

COMMUNIST PARTY TRIAL AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

By Farrell Dobbs

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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RESISTANCE TO WITCH-HUNT IS GROWING

8 Million Either Jobless or on Less Than Half-Time -- But President Sees "No Crisis"

By Art Preis

In the face of the government's own conservative figures showing eight million now jobless or working less than half-time, Truman blithely told a press conference on June 16 that he does not think there is a "crisis."

His claim was made the day after UAW President Walter Reuther, following a White House conference, assured American labor that the administration is planning "realistic and effective" action to "vigorously" meet the "economic crisis" that Truman says does not even exist.

Truman's dismissal of the unemployment situation is a warning to the workers on how lightly minded he treats the gravest threat to labor's living standards today. It likewise exposes the irresponsibility and deception of union leaders of Reuther's stripe who tell the workers to depend on Truman to deal seriously with unemployment.

"HOW DEEP IS DEEP?"

How many unemployed does Truman think it takes and how far down must the economy slide to make a crisis? As the *Journal of Commerce* wrote in a recent editorial, the business men themselves "are getting impatient with official assurances that the economy is only passing through a period of 'healthy readjustment' and that no 'deep and protracted' recession is in sight. . . . How deep is deep? One economist may argue that a 20% drop in industrial production from its 1938 peak still would not constitute a 'deep' recession. In our book, this would be a severe setback." No matter how much the employers may kid the workers, they don't like to fool themselves.

The workers have been aware for the past six months, at least, that the economy is headed downward. They have seen or experienced lay-offs or big reductions in the work week with corresponding loss of income. And the most recent government figures, doctored as they are, confirm the workers in their growing fears of insecurity and the dread feeling that a depression is under way.

The Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce admitted 3,289,000 person out of work in mid-May. More significant was its report that unemployment rose 273,000 in one month. Analysis of the Bureau's complete figures by the June 24 U.S. News and World Report reveals that "Jobless, or working no more than half time, are 8,000,000 workers." More than 4 million, U.S. News points out, are working part-time of 22 hours a week or less. Those working as little as one hour a week are classified by the Census Bureau as "employed."

An idea of the real extent of unemployment can be gleaned from figures of state agencies. The New York State Labor Department, for instance, announced that for the week ending June 10 there were 535,575 unemployment insurance and veterans allowance claims in the state. In addition, New York City alone reported 153,120 cases on relief. The unemployed in this one state now number at least three-quarters of a million -- and there are a half-dozen industrial states, even harder hit in proportion to their populations.

And the unemployment trend is up, with no end in sight. The American Federation of Labor, on June 19, said that the unemployed might number five million by next month. U.S. News reports "the total is expected to approach 6,000,000 late this year or early next year." The Public Affairs Institute in Washington last week predicted that the total may reach eight to ten million by mid 1950.

THE CRISIS IS HERE

All other indexes, without exception, bear out what the fast-swelling figures on unemployment have been first to show—that the economic crisis is already here and well advanced, Truman's (Continued on page 2)

N.Y. Brewery Union Wins Strike for Shorter Week

NEW YORK, June 22 — After an inspiring 82-day battle, the CIO brewery workers here won their strike yesterday when the employers agreed to virtually all demands.

The 7,000 strikers won a year-round 37½-hour week with 40 hours pay, after rejecting a proposal for a 37½-hour week during only the six slack months of the year.

They also won a welfare fund to be financed by the companies through contributions of \$3 per week per worker, an additional week's vacation and more holidays, improved seniority system and preferential hiring, a 2½-cent night differential. Weekly wages will now range from \$72 to \$77.50, an across-the-board raise of \$2.

One of the big gains, against which the employers held out

longest, was the provision for two men on the trucks, instead of one, except in a very few specified cases. The winning of this demand is especially significant in these days of rising unemployment.

Another important gain, also bitterly opposed by the employers, was the elimination of the speed-up "time formula" under which the drivers had to make hauls and deliveries at a killing rate set by "time survey" men. This was the main issue in the strike of last September, when the rank and file revolted against their international union leaders.

RANK AND FILE CONTROL

The outstanding event in the latest strike was the strong assertion of rank and file control when the strikers, a week before the final settlement, rejected the proposal of their leaders to accept the offer of a 37½-hour week for only half the year. By holding out firmly another week, the strikers won the year-round shorter work week and a strengthened clause for two men on a truck.

Many unions are on record for a shorter work week to protect their members against unemployment. But this demand remains on paper. The New York Brewery Workers have demonstrated how this demand for a shorter week with no loss of take-home pay can be won by a militant struggle.

Next Week:

A special analysis by Bert Cochran of the problems facing the United Auto Workers, whose convention opens in Milwaukee next month.

A full page of articles on the coming NAACP convention in Los Angeles and its relation to the struggle for Negro equality.

Also, a discussion of the Fourth of July tradition and its lessons today.

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Green and Murray Play Two-Faced Role on T-H

The Truman Democrats are playing a two-faced role on labor legislation. They are trying to convince supporters of "stiff" anti-labor laws that the proposed Trumanite substitute bill and amendments will carry out the aims of the Taft-Hartley Act. At the same time, they are trying to fool the workers into believing that these measures are "in the spirit of the Wagner Act."

This deception is being assisted by the top AFL and CIO leaders. The AFL chiefs declare themselves openly in favor of the "compromise" amendments pushed by the "liberal" Democrats in the Senate. The CIO heads act more deviously. They just attack the opponents of the amendments, but keep silent on their own position.

The administration's original Thomas-Lesinski bill would seriously weaken the Wagner Act by permitting government intervention in union affairs, restricting certain types of

strikes and compelling "cooling off" periods.

Even before the Senate debate began, leading Truman Democrats, including Senators Paul H. Douglas, and Lister Hill, put forward five further "compromise" amendments containing, in essence, major features of the Taft-Hartley Act itself. Senate majority leader Lucas indicated that these amendments had the support of Truman himself.

Four of these amendments were promptly accepted by Senator Robert Taft, who said they contained essentially the same provisions as similar sections of his Slave Labor Law. With little opposition, these amendments were approved in the Senate by voice vote.

These would continue the "non-Communist" oath for union leaders, with "non-Fascist" added, but would require a similar oath from employers; give "free speech" to employers to propagandize against unions and in-

timidate workers; continue the requirement of financial statements from the unions to the government, with a similar requirement for employers added; and make it an "unfair labor practice" for employees, as well as employers, "to refuse to bargain collectively." While seeming to place "equal" obligations on unions and employers, these amendments would work primarily to the disadvantage of the unions.

But the most revealing amendment and debate was on plant "seizures" in "national emergency" strikes. The amendment to empower the president to break strikes by "seizure" was put forward supposedly in opposition to the injunction provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Of course, the U. S. Supreme Court, in the mine injunction case two years ago, had already ruled that the government has the power to enjoin strikes involving property under govern-

Survey Indicates Wide Opposition To Spy Scare

Resentment and opposition to the witch-hunt and spy scare, although not yet expressed in an organized manner, is widespread and growing, according to a survey in the "Report from the Nation" feature of the June 19 N. Y. Times.

This hostility to the attacks on civil liberties has been especially marked since the revelations in the Coplon trial about the FBI police spy system and the attempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee to obtain lists of school and college text-books to see whether they contain "red propaganda."

The report from New England for instance, states that the action of the House committee "resulted in widespread acclaim of the farewell commencement speech of Dr. Mildred McAfee Horton, retiring president of Wellesley College," who denounced the book-censorship move.

"IN MINORITY NOW"

From Chattanooga, Tennessee, the Times reports "growing restlessness with the whole business of spy-hunting, Communist investigations and similar activities." While these are supported in some parts of the Deep South, "these supporters, however, seem to be in a minority just now."

Dispatches from Ohio, says the Times, report that a "surprising number of Clevelanders are criticizing that city's newspapers for printing too much about 'communism.' They contend that 'politicians are talking too much about it' and that 'communism seems to have become a national obsession.' Many in Milwaukee are reported 'concerned' about 'some Americans being smeared' by unsubstantiated data from FBI records."

From Salt Lake City, Utah, "a random sampling of Western views" indicates "grave public misgivings concerning both the need for such investigations and the manner in which they were being conducted." And in San Francisco, "people seemed skeptical about the importance of any of the proceedings in the East."

Several leading newspapers in the western region, says one report, after first supporting the spy trials and other anti-Communist proceedings, "have quietly about-faced and are now warning of dangers inherent in 'witch-hunting.'"

The N. Y. Times itself, sensing the developing trend of public sentiment, now editorially seeks to disassociate itself from the witch-hunt by deploring "hysteria" and warning that "we in this country seem to be in danger of losing our sense of proportion." The Times, like all the capitalist newspapers, has helped to whip up the spy scare and the "red menace."

Maritime Union Membership Blocks 'Loyalty' Purge Move

The witch-hunters suffered a major defeat in the labor movement last week, when the Judges of Election and the Honest Ballot Association threw out the

30 day referendum ballot initiated by the National Council of the CIO National Maritime Union to amend the constitution so that so-called "subversives" would be barred from union membership.

The count of the 27,000 ballots cast had almost been completed when the referendum was invalidated for violations of voting procedure and glaring irregularities. At the time the count was stopped, the vote against the yellow-dog amendment was ahead by over 400, with only one port to be counted. This was one of the "Dixiecrat" ports in the Gulf, which boasted in advance of an almost unanimous "Yes" vote. The evidence of tampering was so flagrant the Judges of Election insisted that the vote of the entire port be declared invalid.

With charges and counter-charges flying back and forth it was finally decided to throw out the entire election. The ballots were impounded and placed in a bank safety vault with the entire question of voting procedure laid

Warns Fellow-Educators



JOHN DEWEY (See P. 4 for his arguments against a teacher purge.)

over to the union's national convention on Sept. 12.

The witch-hunting amendments called for all members of the NMU to sign an affidavit affirming they were not "members of the Communist Party or any other subversive totalitarian group." In addition, they provided for the expulsion of "any persons who subscribe to, support, sponsor or otherwise follow a course of action consistent with and demonstrating membership in or adherence to the policy and program of the Communist Party or any other subversive or totalitarian doctrine."

The amendments sponsored by NMU President Joseph Curran were so sweeping in their provisions that a large group of officials came out openly in opposition and called for a "No" vote in the referendum. The greatest support for the amendments came from the southern ports which are led by the most reactionary elements in the union. The opposition was centered in the large northern ports.

Despite the fact that the referendum was launched during a period of unbridled red-baiting hysteria, sufficient opposition was aroused in the NMU ranks to give the union witch-hunters their first real setback. However, it is necessary to warn that the device of throwing out the entire referendum ballot provides the Curran group with a pretext for making another attempt.

The coming convention of the NMU will undoubtedly see a resumption of the drive against union democracy in another form. The splendid resistance shown by the NMU membership is a bad omen for the witch-hunters and a cause for rejoicing in the whole labor movement.

COMMITTEE ASKS SUPPORT TO STOP SKOGLUND DEPORTATION

The Civil Rights Defense Committee is undertaking a nation-wide campaign to raise funds needed to fight the deportation proceedings against the 65-year-old union leader, Carl Skoglund, national secretary George

Novack announced this week.

The Committee has retained Stanley H. Lowell, former Assistant U.S. District Attorney in New York City and member of the Alien Civil Liberties Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, to represent Skoglund in the administrative and judicial actions to stop his expulsion from this country where he has lived for the past 38 years.

Carl Skoglund was one of the 18 officers of Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544 and leaders of

the Socialist Workers Party railroaded to prison during World War II as the first victims of the thought-control Smith Gag Law. He was president of Local 544 in 1941 when the conflict over union democracy that led to his arrest broke out between the Minneapolis teamsters and Daniel Tobin, head of the AFL Teamsters International.

SPURNED FBI OFFER

Shortly before Tobin attempted to impose a dictator-receiver over Local 544, the FBI, through an intermediary, offered Skoglund American citizenship and immunity from deportation if he would align himself with Tobin's forces and testify against his union and political associates. Skoglund rejected this proposed deal and had to suffer the consequences. After his conviction, he served a 16-month sentence in 1944-45 at the federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota.

The deportation move against Skoglund was suspended during his imprisonment, although he remained under bond. His case remained in abeyance until April 1949 when the Federal Department of Immigration reopened deportation proceedings by denying the application of Skoglund's attorney to set aside the deportation order pending since 1941. This sudden action is being taken as part of the widespread witch-hunt against foreign-born leaders in the labor movement.

The charge against Skoglund is that he had been a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which has been arbitrarily designated as "subversive" and politically blacklisted by Attorney General Clark without a hearing, without presentation of evidence.

(Continued on Page 2)

No Need to Worry--Truman

By George Breitman

President Truman is trying to check the tide of rising resentment against the witch-hunt and thus prevent action by the people to put an end to the government's attacks on civil rights.

That was the main aim of his June 16 press conference, at which he assured the people that the "spy" and "disloyalty" hysteria which has gripped the country would die out by itself as it always has in the past and that the country was not "going to hell" at all.

People who accept such assurances will tend to feel that there is nothing serious to worry about or fight against. The longer such misconceptions prevail, the easier it will be for the witch-hunters to proceed with construction of the foundations of an American police state. That is why Truman's phony "liberalism" on the civil rights issue must be combatted just as hard as the more openly reactionary position

of such bodies as the House Un-American Committee.

The first thing to be stressed is the hypocrisy with which Truman tried to buttress his assurances. No part of the executive department of the government has succumbed to the hysteria, he declared, and if this ever happened he would root it out, he promised.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE

But the executive department includes the President, the Department of Justice and the FBI. It was the President himself who ordered the purge of federal employees, which has set the pattern for purges on a national scale in all other fields for more than two years. The head of the Department of Justice issued the notorious "subversive" list which seeks to outlaw opponents of the capitalist parties, and launched the thought-control persecution of the Communist Party leaders under the Smith Gag Act. The FBI, it was disclosed in both the

Coplon and Stalinist trials, has set up a huge network of informers who are paid out of government funds to spy on their fellow Americans' private and public life.

In short, it was the executive department above all others which bears the responsibility for fanning the present hysteria. "Assurances" that have to be surrounded with lies of such magnitude can't be worth very much.

Equally misleading are Truman's references to American history, as Ruth Johnson shows in an article on Page 3. The fact that previous attempts to smash democratic rights were not successful is no proof that they can't be successful this time, especially if the people are fooled into believing Truman's "it can't happen here" arguments.

Another revealing thing about Truman's carefully prepared statements at the press conference was the time when they were made. Anti-red hysteria has been at fever pitch since the cam-

paign over the Mindszenty incident last winter. Why then did Truman keep quiet until now?

Because now, especially since the Coplon trial disclosures about the FBI and the House Un-American Committee's demand for lists of college textbooks, millions of people have been jolted into doubt and concern about what is happening to the Bill of Rights.

WHAT WORRIES THEM

Recognition of this fact will be found in the editorials and columns of conservative and even reactionary capitalist papers which support the objectives of the witch-hunt 100%. Several columnists have complained that it would have been better to let Coplon go free than permit the FBI's prestige to be undermined in the public eye by the exposure of its "vital secrets." A note of caution — "We've got to be more careful; maybe we're going too fast" — is being sounded in the editorials.

Truman's statements are motivated by this same fear — that the witch-hunt may over-reach itself and bungle the job by provoking mass resistance. The fact that he feels it is necessary to make such statements is unwitting testimony to the mighty power the people can wield once they realize how great the danger to their rights is and set out to do something about it.

Truman wants to put the people to sleep. We've got to wake them up.

Truman wants the people to think they can depend on his administration to control or end the anti-democratic hysteria. We've got to show them that the administration is the real leader of the witch-hunt.

Truman wants the people to accept the stupid idea that their democratic rights will be saved by the passage of time. We've got to show them that nothing will do that except united militant action by the labor, liberal and Negro movements.

8 Million Either Jobless Or Less than Half-Time

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rosy-tinted lies notwithstanding. Over-all production figures, at the end of May, were down 9% from a year ago, with further cut-backs announced just in the past two weeks. Steel, the key basic industry, falling for the ninth consecutive week, has declined to 88.7% of ingot capacity, and leading steel manufacturers, including Ernest T. Weir, predict it will fall further. In another key sector of the economy, construction, the U.S. Savings and Loan League in its latest Quarterly Letter predicts a 15 to 20% decline in home building this year.

The slump in production has followed a tremendous drop in mass purchasing power, as reflected since the first of the year in declining retail sales. In the week ending June 18, despite big Father's Day promotions, New York City's department store dollar volume fell 11% below a year ago. Other key cities showed a similar drop. Sales of durable consumers' items like electrical refrigerators and television sets have fallen off as much as 15% in a year.

Mass purchasing power, slashed by unemployment and part-time schedules, is further cut by continuing high prices. Since February, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics index shows, the cost of living, instead of declining, has been slowly but steadily rising. Meat, for instance, has gone up an average of 10 cents a pound in the last four months. The National-American Wholesale Grocers' Association on June 14 announced that prices of canned goods will rise this summer and fall. Average rents, of course, are shooting up at an alarming rate, with the big boosts still to come.

PROFITS GO HIGHER

By curtailing production, the monopolies have been keeping

prices and profits high. The 1949 first quarter reports of the 300 leading corporations show an average 9% increase in net profits over the first quarter of 1948. In April, according to a Department of Commerce report, total corporate dividends were 3% higher than for the same month last year.

Despite the staggering profits and reserves the capitalists have been piling up, the stock market, a chief barometer of capitalist expectations, dropped to a five-year low on June 13. The Journal of Commerce, a leading financial publication, said this meant Wall Street "was in the process of discounting a business decline of greater proportions than the 'little recession' so confidently predicted by some economists and business leaders."

If all these factors have not convinced Truman that an economic crisis is at hand, certainly the government's budgetary deficit should have awakened him to the true situation.

Back in January Truman had estimated a budget deficit for the fiscal year of some \$800 million. Due to the lag in tax collections, the estimated deficit is now expected to reach \$6 billion. This deficit can be wiped out only by drastic reductions in government expenditures — unlikely in view of the enormous arms and foreign loan program — or by big tax boosts.

A cut in government war spending, now a major prop of the capitalist economy, would accelerate the depression. Likewise, an increase in taxes, which would come from the masses, would still further reduce mass purchasing power and thus undermine the economy. The budgetary crisis, far more serious than the administration dares to admit, is a chief indicator of the seriousness of the current economic decline. This decline, moreover, has world-

wide scope, as the reactions of the London and Paris stock exchanges last week partially revealed.

THEIR "SOLUTIONS"

At best, capitalist business analysts see the economic decline continuing for another year or 18 months. Almost all agree unemployment will pass six million by winter. They give, however, no valid reasons to expect the depression to halt at these levels. Their solution, moreover, is the same as in 1929. Cut taxes, cut wages, reduce labor costs, bolster profits and leave everything to the "free play" of "natural economic laws" — that is, to the planless anarchy of capitalist "free enterprise."

The attitude of the top labor leaders to the looming depression is nothing short of criminal. For their parts the AFL leaders, while admitting the prospects of 5 million jobless by next month, echo the Pollyanna talk of Truman. They have such faith in "free enterprise" that they announced last week that a serious depression is "almost impossible."

The CIO leaders, like Reuther, who express somewhat more concern about the situation than the AFL moguls, nevertheless are doing nothing to prepare the workers for an effective struggle to protect themselves against the ravages of the economic breakdown. Murray, Reuther & Co. are telling labor to bank on the Truman administration, which refuses even to acknowledge the gravity of the situation, let alone do anything about it.

PROGRAM THAT'S NEEDED

It would be folly for the American workers to base themselves on an expectation that this depression will be minor or short-lived. On the contrary, labor must launch an all-sided battle now for a program to defend its

Free Ride from TWU



A passenger gets out of Car No. 1 in the CIO Transport Workers Union Emergency Fleet in Louisville, Ky. The union operated 700 private cars to furnish free rides to 80,000 passengers daily during its strike against the Louisville Railway Co. Settlement was reached later, with workers gaining 6c an hour.

living standards, whatever the cost to the billionaire monopolists and their profit interests.

The first point on this program is the demand for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay to provide more jobs with no reduction in present weekly earnings.

Present unemployment insurance is a hunger dole. Labor must demand unemployment compensation equal to full weekly union wages for all unemployed for the duration of their joblessness. Why should the workers suffer for the chaos and anarchy of capitalist "free enterprise"?

The monstrous waste of war spending must be halted and the tens of billions being spent annually for war preparations should be entirely diverted into socially-beneficial public works, including millions of modern low-rent homes, schools and free

colleges, hospitals and clinics, public recreation centers and parks, etc. Useful jobs at union wages must be provided all able-bodied unemployed at government expense.

The stranglehold of the private monopolies must be broken and the control of the whole economy placed in the hands of the people. As a first step, all basic industries should be nationalized by the government and operated under the control of the workers, who alone are capable of organizing and running the factories, mines, railroads, etc., in the interests of the working population.

Such a program, directly opposed to capitalist interests, can be achieved only by the completely independent economic and political struggle of the labor movement.

Green, Murray in Two-Faced Role

(Continued from page 1)

ment "seizure." It was precisely by this method — condemned at the time by all sections of labor — that Truman halted the November 14 coal strike.

On the floor of the Senate, Senator Douglas, chief sponsor of the "seizure" amendment, admitted that it did imply injunctive powers where the government seized a plant and the men refused to go back to work. But the mere act of seizing a plant, said Douglas, would be sufficient to break a strike because the workers would be reluctant "to strike against the government."

But here the Trumanite policy of "compromise" proved its bankruptcy. The Douglas amendment on plant "seizures," the key Trumanite concession to the avowed labor-haters, was voted down 55 to 27. And the Taft-Hartleyites are riding higher than ever.

Just before this vote was taken, AFL President William Green declared his support for the "seizure" amendment. CIO President Philip Murray kept silent while the CIO News wrote that it was backed by "liberal senators" who feel that the Thomas Bill could not pass in its present form and who want to eliminate the core of T-H.

The AFL and CIO leaders are trying to cover up for the Truman administration and maintain their alliance with the Truman Democrats at all costs. They are prepared to go along with almost any deception and treachery by Truman and his party henchmen.

In fact, while they do not dare to say so openly, these union bureaucrats actually want the government to have strikebreaking powers. They want the Truman administration to be able to intervene and stop strikes. For there is nothing these union leaders fear more than an aroused and militant union membership.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Labor Resistance In Buffer Countries

Indications of labor resistance to the Stalinist governments in the Soviet "buffer" countries continue. Recently we noted the case of Poland. Last week, there were reports from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

In Hungary, Deputy Prime Minister Matyas Rakosi complained in a Budapest speech: "It must be pointed out that the industrial workers still believe erroneously that socialism means some sort of primitive equality. When profit shares were distributed in the factories, the workers demanded time and again that they be distributed per capita. The falling of cost prices is very slow. However, the supremacy of Socialist production over capitalism must manifest itself by the cutting of cost price."

"Primitive" equality indeed! What the workers should demand, Rakosi enlightens them, is a more "advanced" equality of the Stalinist type — "the cutting of cost price" by speedup. Apparently the Hungarian workers don't take too readily to Stalinist education in "socialist" economics.

In Czechoslovakia, according to the same report, the CP paper Rude Pravo warned that "in many plants management, trade unions and even the shock workers themselves misunderstood the aim of the shock brigades to be to earn more wages whereas it was supposed to be to increase productivity and reduce production costs." An embarrassing "misunderstanding."

In Rumania too, the Stalinist organ Scanteia has had to devote a great deal of space to explain that "production relations in Socialist enterprises are entirely different" from those in capitalist enterprises. Since these enterprises belong to the "popular democratic" state, they belong to the working people. Therefore unions "have entirely different tasks." They "must organize increase of output," and no longer recognize antagonism between management and employees. On the contrary, "it should be made clear that the assurance of sole leadership, as represented by the director of an enterprise, is a fundamental Bolshevik principle." Union committees are duty-bound to uphold this "principle," etc., etc.

Unlike here in the U.S., the Stalinists in France are not on the run in the trade unions, but retain a good deal of their grip on it. That's what makes the Trotskyist achievement at Renault all the more impressive.

With this kind of line, it is not surprising to hear that the Rumanian General Federation of Labor finds very little interest in "socialist competitions," only 30% of railroad workers, 25% of the miners and 23% of the steel workers participating in them.

Stalinist "education" among the industrial workers in the "buffer" zone must be brewing a revolt of immense proportions. It is doubtful if police measures alone can keep it down. That is why the Kremlin bureaucracy is driven frantically to try to make a deal with the West that will increase trade and bring both more consumer goods and lower prices. The only other alternative, the abolition of boundaries in Eastern Europe and the organization of genuine planning — on an all-regional scale, as the beginning of an all-European planned economy — is unthinkable for Stalinism. That requires a proletarian revolution.

Renault Workers Reject CP Move to Expel Trotskyist

In the great Renault automobile works in Paris, the Stalinist officialdom of the CGT (General Federation of Labor) has been campaigning for months to expel the Trotskyist militant Barlatier from the union on the usual trumped-up charges of dual unionism, etc. The Trotskyist group at Renault undertook a vigorous defense campaign, exposing every one of the Stalinist lies and calling upon the workers to attend the General Assembly of the union at the plant to stop this attempt at victimization.

An extraordinarily heavy turnout resulted at this Assembly. Oldtime workers, with militant records, took the floor to defend Barlatier and to identify themselves with his revolutionary program. The Stalinists were so nonplussed by this offensive that they not only withdrew their attempt at expulsion, but even had to tolerate the Trotskyist election to the Executive Committee of the union at this same meeting.

Unlike here in the U.S., the Stalinists in France are not on the run in the trade unions, but retain a good deal of their grip on it. That's what makes the Trotskyist achievement at Renault all the more impressive.

Buffalo Militants and Their Slanderers

By Bert Cochran

No sooner had the hostile press barrage of the kept Buffalo Evening News subsided than a new press campaign was launched against our Buffalo organization by the Shachtmanite Labor Action. Not that there is any cooperation or understanding between the two newspapers. But it is a fact that both see the SWP as the main enemy in the Buffalo labor unions and direct their most savage thrusts against it. If the Shachtmanites have any sense left at all, this one fact should make them stop, look and listen.

Now what is all the noise about? Labor Action carries long hysterical diatribes against us in its May 2, May 9 and May 23 issues, not to mention the incidental snippings. Yet a person unacquainted with the situation is unable to make head or tail of what the controversy is about from these articles, except that possibly SWP members are lined up in the Buffalo unions with some allegedly unsavory characters. We will presently take up a few of the more serious accusations. But beyond all the chit-chat and traditional campaign gossip is the underlying proposition that involved in the election contest in the Buffalo unions was a struggle between two distinct tendencies. That you would never guess from the Shachtmanite effusions. That little detail escapes the notice of our "Independent Socialists." Yet, what else excited the animosity of the Buffalo Evening News? This Big Business organ had no difficulty cutting through the non-essentials and seeing what the basic issue was and whose victory served the interests of its masters. Why, the very kick-off of the Buffalo Evening News campaign was headed, "Westinghouse Labor Relations Imperiled by Trotskyists." The companies have the same appreciation of the situation.

After the militant forces were defeated at UAW Bell Aircraft local 501, Mr. Domonkos, the company vice-president in charge of labor relations made no bones of where he stood in this controversy. In a letter mailed to all Bell employees, he hailed the "Rank and File" group's defeat as signifying an end to the union's "bitter anti-company attitude." At long last, Mr. Domonkos declares, he "feels at liberty to assess" his unhappy labor relations with the past administration: "It was impossible to work in harmony with the outgoing committee . . . almost every disagreement . . . was followed by threats of reprisal in the form of floods of grievances, slow down, or actual strike. Obviously it is impossible to have equitable give and take bargaining under

(those circumstances.)" Mr. Domonkos goes on to state that the company "will accept the statements made by the new leadership in their campaign at their face value." The statements Mr. Domonkos is talking about are not the slop dished out by Labor Action, but the Reutherite promises to play ball with the company and to red-bait the militants and radicals.

So, there is no question of where the companies and their newspapers stand in this fight and which union groups they consider as the radical and the conservative. Are the Shachtmanites so far gone in opportunism that the fact that the slate they support likewise enjoys the whole-hearted backing of the Buffalo Evening News and the companies — are they so far gone, that that gives them no pause, no doubt, no twinge of conscience?

Let us go a little further into this question of the two tendencies in the labor unions. The auto union is run today by the Reuther bureaucracy. This machine is part and parcel of the broad CIO bureaucracy which is lined up with Truman and the Democratic Party, which is out selling the Marshall plan both at home and abroad, which has just underwritten the Atlantic Pact, which has flung open the doors of the unions to the witch-hunt hysteria. There exists a sizable opposition to this Reuther machine. It is a progressive opposition. It has a good trade union program. It is not led or influenced by the Stalinists. Its opposition to Reuther is from the left. It is fighting the trend of bureaucratization and a soft policy toward the corporations.

Where does any militant worker, not to mention a self-proclaimed Socialist, belong in this kind of a line-up? Obviously with the opposition. This is as plain as the nose on a man's face. This is the indicated course, despite the fact that the opposition has many weaknesses, shortcomings and defects, that some of the people associated with it are of a dubious character and so on.

Labor Action tries to make a big point of the fact that a number of the candidates on the opposition slate in the Buffalo Chevrolet local did not attend their union meetings regularly and that one candidate participated in GM's contest, "My Job and Why I Like It." Well, we stand four square for the proposition that members should attend their union meetings and should not take part in company-sponsored contests. But it is a fact, an unfortunate fact, that attendance at union meetings is notoriously poor and that 175,000 GM workers participated in the above-mentioned contest, not because they like their jobs, but because they were after some of

the juicy prizes offered for the best letters. You have to build, not with ideal materials, but with the bricks that are at hand. With the general lack of class consciousness of the American working class, with the absence of a Socialist tradition, and the confusion and havoc wrought in the labor ranks by Stalinism, it is not too surprising that faction fights in the unions take place on a crude level; that opposition movements are limited to modest proportions and aims; and that some opportunists infiltrate, at times, into the groups. Such things are true of all broad movements. If one were to forever build an opposition unless he was guaranteed that every member or even leader of it would be a 14-karat class conscious militant, he would doom himself and his supporters to never-ending ineffectiveness, and absence from the real struggle to influence the mass movement in a leftward direction.

These considerations have always obtained in every big venture in the mass movement. For example, a few of the leaders of Debs' American Railway Union were later found to be crooks. The first convention of this pioneer industrial union wouldn't admit Negroes on an equal basis. Should militants, therefore, have washed their hands of this fighting crusade and lined up with the reactionary chiefs of the Railroad Brotherhoods? That would be like throwing out the baby with the dirty water. What is decisive in determining a correct course of action is the overall character of a union organization, group or tendency, in other words, who sets the tone of the group, the militants or the opportunists.

From an overall point of view, the Reuther machine is a part of the reactionary combination which is presently working to totalitarianize the union movement and place it at the services of American imperialism. The anti-Reuther forces, despite their wobbliness, represent the tendency of thwarting this reactionary trend and getting the union back on the tracks of militant action and democratic control. This is the basic division and the basic issue. The Shachtmanites have seen fit to line up in this fight with the Reuther bureaucracy against the progressive opposition. This is no mere error of judgement. It is a crime against the progressive cause. It is the same kind of a crime as was committed by Hillquist and Victor Berger when they lined up in the period before the first world war with Gompers unionism against Debs and the left wing. Neither three issues of Labor Action, nor three times three, can erase the record of this infamy.

Some who have read the Labor Action outpourings may feel that while our basic position is correct, nevertheless, there may be some fire. In other words, possibly our militants in Buffalo were working with some shady characters in the opposition groups. There is no truth at all in this. The anti-Reuther groups at the Bell and Chevrolet locals are on a par with the opposition groupings in Michigan and elsewhere, no better and no worse.

To Labor Action nowadays it follows as clear as night follows day that the opposition is wrong and bad because it lost a number of local union elections. How little they know of the hazards and odds in building a left wing. They have so lost their bearings, they even talk of red-baiting in quotation marks. In other words, they imply there is no such thing. In other words, the witch-hunt, which is sweeping like a cyclone throughout the labor movement and the length and breadth of the whole country is, according to the Shachtmanites, a figment of our own imagination, something we dreamt up as an "alibi." All we can answer is this: Any one in the Buffalo labor movement who doesn't know that red-baiting was THE issue responsible for the defeats of the radicals and oppositionists — is just plain stupid.

With the Shachtmanites, it's not so much stupidity as bad faith. Their own henchmen participated in the red-baiting and fingered some of our militants. Moreover, they must know about the effectiveness of this weapon, because their own supporters in the Chicago International Harvester local, even though they were running on the Reuther slate, were red-baited out of office by another even more reactionary group of Reutherites that organized themselves in the local.

The Shachtmanite friends in Buffalo have gotten along with the Reutherite red-baiters because they have kow-towed and bent the knee to them. Their conduct at Bell is typical. Just before the Bell elections, the militants introduced a resolution at a meeting to condemn the Buffalo Evening News for its vicious attempt to influence the local union elections. One of the leading Reutherites announced in the discussion that "A vote against the News is a vote for Trotskyism." How did Labor Action's supporter vote? He heroically abstained. Labor Action, of course, has a ready explanation for any kind of spineless behavior, unprincipled practice or despicable careerism. We read: "The discussion became for or against the administration instead of for

or against the News." Assuming that was true — and it wasn't — why could not our Labor Action hero have voted for the resolution condemning the News and qualified it with a statement that his vote did not imply support of or confidence in the policies of the administration? But such a position might have gotten him into hot water with his red-baiting associates, so he didn't do it. He just abstained. And Labor Action proceeded to print three Homeric pieces full of sound and fury, against the only people who are standing up for class conscious principles in the union movement today.

The Shachtmanites want to smear the opposition slate in the Chevrolet local because the attendance record of some of the candidates was not so good. This is not due to "purism" on their part, as some may imagine. It's simply a case of hysteria and factional duplicity. As we had brought out in our previous discussion on the Buffalo situation, the Reutherite administration at this same Chevrolet local is in the hands of "bookies," and now we will describe the leading lights of the Reuther group, with which Labor Action's friends are associated, in the Bell local:

1. John Mikolaczak, newly elected Reutherite top bargaining committee man, formerly a company supervisor, star witness for the company in an arbitration case which resulted in the discharge of workers for an alleged work stoppage in 1945. 2. Nels Engen, Reutherite second vice-president, formerly a company supervisor, demonstratively placed himself in front of SWP headquarters on February 12. Subsequently the Buffalo Evening News carried names of Bell workers who allegedly attended this meeting.

3. Dick Curran, Reutherite trustee, resigned as recording secretary of the local in 1943 to go into supervision. 4. A majority of the Reutherite executive board is formerly from supervision.

Yet, the Shachtmanites have the gall to try to tear down the previous militant administration at Bell, a leadership that practiced militancy as no other in the Buffalo area, that gave assistance on the picket lines to every striking sister local that asked for it, that won in the past three years wage increases totalling 37-1/2 cents an hour, two weeks severance pay, two weeks vacation pay, paid holidays, hospitalization, etc., so that the Bell contract was held up as a model by the National Airframe Panel of the UAW. This attack on the Bell militants is truly beneath contempt and shows that the up-and-coming opportunists in Buffalo associated with Labor Action deserve recognition on the Reuther payroll.

I have already dealt with a number of other accusations and pieces of malicious gossip in my April 11 column nailing the Socialist Call's slander attack. It is unnecessary to go over the whole litany again except to take up a particularly vicious tidbit on anti-Semitism dished out by the Shachtmanites. I stated in my April 11 column that the poisonous atmosphere generated in the unions by the Reuther crowd inevitably breeds all sorts of reaction, be it Negro-baiting or Jew-baiting, and that in this sense, the Reutherites bear the responsibility for these reactionary outcroppings. Labor Action, with cool effrontery, suggests that this is a "left-handed justification" of anti-Semitism. Then, to clinch its case, it resorts to an outright fabrication. It specifically accuses the leader of the anti-Reuther opposition at the Buffalo Chevrolet local of making anti-Semitic remarks. Here is the relevant quotation from the May 9 Labor Action:

"This individual has fathered a line of justification along the following lines: What's wrong with telling the truth about the Reuther candidate — namely, the fact that he is Jewish and originally from New York City. Don't the Reutherites insist that it is legitimate for them to tell the members that the Thomas-Addecaucus was . . . under the influence of the Stalinists?"

The presidential candidate of the opposition group at Chevrolet is George Scheitinger, whom I have personally known for years in the UAW as a unionist of militancy and integrity. I wrote Scheitinger asking him to comment on this accusation and have received the following reply: "The statement attributed to me in Labor Action is a crude distortion. In a personal conversation with an officer of the local, I said, 'I hear that somebody baited Manny Tabachnik by calling him a New York Jew. This is Jew-baiting and anti-Semitism though Tabachnik comes from New York and is Jewish. This should be a lesson to Tabachnik who red-baits former Thomas-Addecaucus people as Communists. The fact that there were Communists in the Thomas-Addecaucus-Leonard caucus does not give Tabachnik the right to red-bait former members of the caucus any more than the fact that Manny Tabachnik is Jewish gives anyone the right to bait him because of his national origin!'"

So much for the canard about anti-Semitic remarks. This one incident illustrates to what lengths the shysters associated with Labor Action are ready to go. They slander true militants and paint up and whitewash the pie cards and careerists. They are beginning to resemble the late unlamented Lovestones in the final period before their dissolution — period like two peas in a pod.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New Britain Reports Success in Winning Friends for 'Militant'

Four weeks ago, the New Britain, Conn., branch of the Socialist Workers Party, decided to put circulation of The Militant high up on their regular weekly agenda. They increased their bundle order from 10 to 25 copies a week, 11 of which they placed on newsstands. Then they set out to sell their current bundle plus any copies of the previous week left over on the newsstands. Here are the first month's results as reported by Hannah Shane:

"Four of us are going door-to-door in a housing project here selling copies on a weekly basis, keeping in contact with the regular buyers while each week adding some new readers. The first week we sold 16, the next

Committee Urges Aid for Skoglund

(Continued from page 1)

and without specification of charges.

"The administration's attempt to expel Carl Skoglund from this country where he has lived and worked for so many years is a clear case of political persecution and reprisal for his loyalty to unionism," Novack said. "Our Committee believes he has been unjustly penalized in the past eight years for his political beliefs and union activities."

"Justice demands that his persecution should stop and Skoglund be permitted to remain free and unmolested in this country."

FUNDS NEEDED

Funds to cover the costs of Skoglund's anti-deportation fight will total several thousand dollars. The Civil Rights Defense Committee is appealing to all friends of civil liberties and to the many thousands of supporters of the Minneapolis Labor Case to aid Skoglund's defense.

Contributions should be sent to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10 Street, New York City 11, N. Y.

14, then 8 and the fourth week 12.

"We employ various techniques, including selling an introductory back copy as such for three cents if we run out of current issues, leaving a paper for a regular customer who is not home and collecting successfully the following trip for two weeks. We chance 'selling partners' to get a variety of selling pointers."

"Since many of our readers are unemployed, we don't forget to remind them that 'You can't go wrong for a nickel,' if they hesitate over the cost."

"We cover our old list each week, asking the regulars their opinions, talking with them and overing new territory from which to get a fresh supply of customers."

"The housing project we chose is made up of people with a variety of jobs, interests and backgrounds. Therefore we find that an issue such as the June 13 with varied headlines about the Kutch case, unemployment, unions, the NAACP and articles such as the one on socialized medicine by Grace Carlson is much easier to sell than an issue like the June 6 in which union headlines predominated. To help out sales, we would appreciate more variety and special, easy-to-point-out articles of general current interest."

"We four have found our work in the past month encouraging and not difficult, taking an hour one evening a week, and showing, we believe, modest success, considering that our returns from the newsstands have not yet begun to pay off and we try to cover our weekly bill by individual sales alone."

Comrade Shane enclosed a payment on New Britain's account and added: "We hope in the near future to show both a profit and a growing list of regular customers for The Militant."

This report speaks for itself. The New Britain comrades are breaking ground from which they should later be able to reap a substantial number of subscriptions. At the same time they are widening their political influence. On top of this they know that their work helps speed the victory of socialism in America; and there's nothing more satisfying than that.

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr.; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1941 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

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TROTSKY

"Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safeguarding of all the interests of the human personality. Man-kind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the USSR is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the Socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality."
—Leon Trotsky, 1940.



LENIN

The Purge in the Plants

The Militant is one of the few papers in the country that has called attention to the brass hats' "disloyalty" purge of the industrial plants having military contracts. Now comes evidence that this purge is spreading so rapidly that the independence of the whole labor movement is threatened by it.

In a report which must have emanated from the brass hats themselves, the June 19 N. Y. Times says: "Officials estimate that as many as 20,000 to 50,000 technicians, engineers, scientists and other key industrial employees either are not working or have only interim clearance on their jobs pending their specific approval for handling classified processes or materials."

The situation has become so bad, the report continues, that it threatens "to be a drag on important defense contracts that should be completed promptly." For this reason, it says, the Industrial Security Committee of the Military Establishment's Munition Board is considering a number of "remedies for the welter of investigations clogging the government's security offices."

Among these remedies are "declassification" of some processes and products; dividing other processes into "classified" and "non-classified" areas; setting up regional purge boards to relieve the work of the Washington headquarters; and adding a civilian member

to the Industrial Employment Review Board, the appeal agency which is now made up only of brass hats and "has been criticized as arbitrary and unjust by both management and labor."

Such "remedies" may speed the process of the purge, which is what the brass hats want, but it won't remedy a thing for the labor movement, whose rights are brutally violated by the entire purge process.

Under this purge system, any worker in a plant with a military contract can be found "a bad security risk" on grounds "of either questionable loyalty or personal conduct and records suggesting irresponsibility or criminality," or of membership within the past ten years in any of the 159 organizations designated "subversive" by Attorney General Clark.

With this weapon in their hands the brass hats could blacklist any militant unionist. That they are using the weapon more and more frequently is shown by the Times' statistics — appeals going to the Industrial Employment Review Board last year increased 600% over 1947. If the labor movement doesn't move into action to put an end to this threat without further delay, it may soon find itself bound hand and foot and utterly at the mercy of the traditionally anti-labor military bureaucracy.

Misrepresentation on Housing

Truman last week issued a violent blast against the "real estate lobby" for its misrepresentations of his housing bill. His statement was studded with harsh terms like "false" and "shocking." He was especially indignant at the charge that his program would cost \$20 billion over a 40-year period.

His bill, Truman heatedly replied, would cost only "nine to ten billion dollars, plus administrative expense, over a period of 29 to 33 years."

In short, Truman is outraged that the rent sharks, who are opposed to all public housing measures, dare to accuse him of wanting to spend as little as 500 millions a year to meet one of the most acute needs of the American people. It's a lie, rages Truman. He wants to spend much less — from 300 to 320 millions a year. The atom-bomb projects alone is getting more than twice that sum.

If anything is shocking, it's the piddling sum Truman proposes to spend when housing experts agree the need is for not less than 10 million new low-cost and low-rent housing units today. In reality, Truman's program would provide only one-tenth the number of housing units required.

The Cold War Will Continue

The Prime Ministers' Council ended its month-long sessions in Paris with a communique announcing agreement on a few minor matters. But an AP dispatch summed up the conference better than anything in the communique when it said that the "unspoken theme" of the conference had been: "Let's keep the cold war cold — at least."

It was primarily an exploratory conference. The Western diplomats were interested in finding out if the cold war has had enough of an effect to bring serious concessions from the Stalinist bureaucracy. Vishinsky was sent to discover what response might have developed since the last "Big Four" conference to Stalin's often-repeated appeals for a deal.

From all indications, not much happened beyond these efforts at probing. There was no progress on a settlement of the German problem as a whole and nothing concrete on Austria except the selection of a date on which it is hoped a treaty will be worked out. However, the conference closed on a note of "limited accord," indicating that both sides remain open to further offers and that the discussions will probably be continued at a later date.

Some commentators have laid great stress on the conference's decision to permit resumption of trade between the eastern and western zones of Germany, seeing in this move preparations for lifting of the virtual blockade

on trade between the East and West as a whole. It is true that Eastern Europe is badly in need of the West's industrial products, and that the West, which is beginning to feel the effects of a new depression, is more than ever interested in securing new markets.

But as in all the other disputed questions, the problem of trade expansion depends on the overall political dispute, and the very limited agreement on trade within Germany will continue to represent a tantalizing hibble offered by each side to the other unless a political deal is worked out.

Meanwhile, even while both sides are feeling the other out, the cold war will continue, with the U. S. government determined to maintain its present advantageous positions. Efforts in Washington to sharply reduce the annual Marshall Plan appropriations seem headed for defeat, the Atlantic Pact is set for ratification in the U. S. Senate, and the Truman administration is preparing its strategy for congressional adoption of the \$1,130,000,000 arms program for Western Europe.

Genuine peace will never be restored to the world so long as it depends on the Big Four powers, collectively or individually. The peoples of the world will have to step into the picture themselves and take things into their own hands if the permanent threat of war is to be lifted.

CP Trial and the Fight for Socialism

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, June 22 — "We departed from the policy of class against class around 1935," sniveled Gilbert Green, the second defendant to take the witness stand here at the thought-control trial of the Communist Party National Board.

That repudiation of Marxism-Leninism, that admission of treachery against the working class is plain enough as it stands. But to examine the rest of Green's testimony in the proper setting, it is necessary to recall the adoption of the People's Front line at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935 and how that line has since been applied.

At the 1935 Congress, Georgi Dimitroff, then secretary of the Comintern, proclaimed: "The choice today is between bourgeois democracy and fascism. We must exterminate self-satisfied sectarianism" (by which he meant genuine revolutionists advocating uncompromising struggle for world socialism).

Dimitroff called for a "wide, popular anti-fascist front" that would admit capitalist political parties on the single condition that they were "against fascism." In the name of "collective security" he promised that the Stalinists would cuddle up to the capitalists in every country where the government was friendly to the Kremlin.

Dimitroff's promise to the capitalists has been kept, at a terrible cost to the world working class, right down to the present day.

PEOPLE'S FRONT POLICY

Shortly after the Seventh Congress, William Z. Foster wrote in the Oct. 1935 Communist that the People's Front "applies with decisive force in the United States." Foster called for a "new anti-fascist party" of workers, farmers and liberal capitalists to establish a "united front government."

In the 1936 presidential elections the Stalinists sneaked Roosevelt into their People's Front through the back door. For the record they nominated Earl Browder as the CP presidential candidate, but their actual campaign consisted of finding "progressive notes" in the Democratic platform and denouncing the Republicans as the "chief enemy of the American people."

The Stalinists continued to nestle up cozily to the "anti-fascist" Roosevelt Democrats. Green told the jury how he wrote in 1938 that "socialism is inevitable, but it makes a big difference whether it comes after the horrors of fascism, or whether it comes with fascism blocked."

Then Chamberlain and Daladier made a deal with Hitler at Munich. Stalin and his gang in the Kremlin squealed like stuck pigs. The bourgeois governments don't want "collective security," they screamed. A few months later Stalin negotiated "collective se-

curity" with Hitler, World War II began, and the Stalinist line changed.

"American neutrality is hypocritical," Dimitroff announced. "No united front with the war supporters." Dimitroff then described how the old third-period policy of the "united front from below" should be applied to the People's Front line.

Foster, who had been telling how Roosevelt's imperialist Good Neighbor policy "facilitates the anti-fascist, anti-war ends of the peoples of the Americas," expounded the new line at a Jan. 1940 mass meeting in Madison Square Garden here in New York.

Roosevelt "never gave two cents worth of real support to the . . . peace front," Foster told the meeting, blandly ignoring the fact he had been saying just the opposite a short time before. "Let us not forget the ultimate objective we have in mind, the establishment of socialism," he suddenly remembered.

OVERNIGHT SWITCH

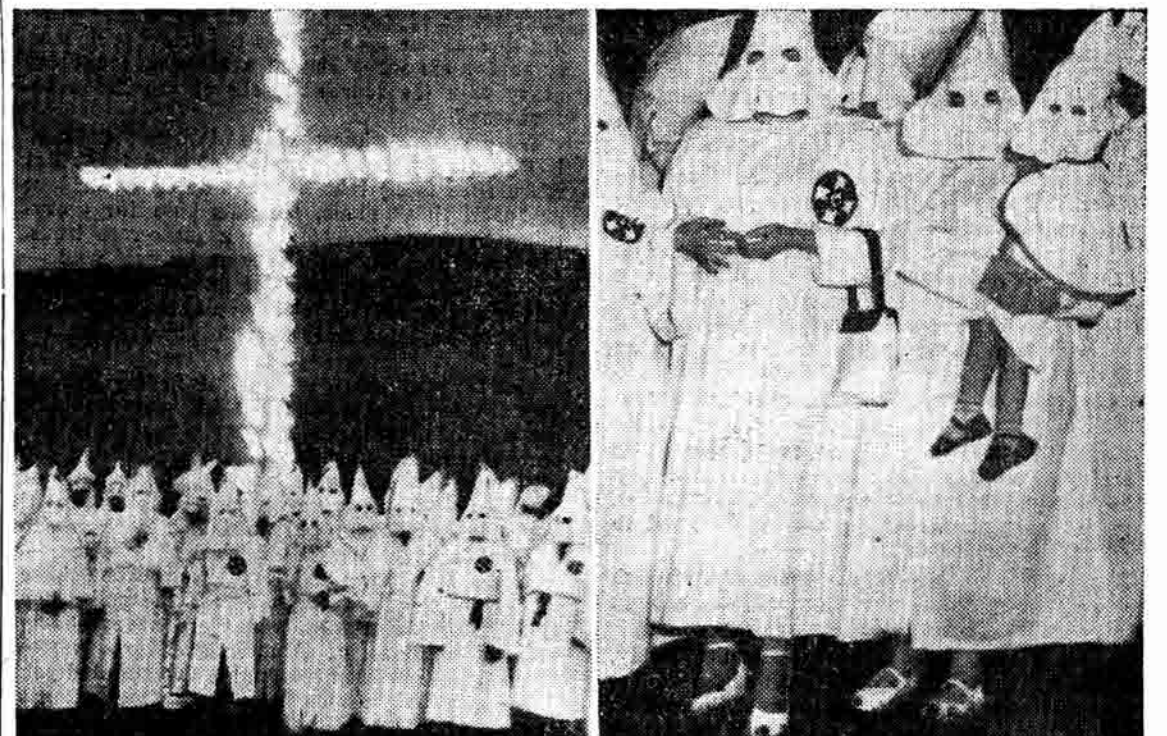
"The assertion that the United States, with its present government, can play a progressive role in the war is a gross lie," Foster wrote in the same period. He called for a "third, progressive party" to establish an "anti-imperialist People's Front." Press the economic and political demands of the masses, he told the CP ranks.

Eighteen months later Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Overnight the Stalinists converted the imperialist government of the United States into a "people's" government. "The great night of America must be thrown against Hitler," Foster brayed.

The Stalinists clamored for a second front in Europe and supported every move of Roosevelt's to drag the country into war. After the United States formally declared war, the Stalinists became the best recruiting sergeants for the imperialists and the worst flunks against the working people.

Throughout this entire period since 1935 — and before that too — Browder had been popping off in the same vein as Foster. But we are concerned here only with Foster's telltale footprints, since Foster is supposed to be "correcting" Browder's revisionism" according to the latter-day Stalinist fable.

Foster's so-called revolt against Browder began with a letter to the CP National Committee on Jan. 20, 1944. He thought Browder was a little crude in offering to shake hands with J. P. Morgan. But the doughty Foster warned the CP not to go overboard in the other direction either.



A burning cross lights up white-gowned and hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan (left) during a mass initiation ceremony at Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Ga. Grand Dragon Samuel Green had predicted 1,000 initiates but only 125 attended, including the woman at right and her young child. But all over the South new reports were made of terror by hooded hoodlums.

"Socialism is not the issue in the war, nor will it be the issue in the immediate post-war period," Foster wrote. He called for unity "with all the capitalist elements who will loyally support" the Roosevelt-Stalin deal at Teheran. "We must go all-out for a continuation of the Roosevelt policies," he concluded. Neither Morgan, nor socialism — but Roosevelt!

Green, who has been a full-time CP hack for 19 years, told the jury he supported Browder against Foster in 1944 because he thought Browder was "expanding Marxism-Leninism to fit the new world situation."

By Jan. 1945, Green went on, there was mounting uneasiness in the CP National Board over Browder's proposal to go the whole hog in collaborating with American monopoly capitalism. Big Business was regrouping, "swerving in a reactionary direction against the Soviet Union." The mounting wave of mass actions was creating "difficulties not foreseen when the Communist Political Association was first formed."

"WE DIDN'T FORESEE"

"We didn't foresee that the capitalists would put the burden of the war on the working class," Green pleaded, proving himself either a liar or a fool. "We forgot that American Big Business did not come into the war to destroy fascism but only to smash their German rival."

Green said he "became convinced" Foster was right after the

arrival in April 1945 of the article by the French Stalinist leader, Jacques Duclos. In his article Duclos denounced the "notorious revision of Marxism on the part of Browder," expressed general agreement with Foster's line and suggested that Henry Wallace would probably remain friendly to the Kremlin.

"We had to warn against the danger of over-correction," Green testified, "because there was a feeling in the ranks that our error lay in failing to make socialism the central issue. We agreed with Foster that socialism is not an immediate political issue. The issue is how to prevent fascism and a new war."

"Do you say socialism cannot be realized in the foreseeable future?" the judge asked Green. Green's lawyer, A. J. Isserman, interposed to ask if the issue of socialism wasn't "remote and abstract."

"Socialism is not an immediate issue for the next period," Green replied to the judge. "The issues are to extend democracy, preserve peace, curb the monopolies and prevent fascism."

A few minutes later Isserman read to the jury a declaration that the Stalinists are "always a step or two ahead of the working class." If he meant the Stalinist traitors are always two jumps ahead of the workers in cooking up new ways to betray them in the service of the Kremlin, he is absolutely right.

NEVER AN "ISSUE"

The Stalinists pretend to advocate socialism, but for them it is never an "immediate political issue." When the capitalist government is collaborating with Stalin, his flunkies either throw cold water on the workers' struggles to defend their interests or become outright scabs and strikebreakers as they did during the war. "After the USSR got into the war in June 1941," Foster wrote only a month ago, "the new Communist anti-fascist tactics, initiated by the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern. . . actually got into effective, successful operation."

When the capitalist government is not cooperating with Stalin, his stooges in this country make a big racket about the grievances of the workers and the Negro people, only to lead them into the trap of political collaboration with whatever capitalist politicians are friendly to the Kremlin. In the 1948 presidential campaign, they supported the

maverick Progressive Party of the capitalist Henry Wallace, who wants American imperialism to make a deal with Stalin.

Such is the sordid record of the Stalinist tricksters who long before 1935 had departed from the policy of class against class. Yet these political leeches have the gall to call themselves Marxist-Leninists.

TEACHINGS OF MARXISM

True communists, wrote Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, "never cease, for a single instant, to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat."

The very capitalist government that has framed up the Stalinists in the present thought-control trial — as defined by Lenin in State and Revolution — is "the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms."

We defend the Stalinists against this frameup on the principle of defending democratic rights from assault by the capitalist government. At the same time it is necessary to expose the Stalinist vulgarizations of Marxism-Leninism and explain the true facts of the class struggle to the workers.

Capitalism breeds war because the greedy monopoly capitalists are always scheming and conniving to hog the world markets and sources of raw materials — by intrigue where they can, by war where they must. Yet the capitalists will "collaborate" with the workers only on the basis of preserving the capitalist system. They offer the workers at most a few piddling reforms that solve nothing.

When mass resistance to war, unemployment, and other causes of human misery spawned by capitalism, reaches serious proportions, the monopoly capitalists resort to brutal fascism in an effort to preserve their rule over the workers.

The fight against war and fascism is therefore inseparable from the fight against the capitalist system. That means the workers must break with all capitalist politicians, organize their own independent political party and take the road of struggle for world socialism.

Then, and only then, can the workers abolish wars for all time and obliterate fascism from the face of the earth. There is no other road.

TRUMAN SHOULD KEEP QUIET ABOUT THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS

By Ruth Johnson

Trying to convince the American people that the current witch-hunt would subside by itself, President Truman last week compared the present hysteria with the furor that raged in the United States at the time of the Alien and Sedition Laws, in the 1790's. "Read the history" of those laws, Truman urged, "and you will find out that the hysteria subsided and that the country did not go to hell at all, and it isn't going to now."

Advice to read the history of that earlier witch-hunt and the struggle against it is good advice, because from it valuable lessons can be learned for the problems of today. But the real story of the Alien and Sedition Laws, instead of supporting the implications drawn by Truman, discredits them completely.

The laws were pushed through Congress by the Federalists, in clear violation of the Bill of Rights. They were enacted under a barrage of propaganda that sounds familiar today. The Federalists were demanding war against France and hailed the repressive laws as protection against the "foreign enemy" and its "agents in America."

WHAT THE LAWS DID

The laws gave the President (John Adams, a Federalist) broad powers to deport any non-citizen whom he considered a sympathizer of revolutionary France. Although no one was deported under its provisions, it was used to "persuade" many French citizens to leave "voluntarily." But that was only part of the story.

They also gave the administration sweeping powers for persecution of its political opponents at home, the Republicans who were led by Thomas Jefferson, then vice-president. It became

illegal to publish "false, scandalous or malicious writings against the government, or either House of Congress, or the President," or to "defame" them, or to "stir up hatred or resistance against them." In effect, it made any criticism of the ruling party an "act of sedition" punishable by imprisonment and fines.

The Adams government, representing especially the northern capitalists and financiers, used its unconstitutional laws to the hilt. Its opponents were the small farmers, the artisans of the cities, the broad masses who feared the growth of a centralized and autocratic government.

ONE EXAMPLE

One example is enough to show how mere criticism was condemned as sedition. Dr. Thomas Cooper, a Jeffersonian who had asked for a government position in 1797, later publicly refused to serve under Adams. In explanation he wrote:

"In 1797 Adams was hardly in the infancy of political mistake; even those who doubted his capacity thought well of his intentions, nor had he yet interfered, as President of the United States, to impose the decision of a court of justice."

For this scathing but scarcely "subversive" opinion, Dr. Cooper was sentenced to six months imprisonment. For similar "crimes" of political criticism, ten newspaper editors were jailed before Adams lost the presidency in 1800.

Now, it is true that these sedition laws did not last for more than a couple of years. But not for the reasons Truman wants us to believe. The hysteria did not simply "subside" of its own accord.

On the contrary, these laws were defeated because of militant opposition led by Jefferson and others. Recognizing that the peo-

ple were strongly aroused by this threat to their political liberties, the Jeffersonians made the repeal of these laws the central theme of their propaganda and agitation from the time they were enacted right through the election campaign of 1800. In great measure this issue was responsible for the crushing defeat of the Federalists in that election.

Jefferson defeated Adams for the presidency in 1800. He released the prisoners convicted under the sedition laws. The laws themselves, which had a two-year time limit, were permitted to lapse. The hysteria introduced by the Federalists died with their defeat in the elections (and soon after the Federalists party folded up too).

THE REAL LESSON

Truman wants us to compare him with Jefferson. But any such comparison would be false (as well as insulting to Jefferson). If any comparison of Truman is to be made regarding witch-hunts, it can only be with Adams. As in Adams' administration, the witch-hunt today is led by the President, who is responsible for the government purge, the "subversive" blacklists, the FBI's undercover espionage against the American people, the purge of workers in plants with military contracts, etc. As in Adams' administration, political opponents of the party in power are being hounded, persecuted and jailed.

The witch-hunt of the 1790's was ended, not by people sitting back and waiting for it to "subside," but by the people springing into action in defense of their rights, organizing politically and driving out of office the administration which had initiated the repressive acts. That is the real lesson of the Alien and Sedition Laws — but it's not one that fits in with Truman's line in any respect.

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m.

BOSTON — Workers Educational Center, 40 Stuart St. open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p. m., social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 619 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3960. Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO — 166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 5 p. m.

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TV 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.

FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES — Militant Pub. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vandyke 8061.

SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Road 214.

LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Pub. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed., 7:30-9:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE — 917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

MINNEAPOLIS — 30 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. to 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — For information write P. D. Box No. 659 or phone 3-3287.

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NEW YORK CITY (Hq.) — 116 University Place. Phone GR 5-8149.

HARTFORD — 108 W. 110 St., Rm. 25. Phone MO 2-1806. Open discussion, Friday, 8 p. m.

BROOKLYN — Hunts Point Palace, 963 Southern Blvd.; Room 25. Every Fri., night at 8:30 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA — 1203-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p. m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p. m.

SAN FRANCISCO — 1729 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

ST. LOUIS — "For information, phone PR 5305."

SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201. So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, Fourth Tuesday, 8 p. m., Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 2.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P. O. Box 554, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

Who Is ND 401?

By Albert Parker

I am not sure that it would be legal for me to reveal who ND 401 is, even if I knew. The FBI, for whom he works, considers his identity a "vital secret," publication of which would "endanger the national security." According to some reports, J. Edgar Hoover would rather resign than have us know who ND 401 is, or what he does, or how much he is paid. Whatever you or I may think of him, he is considered a pretty important person in the nation's capital.

However, we have a few clues, no thanks to Hoover, Clark or Truman. For example, we know a little about ND 400 (he's apparently a New Yorker, who tried without success to dig up some damaging rumors about Fredric March, the movie actor) and about ND 402 (apparently a resident of Los Angeles, who was more enterprising and managed to fill a whole dossier with stories he had picked up here and there about March's activities and affiliations and private conversations).

From this it seems logical to conclude that there must be somebody numbered ND 401. And that he must be in the espionage business too, even if he's not one of the twelve assigned to shadow Fredric March.

But what is his specific assignment? Although we can only speculate about the answer, enough is already known to guide our inquiry.

Is he a member of the Communist Party, planted by the FBI to steal documents, collect information and act as a government witness at some future trial? Does he go around recruiting his friends, relatives and fellow workers into the party so that he can have more to include in his reports to the FBI?

Or does he work in a factory, assigned the job of belonging to a union where he can find out about its internal affairs and track down the names of militant workers, which he turns over to the FBI and which soon thereafter find their way onto the blacklists of the employers and

the brass hats in charge of industrial contracts for the armed forces?

Or maybe he's a free-lancer, instructed to worm himself into the confidence of some prominent scientist or educator and to dig up "links" proving that at one time in 1945 the scientist or educator (or his wife) shared a table at a cocktail party with the fourth attaché of the Bulgarian Embassy?

We may never know which of these "services" ND 401 is performing at the present time. But it's a sure thing that he's not doing it for love or "patriotism" alone. He gets paid for everything he does, generally on a piece-rate basis. The more he produces, the more he gets paid — and from his viewpoint the lovely thing about this incentive system is that he is not compelled to prove anything that he puts down in his reports.

The job may not seem inviting to the average decent human being, but ND 401 knows that it has certain advantages. The pay is "pretty good," according to Dr. Condon, which is something you can't say of the wage standards of hundreds of thousands of other government employees engaged in socially more useful tasks. Moreover, to ND 401 it must look like a job with a future — both the Democrats and Republicans would have to be kicked out of office before the police spy system is discontinued, and there are probably tens of millions of American citizens whose "loyalty" hasn't been thoroughly investigated yet.

We may not be able for a long time to learn any more about ND 401's day-to-day routine, working conditions and psychology than the general picture given above. But even this general picture can have some value if you remember it on the day when you pay taxes (from which ND 401's wages are drawn) and on election day (when the men who hired ND 401 will be asking for your support in the name of democracy and the struggle against the police state in Eastern Europe).

A New Kind of "Bigot"

By Joseph Keller

We have been offered a new definition of "bigot." It is allegedly anyone who wants to keep the free public system in America free and public. It is especially anyone who opposes the diversion of public funds for educational purposes into the private coffers of religious organizations.

The author of this new definition of "bigot" is that Prince of the Church and authoritarian head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America, Cardinal Spellman. Addressing a big Catholic gathering at Fordham University on June 19, the Cardinal assailed Representative Graham A. Barden, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Education, as a "new apostle of bigotry" because Barden's proposed bill for federal aid to education would limit use of tax monies to public schools.

Those Congressmen who support Barden's bill, said the Cardinal, are "disciples of discrimination" who are conducting a "craven crusade of religious prejudice against Catholic children" and "violating and inciting others to violate the very rights and freedom upon which our democratic government was founded."

What rights of Catholic children are being violated? Are Catholic children denied equal opportunity with all other children to attend public schools? As a matter of fact, more Catholic children attend public than parochial schools. Are they denied the right to attend Catholic schools? On the contrary, they have the right in

this country to attend parochial schools instead of public schools.

In the Southern states, Negro children are segregated into separate schools, with inferior buildings and equipment. That is discrimination. If that were practiced against Catholic children it would have to be condemned and fought as the worst kind of bigotry. Nobody but Spellman and the Catholic hierarchy itself are trying to force Catholic children into segregated Catholic schools.

The first sentence of the first Amendment of the Bill of Rights establishes the separation of State and Church. That is a bed-rock of democracy. The U. S. Supreme Court — including the present body — has repeatedly upheld this policy, and particularly with respect to public education.

The expenditure of public funds implies public control of the use of those funds. Does the Cardinal agree that there should be public regulation of the uses of any public funds that he wants contributed to Catholic schools? He would recoil in horror at any such suggestion. Not even Catholic parents have any say-so about the parochial schools for which they pay.

The Rev. Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop in the New York area, was eminently correct when he answered Spellman's attack by saying that to prevent use of public funds for parochial schools "is the preservation of American public education and its protection from a prelate with a prehensile (grasping) hand."

John Dewey Speaks Out

By John F. Petrone

After long consideration of the matter, John Dewey, America's most outstanding educator and a noted defender of civil rights and academic freedom, has come out against the firing of teachers because they belong to the Communist Party. This decision, expressed in a letter printed in the June 21 N. Y. Times, testifies to the growing public alarm over the witch-hunt and serves as a rebuke to many of Dewey's followers who have joined or led the demand for a purge of Stalinist teachers in the name of true "academic freedom."

Dewey's letter says that up to the present time he had hesitated to express "the serious doubts" he felt about the proposal to oust Stalinist teachers because of his respect for the university men who advocated the contrary view, with whom he agreed that "in the abstract" Communist Party membership "unfits one for the office of teaching impressionable students." However, he adds, he has an aversion to "deciding important matters on abstract grounds, without reference to concrete conditions and probable consequences."

The fact is, Dewey feels, that "action of the kind proposed is bound to have indirect consequences which will be much more harmful in the end than are the evils directly guarded against. Such a movement gets taken up into a larger movement where it goes far beyond the point that was intended by the scholarly leaders who proposed something which in abstract logic was justified."

"This consideration was the original ground of my doubts and dissent. I could not be sure, however, that in fact the proposed measure would add fuel to the flame of blind and emotional ac-

tion. Recent events have now proved that the fear is warranted." As evidence he says it is enough to cite only the action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in demanding lists of textbooks, thus "publicly putting the heads of colleges and universities in a position in which they are inevitably exposed to suspicion and to public resentment which has been needlessly and harmfully inflamed."

"It is to be hoped," Dewey concludes, "that the public response to the very great error of the committee will check the hysterical wave. I do not see, however, how the original proposal, coming as it did from the university leaders, did anything, to put it as mildly as possible, to discourage the sort of thing which has been going on. Probably some of these teachers were moved by a proper desire to protect institutions of learning from unjust and wholly needless suspicion and attack. The outcome, however, seems to teach quite a different lesson."

Dewey's warning — the essence of which is that endorsement of reactionary attacks on Stalinist teachers encourages reactionary attacks on academic freedom in general — parallels the position taken by *The Militant* more than five months ago, at the beginning of the hue and cry against employment of Stalinist teachers. It should also be recalled that among the most rabid supporters of the purge were the "scholarly leaders," Professors Sidney Hook and John Childs, Dewey's most prominent disciples; the Social Democratic New Leader, of which Dewey is a contributing editor; and Norman Thomas, whose presidential candidacy last year was supported by Dewey.

Notes from the News

THE LOGICAL RESULT — Condemning the New York City public school ban on *The Nation* because of Catholic criticism, the American Civil Liberties Union points out that if the authorities "act impartially and recognize complaints of all races, religions and groups offended, there soon will be little worthwhile material left in the school libraries."

SDF-SP RELATIONS — The recent national convention of the Social Democratic Federation defeated a motion for merger with the Socialist Party by a close vote. For this reason, the SDF National Executive Committee declares, it has decided to hold a referendum of the SDF membership on the question of merger during the month of December. Meanwhile, committees of the two organizations will meet to set up a Socialist Bureau to spread Social Democratic propaganda.

BELLA DODD EXPELLED — Bella Dodd, who has held many high posts in the New York Communist Party, has been expelled. The specific charge, says the *Daily Worker*, was that she acted

as counsel for a landlord notorious for cheating his Puerto Rican tenants, and that she directed chauvinist slanders against the Puerto Rican people. In addition, she was accused of a long list of general "anti-Party, anti-leadership and factional activities."

ANOTHER SIGN OF THE TIMES — Americans have been eating less meat this year than in 1948, according to a Department of Agriculture report, because consumer demand has fallen "below pre-war levels."

COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTIONS — Twice within one week, the U. S. Circuit Courts of Appeals has upheld "contempt" convictions arising from the House Un-American Committee inquiries. Approved by the court were the conviction of two Hollywood writers for refusing to tell if they were members of the Communist Party, and of George Marshall for refusing to turn over the records of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, one of the groups on Clark's "subversive" list. Both cases will probably be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court.

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Will CIO Fight?--The Decisive Question in the Wage Battle

Trial of Simpson Set for June 27 In Philadelphia

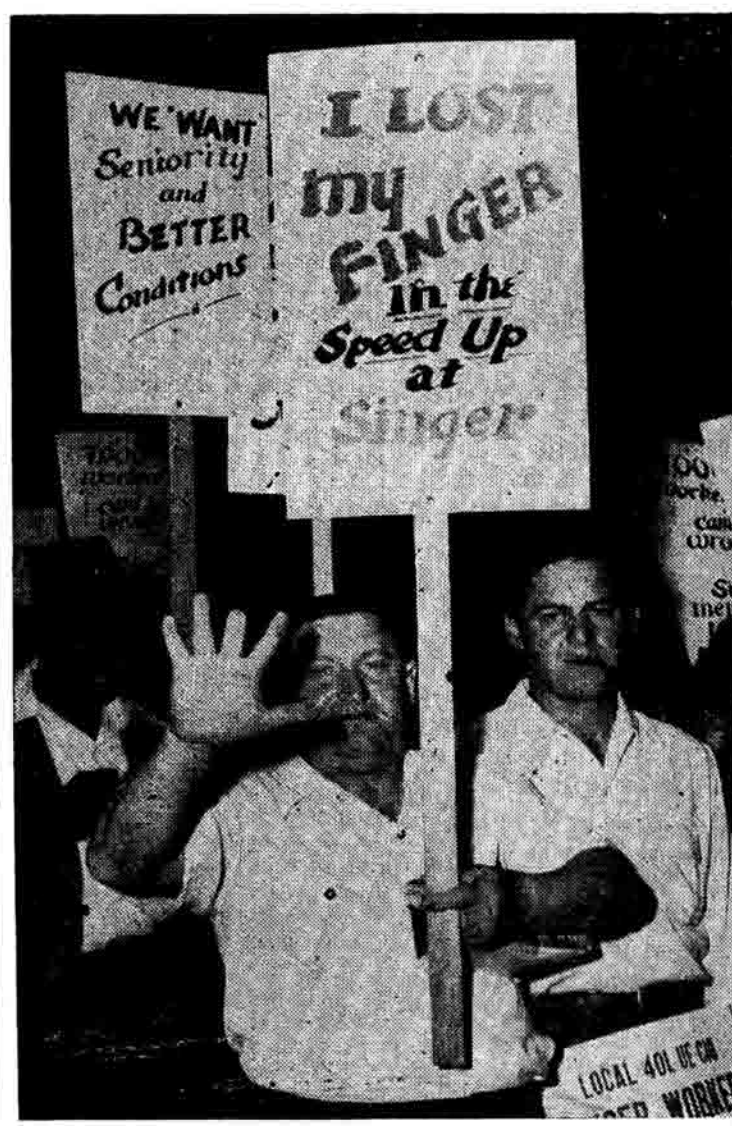
PHILADELPHIA — Trial for Fred Simpson has been set for June 27. Simpson is a Negro worker indicted on a trumped-up charge of "operating a disorderly house" after police raided an inter-racial party held at his home on March 6 to raise funds for another victim of Jim Crow justice, Bayard Jenkins.

The case has aroused considerable concern in labor and Negro circles because it dramatizes the long standing police practice of harassing gatherings in Negro communities. Thirty-nine men and women, members of the Socialist Workers Party, CIO, NAACP and Jenkins Defense Committee, were arrested without warrant at Simpson's home, and kept overnight in jail.

All were released the next morning except Simpson. To make his mind up on the merits of the trumped-up police charges against Simpson, it was enough for Magistrate Daly to know that white and Negro workers had gathered together to defend a victim of racial discrimination. "We intend to break this up," he said, and held Simpson in \$500 bail for court.

Fred Simpson will be defended by the Citizens Committee for Democratic Rights, a group recently organized to defend victims of the current witch-hunting hysteria. They have assigned the well-known Negro Attorney, Raymond Pace Alexander, to handle the case. Mr. Alexander is confident of victory.

Lost Finger in Speedup



Charles Blumenthal, member of UE Local 401, displays a special reason why he's on strike against the Singer Sewing Machine Co. in Elizabeth, N. J. In the second month of the strike the company still refuses to negotiate demands for wage increases, 35-hour week and an end to the speedup "standards system."

6,000 Warehousemen Go On Strike in Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO — Bay Area CIO Warehousemen hit the bricks June 16 after a refusal by the Distributors' Association to arbitrate wage demands and extend the contract until 1952.

With the offer to arbitrate not yet withdrawn by the Strike Strategy Committee, Local 6 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union is put in the position of "striking for arbitration."

Wage demands remain at 15 cents for men and 22½ cents for women. Wage rates now are \$1.37½ for men and \$1.20 for women. (The three year contract,

extending until June 1950, is open yearly on wages.)

"Arbitration is a fighting weapon!" This was the keynote set by Harry Bridges, international president of the ILWU, when the turn-about line was presented to an overflow special strike meeting on June 4.

Crowding into the huge Civic Auditorium, the warehouse workers were asking "When do we strike?" Two months of negotiations with the employers had got them nowhere and strike action on or after June 1 had been called for by an 82% vote in secret balloting.

The strong strike vote was obtained after a build-up by Local 6 officials who used the slogan "they've got it; it's up to us to get it," to show that the employers have doubled and trebled their profits but the warehousemen would have to fight to get their share in increased wages.

Further indication that only strike action would win demands was given when J. Hart Clinton, spokesman for the employers, was quoted as saying, "We think we can gain more by economic action than by peaceful means."

Weakening of the strike was effected by exempting nearly a dozen of the 182 Distributors' Association houses from the strike. This was "to assure the Bay Area a supply of basic commodities," according to a union spokesman.

This was presented as a means of putting the union in a favorable position in public opinion. However, this allows commodities to move, thus diminishing its economic effectiveness and prolonging the strike.

The employer-instigated persecution of Harry Bridges, who is now accused of lying about Communist Party membership when he got his citizenship papers, was closely tied in with the warehouse union offer to arbitrate. Discussion of the Bridges case, not the negotiations, opened the meeting where arbitration was offered.

"I'm known all over the country," Bridges said at this June 4 meeting, "as the man who would rather strike than eat breakfast." The arbitration proposal, he said, "will make it clear to the employers and the public that we want to stand on our rights but avoid a strike."

Six thousand of the 9,000 Bay Area warehousemen in the CIO are directly affected by the strike. Independent houses are not struck.

Baltimore NMU For Work Stoppage To Repeal T-H

Members of the CIO National Maritime Union in the port of Baltimore adopted a resolution calling on the AFL, CIO and independent unions for a 24-hour work stoppage to demand repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The resolution also asked the NMU to appeal to the rest of the labor movement for a congress to map out a program to defeat all anti-labor legislation.

Wage negotiations covering some three million workers in major industries, including steel, auto, electrical equipment and coal, are now under way. Following the precedent set by past

victories of the militant coal miners, most of the unions are now demanding pensions and welfare funds as well as hourly wage increases.

As for the United Mine Workers, the key to this year's wage pattern, as in previous years, is the "Big Three" of the CIO. The steel, auto and electrical workers are currently negotiating with major corporations in their industries — United States Steel, Ford Motor Co. and General Electric.

Last week, in almost simultaneously released statements, all three of these monopoly corporations flatly and contemptuously rejected the unions' demands, both on wages and security funds. They said they would not give the workers another red cent, although the corporations today are sitting on top of the biggest pile of profits and capital reserves in their history.

During the past three post-war wage fights, the corporations used the threat of inflation to try to beat down wage demands. This year, however, they are using an opposite and even weightier club — the threat of depression. They are trying to intimidate the unions with the idea that now is a "poor time" to press wage demands, both because of "inability to pay" due to slackening production and demand and the more unfavorable position of the workers in striking while unemployment is on the increase.

WHAT UNIONS CAN SHOW

The unions can show, and have shown, that the corporations can well afford to pay higher wages and provide old-age pensions and welfare funds from their record-breaking profits and their all-time high reserves. Moreover, they can demonstrate that by virtue of speed-up and technological rationalization the corporations have already squeezed enough increased production from each worker to compensate the employers in advance for the wage boosts and other benefits the workers now demand.

The unions can show, and have shown, that the continuous decline in mass purchasing power in relation to production, prices and profits is the basic factor con-

tributing to depression and only by greatly increasing the share of the workers in the national income can the pace of the economic decline be even partly slowed or checked.

The top CIO leaders, for all their gestures of demands, negotiations and even vague threats of possible strike action, do not intend any serious struggle and are not preparing for it. They are going through the motions of negotiations with the hope that they can get a few scraps of concessions that can be palmed off on the workers as a "victory."

There is not a semblance of unified strategy among the CIO internationals. Some, like the Textile Workers, have completely abandoned even the pretense that they are seeking higher wages. Other major unions, like steel, auto and electrical, are acting completely independently from each other, so far as the wage question is concerned. Each is out to get what it can, however it can, without a battle.

GAINS CAN BE WON

The wage struggle was already seriously weakened by the criminal conduct of Walter Reuther in the Ford speed-up strike, when he forced through a settlement without any gains whatsoever. This was a tip-off not only to Ford but the other corporations that the top CIO leaders don't mean business and are thoroughly scared of a real fight.

If we look back to the middle Thirties when the CIO was being formed, we see that the CIO with a real fighting policy won, despite far more unfavorable conditions than exist for it today. Then the CIO was new and inexperienced, lacking in numbers and in the midst of a depression with more than 10 million workers out of jobs. Yet it triumphed through a militant policy.

Today, solidly organized, with a tested and experienced membership, with general economic conditions still far better than in the Thirties, the CIO could win its demands through a militant policy. What was decisive in the Thirties is decisive now: Will the CIO fight?

Loyalty Board, FBI Decline to Debate With James Kutcher in Seattle

SEATTLE — On June 13, the day James Kutcher arrived by plane in Seattle on his Western tour, he addressed a meeting of IAM Machinists Lodge 79, which gave a warm reception to the legless veteran. The following noon Kutcher spoke at a luncheon of the American Veterans Committee Planning Board.

That afternoon he was interviewed by the press at the offices of Roy Atkinson, CIO Regional Director. Other supporters of Kutcher's campaign attending the press conference were Solle Ringold, president of the Seattle Chapter of Americans For Democratic Action; Bob Hillis, secretary of the local American Civil Liberties Union; Sanford Petersky, president of the AVC University chapter; Jay Sykes, vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild, student chapter; and Frank Krasnowsky, secretary of the Seattle Kutcher Committee.

On June 16 Kutcher talked to a group of about 70 members of the Street Railway employees, mainly young veterans like himself. He travelled to Everett June 18 to address meetings of AFL Boilermakers Local 104 and the AFL Lumber and Sawmill Workers union.

The Michigan State CIO Executive Board passed a resolution at its recent meeting at Port Huron calling for the extension of all possible aid to James Kutcher and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

"The labeling of individuals, groups or organizations as subversive without affording those accused the right to be heard, tried or even face their accusers is a violation of the safeguards guaranteed in the Bill of Rights," the resolution declared.

"The Michigan CIO, while in disagreement with the political views held by James Kutcher, reaffirms its belief in his right to his own opinions without fear of discriminatory reprisals," the resolution concluded.

Michigan is the tenth CIO state body officially backing Kutcher's campaign. The addition of the endorsement from this key industrial state puts the majority of the CIO membership on record in support of the veteran's fight for reinstatement.

Michigan Is 10th State CIO Body to Help Legless Vet