.

But this question has to be judged en bloc. Out of these internal fights was forged the most seasoned labor cadre and the strongest labor union in the United States. That is the way to look at it. For our authors to imply that the activities of politically trained radicals in the unions is a negative factor is to adopt the viewpoint of the opportunist officialdom.

On page 131 we learn that "Reuther's one at a time" proposal was so obviously sound that it had to be adopted. Since the auto industry is internally competitive and since, it seemed, the postwar situation would lead to a sharpening of this competition, Reuther's proposal to concentrate on GM put the corporation in an extremely vulnerable position. So vulnerable, in fact, that the GM strike of 1946 lasted 113 days and was finally settled only when steel and other major industries were struck.

There is an element of competition, it is true, in all monopoly industries, steel, oil, chemical,

auto. But to think labor can utilize this competitive element as its fundamental strategy in major struggles with the monopolies means one has lost all touch with the realities of the modern class struggle. On this question, even Philip Murray is ahead of Reuther. But our two scribes, true to the task they set for themselves, doggedly defend with this theory of their mentor.

FACTIONS AND DEMOCRACY

Further along on page 155 we find this: "Since they can so easily be abused, factions are sometimes dangerous to union democracy." This, it seems to me, is standing the thing on its head. Factions are not an unfortunate by-product of union democracy, but indispensable instruments of union democracy. Without them, union democracy becomes a sham. Those that begin by deploring factions end by supporting their prohibition.

On page 170 we run across this gem: "When the Thomas-Adde group, in a desperate espousal of 'militancy' proposed that the union not sign the anti-Communist affidavits required by the Taft-Hartley Act, the sentiment of the majority of the delegates was neatly expressed by one delegate from Chicago, Wiloughby Abner: 'Look who's talking militant now. The piece-work boys.'" I gather from this that because the Stalinists and Adde advocated piecework during the war, that demonstrates Reuther's correctness in bending the knee to the Taft-Hartley Law in 1947.

On page 183 we are treated to a left-handed defense of Reuther's raiding of the UE and on page 224 our authors swallow hook, line and sinker Reuther's narrow-minded standpoint on the Negro problem.

The chapter on Reuther's rise, previously referred to, winds up with this panegyric to the main character of the drama: "The first part of the Reuther group's history was at an end. It had gambled on the idea that the Communist Party could be defeated in a trade union . . . not by turning to reaction but by more consistent and aggressive militancy; not by shouting 'red' but by showing the totalitarian strings to which the CP danced. . . And it had won." Our two sociologists have truly taken us into a never-never land. This is written about a leadership — mind you — that allied itself with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, that pioneered in the use of red-baiting as a factional weapon, that was "militant" and "aggressive" primarily in demanding the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavits, that above all others took the lead in placing its services at the disposal of the State Department.

THEIR HIGH POINT

Our authors, in common with all exponents of the new reformism in America powered by the ADA liberals and the labor bureaucrats, view the rise to power of the Reuther machine as the high point of the auto union's evolution and achievement. Arthur Schlesinger, reviewing the book in the Nation, speaks of the UAW surviving the previous "bumbling" and "mediocre" leadership. The whole thing is placed upside down.

The period of the "bumbling" and "mediocre" leadership was the period of the UAW's unsurpassed militancy and its glory — not to be sure because of the leadership, but because no bureaucratic machine had yet been fastened upon the auto workers, and the free democratic interplay of different forces permitted the auto workers to voice their sentiments and give free rein to their aspirations. The period of Reuther's power is the period of the entrenchment of the bureaucracy and the conservatizing of the auto union.

A GREAT MYSTERY

These ADA'ers, labor officials and their publicists speak of Reuther as a great and brilliant labor leader. I am not discussing the man's personal talents, which are well known, and which have cast such a hypnotic spell over the authors of this book. This, however, is not the main criterion for a socialist. There are talented people in all camps. The question is: what camp does one belong to and to what purpose does he use his talent.

How does Reuther's leadership manifest itself? Is the UAW, under Reuther, blazing new trails in winning superior wages or working conditions? Reuther's record in this regard doesn't begin to compare with that of John L. Lewis and is worse than that of the previous admittedly "bumbling" and "mediocre" leaders. Is the UAW, under Reuther, pioneering in the field of independent labor politics? Not so anyone can notice. In what way then does Reuther's "advanced leadership" display itself from a socialist point of view? That is a great mystery.

ANOTHER LINK

Ordinarily this book would be just another book. Coming as it does at the present time it is a link in the ramified campaign to sell Reuther and the new bureaucracy he typifies to the advanced workers and intellectuals. Many who in the past were inspired by the grand vision of the Russian Revolution and the struggle for a Socialist society have now grown so tired and dispirited that they are willing to settle for Reuther. And having reached that point, they must of course paint him up.

Look at the distance, we are told, between Reuther and a Hutchinson. Look at the wonderful things these CIO unions are doing. Look at the radio stations they are buying. Look at the health centers they are building. Look at all the education courses they offer their members and the attractively printed material they are publishing. We've certainly travelled a long way from the days of Gompers.

That's right, we have travelled a long way. There is no question about it. But different times pose different problems. It is not sufficient today to go into raptures over the numerical growth of the CIO since 1936 and in pollyanna fashion assure ourselves that we are moving ever upwards and onwards. That isn't what happened to the labor movement of

25,000 HOMESTEAD STEEL WORKERS DEMONSTRATE UNION SOLIDARITY

By John Fredericks

HOMESTEAD, PA., Oct. 13 — 25,000 striking steel workers filled West Field here today a full hour before the scheduled appearance of Philip Murray. This demonstration of union solidarity was the highlight of an otherwise quiet week in the steel strike. This was the first meeting held here since the strike began. All regular meetings had been cancelled. The mass turnout showed the workers' temper, as did the sign on the platform: "Give them Hell, Murray."

Murray held the platform for over an hour, explaining the events leading up to the strike, but he took out much time to justify his "personal record." He reported on the steel negotiations which started June 15. The companies arrogantly held to the following offer: no wage raise, no pensions, 1 1/2 cents social insurance contingent upon the workers paying 1 1/2 cents, take it or leave it.

Murray went on to show that the companies forced the union to strike. He showed that U. S. Steel lies when it says it is opposed to non-contributory pensions. He cited the case of Benjamin Fairless who is paid \$207,000 a year and will retire on a company-financed pension of \$50,000 a year.

Murray made no attempt to justify his accepting the "fact-finding" board's report, but was full of praise for the "fairness" of his friend Truman.

He scored the steel industry which had not accepted the formula: "The steel industry has never accepted the union in good faith, they still think of the days of the Homestead murders and the Chicago massacre."

He next alternated between "the caverns of Wall Street where steel policy is formulated," and the history of the CIO. He said this mass turnout was a great cry from the days when they had held their first meeting and only 50 people had dared to show up.

The union now is strong and had raised hourly wages from 82c. average to \$1.70. "But," he continued, "it is not only the monetary gains but the economic freedom that you have gained and not only you the members of this great organization, but the community as a whole."

This industry had "sent you all a letter, under the personal signature of Fairless, a nice letter." But it contained a lie. The letter had claimed that the union leaders were drawing fat salaries during the strike. "This is not true. No union official draws any pay until the strike is over." (Some locals have instituted libel proceedings against the companies and their "nice letters.")

SOME DISAPPOINTED

The meeting was ended with many phrases of self-justification; but there was no plan for action, no goal set for the steel workers to strive for. Murray called for no action of any kind on the part of the steel workers. He left the impression that their leadership was in the right hands and hence they need do nothing; he and his "associates" would do the struggling for them. Such an attitude can be sharply contrasted with the militant mass struggles that built the CIO.

The workers felt disappointed at the wind-up. They had been led to expect more. When the chairman said in conclusion, "there is nothing that I can say after this soul stirring speech," I heard one worker say: "It did not stir my soul. I came to hear how the strike would be fought, or when it would be over." Other workers agreed with him as they filed out of the field.

The most discussed topic in another group of workers was the salaries and pensions of the steel executives. One worker said: "Did you hear those figures? It's enough to make a communist of you. I think I'm half of one now." Another said, "They can't easily afford our pensions, but they want to break the union 1936. Well, this is not 1936. We have a strong union and they wouldn't dare to use strike-breakers."

Although many men were reluctant to go out on strike when the strike was first called, they are growing more grim and determined now. It is clear they will not stand by and see their union smashed.

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29 CENTS A MONTH

To dramatize "the righteous fight," he brought on to the platform an elderly steel worker, Andrew Gerasik, who had put in 15 years at American Steel & Wire and 29 years in the Homestead plant. Murray said: "This elderly citizen who has given 44 years of his 65 years to U. S. Steel, who is now depreciated, broken down after having given of his sinews, his blood, his muscle to build this magnificent corporation, has retired. . . Yes, he has retired on the munificent pension of 29 cents a month, 29c. a month!"

The crowd of steel workers, used to the most extreme cases of hardship and brutal treatment, were shocked. They showed it by involuntary cries of "Jesus Christ!" Murray rested the case for his pensions.

Quotas for SWP \$12,000 Fund

Branch	Quota
Akron	\$100
Allentown	50
Boston	200
Buffalo	400
Chicago	500
Cleveland	250
Detroit	1,100
Flint	200
Los Angeles	1,500
Lynn	75
Milwaukee	250
Morgantown	25
Newark	350
New Britain	30
New Haven	25
New York	3,000
Philadelphia	600
Pittsburgh	150
St. Louis	75
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900
San Francisco-Oakland	800
Seattle	100
Toledo	75
Worcester	40
Youngstown	400
General	805
TOTAL	\$12,000

Bartell Demands Other Candidates State Position on CP Convictions

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York, today demanded that all candidates for municipal office state their position on the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders and the sentencing of their lawyers to jail.

"Only the SWP and the American Labor Party have spoken up against the verdict so far," said Bartell. "Lehman, the running mate of O'Dwyer on the Tammany ticket and of Morris on the Liberal ticket, has sent congratulations to Prosecutor McGohey hailing the verdict as a 'mighty victory for the cause of freedom and liberty.' He thereby exposes his pretense of liberalism as a lie. Unless O'Dwyer and Morris publicly dissociate themselves from Lehman's stand, it must be assumed they agree with his view of this outrage."

Bartell pointed out that the CP and ALP, which give shame-faced support to Lehman as a "lesser evil" than Dulles, have again been paid off for their unprincipled support of capitalist politicians. "These so-called friends of the people always prove themselves enemies; the workers must take this as another warning to break with both capitalist parties," said Bartell.

"The ALP itself has played an unprincipled role in the struggle for civil rights," he continued. "Marcantonio has opposed the trial and conviction of the 11 CP leaders, but he has been as quiet as a clam about the civil rights of non-Stalinists. Like the Stalinists, Marcantonio, even in condemning the verdict, falsifies the history of the background of the CP trial by calling for a 'return' to the Roosevelt 'heritage.'"

"But Marcantonio knows very well that the thought-control Smith Act was signed by Roosevelt. He knows that Roosevelt gave the order for the first conviction under the Smith Act —

THE TWO GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY TODAY

By O. Lenz

GERMANY — After the creation of the Western German State, a rival enterprise has been set up in the Soviet zone. Both pretend to represent the whole of Germany. When they speak of

of unity, each side means the incorporation of the rival zone in its own. Each accuses the other of being responsible for the dismemberment of Germany.

STALINIST POLICY

The new West-German government is a tool of the occupying powers. It rests on the Western German bourgeoisie and "constructive opposition" of the Social Democrats, embracing the majority of the working population, who consider the "democratic" West to be a "lesser evil" to the Stalinist dictatorship. The Western powers were able to stage formally correct democratic elections. But in spite of democratic forms the elections served as a means to subjugate the working class.

As for Eastern Germany,

thanks to the presence of the Soviet army, the Stalinists were able at the outset to occupy every important position and their policy became the official state policy. The SED arose not as the result of a genuine merger of the CP and the Social Democrats, but through an administrative liquidation of the latter.

The factory councils, the most elementary cells of a workers' democracy, and a premise for the formation of workers' committees (soviets), were abolished. The working class having no power whatsoever, the standard of living remains extremely low, the lion's share of production going to the Soviet bureaucracy.

The masses react to this plundering with barely disguised feelings of hatred which, of course, turn against the SED officials and "People's Police-men" too. While the Western occupation regime is able to at least grant formal democratic rights because it is solidly supported by the German bourgeoisie and regarded by the masses as the lesser evil, the Stalinist system has the sympathies of neither the bourgeoisie nor the proletariat. It rests on the so-called "People's Police," on the thin layer of Stalinist officials and on elements without any political traditions among the youth.

We Marxists have never adored formal democracy. We consider the system of workers' committees (soviets) to be the highest expression of democracy. This system provides not only for the election, but also for the permanent control and recall at any time of every representative. It is the direct government by the people. The Stalinist bureaucracy has nothing left of that system which existed in Russia after October, 1917, and cannot permit it in its German protectorate either.

WEST ZONE "ELECTIONS"

The new government of the Soviet zone does not represent a higher, but an even lower form than the formal democratic parliamentary elections. When the voters in the Soviet zone elected the third "People's Con-

gress," they didn't even know they were establishing a new government. It was a case of open fraud. The voters didn't approve any government program, but were offered only three general slogans: Unity, a just peace, and the end of occupation. There was only one list of candidates, whom the voters could accept or reject. The election results may have been falsified. In any case, one third of the voters voted NO, and the number of NO votes was especially high in industrial areas, as in the traditionally red Saxony.

The Western German government has no right to pretend that it represents the entire German people. The Eastern German government even less.

NEED FOR UNIFICATION

From the beginning we understood the fundamental differences between the victors' interests and knew that the reunification of Germany would be impossible without the withdrawal of the occupiers. This has been the basic slogan of the Fourth International in dealing with the German problem since the end of the war. The sharpening of antagonism between "East and West" foreseen by every Marxist was bound to provoke considerable differences between the evolution of Eastern and of Western Germany. It is meaningless to ask who is responsible for the division of Germany; this division is the inevitable consequence of the policy decided at Yalta and Potsdam and all the victorious powers are equally responsible.

We have been against all the measures to divide Germany because we know that the labor movement cannot develop freely except within a unified Germany. Unity is an economic necessity too. Without German unity there can be no independence from foreign powers. Political dependence has led to the participation of foreign capital in the exploitation of the German working class. While the restoration of economic and political sovereignty would not put an end to exploitation, it would no longer permit the German bourgeoisie to unload on the foreign powers the responsibility for mass misery. The German working class would be able to come to grips with its main enemy at home.

No unification of the zones is possible in an occupied Germany. But the withdrawal of the occupiers can come only as the result of a change in the international situation. We do not know if the Russians will really evacuate their zone in 1950 as they have promised; few people trust their promises any more. We do not want to prophesize. However it is certain that a unified capitalist Germany, if and when it becomes a reality, would have far less political stability than the Weimar Republic.

After last week's report from Literature Agent Bert Deck on how the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party sold 450 copies of *The Militant*, we expected some of the other branches to move into the spotlight on street sales. But it appears that you have to be really on your toes to keep ahead of the energetic Los Angeles comrades.

This week they increased their regular bundle order by another 50 copies. "Greater activity among the branches has made this possible," Bert writes. "Bob P. sold 52 Militants last week and will undertake to sell 50 a week from here on in."

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The Worcester, Mass., branch ordered 100 copies of the same issue for distribution on the picket lines there.

Another branch making an extra effort to crash into the ranks of the model category whose bills are kept paid right up to date is Morgantown, West Virginia. Our thanks, comrades.

And thanks to L. C. of South Gate, Calif., who enclosed \$1 as a contribution on renewing his subscription, and A. S. of Florida, who sent \$1 "to help make up for your trouble" in putting through his change of address. A. S. adds, "Wish I had more to give."

We can join A. S. in that wish. It's contributions such as this from our readers that help assure regular appearance of America's leading socialist weekly.

Trial Verdict Hits Rights of All

(Continued from page 1)

overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence."

Aside from hearsay testimony of paid FBI stoopigeons and embittered renegade Stalinists like Louis Budenz, the sole prosecution "evidence" was words and sentences, ripped out of context, from the writings of Marx and Lenin. And to this falsification, the prosecutor added that abominable perversion of Lenin's teachings, Stalin's writings.

The Essence of the Frame-Up

Thus, the frameup was twofold. Marxism-Leninism was falsely equated to the "violent overthrow of the government" and then the Stalinists were falsely accused of advocating Marxism-Leninism. But the essence of the frame-up was an indictment of Marxist socialism as a "criminal conspiracy."

The entire case was based on a law — the Smith Act of 1940 — which is a brazen violation of the Bill of Rights, and particularly of the First Amendment which forbids Congress to make any laws abridging freedom of speech or press. The Smith Act when it was signed by Roosevelt was denounced by every labor and liberal organization in the country. It is the first law since the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to make it a "crime" merely to "advocate" — print, write, teach, preach — any idea which the party in power alleges aims at the "violent overthrow of government."

This law was first used against the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO Teamsters Local 544 in 1941, before formal U. S. entry into the war. The major "evidence" was the classic works of Marx and Lenin — the very ones cited in the Stalinist trial — as well as the writings of Leon Trotsky.

The unprincipled Stalinists hailed the jailing of the 18 Trotskyists and to this day oppose the campaign to restore the civil rights of the Minneapolis victims. They have reaped the bitter fruits of their fatal policy at Foley Square. Their experience should stand as an object lesson to all.

For our contempt for Stalinism and its services to the witch-hunters must not blind us to the fact that the CP trial and conviction,

like the Minneapolis case, reinforce the sinister Smith Act and establish another precedent for thought-control and the outlawing of political ideas and parties.

One of its most ominous features was Judge Medina's interpretation of the monstrous "conspiracy" laws. In his charge to the jury he stated that if two or more persons come to a "mutual understanding," even without explicit agreement, to "advocate" ideas branded "subversive," they are "criminal conspirators." Any act or statement of one alleged conspirator is "evidence" against all those accused. Even acts or declarations by alleged conspirators "unknown to the Grand Jury" are binding on those accused and brought to trial.

The Foley Square verdict and Medina's judicial rulings will be used to hurl the Department of Justice's "subversive" list at more and more victims like the legless veteran, James Kutcher. And we can expect more trials for "advocating" non-conformist political ideas.

The Stalinists themselves have made it doubly hard to inspire the defense of civil rights in their case. Their attitude to the civil rights of their opponents has created the utmost disgust and antipathy toward the Stalinists in labor and liberal ranks. But the decisive issue remains: The verdict against the CP endangers the civil rights of all.

United Action Is Needed Now

We urge a mighty united front of all true defenders of civil rights to halt the offensive of the witch-hunters. We call for full support to the appeal against the Foley Square verdict. Back the appeal against the imprisonment of the CP defense lawyers. Demand that the convicted 11 be let out on bail.

Launch a nation-wide fight for repeal of the Smith Act and all other anti-democratic laws, federal, state and local. Demand the revocation of the presidential order establishing the "subversive" list and the "loyalty" purge. Defend the first victims of the Smith Act by demanding a pardon to restore civil rights to the 18 victims of the Minneapolis case.

For united action against the thought-controllers, police-staters and totalitarians!

THE MILITANT ARMY

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NEW YORK
HALLOWEEN PARTY
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29
8:30 PM
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Dancing :: Refreshments
Admission 35 Cents

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Monday, October 24, 1949



TROTSKY

"We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was politically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class. We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except further decay."

— Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.



LENIN

What Did It Get Us?

If the CIO leadership plays square with the membership, it will spend most time at the coming CIO convention in an honest examination of the results of its own policies. The Murrys and Reuthers have had it their own way in the CIO. Their policy has prevailed and has been fairly tested by events. The workers now have every right to a straight answer to the question that is uppermost in their minds: What did it get us?

In its essence, the policy of the CIO leaders has been: "Leave it to Harry!" Support Truman, trust in Truman, stake everything on Truman. This was the way to end the Taft-Hartley Act, win civil rights legislation, strengthen rent control, ensure adequate housing, health insurance and decent social security.

Well, what did it get us? Congress has adjourned and not one of these promises has been carried out. In fact, reaction rides higher than ever. The corporations and landlords are bolder and more grasping. The cops and judges are more brutal to striking workers. The militarists sink both arms deeper in the public treasury and the people groan under a war budget swollen to four times the whole cost of government just a decade ago. Prices still scrape the clouds, profits soar in the stratosphere and eight million breadwinners are either without jobs or on part-time.

This is only part of what labor got by depending on capitalist politician Truman. There is still more to the reckoning. "Leave it to Harry!" the Murrys told us, and there won't be any need for

strikes. Truman's our friend, he'll bring the corporations to terms. Put your wage and welfare demands in his hands and he'll fix everything. No battles, no picketlines — Truman will get it for us "cheap."

That's the policy Murray pursued in the steel negotiations — "Harry will fix it!" But his "fact-finding" board sliced the steel workers' demands down to one thin crust, a miserable pension that most workers in steel will never work long enough or live long enough to collect. And for this the steel workers and all labor were asked to take an indefinite wage freeze. But that wasn't all!

The steel workers have had to strike anyway! They have had to face the hardships and sacrifices of a grueling struggle from which they can expect not one cent more in their paychecks. They could have gone out three months ago for their full demands and won some substantial gains. Now they must fight with their backs to the wall just to preserve their union.

They must make the fight, of course — the corporations and government have left them no other choice. But they have a right to demand of their leaders: What did your policy of appeasement, of dependence on Truman and capitalist government boards get us besides a tougher struggle for smaller stakes? If Murray answers the question honestly at the CIO convention, he will have to say: We would have done better — far better — if we had depended on our own independent strength and action from the start.

Brass Hats Confirm War Conspiracy

A corner of the veil of secrecy enveloping the war conspiracy in Washington was lifted a little more when the top brass of the Air Force and the Army testified before the House Armed Services Committee in "rebuttal" of the Navy chiefs.

This "rebuttal" leaves no room whatever for doubt that the disgruntled proponents of sea power told the truth when they let slip that this country has already been committed — behind the backs of the people — to a war of atomic annihilation.

Take the testimony of W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force. He did not deny that "strategic bombing" plays the central role in the "grand strategy" of the projected war. On the contrary, he began by denouncing the Navy for inadvertently making this public. They were guilty of disclosing top "military secrets" and imperiling "security of the United States," declared this promoter of atomic hecatombs.

Praising the B-36 as "the best bomber in the world" for the purpose of delivering the A-Bomb, Symington calmly affirmed that in the next war there was and could be no distinction between a

soldier and a "man at a lathe." He then went on to prove to the hilt that he, like his colleagues, was indeed a proponent of all-out "strategic bombing," in plain words, the mass atomic bombing of civilians.

"Any impression of ineffectiveness as concerns the atomic bombing" was "wholly at variance" with the findings of a top-secret committee that has conducted studies on Air Atomic Operations, assured Symington.

These and other declarations of the decisive section of the American militarists paint a ghastly, but clear picture of where they are heading and into what they intend to drag the people of this country, and the rest of the world, if they are permitted to have their way.

As matters stand, the mass of the American people have exactly nothing to say on the question of war and peace. The decision rests with a few men in the White House and in Congress plus their military "advisers" who are fast becoming the most powerful group in the land. This fateful decision must be taken out of their hands and submitted to a nationwide vote.

CANTON SURRENDER ASSURES RULE OVER ALL OF CHINA BY STALINISTS

(Continued from page 1)

began to engulf Chiang's regime and threatened to sweep over the heads of the Stalinists. It was at this critical point, amid the intensification of Washington's cold war against the Kremlin and Chiang's offensive against Yenan, that a turnaround was finally made and the Chinese Stalinists placed themselves at the head of this agrarian revolution.

One of the chief concerns of the Stalinists has been to prevent the agrarian revolution from becoming linked up with the uprising of the workers in the cities. The Chinese proletariat was not permitted to raise its own banner.

CLASS COLLABORATION Instead of forging an alliance between the revolutionary workers and the revolutionary peasants, the Chinese Stalinists committed themselves to an alliance with the native industrial and commercial capitalists. Their

property and their "legal operations" have been declared "protected against encroachment."

In other words, the continuation of the wage slavery of the workers for the benefit of the native (and foreign) capitalists has been underwritten by the new Stalinist masters of China. Small wonder that they want the workers in Canton and other cities to remain quiescent.

The abolition of landlord property and the division of land among the peasants and the rise of the Stalinists to power mark not the completion of the agrarian revolution in China but only its first stage. Failing the mechanization and collectivization of agriculture, all the age-old problems will speedily revive again, along with the scarcity of foodstuffs, the pauperization of the farmers and the resurgence of the large landholders.

The center of gravity in the unfolding agrarian revolution

must thus shift in the next period to the cities. And here the primary role can fall to no other class than the young Chinese proletariat.

The primacy of the working class in the Chinese revolution has been temporarily obscured by events on the military arena and, in the first instance, by the policy and strategy of the Chinese Stalinists. The workers have thus far been kept quiescent and they may remain so for a while to come, watching, questioning, waiting. No one can tell how long this passive phase will endure.

But it cannot endure forever. They will not accept wage slavery under the Stalinists, any more than they did under the Kuomintang. And when they finally speak and act, their course will bring many surprises, especially to the Kremlin. The course of events will prove to the hilt how decisive is the role of the proletariat in the birth of the New China.

Why Stalinists Try to Bury Case of the 18

By Farrell Dobbs

The Stalinists have tried in every way to conceal the fact that 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders were convicted at Minneapolis in 1941 under the same Smith Act used to convict the Communist Party leaders at Foley Square.

To discover what they are afraid of, we need only recall that during the war the Stalinists acted as recruiting sergeants for American imperialism; broke strikes and sold out the Negro people wherever they fought to defend their rights; and supported the government in its persecution of the Trotskyists who opposed the war.

We need only bear in mind that today the CP advises the workers to make a political alliance with so-called "progressive" capitalists, their aim being to pressure the capitalists into a deal with Stalin, no matter what the cost may be to the workers.

Small wonder then that the Stalinists want to suppress the testimony at the Minneapolis trial of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, because he told the workers the truth about capitalism and about imperialist war. He sought to arm them with a Marxist program for their self defense against capitalist violence and for the attainment of socialism.

Since the capitalists employ workers at wages less than the value of the products they produce, he explained, the workers can obviously be customers only to the extent of the value they receive in the form of wages. A surplus of goods and capital is thereby produced which the capitalists seek to export abroad.

The capitalists of one country thus enter into competition with the capitalists of other countries who are likewise seeking markets and fields of investment beyond their national boundaries. That economic conflict leads inevitably, he explained, to wars of conquest by the capitalists — called imperialist wars — fought to control markets, colonies, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence.

Proclaiming the SWP's unalterable opposition to all imperialist wars, Cannon said, "Our Party has always stated that it is impossible to prevent wars without abolishing the capitalist system which breeds war."

At that very time the Stalinists were peddling the falsehood that "The invasion of the Soviet Union has transformed the war of rival imperialists into a just and progressive war." Cannon branded as a subterfuge the claim that the war against Hitler was a war of democracy against fascism.

"The conflict between American imperialism and German imperialism," he said, "is the domination of the world." His prediction has been proven to the hilt by the launching of the present cold war against the Soviet Union right on the heels of victory over Hitler.

Cannon also explained how capitalist competition results inevitably in the bigger capitalists crushing the smaller ones until the wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of a very few people. Here in America, he pointed out, "while the workers were working and the farmers were farming, Sixty Families were getting control of the country."

ENEMIES OF DEMOCRACY These Sixty Families, he said, are the greatest enemies of democracy here at home. They will next try "to stop the popularizing of ideas inimical to the capitalists and to check by legislation the organization of the workers."

The Stalinists, on the other hand, promised in 1941 that "Democracy will take a giant leap forward after victory over Hitler." Today the Taft-Hartley Act, the persecution of liberal-minded scientists, educators, religious and cultural leaders, and of government employees, foreign-born workers and minority political parties — all these evil products of the current witch-hunt prove that Cannon was right on this score too.

Witch-hunts, like imperialist wars and depressions, can be prevented, Cannon said, only by replacing the present capitalist society with a socialist society. Private profit in the means of production and the existing wage system, under which the capitalist robs the worker of the fruits

of his toil, must be abolished.

Maxists don't propose to eliminate private property in personal effects, he added. Only in the means of production, that is, the industries, railroads, mines, and so on — those things which are necessary for the production of the people's needs; they shall be owned in common by all the people.

"We have set as our aim the establishment of a Workers and Farmers government," he continued, "which will frankly represent the economic and social interests of the workers and the producing farmers." Its main task will be to transfer the means of production from private ownership to the ownership of the people.

He described the Workers and Farmers government as "a Congress of representatives of workers and soldiers and farmers, based on their occupational units, rather than the present form based on territorial representation." It will be "the most democratic government from the point of view of the great masses of the people that has ever existed."

Compare this magnificent instrument of workers' power with the so-called People's Front government of workers and capitalists, "operating upon the basis of the capitalist system," which the Stalinists advocated in their testimony at Foley Square. No wonder the CP wants to suppress the record of the Minneapolis trial!

To establish the Workers and Farmers government, Cannon said, "The workers must organize themselves independently of the capitalist political parties . . . develop an independent working class party of their own, and oppose the policy of the capitalist parties, regardless of whether they are called the Democratic or Republican, or anything else."

Not a mish-mash party headed by a millionaire capitalist like Henry A. Wallace, as the Stalinists propose, but "a workers' party that is capable of leading and organizing the movement of the workers in a resolute fashion for a revolutionary solution of the crisis."

REACTIONARY VIOLENCE

Cannon predicted that the transformation to socialism will not be easily attained, because the Sixty Families — once their special privileges are threatened — will organize fascist gangs to oppose the workers. These fascist gangs will raid the workers' halls, attack their meetings, try to burn their printing plants and assassinate their leaders in an attempt to break up the workers movement.

He also pointed out that Marxists don't limit themselves to the



Outside the huge Renault plant in Paris, thousands of French auto workers stage a demonstration for a wage increase of 15 francs (about 4 cents) an hour and an extra allowance to meet spiraling living costs. Their action is typical of the economic unrest in France which caused the resignation of the Queuille cabinet. "Socialist" Jules Moch was offered the post of premier but failed to get agreement on his cabinet and withdrew.

SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE COLONIAL CONGRESS

By Ali

LONDON, Oct. 10 — The Second International Conference of the "Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism" was concluded here after meeting for four days. Delegates

from Algeria, Nigeria, Cameroun, Ceylon, French West Africa, Gambia, Gold Coast, India, Madagascar, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan, Uganda and Viet Nam were in attendance. It was the most representative colonial conference held since the war.

The main discussion centered around a statement entitled "The Colonial Peoples and War." An original draft submitted on behalf of the International Committee was considered inadequate and a sub-committee prepared a fresh draft which was finally accepted by the Congress. The salient points proclaimed that in the event of a third world war, the attitude of colonial peoples would be "general and vigorous resistance to participation in any imperialist war."

"The colonial peoples," stresses the statement, "refuse to participate in imperialist wars, and are determined to transform imperialist wars into wars of national liberation and socialist emancipation. And it is the duty of the European masses in the event of such struggles, to express their solidarity with the colonial people in concrete form towards helping them achieve these objectives."

The delegates of the Lanka Samasamaja Party and the Bolshevik Samasamaja Party of Ceylon, M. N. Perera and Ali, submitted for discussion a statement outlining the Trotskyist attitude towards the USSR, the colonies and war. This was favorably received, and will be discussed together with any other material inside the affiliated organizations of the Congress.

The most outstanding evolution to date of the role of the Shachtmanites as an anti-Trotskyist tendency emerged during the Congress. The delegate from the "Independent Socialist League," one Mr. Berg, who signed himself as a member of its National Committee, abstained from voting on a declaration from the European Commission pledging active support for the colonial peoples in the fight against imperialism. The reasons he gave were that the statement should have included condemnation of Russian oppression in Eastern Europe. His abstention was received in a hostile manner by the colonial delegates, because it signified that he placed the fight against Russia before the liberation of the colonies from imperialism.

During the elections for the International Committee, Jean Rous, the secretary, objected to the delegates from the Viet

Name Workers of France being represented, on the grounds that the Ho Chi Minh representation had said they would not support the organization if a Trotskyist Viet Name worker were on the International Committee. The Trotskyist delegate, Levan, was the democratically elected representative of 15,000 Viet Name workers resident in France.

The falseness of Rous' objection can be verified by the fact that he himself, as editorial writer of France Tirieur, is consistently attacked as a Trotskyist in Humanite, organ of the French Communist Party, though of course he is nothing of the kind. As Comrade Levan has pointed out, "If the government of Ho Chi Minh does not sit with Levan, it will not sit with Rous." Besides, the government of Ho Chi Minh is not affiliated to the Congress of Peoples and has no interest in it. The whole thing started as a maneuver by a group of Viet Name Stalinists who were not even present.

By deliberately confusing the colonial delegates on the matter of a "local" organization versus a national one, Rous masked his attack on Trotskyism which lined him on the side of Stalinism. The vote really boiled down to a vote on Trotskyism versus Stalinism. The Shachtmanite delegate joined hands with Rous and the sect known as Common Wealth (whose delegates were mostly Burnhamites) in favor of the exclusion of the Viet Name Workers' organization from the International Committee. The Viet Name Workers were denied a seat by 60 votes to 40.

This fresh Shachtmanite evolution was remarked upon by many delegates. Starting out by abstaining on the resolution which declared that the main fight was against imperialism, he ended up by supporting the Stalinist Ho Chi Minh against us. Shachtmanism thus found itself with Moscow against Trotskyism. It is necessary to give this new development the widest publicity because it demonstrates that the Shachtmanites are an anti-working class sect, which stops at nothing in fighting Trotskyism.

While several colonial delegates were confused on the question of procedure, this is now being cleared up and no doubt the whole matter will be reviewed at the earliest opportunity, in view of the widespread misgivings about this anti-Trotskyist maneuver.

Flint Unions Greet James Kutcher, Support His Fight Against Purge

FLINT, Oct. 9—James Kutcher's fight for civil rights was brought home to GM workers this past week when he addressed three of the large GM locals Sunday. At

Chevrolet, Fisher Body and AC, he was welcomed by the presidents and executive boards which had voted to give him time to present his case. Donnel Chapman, UAW regional director, was on hand at the Chevrolet meeting to greet the legless veteran.

Wide publicity to Kutcher's campaign preceded his visit. In a press release Chapman stated, "The Kutcher case graphically illustrates the injustice done to government workers fired without just cause. . . I am firmly convinced that free speech and political activity must be upheld until such activity is proven to be against the general welfare of the American people."

In addition to Chapman's statement, facts on the case were carried prominently by the CIO Council paper, the Chevrolet Searchlight and the AC Sparkler. The AC local voted \$50 in support of the Kutcher Civil Rights

Committee after his address to local members. Fisher Body and Chevrolet had made financial contributions previously. Kutcher was introduced at the three meetings by George Novack, national secretary of the KCRC, who declared that the CIO support this fight because they recognize the danger of subversive lists, which strike at minority parties today but will menace the unions tomorrow. Kutcher's activities here were supervised by the Flint KCRC secretary, Lawrence Jones, Chevrolet union leader. Before Jim Kutcher's departure for his Detroit engagement, a rousing reception and party was given in his honor by the Flint Socialist Workers Party.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—For information, write P.O. Box 1342. BOSTON—Worker-Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social Sat. of month. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—165 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment. CLEVELAND—Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pl. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m. DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TT 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-4 p.m. FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061. LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m. MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd 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. D. Box No. 609 or phone 3-3287. NEW HAVEN—For information write P.O. Box No. 1018. NEW YORK CITY (City)—116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149. HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 25. Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Thurs., 8 p.m. BROOKLYN—Hunts Point Palace, 363 Southern Blvd.; Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p.m. PHILADELPHIA—Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Subter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8. PHILADELPHIA—1205-05 W. Girard St., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m. PITTSBURGH—1415 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore. SAN FRANCISCO—1729 Filmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m. ST. LOUIS—For information, phone PR 3505. SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. R. 201. So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meetings Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore. TOLEDO—Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1602, Toledo 8. WORCESTER, (Mass.)—For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester. YOUNGWOOD—234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1605. Wed., Fri., Sat. 1:30 to 4 p.m.

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Till Stalin Do Us Part

By Ruth Johnson

Sometimes little items in the news give us the sharpest picture of the big news of the day. A few weeks ago, the N. Y. Times in two inches of space, told of a Moscow decree making divorce almost impossible in the Soviet Union. The day's major articles dealt, as usual, with Stalin's threats against the independence of Yugoslavia.

I remembered a short story called "The Rights of Small Nations" by John Reed, the author of Ten Days that Shook the World. Reed's story is about an American bully who mouths fine words about the defense of small countries while he arrogantly tramples over the feelings of a Rumanian girl who lived with him in Bucharest. Individuals, like policies, can best be judged not by loud pretensions but by their actions.

Reed, who died in 1920, was a partisan of the changes in the marriage laws made under Lenin and Trotsky in the first years of the Soviet Union. The old statutes based on the subjugation of women, were wiped out. For the first time, marriage and divorce became a personal choice. The aim of the Bolsheviks was to eventually remove all state interference with private lives. While safeguards were established for the welfare of the children, the new laws declared, for instance, that "the mutual consent of the husband and wife or the desire of either of them to obtain a divorce shall be considered grounds for divorce."

The latest Stalinist decree is a terrible regression from these principles. It declares that divorces are forbidden except "where marriage contradicts the principles of Communist [read Stalinist] morality," or "does not allow the normal raising of a family." It gives the Soviet Supreme Court the power to "guide and instruct" the

lower courts, for fear that local judges might be more sensitive to the desires of the people.

"Temporary divergencies of opinion or conflicts between the two spouses due to passing factors or unwillingness of one side to continue the marriage do not constitute legal grounds for divorce," the regulation says flatly. Thus Stalin once more makes marriage in the USSR the hateful condition of "holy deadlock" that even capitalist humanitarians abhor.

This is not Stalin's first assault on the enlightened marriage laws established by the Bolsheviks. He has steadily made divorce more difficult to obtain, partly to foster a higher birth rate with the aim of building a bigger army, and partly to appease his new ally, the arch-reactionary Greek Orthodox Church, now operating with his blessings. Accordingly he has re-written the biblical injunction, "Till death do us part," substituting himself for the grim reaper. The right of men and women to separate when they no longer love each other has been destroyed as cynically as so many other gains of the October Revolution.

This, like the bureaucracy's other crimes against the masses at home and abroad, provides a measure of the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin. He feels only contempt for the masses. While the Bolsheviks with their liberating program looked to the workers of the world as their allies, Stalin leans on the most reactionary forces everywhere. He tramples on the most elementary rights of the people — from their interests, needs and desires, as in the case of Yugoslavia, down to the most intimate decisions of their personal lives, as in the Soviet Union.

New Supporters of Tito

Evidence of Titoist sympathies is rapidly mounting among the Stalinist periphery in this country, especially in the Wallace movement.

The foremost example of the trend is Louis Adamic's statement released Oct. 10 by the Yugoslav Embassy at London. Adamic, a well-known American author and long a collaborator with the Stalinists, said of Tito's conflict with the Kremlin, "From a moral and political point of view the attitude of the Yugoslavs is correct."

Describing social developments in Yugoslavia as a "very deep-rooted" process, Adamic asserted that the wealth of the country can be developed for the use of the people "only through a planned economy — through Socialism."

Adamic announced his intention to write two or three books about Yugoslavia, the first of which will be published "as early as possible in 1950."

On Oct. 16 Jo Davidson, the American sculptor, came out in support of Tito against Stalin. Davidson is chairman of the artists, scientists and professions wing of the Wallace movement. His action is bound to have big repercussions in the Progressive Party.

Another Wallaceite, William S. Gailmor, in an Oct. 18 dispatch from Belgrade to the New York

Post, wrote a warmly sympathetic account of an interview with Tito. Gailmor, who will be remembered as the high-powered collection taker at the Wallace meetings in the 1948 election campaign, stressed Tito's invitation to interested persons to come to Yugoslavia and take a look for themselves.

At the recent Stalinist "Peace Congress" in Mexico City, O. John Rogge, a prominent defense lawyer in Stalinist civil rights cases and a Wallaceite, denounced Stalin's hostile acts against Yugoslavia.

Henry A. Wallace, himself, has limited his remarks on the situation to a cautious deploring of shows of force by one country against another, which criticism, he said, "holds equally good for the Soviet Union as for Britain and the U. S. A."

None of these cases have been commented upon as yet by the Stalinists. However, a preview of their probable line is contained in the Cominform attack on Konni Zilliacus, British Labor Independent M.P. and long a fellow-traveler of the Stalinists. After Zilliacus came out for Tito, the Kremlin hatchmen called him an agent of Franco.

More Worthless Promises

By Charles Hanley

The young Soviet Republic, under Lenin and Trotsky, asked for a "peace without annexations or reparations," promoted fraternization between Russian and German soldiers, pointed out the socialist way for genuine brotherhood and peace between the toiling masses of Germany and the Soviet Union. This policy has been discarded and brutally violated, in war and peace, by the tyrant in the Kremlin.

In 1933 Stalin, after sabotaging any united front with the Social Democrats, ordered the German Communist Party not to organize mass resistance against Nazism. In 1939 Stalin concluded an alliance with Hitler and drank his health while Molotov told the world the alliance was sealed in blood. In 1940 the Kremlin congratulated Hitler on his victory over Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. Ulbricht, the Stalinist who is now vice-premier in the East German government, told the German workers in his Moscow broadcasts that Hitler's war against Britain was justified as an anti-imperialist struggle. The GPU collaborated with the Gestapo, handing over oppositional German communists who were living in Russia.

After Hitler invaded the USSR, Stalinist propaganda became ultra-chauvinist, denouncing the Germans as "fascist beasts." In 1945 the Soviet army terrorized the workers and peasants in Eastern Germany and pillaged the countryside. The Kremlin annexed East Prussia, Silesia, Poland and the Baltic states. Moscow joined the imperialists in dismembering Germany.

And now Stalin has sent a message to his new puppet government in Eastern Germany, saying that "the experience of the last war has shown that the German and Soviet peoples made the largest sacrifice in that war, that both these peo-

ples have the largest potentialities in Europe to complete great actions of world significance. If both these peoples will show the same determination to fight with the same intensity of effort for peace with which they waged war, then peace in Europe can be regarded as secure. If you will lay a cornerstone for a unified, democratic, peace-loving Germany, you will at the same time achieve a great work for all Europe by securing a firm peace. . . ."

If anyone is in a position to grasp the utter cynicism of these words, it is the German workers. They know that the Kremlin is as responsible for Germany's dismemberment as are the imperialists. They know just what kind of "independence" is in store for East Germany, especially in the light of Stalin's cold war against Yugoslavia.

As for Stalinist "democracy," they know that it spells enormous privileges for bureaucrats, degraded living and working conditions for the workers, secret police spying on everybody and death sentences for oppositionists.

They and the workers throughout the world have had their fill of Stalin's promises of "securing peace," as well. They have not forgotten the Kremlin's lies that the Stalin-Hitler pact was designed for precisely this purpose. Stalin next vowed that his alliance with the "democratic" and "peace-loving" imperialists would end forever the danger of imperialist war. Then came the UN and another barrage of Stalinist lies. His new promise will keep peace as far removed as ever.

The entire experience of the last quarter of a century shows that Stalin's policies have helped pave the way for imperialist war and not to struggle against it.

LUNDEBERG PUSHES WITCH-HUNT PURGE IN SUP

SAN FRANCISCO—The Harry Lundeborg machine of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific is embarked on an orgy of red-baiting and terrorism to intimidate all opposition and bring to heel the Seattle branch of the SUP. This branch, as previously reported in The Militant, is in revolt against the anti-democratic actions of the Lundeborg bureaucracy and is issuing its own local paper, the Defender, to protect the interests of the rank and file and force the Lundeborg leadership to abide by the union constitution.

The reactionary course of Lundeborg and his henchmen was climaxed in the past few weeks by new expulsions, by an American Legion-type of red-baiting campaign and by preparations to expel the leaders of the Seattle opposition from the union.

On Sept. 26 the Headquarters Branch of the SUP approved the report of a trial committee which declared Warren O. Stiles guilty

of charges brought against him and expelled this member for 99 years. Stiles' written declaration was then read to the meeting. Stiles demanded to know since when a conversation with union members criticizing union policy constitutes grounds for charges. Stiles denied any violation of the constitution. Here is a sample of the questions asked Stiles by the trial committee.

Question: Do you think the Mahoney trial fair? Answer: I don't think so. [John Mahoney was expelled by the Lundeborg crew because in a Seattle branch meeting he asked who gave the picket cards authority to break the picket lines in the Canadian Seamen's strike.] Question: Do you think the Defender is an illegal paper? Answer: I don't think so. Question: Do you think the Seattle Committee is unconstitutional? Answer: I don't think so.

This campaign of ruthless reaction was screwed up a notch

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THE MILITANT

Flint Local Asks Conference To Fight Ford Pension Plan

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Oct. 9 — The Ford settlement has aroused a storm of opposition among GM workers. Chevrolet workers quickly labeled the pension a "Dead Man's Pension Plan."

Chevrolet Local 659 at its regular meeting assailed the settlement as totally inadequate. A resolution to this effect was passed unanimously although Regional Director Don Chapman attempted in an hour's speech to point out its "good points."

The resolution states that the Ford plan will set a pattern for all auto workers and requested the UAW executive board to immediately convoke a national representative emergency conference in Detroit to consider the Ford negotiations. It called on the Ford workers to reject the plan.

Resignation of the financial secretary of the Fisher Body local provided a test of sentiment on the new contract at Fords. Bill Genske, a left-wing anti-Reutherite, campaigning against the Ford plan, decisively defeated his Reutherite opponent with 1,700 votes cast in the election. This gives the left wing clear cut control of the local board and marks the first victory of the opposition in Flint in two years.

SPARKING THE FIGHT

Sparking the drive against the pension proposal are Chevrolet militants who circulated a petition against the settlement and brought sufficient pressure to bear on the officers to get them to present a resolution in opposition to the Ford pension.

At the meeting the workers made it clear they were dissatisfied with the pension, the three year contract, the total failure to improve the contract.

Chapman claimed this was the best they could obtain without a strike but he did not explain satisfactorily why the Ford workers could not strike. It must be recalled that Reuther appeared in Flint only a year ago and railed against the miners' retirement fund and its inadequacies. By comparison the Ford plan makes the miners' pension look like a

veritable pillar of old age security.

After three years of Reuther's hogwash on pensions, the letdown has been so decisive that Reuther supporters are very few and far between on this issue. It is unquestionably clear that a shift from Reuther is under way.

Chapman when asked if he would recommend this settlement to GM workers answered, annoyed, that the speaker was asking a political question. He felt that if this was the best that could be obtained he would vote for it. He attempted to bolster his point by stating that a Ford worker faced with strike as the alternative would be voting differently today than Chevrolet workers.

He was answered by a staunch Reutherite who declared that he never got anything worthwhile without fighting for it. He recalled that as a convention delegate he had voted a \$12 assessment for the express purpose of aiding the Ford workers in their fight.

The president of the local denounced the settlement point by point and called for the original UAW demand of 38c an hour as proposed by the UAW Research Committee. He claimed that the Ford pension, contrary to Reuther's propaganda, made the workers foot the bill inasmuch as they would be foregoing a wage increase.

The demand for an industry-wide conference was raised from the floor and incorporated into the executive board's resolution.

A Ford settlement on the current terms was recognized as a terrible blow to all GM workers. Unless a storm of protest, as is being generated in Chevrolet, arises immediately from all sections of the UAW, the auto workers will have suffered a big defeat. Around the call for a National UAW Emergency Conference the fight against the Ford settlement can be concretized.

GM LOCALS DENOUNCE PENSION SETTLEMENT

By Arnold Cramer

FLINT, Oct. 18 — The snow-balling opposition to Walter Reuther's Ford settlement now embraces a majority of Flint auto workers, heart of the General Motors empire.

Following by one week the action of the Reuther-dominated Chevrolet Local 659, the Greater Flint Industrial Union Council, under the prodding of Coburn Walker, Local 659 president, passed a similar anti-Ford pension resolution on Oct. 15.

On the following day, the 18,000 member Buick Local 599 passed a similar resolution, against the opposition of its Reutherite administration. The Fisher Plant 2 Local passed the same resolution.

So universal is rank and file sentiment against the Ford settlement that local Reutherites either openly oppose the plan, as in Chevrolet, or try to prevent the membership from taking a position, as in Buick.

At the Buick local meeting, President Cliff Rock attempted to prevent any discussion on the resolution. When this was prevented by leaders of the anti-Reuther Rank and File Caucus, Rock and his friends were afraid to openly defend the Ford settlement. So they put on a fence-

straddling exhibition that would do credit to professional tight-rope walkers. They did not like the Ford pension, you see, but they were also opposed to the resolution!

WHO LED THE FIGHT

To top this unscrupulous conduct, Rock gave the press a false report of the events at the meeting. In an attempt to smear the opposition, he announced that the supporters of the resolution were in the Stalinist Unity Caucus. The fact of the matter was that the Unity Caucus played an insignificant part in the meeting, their own resolution not even reaching the floor. The opposition was led by the Rank and File Caucus, a powerful anti-Stalinist, anti-Reuther bloc in Buick.

At an election for delegates to the Flint CIO Council on the same day, the pro-Reuther Buick administration lost half of the 32 seats to the Rank and File slate.

Reuther Tries to Smear Opposition

DETROIT, Oct. 16 — The anti-Reuther opposition, the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, held a meeting at Dodge Local 3 hall here today, attended by 300 UAW members and local leaders to mobilize support against the proposed Ford settlement.

The four top UAW officers, Reuther, Mazey, Gosser and Livingston, frightened by the snow-balling opposition to the Ford pension plan rushed to publicly denounce the meeting. In a press statement they declared: "The so-called Committee for a Militant UAW-CIO which met Sunday is the same small, political caucus that has always opposed the present administration. They have opposed every progressive program of the present administration and their opposition to the Ford contract is a continuation of their opposition to administration policies."

Goodrich Contract Better Than Ford's In Many Respects

By R. Swenson

AKRON — Settlement of the 25-day corporation-wide strike of the Goodrich workers came in the wake of the Ford settlement. The 17,000 Goodrich strikers, though limited by the small specific weight of their forces compared to the steel or auto workers, won concessions from the corporation in an agreement which is superior to the Ford Agreement in important respects:

The Goodrich contract contains no company security clause; a clause in last year's agreement stating that the company would not bargain during unauthorized stoppages has been expunged from the contract at the union's insistence. The Ford contract contains a company security clause.

The Goodrich contract is in effect for a year while the Ford contract runs for 2 1/2 years.

The pension program can be reopened after a year at Goodrich, but only after 5 1/2 years at Ford.

Ford and Goodrich will pay almost exactly the same amount per hour into pensions. But Goodrich will be able to continue paying at the same rate if Social Security benefits are upped while Ford will cut its rate of payment.

BENEFITS LIMIT

The Ford limit of \$100 receivable benefits doesn't apply at Goodrich. The ideal 30-year service pensioner, ballyhooed by the Reutherites, receives benefits totaling \$140 per month at Goodrich. However, the Goodrich pension program remains contributory. There has been very little criticism on this point among the Goodrich workers due to the fact that 85% of them were enrolled under the previous company pension plan.

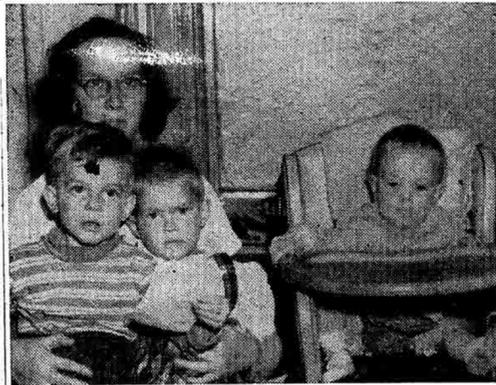
Wages can be reopened at Ford after 15 months, but at Goodrich they can be reopened after only 7 1/2 months.

Rubber union militants appreciate the contractual gains scored in the Goodrich strike, but they also know that their struggle was compromised by Murray's capitulation to the Steel Board and Reuther's settlement with Ford.

Political Climate In Yugoslavia

"I had not been in Yugoslavia for five months, and from the moment I crossed the frontier in the Orient express I could feel that the quarrel with Russia had made spectacular progress in that interval. At Ljubljana a couple of Yugoslav soldiers joined me in my compartment, and before long they were telling me that Stalin was a deviationist and has always been one, and had I ever heard of Lenin's Testament? Only in Yugoslavia, they said, did one now find pure Marxism-Leninism." — The opening paragraph of a dispatch from Belgrade by Alexander Werth, printed in the Oct. 8 Nation.

Vet's Family Evicted



Mrs. Fred Vanderhoeft and her children at the office of the Disabled Veterans Organization in New York City after being evicted from their furnished two-room apartment for non-payment of rent. Vanderhoeft, a disabled vet, has had to take his family on relief.

Kutcher Speaks at Scores Of Detroit Union Meetings

DETROIT, Oct. 16 — James Kutcher's visit to the auto center is proving to be the high point in his national tour. The legless vet and representatives of the Greater Detroit Committee will

have appeared before more than 70 organizations before he leaves this city for Toledo on Oct. 24.

During the past week they have addressed as many as six to eight meetings a day on the Kutcher case. Few civil rights fights in recent years have brought forth such ready response and such broad non-partisan backing in this community.

The Detroit Committee contains leaders from all walks of community life, including Dr. Henry Hitt Crane; Rabbi Leon Fram; Circuit Court Judge Ira W. Jayne; Gus Schelle, Michigan CIO President; Reverend Robert Braddy, NAACP President; George Schermer, chairman of the Detroit Interracial Committee; Rabbi Joshua Sperlak; Judge Patrick V. O'Brien and the heads of numerous CIO and AFL bodies. Al Barbour, secretary of the Wayne County CIO Council, is chairman.

The CIO Council has urged every local to hear Kutcher's story "to let everyone know what the loyalty procedures mean so that civil liberties can be protected" and "to raise money to fight his case which is going to reach the lower courts and will no doubt have to be carried to the Supreme Court."

FORD: UNITS HELP

The units of Ford Local 600, largest union local in the world have come to the forefront in supporting Kutcher at the same time that they have been considering their new contract with the corporation. This weekend Kutcher spoke to seven different unit meetings at Ford. Several immediately voted to help his fight with substantial contributions and the others will act soon. The Maintenance Unit took a full-page ad and 50-tickets for the Kutcher Civil Rights Banquet; the Glass Unit voted a full-page ad and took six tickets; the Press Steel Unit gave \$25.

This Monday the legless veteran will be the guest of Local 600 in an inspection tour of the River Rouge Plant. Last Friday the Labor Cooperative Clothing store outfitted the Purple Heart vet with a new suit, topcoat and other apparel. Similar courtesies are being extended to make his stay here memorable and comfortable.

Last Monday Kutcher talked to the AFL Photoengravers Local and to the National Maritime Union. Tuesday he spoke to UAW Midland Steel Local 410; UAW Local 985; AFL Cement Finishers Local 514; and to the Phillip Handler branch of E'nal Brith Lodge. Wednesday morning he appeared before the Detroit Executive Board of the AFL Musicians and in the evening spoke to Local 285 of the CIO United Public Workers, composed of Negro municipal employees who will soon be subjected to local "loyalty" tests. The Detroit Joint Board of the United Public Workers endorsed his case.

Thursday he was warmly greeted by UAW Murray Body

INLAND STEEL USES FORD PLAN AGAINST STEEL UNION

Steel industry spokesmen are citing Walter Reuther's pension agreement with the Ford Motor Company in answer to the CIO steel union's demand for non-contributory pensions paid entirely by the companies.

In a huge ad run in leading magazines and newspapers, the Inland Steel Company argues that the steel workers can't be striking because "the union would not permit a worker to pay part of the cost of a welfare plan. . . for the CIO has recently accepted welfare plans in automotive and other industries in which the worker does pay part of the cost."

Clearly referring to the Ford agreement, the Inland Steel ad points out that "they have . . . accepted pension plans where the employer deducts what the retired worker receives through social security. Since the man himself has contributed to social security, he obviously is paying part of his pension."

The shrewd steel magnates are not taken in by Reuther's claim that the proposed Ford pension plan is "non-contributory." They have been quick to seize on this plan as a weapon in their fight to force the steel workers to pay a big part of any pension plan in the steel settlement.

Thursday he was warmly greeted by UAW Murray Body