Workers of the World, Unite !

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JIM CROW MAINTAINED IN ARMY'S NEW PROGRAM

By J. Meyer

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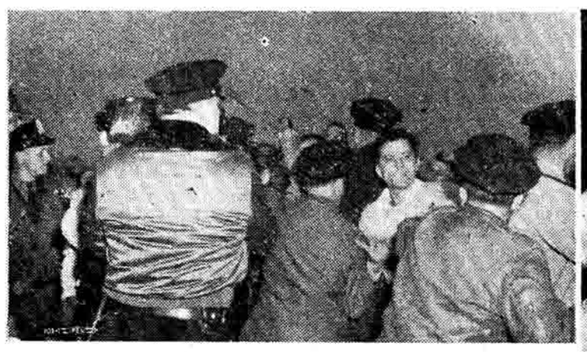
Police Make Brutal Attack On Bell Strikers in Buffalo



Police violence against Bell Aircraft strikers in Buffalo is vividly illustrated in pictures above. At left, Merton House, top bargaining committee-man of UAW Local 501 (in white sweater), is surrounded by gang of club-swinging cops and guards. Notice club raised to strike him from behind. At right, House is shown a few minutes later, suffering from severe head injuries.

BUFFALO, Oct. 3 — The Bell Aircraft strike entered its 17th week today amidst mounting tension on the entire Niagara Frontier. Eighteen leaders of the striking local were being sought by special deputies reinforced by Buffalo police, following mass demonstrations staged by wives of the strikers last week at the gates of the Bell plant.

In a move unprecedented in the local labor movement wives of the striking workers organized into an auxiliary unit, took over the picket lines last Tuesday and Wednesday and successfully warded off scabs and deputized hooligans hired by the company to break the strike. The demonstration by the women constituted one of the highlights in the drawn out battle between the Bell local and the corporation.

Angered by the spectacular success of the women pickets, the company last Wednesday unleashed a series of assaults on the strikers in which tear gas and smoke bombs were hurled indiscriminately at male and female pickets. In addition, deputies clubbed many of the women, manhandled several others and arrested six of them. The company followed this up with arrests of ten men and six women and held all of them overnight in jail in a deliberate move to terrorize the workers.

Bail was set the next day for the 16 strikers at $65,000. This was in line with plans cooked up between the company and the Niagara County officials to set bail so high that the union would be unable to obtain sufficient funds for their release. Up to today the amount of bail outstanding on behalf of the striking unionists is in excess of $330,000.

Many of the defendants have been arraigned on several charges and some of them have been arrested more than once as a result of collusion between the corporation and the district attorney as well as Sheriff Becker. The company's latest move over the weekend was to obtain 18 warrants for the arrest of the local leaders on alleged new charges arising out of the stirring demonstration sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary Unit. It is reported on reliable authority that if the defendants are picked up again they will be held in jail without bail.

It is evident that these desperate measures concocted by the company in collusion with the police and the courts are a last-ditch attempt to break the back of the strike by terror. At this writing deputies are roaming all over Buffalo in an attempt to find the local leaders. They did not dare, however, to crash last Sunday's membership meeting which was attended by some of the defendants.

The company for the first time today attempted to hire strike-breakers from various employment agencies. This is proof of its failure so far to induce a substantial number of Bell workers to scab. It is also a new danger signal, making it plain that the company has abandoned all pre-

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Majority Oppose Free-Speech Curb, Latest Poll Shows

A majority of the American people are opposed to limitations on the "freedom to preach Communism," according to a national survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion, commonly known as the Gallup Poll. The Gallup Poll customarily slants its questions to bring out responses favorable to reaction.

In answer to the question: "Do you believe in freedom of speech for everybody — that is, for example, permitting anyone to say anything at any time about our government or our country?" an even 50% of those responding said they believed in "complete freedom."

A smaller number, 45%, said they favored some limit on free speech, but only under the following conditions: "if government or democracy is threatened" — 19%; "slander, false statements"—6%; "free speech should be limited to citizens only" — 4%; "limit free speech during wartime" — 4%.

In his report on the survey published last week, Dr. George Gallup admits that "limitations of freedom of speech is nowadays under debate chiefly as related to Communism." But "only a small proportion of Americans think of qualifying for that reason." **Only 5% said they favor free speech curbs on "communists."** These findings are particularly significant in view of the tremendous witch-hunt against "communism" conducted by the Truman administration, Congress, the major political parties and the capitalist press.

Steel Workers Answer Corporations' Challenge

Truman Abandons All Civil Liberties Bills for This Year

Truman has abandoned even the pretense of fighting for civil rights legislation in this session of Congress. Such legislation was a key plank in Truman's election platform last year and was on his "must" list when the 81st session began last January.

Senate Majority leader Scott W Lucas announced on Oct 3 that the Truman Democrats had decided not to press for action on civil rights measures in this session. This decision, he said, was made in a conference with Truman and had his approval.

Among the promised measures which Truman and his supporters have now consigned to the cooler are the Fair Employment Practices, anti-poll tax and anti-lynching bills. These are part of the 10-point civil rights program about which Truman talked so much before elections and which he made his principal appeal for the votes of the Negro people.

PHONY MANEUVERS

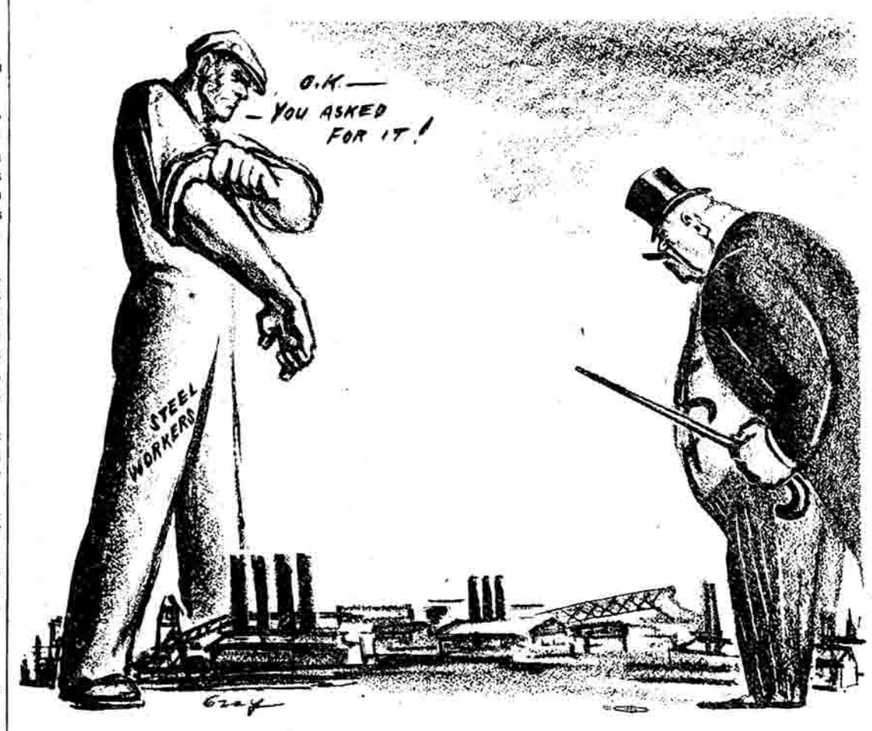
Early in the present session, the Truman Democrats made a half-hearted attempt to bring the civil rights program before the Senate. Truman's Southern colleagues blocked action through a filibuster and finally put the Trumanites to rout by enacting a stiffer closure rule, making it more difficult than ever to halt a filibuster. Truman took the occasion of this crucial fight to go on a fishing trip.

Since then, Truman has kept his lip buttoned about civil rights, except for one or two ceremonial utterances. He has been chiefly concerned about re-cementing his relations with the Southern "white supremacy" wing of his party.

An anti-poll tax bill was passed by the House, but is now bottled up in a Senate Rules Committee sub-committee headed by the poll tax Senator Stennis of Mississippi. The notorious lynch-inciter Senator Eastland of Mississippi heads the Senate Judiciary subcommittee which is sitting on several other civil rights bills.

Lucas told reporters that the "principal minority groups of the country" had agreed to the Trumanite maneuver because "there would be a better chance for success next session than in the tail end of this one." He did not name the minority groups he claims agreed to this delay, which fits right in with the tactics of the white supremacists.

A Test of Strength



Government Intervention Main Danger

By Art Preis

Goaded beyond endurance by the arrogant steel monopolists who are demanding nothing less than unconditional surrender, more than 500,000 workers in basic steel have chosen the only honorable course left open to them — strike action.

Including 380,000 soft coal miners who left the pits three weeks ago, American workers now on strike total nearly a million. Only in February 1946 — when the whole steel industry was shut down for the first time — has labor put a more massive force on the picket lines at one time.

The steel workers did not want this strike — it was thrust upon them. They were prepared, even though reluctantly, to accept the most slim concessions from the steel corporations which have been raking in mountainous profits. Three times Philip Murray put off strike action in hopes that the companies would yield one small crumb that he might palm off to the steel workers as a minimum acceptable settlement.

But the giant steel companies, with U. S. Steel in the lead, have refused even a beggar's mite. They have maintained an attitude of brazen challenge throughout. It is now clear they mean to force the union to a showdown in which they hope to deliver a crushing defeat and pave the way, at a later stage, for an open-shop offensive.

Thus, the battle of steel involves not merely the immediate issue — contributory or non-contributory pensions — but a crucial test of strength to determine whether or not the steel workers union shall continue to

On-the-Spot Reports from the Steel Centers

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endure. This is the issue on which the steel barons, backed by all of American monopoly capital, have taken their stand. This is the issue on which the steel workers now realize they must make the fight of their lives.

The steel companies would never have been in so favorable a position to challenge the union had it not been for intervention of the government. Truman's "fact-finding" procedure delayed the strike several months and gave the corporations time to prepare for a long struggle while the workers' resources were being depleted, as described in our reports from major steel centers published on page 2.

Truman's "fact-finders"whittled the union's demands down so small, that they left no more room for compromise or maneuvering. In fact, the steel board's recommendations were so favorable to the corporations that the first reaction of the capitalist press and the industry's spokesmen was one of unconcealed jubilation. But the very

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Kutcher Case Creates Stir in Legal Circles

CHICAGO, Oct. 3 — James Kutcher's appearance at the Chicago City Club today touched off a lively discussion on the harmful consequences of the Truman "loyalty" purge. Kutcher was the featured speaker at the opening forum of this organization of professional and business men held at the Central YMCA.

After Kutcher and George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, had set forth the facts in his case, three noted Chicago attorneys took the floor to add testimony from their own practices of the cost in human life and the disregard for judicial and democratic procedures ensuing from the operations of the "loyalty" program.

TYPICAL CASES

Theopholus Mann, noted Negro lawyer and veteran, told the story of a government worker who, after 30 years in the Department of Agriculture, was accused of "sympathetic association" with so-called "subversives." Although finally cleared of the charge, he lost his position; his health was broken by the ordeal and his wife prostrated.

Francis Heisler, well-known labor lawyer, described the predicament of a federal worker in Chicago who was simply "investigated" by FBI agents. As a result of the FBI questioning, the neighbors in his apartment house have boycotted the entire family; refuse to permit their children to play with his children or to speak with them. The person cannot get a transfer to another city or another job and must remain subjected to daily humiliation.

RACIAL BIAS TOO

Leon Despres, council for the Chicago American Civil Liberties Union, cited the case of a postal employee who was charged with "disloyalty" on the sole ground that he "associated" with colored people. The basis of the accusation was the fact that he had invited several of his fellow workers who happened to be Negro to his daughter's wedding. He was questioned whether he ever held meetings in his home, held radical ideas, etc. Thanks to the defense of the ACLU, he was cleared and restored to his job. But the incident shows how the "loyalty" purge is an instrument of racial as well as political discrimination.

Walter F. Dodd, noted constitutional lawyer and chairman of the Loyalty Board for this region, who was present to hear Kutcher's story, was invited by the chairman to comment on the case of the legless vet. Dodd refused to express any opinion on Kutcher's case because he had not read the entire record and defended the role of the Loyalty Board as affording accused workers the chance for a hearing.

DODD KEEPS SILENT

Dodd was asked by Prof. Anton J. Carlson, chairman of the Chicago Kutcher Committee, whether he thought Kutcher, whose appeals had been turned down, had been given justice by the Loyalty Boards. He declined to voice his opinion on the matter.

The case of the legless veteran, it is evident, has aroused deep feelings and widespread controversy in legal, academic and labor circles here in Chicago, as it has wherever Kutcher has visited.

"PEACE" MANEUVERS MASK WAR PREPARATIONS

By Art Preis

Stalin's possession of the atomic bomb will not alter American imperialism's strategic aim to destroy the Soviet Union and conquer the world. Nor will it moderate the military preparations for World War III — indeed, these are being intensified.

Nevertheless, Washington is forced to considerably modify its tactics in one decisive sphere — the ideological and diplomatic preparations for the war. The American imperialists can no longer offer the lure of a "quick, cheap" victory to their satellites and allies. They can no longer brandish a monopoly of the A-bomb over the world and use it for diplomatic blackmail.

A new and vital factor has been introduced: fear of retaliation. This fear now makes the idea of another war intolerable not only to the people of Europe, including the countries of the Atlantic Pact, but to the people of America as well. The Wall Street-Washington schemers have to reckon with these fears and with the inevitable resistance to war they inspire.

The attitude and sentiments of the masses everywhere have become the greatest obstacle to the war plans of American imperialism. How high this obstacle now looms to the imperialist warmakers is indicated by Washington commentator James Reston, in the Sept. 25 N. Y. Times.

"The immediate concern in Washington is not that the Russians will make atomic war on the West," he observes, "but that they will now launch a new and particularly deceptive peace offensive in the United States and Europe and in the United Nations . . . while the experts are divided about whether the Russians have an effective new military weapon, they agree that Moscow now has an effective political and propaganda weapon."

In short, the problem posed most sharply by the Kremlin's atom bomb is its effectiveness in arousing mass anti-war sentiments, of which Moscow can take the greatest political advantage. To counter this advantage and to represent the Soviet Union once more as the "aggressor" and enemy of world peace, the American imperialists must now seek to outdo Stalin in pacifist expressions and "peace" maneuvers.

To this end, Truman and Acheson have softened their belligerent tone of the period of American atomic monopoly and have launched a major propaganda drive around the slogan of "international control of the atom bomb." The objective of that drive, as described by Richard L. Strout, Washington correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor**, is "to remove the weapon from the field of warfare or **to pin responsibility for failure on Soviet Russia."**

The propaganda formula for this calculated maneuver goes like this: "We want peace. We want to do away with the threat of the atom bomb. We propose in-

(Continued on page 3)

Yugoslav War Danger Grows

Since Sept. 28 the Kremlin has struck one savage blow after another against Yugoslavia, bringing its cold war to a fever pitch and raising pointblank the question: Does Stalin intend to break all diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and stop just short of military hostilities, or is he prepared to stop at nothing?

The political meaning and aims of the Budapest trial now stand starkly revealed. It was made the central point in the Kremlin's denunciation of its pact of friendship and mutual aid with Yugoslavia. It played exactly the same role in identical actions taken in rapid succession by Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

The Czech Stalinists went beyond all the others by demanding at the same time the recall of Yugoslav ambassador Stilinovich, who is charged by the Prague press with being the ring-leader of a spy ring. Besides bringing Czech diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia to the breaking point, this action may well be designed as part of preparations for a Prague version of the Budapest trial plus a blood purge in Czechoslovakia.

Unconfirmed reports to this effect have been rife. Meanwhile, on Oct. 2 **Rude Pravo**, mouthpiece of the Prague regime, confirmed a mass purge in progress inside the Czech youth organization, estimating at 100,000 the number of members who would "fall out," or approximately one out of every seven.

A hostile ring has now been forged by the Kremlin around Yugoslavia, isolating her politically from the rest of Eastern Europe. The Kremlin's action, and the corresponding moves of its satellites, have been branded as warlike by the official Yugoslav replies. As Belgrade points out, a "solution by agreement" is being deliberately rendered impossible.

The official Yugoslav note of Oct. 1 charges Moscow with inspiring and engineering the Budapest trial as part of "sinister plans which certain leaders of the Soviet Union and some other countries" are carrying out against Yugoslavia. In connection with the denunciation of the friendship pacts, this same reply emphasizes that Stalin's diplomats have not taken a "similar step after World War II against any other, even capitalist, country" — not even those who have been declared "as hostile and anti-Soviet union."

Belgrade has also called world public attention to "demonstrative Soviet troop movements" that have taken place along Yugoslav borders.

Last week the Yugoslav army engaged in large-scale maneuvers. Despite official disavowals, these were obviously designed as part of a reply to the Kremlin's hostile military and diplomatic moves. At the conclusions of these maneuvers, Tito told a gathering of officers that "Yugoslavia was threatened with war" and pledged a fight to the death.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, Stalin is determined to draw a line of blood between himself and Belgrade. The Kremlin despot must at all costs transfer his conflict with the Yugoslavs from the field of political discussion and controversy onto the plane of naked force.

He most do so if for no other reason than the fact that sympathies for Yugoslavia have been growing not only in Eastern Europe but throughout the world, in the U. S. as well as inside the Soviet Union itself.

To put an end to existing and potential mass sympathies and even doubts, it is first of all necessary for Stalin to rule out any possibility of political discussion.

This aim is served by the Budapest trial; it has been reinforced by the denunciation of treaties of amity with Yugoslavia; it will be further deepened by blood purges in the satellite countries, coupled in all likelihood with other "treason trials." Howls for the blood of all "Titoists" who are allegedly nothing but "spies and police-agents of imperialism" must grow louder and louder.

STALIN'S "ARGUMENTS"

This calculated course is set forth in the **Daily Worker**, Oct. 5. One Carl Fisher writes from Budapest that the Rajk trial has placed the Yugoslav question in an "entirely new perspective." The punch line comes at the end. It reads: "It is difficult to see how anyone can still treat Tito as a political issue."

In plain language this means that whoever questions the Kremlin's anti-Yugoslav campaign is nothing but a "Titoist." Purges, execution squads and GPU pistols will henceforth provide all the necessary "arguments" so far as the Kremlin is concerned.

Next Week:

An analysis by Farrell Dobbs of William Z. Foster's deposition at the CP trial in Foley Square.

* * *

A discussion by Bert Cochran of the role of the union bureaucracy and the Howe-Widick book, **The UAW and Walter Reuther.**

* * *

Article on the strike scene, John Dewey's 90th birthday, Yugoslavia, etc.

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Extra copies only 3c. in bundles of five or more.

Strike Reports from Steel Centers

Pittsburgh Men All Out; Companies Set for Siege

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 3 — **The steel workers here, to a man, walked off the job on Friday night, shutting tight every steel mill, rolling mill and plant in the area. Their attitude is one of calm confidence.** Believing that the companies are aiming to break their union, the strikers are firmly resolved to remain out until U. S. Steel and the other giants of the industry feel the might of American labor. They are confident that the working class fully supports them and confident of their own strength — a confidence born of previous victories over the arrogant steel corporations.

The men on the picket line and steel workers around the city have been led by the union leaders to believe that the strike will be a short one, that Truman will enter the picture in a week or so. Murray has created the illusion that his skill at the negotiation table, plus Truman's "fact-finding" board, will carry the day. Mass action, he tells them, is unnecessary.

Strike regulations read, "The strike at your plant must be conducted orderly and peacefully.

"The pickets shall not bar management officials, superintendents or foreman, or office workers not on strike from entering the plant, mill or mine.

"Co-operative relations shall be established with all municipal authorities. Picketing shall be peaceful and all lawful regulations shall be observed.

"Strike committees shall not be stampeded by newspaper photographers or thrill seekers into putting on mass demonstrations or mass picketing.

"Any picket signs or placards used on picket lines should be exclusively to the strike issues and deal with no other matter."

U. S. Steel, on the other hand, fosters no illusions of an easy fight. Straw bosses and supervisors have been ordered to remain within the plants for the duration of the strike. Rail sidings, normally reserved for finished steel, contain refrigerator cars loaded with food. Beds have been installed in the plants and U. S. Steel has settled down for a long and bitter struggle. Last month the mayors of Duquesne and Rankin were appealed to by company spokesmen for more gun permits and more armed plant guards.

Only token picket lines were established at U. S. Steel's Homestead Works, scene of the heroic pioneer strike in 1892 and of subsequent historic struggles in 1919 and 1937. Local 1397 set up a soup kitchen not far away from union headquarters, but there were few who took advantage of it. Pleasant weather made the workers take the strike as a brief holiday. Two or three men at each gate were enough and there were no disturbances of any kind.

Officials of Local 1397 are doing little to prepare the workers for a long tough battle. In place of a well-organized strike committee, they have a girl in the office who sends out the picketing assignments by mail! There are only two or three pickets to each gate, with the only reserves at union headquarters consisting of four or five officials. The mass of workers have been told to stay at home.

The cash reserves of steel workers were depleted during the 60-day "cooling-off" period agreed to by Philip Murray. While Murray played around with Truman and his "fact-finding" board, U. S. Steel struck blow after blow at the workers; men worked an average of three or four days a week; union militants were weeded out, with Murray's help; older men, eligible for pensions, were indiscriminately laid off. Some of these older men, with 20 to 30 years on the job, fear that they will be forced by the company to take physical examinations before returning to work or getting pensions.

Pittsburgh steel workers point out that under the Truman board's recommendations they would have no greater take-home pay than before. Under U. S. Steel's plan of contributory pensions, their take-home pay would be cut. They will have none of this.

Under the circumstances the workers must look forward to a prolonged struggle. Pittsburgh stores, normally crowded on Saturday, were empty last Saturday, an indication that the steel workers are saving their money for the grim days ahead. The strikers and their families are determined to make whatever sacrifice is necessary to defend their union from the attacks of Big Steel and to gain their justified demands.

LOS ANGELES

Meeting on
STALIN-TITO CONFLICT
Speaker: Morris Stein
Sunday, October 16
North Hall, Embassy Auditorium
839 So. Grand Avenue

Let's Teach Them a Lesson, Urge Youngstown Strikers

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 3 — In this steel city and its vicinity; all of the basic steel producing plants were shut tight last Saturday morning. The steel workers, 45,000 strong, to a man, without any opposition, quit their jobs. They decided that the steel corporations have forced a strike and have to be taught a lesson.

Assembled at the gates at midnight, they watched the last workers leave the plants, and demonstrated their desires to "shut 'er down." **All understand that this strike is not just for pensions and insurance, but to defend the union.**

Most workers feel they may be in for a long fight — and they are digging in. Picket lines have been established at all the gates of the plants. Most locals have erected shanties and tents at the gates, and equipped them with as many facilities as possible to lighten picket duty. Strike kitchens have been set up, running hot coffee and food to the lines.

The strike followed a period of speedup in the plants with the corporations using fewer men to do the work. When the first cutbacks in steel took place a few months ago, hundreds were laid off. But when production was stepped up after July 15, to build up a stockpile for the strike, only a small percentage of laid-off workers were called back to work. This speed-up was resisted, but not stopped completely, and the workers feel this strike may help to do something about solving that problem.

The strong feeling of the workers to "shut 'er down" tight is best demonstrated by their attitude on the question of maintaining the plant. The International Union's policy is that the plants should be manned to provide power and steam. In 1946 U. S. Steel challenged the union on who should be allowed entrance to do the maintenance work. In this strike, U. S. Steel and the other companies have agreed to have the plants maintained by union-authorized workers.

The workers here feel that maintaining the plant for the companies, who forced the strike, is wrong. And they see, even with this agreement, that the corporations are still trying to chisel on working conditions of the few maintenance men who are permitted to enter. If this steel fight gets hotter, there is a strong possibility that the maintenance agreements will blow up in smoke.

Many workers also feel that now that they have been forced to hit the picket lines, the union should again demand the full package of 30 cents; they feel that the first demands were bargained away, but now that there's no bargaining, the union should go back to its original demands.

Every day the **Youngstown Vindicator**, the propagandist for the steel barons, keeps hammering away at the union, as it has been doing consistently for the last few months. It isn't sparing even Mr. Murray this time. This daily sheet, true to form, gives the best publicity to the corporations' stand. This is in strong contrast to its attitude in the 1946 strike, when for a short while the Vindicator stopped its attacks on the union.

Since the outbreak of the strike the only publicity put out by the steel union is what appears in the **Vindicator**; the union has not as yet distributed any publicity material of its own.

The Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company sent letters to all its employees, trying to explain why and where the union is wrong for calling the strike; no sooner has the strike been called than the company has started to act.

The bosses of America face formidable opponents; for the first time in their history they are engaged in a fight against the miners and steel workers at the same time.

This steel city feels the full effect of these strikes coming at one time. Hundreds of railroaders, ordinarily pulling coal or steel, have been laid off, thousands of others doing construction work around the mills are idle; and nearly all the fabricating plants which use steel in their work will be affected soon.

If any city or community ever witnessed the power of the workers, Youngstown is that city; the steel and coal strikes affect everybody in this heavy industry area.

Picket Committee Mobilizes Ranks In Lackawanna

BUFFALO, Oct. 3 — **The men of Lackawanna poured out of the huge Bethlehem steel plant at midnight last Friday in a supreme demonstration of solidarity in support of the nation-wide struggle for pensions and social insurance. One after another on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday the coke ovens were banked off, blast furnaces banked and open hearth furnaces tapped out. These belching behemoths, which have not been still for a single day since Feb. 15, 1946, are now silent. The smokestacks stand like so many painted poles against a clean sky.**

Ten gates along the turnpike, and a couple of side gates too, are being manned by a picket line 24 hours a day, and seven days a week. With a slow start, without the bounce and spontaneity of a real upsurge, the workers at first came slowly to the picket line. But with each passing day proving that a real struggle is involved, many more men are joining the line.

STRIKE ORGANIZATION

This is being aided by the excellent organization of the all-important picket committee, which is contacting the broad membership and arranging two-day a week schedules of four hours apiece for them. There is already the foundation of a "taxi" service to transport pickets to the various gates of the three-mile long plant. Less organized, but still very important, are the informal "boat pickets" — steel workers who are fishing on the lake just west of the plant and can keep an eye on the water entrances.

The food committee runs a kitchen on Gates Ave. from which they send out a delivery truck at 3-hour intervals to feed the pickets ham, cheese, hamburger sandwiches, coffee and doughnuts. But so far neither this operation nor the picketing itself is on the massive scale of 1946.

Unlike in the '46 strike, the company has now agreed that the union should see the plant maintained. Thus it will be possible to begin work immediately after the strike is ended.

But a high price is being paid for this advantage. With 199 maintenance men going in every 24 hours, there are already rumblings in the picket line. Many rank and filers say, "To hell with the furnaces. To hell with the ovens." True, they will not feel this way when the strike is over. But now they are at the peak of their militancy and suspicious of any moves that may weaken the strike.

The union maintenance inevitably produces an atmosphere of "cooperation" between the union and the company. Both sides are constantly asking each other for little favors. The company gives each picket post a radio and even provides the pickets with food four times every 24 hours.

The free food of course fools nobody. (Although everybody eats it, figuring there is no chance of poison this early in the strike.) But the whole "cooperation" business definitely tends to soften and blunt the workers' hard edge and to lull many.

WHAT THE MEN SAY

There is not much talk of pensions on the picket lines — either contributory or non-contributory. But much is said about the company. Chins are scratched, foreheads are crinkled and the men are saying, "What is the company up to? We know they've got the dough. Plenty. More than ever. Do they just want to break us? Is this IT?" and so on.

And the big numbers who are still sitting at home or standing up against the bar or hanging around on Ridge Road are asking the same questions by and large. As they see the answers unfold they will act accordingly. Lackawanna is a company town — and it is a union town, the workers close together, all rubbing shoulders, all passing the same good or bad news back and forth and comparing notes.

The great majority did not believe there was going to be a strike. But now the strike is on, and well under way. And Lackawanna workers are determined to stick it out until it is won.

Amid clouds of teargas and smokebombs thrown by plant guards and deputy sheriffs, over 150 strikers and their wives at Bell Aircraft are shown escaping fumes. The violence began when the cops tried to bring a motorcade of strikebreakers through the main gate.

COPS IN BRUTAL ATTACK ON BUFFALO BELL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

fense of negotiations with the union.

Following the mass demonstrations of Sept. 8 and 9 which successfully halted the company's efforts to recruit large numbers of scabs, the Bell management quickly agreed to the resumption of conferences with the union officials. These were conducted for several days with a whole flock of federal and state mediators headed by the Rev. John P. Boland.

After a week-long round of negotiation conferences and a criss-crossing of proposals and counter-proposals by the state and federal mediators the company announced that it had "accepted" the formula of the mediators to settle the strike. The strikers who read the early morning edition of the **Courier Express** were astounded to find out that the mediators had submitted to the company and the union what they termed "ideas and points of reference" which virtually amounted to going back to work without a contract and the discharge of all those who have been arrested or indicted as well as all those militants whom the company terms "subversive."

The company, which had jumped the gun in "accepting the ideas and points of reference," had not reckoned with the sentiments of the striking workers. The fact that the mediators had submitted such a proposal was an eye-opener to many of the workers who were inclined to regard these mediators as "friends of labor."

The same, however, cannot be said of some of the top union leaders who continue to play around with all sorts of appeals to state and federal authorities to set up "fact-finding boards" or other such paraphernalia to win the strike for them. This was indicated in a resolution introduced at Sunday's membership meeting which stated that the union was "willing to appear before any impartial agency or commission to plead our case, including a fact-finding commission appointed by the Governor."

It is difficult to see how any union leader can have faith in a "fact-finding commission" appointed by Dewey, the very man who gave the green light to the local authorities to carry out the reign of terror against the workers and union leaders. The fact that the company, in a letter sent by President Lawrence D. Bell, asked Dewey to set up such a commission should itself be the strongest condemnation of the proposal.

A "fact-finding board" set up by Dewey will certainly not be any friendlier to the cause of the strikers than the Rev. Boland and his staff. While no suggestion is made here that the union stand pat and reject any and all intervention by federal or state mediators, it must be understood that the mediators can, at the very best, only validate the relationship of forces between the union and the company. At present there is no evidence to warrant the conclusion that mediators — especially Dewey's mediators — can serve any useful purpose, so far as the strikers are concerned.

The great need is to enlist more sections of the labor movement in the cause of the Bell workers. Such opportunities are more available now than before. The 21,000 steel workers now out on strike in this area constitute a powerful contingent of CIO manpower with whom the Bell workers can forge real solidarity and effect mutual aid. It should be obvious to everyone engaged in the Bell struggle that victory can only be obtained as a result of aligning the entire labor movement on the side of the Bell union.

STEEL STRIKE ANSWERS EMPLOYERS' CHALLENGE

(Continued from Page 1)

fact that Truman's board proposed to yield them so much emboldened the companies to demand more.

They were not satisfied that Murray, because of his virtual commitment to accept whatever the board proposed, agreed to scrap the union's most significant demand — for a "fourth round" wage increase. They now refused to grant the one miserable concession recommended by the board — a company-financed welfare plan. The companies said they were not against paying 10 cents an hour per worker for insurance and pensions — provided the workers would also contribute through a deduction from their inadequate take-home pay.

Truman did not let out a peep against this provocation of the steel corporations. He encouraged their refusal to accept the board's recommendations by stating these were merely a "guide to negotiations." And when it was clear that the companies meant to force a strike, Truman took a "plague on both your houses" attitude that treated the union and the company as equally responsible for the strike.

Government intervention remains the deadliest threat to the strike. There are indications that Truman and the steel companies are cooking up a formula for "compromise" that will, in effect, give the companies everything they want. The Ford settlement gives a possible clue to what the government may next propose. This is a pension plan tied to federal social security, whereby the companies agree to what the N. Y. Times calls a "temporary pension plan pending action by Congress." The companies would, under this plan, pay the difference between what the government pays and a fixed maximum, with the companies' share reduced as the government's increases. Eventually the companies will pay nothing, while the workers will be forced to pay more into the government's fund.

While the steel workers wait for the government's next move, Truman has begun to intervene in the coal strike, which involves the steel owners of the so-called captive mines. It is widely reported he will seek to halt the mine strike through "fact-finding" procedure. He can do this through the Taft-Hartley Act, which he has not hesitated to use in the past against the miners.

In the formidable array of the corporations and the government, the steel and coal workers confront a powerful force. But the workers have an even mightier power. Time and again, they have beat the corporations to their knees and they can do it once more — if they stand firm, if they do not let the government trick them, if they mobilize their ranks for mass action.

All American labor must be summoned to their support. To begin with, the entire CIO must be organized into a solid phalanx and brought unitedly into the fight. Every union local, regardless of affiliation, must declare its solidarity with the steel and coal strikers and offer the maximum material aid. Let the slogan of the mighty American labor movement be: "The monopolists asked for it — now let 'em have it!"

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Rajk Trial 'Evidence' Also Follows Pattern Of Moscow Trials

Like the confessions, the verifiable "evidence" in the frameup of Laszlo Rajk at Budapest follows the pattern of crude GPU fabrication. In the Moscow Trials there were the notorious Piatakov-airport and Bristol Hotel (Copenhagen) incidents. There are similar incidents in this latest frame-up that are just as easily disproved.

For instance, the indictment alleges, among other things, that Rajk established contact with former Yugoslav fighters in the Spanish civil war's International Brigades at the French concentration camps of Gurs, Vernet, and Saint Cyprien, who were allegedly foreign spies. It mentions the names of Ales Bebler, Ivan Gosnjak, Bozidar Maslaric, Kosta Nadj and Karlo Mrazovic.

Citing from this indictment, the Yugoslav Embassy Information Office makes the following refutation: "It is well known . . . that neither Mrazovic nor Bebler were in these camps. Maslaric was evacuated from Spain to North Africa and thence to the USSR in 1939, while the other two were evacuated from Spain seriously wounded in the summer of 1938, directly to Paris and then the Communist Party of Yugoslavia sent them to work in our country."

Sell-Out of Greek Struggle Exposed By Tito General

Among other signs of the widening ideological rift between Tito and Stalin is the dispute that has been raging around their relation to the Greek guerrilla struggles. In a series of articles in the newspaper **Borba** one of Tito's generals, Louba Vuckovic, attacks the whole military policy pursued by the Stalinists in Greece, going back over the events there during World War II.

In this case as in all others of a similar character, the Yugoslav official does not speak out with full clarity. But what he does say is a sure indication that the men around Tito are breaking with Stalinism on major questions of policy. They stand ready to expose, from intimate knowledge, a number of the great betrayals in recent years. For instance, Gen. Vukovic attacks the whole concept of the organization of the original guerrilla forces in Greece, the ELAS, during World War II and says:

"It is obvious that the leaders of the Communist Party of Greece were not able . . . to form proletarian units which would have been the soundest, armed core and a foundry of cadres — because they were obeying advice given to them by the English and, perhaps, by others." The reference is obviously to the Russians, as appears clear from other statements.

"They obeyed advice," the general continues, "to concentrate in the main on liberated territory to be as near as possible to towns, in order to take them at the moment of German withdrawal with the aid of organized, but poorly armed and unarmed workers in the towns. **Such an opportunist stand . . . brought about the capitulation of the armed struggle at Varkiza on Feb. 12, 1945."**

This marks the first time Belgrade has denounced the Varkiza agreement as a Stalinist sell-out — a confirmation of the charge lodged by the Trotskyists against the Kremlin at the time. Furthermore, Vukovic discloses that the renewal of guerrilla warfare later on was entirely spontaneous. After Varkiza, he says, "It was clear to ordinary members of the CP that they had been tricked. A part of the party members and party patriots again took up arms and went to the mountains. **without any directive from, and in fact against the will of the CP of Greece.** Among the first fighters of the former National Liberation Army (ELAS) to take up arms were the chiefs of staff of the Macedonian group of divisions, Markos; of the 10th division, Kikitzas, and of the 11th, Lazanis."

The account then goes into the successful tactics pursued under General Markos until his mysterious removal and replacement by Zachariades (the Kremlin appointed leader of the CP (last year. It concludes:

"Zachariades' aim is clear: to liquidate the national liberation struggle of Greece, who knows for whose interests, and to throw responsibility for all this on to Yugoslavia. The leaders of the USSR, who have already announced through their representatives and official news agency that they are ready to discuss liquidation of the struggle in Greece, are also mixed up in this dishonest business. . ."

It appears evident that the story has been written by someone intimately familiar with the whole course of the struggle in Greece. As such, it is of particular significance and probably only the beginning of a more thoroughgoing exposure.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Total subscriptions to **The Militant** in September as shown in the scoreboard below were 165, a decline in comparison with August when 217 were received. Some of the branches of the Socialist Workers Party which normally account for a good batch of subs each month were apparently resting on their oars.

The Detroit branch which was first last month, again took top honors with 42 subscriptions. These came in the closing weeks of Detroit's campaign. The Detroit comrades are to be congratulated for their excellent work. Convinced that building the circulation of **The Militant** is one of the most important political tasks facing the Trotskyist movement, they set out to do a job. In the process they set an example of energy, persistence and good organization which many branches, in our opinion, should find instructive.

Youngstown which has been down on the bottom rungs for months so far as sub-getting was concerned undertook a modest campaign in September. The results speak for themselves. They took second place on the scoreboard.

Philadelphia likewise did better than they have been doing for some months and took third place.

A special accolade goes to the livewire Seattle branch. This makes the third month in a row that the comrades there have pushed up into the top brackets of the scoreboard. In July they bettered branches many times their size. Last month they came third in the country. This month they have the satisfaction of tying a Local the size and weight of New York for fourth place. Well done!

* * *

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party ordered 10,000 copies of last week's issue which featured the Trotskyist platform and candidates in the New York mayoralty elections. First reports are that this issue is being well received at the street meetings organized in behalf of the candidates.

Detroit ordered 500 extra copies of this same issue. The article by J. Meyer on "Peekskill and the Negroes" they thought would be of exceptional interest to the Detroit labor movement.

D. P. of Duluth writes that "I went out by the steel plant and sold ten copies of the Sept. 19 **Militant** containing the article on the fact-finding board. Most of the steel workers were eager to read the truth about the deal they are getting. Some were very bitter at Murray and Truman."

Our thanks to the **Lynn** branch which made a special effort and sent in enough money to rate them membership among those model branches whose accounts are paid right up to date.

BRANCH	SUBS
Detroit	42
Youngstown	18
Philadelphia	11
New York	9
Seattle	9
Buffalo	8
Los Angeles	7
Cleveland	6
Boston	5
Milwaukee	5
Minneapolis	5
Toledo	5
San Francisco	4
Chicago	3
Flint	3
Pittsburgh	3
New Haven	2
Reading	2
St. Paul	2
Newark	1
St. Louis	1
General	14
Akron	0
Allentown	0
Lynn	0
Morgantown	0
New Britain	0
Oakland	0
Rochester	0
Worcester	0
TOTAL	165

Steel Achilles

Achilles, champion of the Greek hosts who laid siege to Troy, was invulnerable according to legend save for one spot — his heel. When an arrow struck that spot, the mighty warrior went down the same as any other holder of the world's title when he's finished.

Like the ancient Achilles, steel the most powerful sector of U. S. industry is not as invincible as its past record might indicate. It too has its vulnerable spot — the declining rate of profit. In a brilliant article, the first part of which appears in the October **Fourth International**, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, V. Grey puts the spotlight on this fatal weakness of the modern champion of capitalism.

Grey tells about the lush days of the steel industry when the Pittsburgh millionaires "bought huge mansions, hired experts to give them a family tree," indulged in "ivory toothpicks and decorated their lawns with gold-plated statues." He tells how the roaring steel industry expanded at a thousandfold pace in the early days, then he presents striking figures that dramatically reveal how steel has slowed down until now in its old age it sees a "horrible prospect" and "reacts to every chill wind with a fit of ague, to every tremor with a shock."

If you wan to know why the steel barons are worried about the future despite unprecedented profits, why they have refused to increase plant capacity despite insistent demands from all sides, why they feel impelled to initiate a life and death struggle with the unions, this article is a must. For a better understanding of the basic issues in the current strike, it furnishes indispensable background material.

Vividly written, Grey's analysis presents an absorbing lesson in Marxist economics. Learn how basic trends in the steel industry offer another powerful confirmation of the truths discovered a century ago by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

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TROTSKY

"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

—Leon Trotsky, "Third International After Lenin."

LENIN

Democracy and Violence

In carefully chosen words two prominent politicians expressed the real attitude of Big Business toward democracy and free speech at a meeting of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Troy, N.Y., on Sept 29

U. S. Senator John Foster Dulles called for action to check the trend to what he calls "the all-powerful state" — by which he means not so much the Truman administration as a government representing the great majority of the people and legislating in their interest. If this isn't done now, he said, it will have to be done in the future "in a bloody way" by "revolution" — which is his designation for counter-revolution.

Lt. Gov. Joe R. Hanley, acting as Governor of New York in the absence of Dewey, described the fascist-like assault on civil rights at Peekskill as "that little escapade" and said he favored putting "a stop to free speech" for persons who advocate destruction of "the things we believe in."

Hanley said, "I am speaking just for myself now." That may be so, but what he said represents the views of many other people in high office. Dewey, the titular head of Hanley's party, doesn't speak so plainly as his lieutenant, but his actions do — especially his action in whitewashing the Peekskill hoodlums and their police collaborators and in launching a grand jury probe of the victims of their violence. Truman too would not use Hanley's terms, but as is proved by his witch-hunts, "loyalty" purges and persecution of those on the "subversive" list, he too is an active enemy of free speech for his political opponents.

Dulles' speech likewise voiced the true sentiments of the American ruling class and its political henchmen. They never tire of telling the people about the virtues of democracy and the major theme of their war propaganda is the superiority of capitalist democracy over every other conceivable way of life.

But if the working class majority should become conscious of its class interests and set up a government free from Big Business domination — why then, as Dulles makes it clear, the capitalists and their politicians would not hesitate to resort to the "bloody way" in overthrowing such a government and re-establishing the rule of a minority.

The American ruling class is in favor of free speech and democratic rights — but only so long as the exercise of these rights does not threaten their political rule, economic power and social privileges. Once these are threatened, their attitude becomes indistinguishable from that of Hitler. The workers should bear that in mind as they are bombarded with war propaganda and apologies for further assaults on their hard-won liberties.

Lesson of the Bell Strike

The strikebreaking activities of the Bell Aircraft Corporation in Buffalo accurately reflect the arrogance and viciousness of the American capitalists' attitude to the union movement. For 16 weeks Bell, whose objective is unconditional surrender by the union, has been hammering away at UAW Local 501 with every weapon at its disposal, including force and violence wielded by state and local authorities and police, and a reign of terror and intimidation upheld by the courts.

The other corporations are following the development of this struggle with eagerness to see what lessons they can learn for use against the unions in their own plants. The unions can also learn some very useful lessons from this fight.

Local 501 was led for several years by a group of militants who were hated by the corporation for their aggressiveness and success in fighting to improve the conditions in the plant. Early this year a furious redbaiting campaign was opened against these militants by the corporation, the local press and the conservative elements in the union.

The workers were told that a militant leadership only made it harder for the union to gain concessions in negotiations with the corporation, and that the way to make gains with a minimum of effort was by replacing this leadership with another that was more reasonable, less radical, readier to engage in "give and take," etc. Overwhelmed by the redbaiting flood last spring, a majority of the union voted in a new leadership associated with the Reuther group in the union.

But like a tiger that has had a taste of blood, the corporation was not satisfied — it wanted more. Instead of displaying greater friendliness to the union, it bared its teeth and refused to yield an inch in the negotiations for a new contract. Emboldened by its first victory and aware that the injection of redbaiting had divided and weakened the union, it kept pushing and provoking the workers until they were forced to strike in self-defense, and now it is trying to beat the union to its knees so that the workers will be forced back to work on the corporations's terms.

One of the big lessons of the Bell strike is that it doesn't pay to follow the company line in the illusion that you will get concessions in return from the bosses without militant struggle. Give them a finger and they will try to take two arms. Give up a leadership they don't like, and they will take that as a signal to declare all-out war against you. Lessons like this one are learned at such a costly price that no union member should forget it.

Green's Attack on CIO Wage Policy

We are accustomed to AFL attacks on the CIO from the right — for alleged "irresponsible strikes," "radicalism" and even, so help us, "communism." But when the ancient mossbacks who head the AFL attack the CIO from the left — for yielding to the employers and government — then it is clearly time for CIO members to take stock of their leaders' policies.

It should be of particularly grave concern to CIO workers that AFL President William Green, who is scarcely noted for progressive ideas or militancy, could hold up to public scorn the CIO wage policies. Speaking before the AFL convention in St. Paul on Oct. 3, Green assailed the policy of agreeing to wage freezes and of permitting government boards to fix wage standards.

His attack was clearly aimed at the CIO leaders in steel and auto, Philip Murray and Walter Reuther, who not only approved Truman's intervention in the steel negotiations and the establishment of the "fact-finding" board, but agreed to accept a wage freeze for the steel and auto workers on the basis of the board's recommendations.

Green boasted that, contrary to the CIO, the AFL had never reached the point "where we will waive the right to demand increases in wages for the workers of the nation, and we are not going to do that now. . . We don't want government boards. . . We are opposed to government boards setting our wage standards anywhere or any place."

We hold no brief for the AFL's leadership as against the CIO's. We are mindful that Green himself was a chief initiator of the policy of collaboration with government boards, back in the NRA days when Roosevelt established his notorious boards that blocked the demands of the auto and rubber workers when they were still in AFL federal unions. We recall more recently that the AFL participated in the War Labor Board which established the first general wage freeze.

But it should be all the more galling to CIO members that a pious old hypocrite like Green, against whose conservative policies the CIO revolted 13 years ago, is now in a position to accuse the CIO of capitulation to the employers and government and of pursuing policies detrimental to the welfare of American labor. The CIO leaders' policy of collaborating with government boards and accepting a wage freeze must be bad indeed, if even Green denounces it.

Devaluation Brings British Political Crisis

By John G. Wright

The crisis precipitated by the devaluation of the pound has found its first expression on the parliamentary arena in Britain. The three-day special sessions of Parliament were used by both sides in the debate as a smoke-screen to hide from the mass of the people two vital truths.

First, that the devaluation was nothing but an emergency measure to salvage bankrupt British capitalism. Second, that the brunt of devaluation shall be borne by the masses; the workers taking a deep cut in their real wages, the purchasing power of their meager savings, if any, slashed proportionately, and a similar blow struck at those on fixed salaries and the middle-class layers with fixed incomes.

The parliamentary debate was a sham from beginning to end. In his speech, Churchill levelled his "criticism" not at devaluation itself but only at its belated timing and the manner in which it was carried out. When it came to voting on the issue, the Tories hypocritically abstained.

EFFECT ON PRICES

New depths of deception were plumbed by the Laborite chieftains. The "moral" Cripps once again tried to wave aside the dire threat of inflation. With bread and flour already steeply higher and the price of meat obviously scheduled for another hike, Cripps vowed again that living costs would not rise "by more than one index point." "Other prices will rise slightly but they need not cause alarm," he blithely asserted.

Even the Tory spokesman Eden was more candid. He estimated that living costs would rise from 5 to 10%.

Members of the General Council of the British trade unions reportedly expect a rapid "climb of five to six points" in living costs in the next six months.

These estimates, much higher than Cripps', are likewise colored with fraudulent optimism. As matters stand, primary necessities consumed nowadays in England must be paid for in dollars or their equivalent in pounds. The average wage of English workers is reportedly five pounds a week, and a large number get considerably less. Yesterday this average weekly wage amounted to a purchasing power of $20; now it amounts to only $14, or an indirect wage cut of 30%.

STILL UNSTABLE

The tendency of primary necessities in Britain will be to shoot up in price toward this new level. Provided, of course, that the pound can be stabilized at its new price. But there are no grounds as yet for such an assumption.

The highly conservative National City Bank of New York in its October letter expresses doubt that a serious inflation of sterling prices and costs can be avoided and insists that "it must first be shown" that $2.80 is a realistic figure for the pound.

Meanwhile, following the debate in Parliament, the pound dropped below its cross rate with the dollar on the French black market, where it has been selling off at $2.60.

Devaluation and the possibility of still further cuts are not the sole factors that feed the inflationary spiral. Another factor is the drive for bigger exports. We leave aside here the question of whether any significant increase can be lastingly achieved in this field in the face of currency devaluation by Britain's chief European competitors. Let us assume that more goods actually begin flowing into exports.

EXPORT EFFECTS

Far from being a boon that the Laborite misleaders picture it to be, the flow of goods abroad can also act to increase the inflationary pressure on the smaller quantities that will be left for domestic consumption. The workers will find out, as they already have in recent years, that the more they produce for export, all the higher are the prices they have to pay at home.

The Laborite chieftains are apparently staking everything on the hope that the full inflationary effects of devaluation will not make themselves felt for a period of six months or so. To keep down the price rises, they are banking on government controls, first and foremost the wage freeze, and on available stocks of food and raw materials. They are also obviously banking on Washington's support in keeping the pound at its current level. That they are sacrificing the vital interests of the English workers is evidently of little concern to them.

If any additional proof were needed that Attlee, Cripps and Co. are deliberately duping the workers, we need only cite their attempt to distract the workers' attention from the terrible squeeze on their living standards by a pretended squeeze on profits. We refer here to Cripps' announcement that "distributed profits" or dividends would be subject to an extra tax of 5%.

To begin with, what is the meaning of Cripps' announcement if not a public admission that the capitalists stand to benefit hugely from the devaluation? Into their coffers new streams of lush profits are bound to flow. Cripps asks them to "sacrifice" a picayune 5% of this new bonanza.

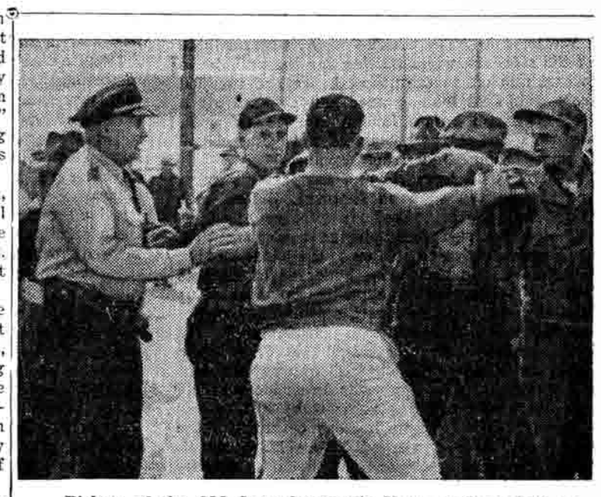
PROFITS AND WAGES

There is already a "gentleman's agreement" whereby the corporations are voluntarily limiting their dividends. They have been paying out far less than they are able or wish to pay. They can meet the increased tax without the slightest reduction in dividend payments, and sock the rest away in reserves, as they have been doing. Such is their "sacrifice," while the pressure on the living standards of the British workers has become intolerable.

Two weeks after devaluation, the members of the General Council of the Trade Unions have not yet given their endorsement. They are "still pondering" what their policy shall be.

Finding themselves more directly than the government under pressure of the ranks, these union leaders are stalling for time. They want more plausible political alibis to cover-up the sell-out. According to an Oct. 2 dispatch from London they are "exploring other means of draining off extra profits."

They are ignoring one simple and efficacious way — and that is to back to the hilt the workers' justified demand for higher wages and better working conditions.



Pickets of the CIO Longshoremen's Union seek to halt unloading of "hot" pineapples by AFL-manned trucks at The Dalles, Ore., docks. Union solidarity and public protest forced port commissioners to order removal of barge sent from Hawaii, where the longshoremen have been on strike for over five months.

"Peace" Maneuvers Mask War Preparations

(Continued from page 1)

ternational control through the United Nations, an international agency. The Russians refuse to accept effective UN control. This is most suspicious. They obviously have warlike designs. Now everyone can see we have no choice but to continue and intensify our strictly defensive military preparations."

The gimmick in this formula is the expression "effective UN control," or, as James Reston called it, "foolproof control." What Truman and Acheson mean by "foolproof control" is embodied in the Baruch plan, which the U. S. has pushed in the UN for the past three years. This is nothing less than a proposal to give American imperialism, through its domination of the United Nations, a world control and monopoly over all production of atomic energy, all raw materials and sources, and even related industries that might be used to produce needed equipment.

A UN commission, controlled by the U. S. and its allies, would be empowered to "inspect" every country for "violations" and any "violations" could be halted by armed force if a majority of the UN Security Council so decided — a legal cover for launching the next war. While the UN control commission would be "inspecting" the Soviet Union, the U. S. would continue to keep its stockpile of atom bombs until Washington was "completely satisfied" that the Soviet Union could never produce any.

Naturally, the Soviet Union would not agree to a proposition which would mean its disarmament and the turning over of its atomic energy industry to a UN commission controlled by the U. S., which would continue to be armed to the teeth.

Against the U. S. plan, the Kremlin has advanced its own "disarmament" scheme. This calls for an agreement for the immediate destruction of all atomic weapons and the simultaneous establishment of a UN commission of "inspection" to see that no further atomic instruments of war are produced.

But like such "disarmament" proposals of the past, this one too confronts an immediate objection: What guarantee is there that the parties to the agreement will act in good faith? This, in fact, is the argument raised by the spokesmen of American imperialism. Suppose, asks the N. Y. Times editorially, the U. S. agreed to Stalin's proposition and destroyed its a-bomb stockpile. What then? How could the U. S. "make certain that nowhere in the vast reaches of Russia's Asiatic empire . . . were Russian factories producing the very weapons which we ourselves had so recently destroyed?" The answer, of course, is that the U. S. could not make certain of Moscow's "good faith" any more than the Soviet Union could make certain of Washington's.

From the standpoint of "disarmament" maneuvers, however, the U. S. finds itself in a less favorable position than it held a few weeks ago. The U. S. could make capital of the Baruch plan only so long as America held, or believed it held, the A-bomb monopoly. But to adhere rigidly to a proposal based on this previously-held monopoly and so obviously loaded to the advantage of the United States puts Washington in a bad light. And strong voices are being raised in the councils of Washington for a more flexible scheme.

One such scheme, as reported by Reston in the Times, is for a limited agreement for "some kind of moratorium" on the use of atomic weapons — "for, say, six months or a year" — during which negotiations would proceed for an "acceptable atomic treaty." If this did not produce a "foolproof system" of atomic control, then "a new atomic energy organization will undoubtedly be formed in the West." That is, the end object of this move would be to justify placing all the imperialist nations in the U. S. bloc on an atomic war footing.

When we examine the moves and proposals being made by both sides in the UN we find that not a single one holds a guarantee of peace. On the contrary, each is devised as a maneuver to justify a further advance toward war. The net result is not the disarmament of the warmakers, but the ideological disarmament of the popular opposition to war.

For the propaganda about the UN as "the hope of peace" and about the possibility of "removing the atomic threat" through "international agreement" can only sow illusions among the people. It can lull them with false hopes and disorient their own independent struggle against war.

In this sense, the Stalinists are playing a most pernicious and deceptive role. They are spreading the fiction that the Russian atom bomb opens the way to "disarmament." They are telling the masses to put their faith in the UN, an agency controlled by the imperialists and designed to give the legal cover for a new war.

The Stalinist line weakens the genuine mass struggle against war and fosters dependence upon the imperialist agencies for "peace" like the UN. It would leave the decision on war or peace in the hands of the top ruling circles of the warmakers.

Whatever new tactics the imperialists might be forced to devise, whatever "peace" and "disarmament" agreements they might sign, in the end they will seek to plunge the world into war. That is the very nature of capitalism, which can find no other solution for its deepening crisis but war.

So long as the masses of people can be deluded into putting their hopes for peace in the present rulers, from Truman to Stalin, war is inevitable. But once the masses understand that capitalism offers no hope, that if they entrust the decision to the political gangsters of imperialism and Stalinism they will surely get war, they will take upon themselves the task of solving the problem of war by their own means. And that solution will be revolutionary and really foolproof.

Carey Group Prepares Expulsion of Fitzgerald from UE Local Lynn

By Carl Martin

LYNN, Mass., Oct. 3 — The pro-Carey group of UE Local 201 laid the groundwork at last Monday's meeting for the expulsion of four local supporters of the Stalinist-dominated national UE administration.

The basis for this expulsion is that these men voted at the recent Cleveland convention contrary to the instructions of the local union. In a referendum vote of the membership they were ordered to vote for the Carey-ACTU candidates. Among these delegates were executive board members Flynn and Corcoran, International Representative Turkowski and International President Albert Fitzgerald, and at the convention they voted for the Stalinist-dominated group. This local action is indicative of how rapidly things are moving toward a wide open split as both International President Fitzgerald and the Carey bloc candidate for this office, Kelly, are members of Local 201.

The red baiting Carey machine, under the personal leadership of Kelly himself, mobilized its ACTU following for the decisive struggle. These shouters about "democracy" demonstrated their belief in democratic practices by refusing their opponents the right to defend their actions. Boos and hisses greeted all attempts of the Stalinist opposition to take the floor and explain their convention stand.

The Kelly machine jammed through a motion to bring the four officers of the UE to trial. The "fair trial and hanging" is scheduled to take place Tuesday. Obviously both sides are moving quickly toward a show down.

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

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

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SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.

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SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 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.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 23, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946

Of The Militant, published weekly at New York, N. Y. for Oct. 1, 1949, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Joseph Hansen, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semiweekly or triweekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:Publisher The Militant Publishing Ass'n, 116 University Place, New York 3; Editor Geo. Breitman, 116 University Place, New York 3; Managing editor George Breitman, 116 University Place, New York 3; Business manager Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one percent of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) The Militant Publishing Ass'n, 116 University Place, New York 3; Farrell Dobbs, 116 University Place, New York 3; Joseph Hansen, 116 University Place, New York 3.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustees or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, thru the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 5,688. (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

JOSEPH HANSEN
(Signature of business mgr.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of Sept. 1949.

(Seal) REBA G. HANSEN

(My commission expires March 30, 1950.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII | MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1949 | NUMBER 41

Ford Settlement Worst Ever Made with Major Auto Firm

The worst settlement ever made in a major section of the auto industry was concluded on Sept. 29 between CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and the Ford Motor Company.

In return for a miserable pension plan to cost Ford only 8¾ cents an hour per worker, Reuther agreed to a 17½-month wage freeze for the period from July 16, 1949, when the last contract expired, until Jan. 1, 1951. For the 8½ months between last July 16 and next April 1, the Ford workers get no gains at all, since pension payments will not begin until the latter date.

The new contract will extend for an unprecedented 2½-year period, from Oct. 1, 1949 to April 1, 1952, during which there can be only one wage reopener, but not until after Jan. 1, 1951. Pension demands, however, may not be raised again before March, 1955 — that is, 5½ years.

Reuther also agreed to retain the infamous "company security" clause, which permits Ford to "discipline" union members whom the company provokes into strikes not formally authorized by the international union. The only modification in this clause is to give the "impartial" umpire — who has almost always ruled in favor of the company — the right to "review" penalties handed out by Ford.

Reuther's renewal of the "company security" clause directly violates the decision of the last UAW convention, which instructed all UAW negotiators not to sign any agreement containing a "company security" clause.

GAVE IN ON SPEEDUP

Reuther capitulated completely to the company on the vital issue of speedup, which provoked a bitter strike last spring. The new contract gives the company the sole right to fix work standards and, in fact, virtually commits the union to aid the speedup, through a clause whereby the union agrees to a joint "study" of certain Ford operations "with a view to reducing costs" — a standard pretext for speedup.

For the first time, the company is also given the right to reopen the contract on wages. After Jan. 1, 1951 the company has the contractual right to demand a "review" of wages — an opening for wage cuts.

Falsely labeled a "10-cent package" by the company and Reuther, the settlement actually includes 1¼ cents that Ford was already paying into an insurance plan to which the workers also contribute.

The pension plan, publicized as a $100 a month benefit, actually provides for payment by Ford of between $55 and $65 a month average to workers who qualify. Ford pays merely the difference between what the retired worker gets in federal social security and $100. If government benefits are increased in the future, Ford will pay a correspondingly smaller portion of the $100 maximum.

Thus, Reuther's contract establishes a far-reaching precedent that total retirement pensions for workers shall not exceed $100 a month. By contrast, the United Mine Workers pension is a full $100 a month paid by the companies, regardless of benefits the worker may get from any other source. The UMW pension is payable on retirement age of 62 after 20 years' service.

AFTER 30 YEARS

The Ford pension is payable in full only after the age of 65, with 30 years' service. These must be full calendar years in which the employee has received pay for not less than 1,800 hours. The amount of the pension is reduced in proportion to lesser time of service, both as to the number of years and the number of hours worked in any given year. No credit is given for any year in which an employee works less than 750 hours.

Few Ford workers can be expected to take the Ford speedup for 30 years in order to qualify for the maximum benefits, miserable as these are. With recurrent layoffs, most workers would have to be in Ford's employ much longer than 30 years before qualifying for pensions.

This settlement is based on the recommendations of Truman's "fact-finding" board for the steel industry, which were accepted by CIO President Philip Murray. It is reported, however, that the steel union officials have "little enthusiasm" for some features of Reuther's pension agreement, particularly his willingness to have Ford's payments reduced as federal social security benefits increase.

The net effect of the settlement is to tie the Ford workers down to a long-term contract under a wage freeze. In the long run, Ford will come out ahead in dollars and cents, particularly if the federal pension payments are increased, which will mean bigger payroll deduction from the Ford workers but no increase in their total $100-a-month benefits.

Ford Pension Plan Signed

The new Ford pension plan (analyzed elsewhere on this page) is signed by UAW President Walter Reuther (center) in Detroit. Seated at left is Ford negotiator John S. Bugas, at right UAW Ford Director Kenneth Bannon. Among spectators is William Clay Ford (standing second from right).

Detroit SWP Asks United Defense Of Robeson Rally

DETROIT, Oct. 3 — **The leaders of the Wayne County CIO and the Detroit NAACP were asked last week to call a broad conference of labor and liberal organizations to plan for a united defense of the Paul Robeson rally to be held in this city on Oct. 9. The appeal was made in a letter from Howard Lerner, chairman of the Detroit Socialist Workers Party.**

Recalling the role played by the police in abetting the hoodlums at Peekskill, the SWP letter said:

"Detroit Police Commissioner Toy has already announced his intention of packing the area with police riot squads. . . To place confidence in Toy's presumed intention to protect this meeting would be sheer folly. . .

"The way to prevent a Detroit Peekskill is neither through abstention nor reliance on Toy's police force but, on the contrary, by an aggressive mobilization by Detroit labor and Negro leaders for a united defense."

"We cannot afford to repeat the fatal error of the German labor leaders who failed to mobilize against the early Nazi attacks upon political and racial minorities."

Also warning against the false policy of the Communist Party, which refuses to defend the civil rights of its political opponents, the letter pledged the support and assistance of the SWP in defending the rally.

Marcantonio Challenged By SWP on Civil Rights Stand

NEW YORK, Oct. 4 — Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, today challenged Vito Marcantonio to state his position on civil rights for Trotskyists.

"We know he would like to duck this question, but we intend to force him to state just where he stands," Bartell explained.

In a letter addressed to Marcantonio, Bartell points out that the mayoralty candidate of the American Labor Party has repeatedly called for the voters' support on the basis of his "record as a fighter for civil rights."

"You have condemned the outrageous assaults at Peekskill," the letter goes on. You have opposed the trial of the 12 Communist Pary leaders in Foley Square. But are you for the defense of ALL victims of the witch-hunts, or are you for civil rights only for the Communist Party and its allies?

"You were a sponsor of two conferences in New York City which put to the test the sincerity of all participants; the Conference for Civil and Human Rights on June 25, and the Bill of Rights Conference on July 16-17. You were one of the main speakers at the Bill of Rights Conference, where the issue was posed pointblank: For or against the civil rights of the Trotskyists?

"Thomas Emerson, Paul Kern, O. John Rogge, I. F. Stone and other prominent liberals sponsoring the Bill of Rights Conference have taken their stand in favor of restoring civil rights to the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, who were the first victims of the Smith Act and for reinstatement of James Kutcher, legless veteran discharged from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the SWP. Henry Wallace has called for a presidential pardon to the 18 SWP victims of the Smith Act, and the restoration of their civil rights, 'in consonance with the platform of our party'.

"But your running mate on the ALP ticket, Councilman Benjamin Davis, speaking for the Communist Party, rejected support for the Trotskyists and viciously slandered them."

Marcantonio was present at this conference, but chose to duck the issue. "Now that you are running for the highest office in this city, the labor and liberal public has a right to know where you stand," Bartell stated. He then added:

"The position of the Socialist Workers Party is well known. Our record is clear. In spite of our irreconcilable differences with the Communist Party, we declared our support to the defense of their leaders in the Foley Square frameup trial, and offered a united front for the purpose of mobilizing a broad mass movement in defense of their civil rights. We have persistently advocated a united, non-partisan defense movement to defend ALL victims of the witch-hunt."

Bartell commented that unless Marcantonio comes out for the defense of the Trotskyists and other labor and liberal groups on the government's "loyalty" purge list, "he along with the Communist Party must bear responsibility for betraying the civil rights struggle."

Los Angeles Rally Without 'Incident'

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 1—Paul Robeson's concert here last night was marked by a complete absence of the violence employed against his Peekskill appearances. An audience of almost 11,000 came to hear Robeson sing at the concert at Wrigley Field sponsored by the **California Eagle**, Negro weekly.

Wrigley Field seats 23,500, and the sponsors had been calling for a demonstration of 25,000. Although the turnout was relatively small, it was significant in view of the previous Peekskill violence and the threat of violence hanging over this concert.

A strong impression had been made in the city by the Socialist Workers Party's appeal to the trade union movement for a guard of 3,000 to defend the meeting. This appeal was reported in articles in four Los Angeles dailies as well as on more than a half-dozen radio news broadcasts.

A large crew of **Militant** salesmen sold more than 300 copies of the paper, all that were available. **Militant** salesmen well outnumbered and outsold the Stalinist **People's World**. More than 100 other copies were sold during the afternoon.

Socialized Medicine XI

Voluntary vs Compulsory

By Grace Carlson

Despite early opposition to all medical prepayment plans, the American Medical Association bureaucrats have now seized upon voluntary insurance as a weapon to be used against a national compulsory health insurance plan. In this session of Congress, the AMA lobbyists have supported the Hill and Taft bills, which are based on a voluntary insurance idea in opposition to the Truman Health Plan.

The bill introduced by Senator Lister Hill (D, Ala.) is based upon a charity concept of medical care. Membership cards in voluntary hospital and health insurance plans would be issued to those certified by local welfare authorities as requiring financial assistance. Federal and state funds would then be used to reimburse the voluntary health insurance organizations.

Senator Taft's bill proposes to establish a National Health Agency to be headed by a doctor and to take in the Public Health Service, the Food and Drug Administration and other health functions now administered by the Federal Security Administration. It would also make grants to the states for assisting in the payment of medical care costs for those unable to pay their own, in a manner somewhat similar to that proposed in the Hill bill.

Trade union spokesmen, members of independent physicians organizations and progressives in general have attacked the Hill and Taft bills because they are based on doctor-control of public funds, have a charity concept and offer an inadequate medical care program. Very few voluntary insurance programs, whether union-sponsored, employer-sponsored or sponsored by some "benevolent" society offer a comprehensive medical care program — payment for home and office calls; home nursing care; pre-and post-natal care; periodic check-ups.

So long as an insurance plan is voluntary, the young and healthy will not join, and if the aged and sickly join in large numbers, the cost is raised to a prohibitive point under capitalist insurance operation. For these reasons, the large majority of voluntary insurance plans now in operation in this country fail to provide full medical coverage to their subscribers.

Dr. Michael Davis, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, once summed up the case against voluntary health insurance this way:

"Voluntary plans do not offer broad enough coverage at low enough rates to a large enough portion of our people to justify serious consideration as a national solution to a national problem."

Charlie Weldon's Injury

By Harold Robbins

SWP Candidate for President of Borough of Manhattan

We tried to make Charlie Weldon comfortable on the sidewalk while waiting for the ambulance to cart him off to the hospital. He had tumbled from a 16 foot loading shed and bounced off a steel pipe rail before landing on the sidewalk. The rags tied to the bottom of the ladder failed to prevent the ladder from slipping.

Charlie is 61 years old and the painters union put him in the shop as foreman. Before that Charlie was trying to feed his wife, son and himself on $17 a week unemployment compensation. Charlie was trying to hold on to the job so he took the chance. He had taken hundreds of chances before this one, for the same reason most of us take chances — to hold onto a job.

After the ambulance took Charlie away the boss complained to the steward that Charlie had taken an "unnecessary chance" which would cost him money because there was an accident on his job. He also wanted to know if he had to pay Charlie for the full working day or only for the two hours he had worked before his accident. Where sentiment conflicted with business practice the boss showed he was a businessman.

I phoned the hospital that night to learn how Charlie made out. They reported his leg badly gashed, his lung punctured; they were giving him something to relieve his pain and he was resting. They didn't know yet when he would be out but it would be more than six weeks.

Charlie Weldon's case provides a lesson in the workings of capitalist democracy. Relief, unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation are law today because the working people wanted the state to provide them a living when they were in need and unable to earn a livelihood. But how is the will of the people carried out?

Despite these laws, Charlie is in a tough spot. In this state, capitalist enterprise pays premiums to insurance companies to handle workers' claims, instead of having a tax by the state on industry to provide for workers during the period they are incapacitated. If Charlie gets out of the hospital alive, he will have to hire a lawyer to fight the insurance company for enough compensation to provide for his needs. Insurance companies make their profits by paying as little as possible to injured workers.

Before he gets a settlement, Charlie may find himself on home relief. New York City's Welfare Department will allow him the usual starvation allowance and will deduct from his relief check everything he receives from the union welfare fund and from the compensation insurance payments. That is, if he is lucky enough to get a settlement.

In other words, the democratic process is stymied by the capitalist politicians — the "best men" who asked for your vote because they wanted to "serve" you. Instead of providing the people with the things they vote for, they deal with the problems of unemployment, illness and injury by introducing capitalist enterprise, profiteering and chiseling into the picture and by setting up capitalist standards for the unemployed and poverty-stricken. This is only one example but it applies to their handling of all social problems.

To end this swindle of the workers and this circumvention of their demands, it is necessary to oppose the capitalist politicians in every field of activity. To make such opposition effective, it is necessary to build the independent party of labor.

Notes from the News

"UNFAVORABLE" — In the Shadow of Fear, issued by the American Civil Liberties Union, lists the following among the "unfavorable" developments of the year: "The failure of President Truman to act on a petition to restore civil rights to eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party convicted in Minneapolis . . . under the Smith Sedition Act of conspiracy to advocate revolutionary doctrines. The dismissal of James Kutcher, legless veteran, from his job with the Veterans Administration on the sole basis of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, upheld by the Loyalty Review Board (to be appealed to the courts)."

* * *

HOOK CONDEMNED — The Sept. 30 **Square Bulletin**, student paper of Washington Square College, New York University, prints an article sharply condemning Professor Sidney Hook's advocacy of the anti-communist purge of teachers, and an editorial expressing opposition to educators like Hook "who leap pell-mell into the fire of Bilboism to escape the menace of William Z. Foster."

* * *

STAB IN THE BACK — UE Local 227 in Bridgeport, Conn., last week called off its five-month strike against Singer Manufacturing Co. by accepting a settlement which marked a complete victory for the company on the crucial "works standards" speedup system. This move was a crippling blow to the larger Singer UE Local 401 in Elizabeth, N. J., where 9,000 are still on strike over the same issues. Delegates of the Bridgeport local voted for the Carey-ACTU group at the UE convention while those of the Elizabeth local backed the Stalinist leadership.

* * *

REJECTS CP ENDORSEMENT — James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for Governor of New Jersey, has rejected the Communist Party's endorsement, made when it withdrew its own candidate. Imbrie said that although he is "fundamentally opposed to Communist doctrines" he is still willing to work with Stalinists or others who join the Wallaceite party "to fight for the principles for which it stands."

* * *

VILLARD DIES — Oswald Garrison Villard, liberal editor, died in New York last week at the age of 77. Villard was best known as editor of **The Nation** for many years, a founder of the NAACP, a defender of civil rights and an isolationist opponent of war.

* * *

SETBACK FOR MELISHES — The Episcopal convention in San Francisco has in effect turned down the appeal of the Rev. John Howard Melish and his son against their dismissal from the Holy Trinity Church in Brooklyn because of their associations with groups on the "subversive" list.

LOS ANGELES CITY COUNCIL VOTES DOWN FEPC

By J. Blake

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 27 — A skirmish in the fight for fair employment practices was lost here today. The City Council voted 8 to 6 against a proposal to establish a municipal fair employment practices ordinance.

The proposed measure would have made it illegal to discriminate in employment because of race, color, religion or national origin and set up fines and jail sentences as penalties for violation.

Most important lesson of the action today: Minority group workers cannot rely on capitalist politicians. Gains in securing equal job opportunities will be made only in proportion to the extent that minority and labor groups rely on their own strength in the economic and political fields to fight discrimination.

Today was the first time that sentiment against job discrimination reached the organized strength to secure a public hearing and vote by the City Council.

As minorities began to lose the gains they had made in industrial and other jobs during the wartime labor shortage, a few of their community leaders quietly and respectfully appeared before the City Council a few years ago. They had guarded against any publicity or involvement of masses. The Council just as quietly filed their proposed FEPC ordinance in the waste-basket without further ado.

This week, however, it was another story. Growing unemployment, victimizing the minorities most acutely, has reached such proportions that all of the Councilmen with sizeable Negro and Mexican populations in their districts had to commit themselves to support of the proposed ordinance. The council chamber was packed with an overflow crowd for more than five continuous hours.

HOW HEARING WAS RUN

Particularly important this time was the fact that Edward Roybal, candidate of the Mexican community, was elected from the Ninth Councilmanic District last spring in a campaign where FEPC was a major issue. Roybal led the fight in the Council for the ordinance.

At the public hearing today the Council voted to allot an hour each to those citizens speaking for and those against the measure. Lined up for the ordinance were representatives of the official labor bodies, minority groups, churches and workers' parties. Spokesmen for the Socialist Workers Party and various Communist Party groups were excluded from speaking, however, through collusion of the Councilmen and "labor and liberal leaders."

Lined up against the measure were spokesmen for reaction ranging from the Chamber of Commerce to the Christian Nationalists of Gerald Smith, with a few extreme psychopathic cases thrown in for good measure. The Christian Nationalist spokesman, picked out personally by Councilman Ed Davenport from the group waiting to speak and escorted to the microphone, indulged in an orgy of obscene race-baiting, red-baiting and Jew-baiting.

ARGUMENTS MADE

His respectable collaborators speaking against the measure did not bother to dissociate themselves from him or his kind as the labor and church spokesmen for the measure hastened to dissociate themselves from radical supporters of the measure.

Opponents of the ordinance emphasized the fact that in a state referendum three years an FEPC measure was defeated by more than 2 to 1. They warned the Councilmen against ignoring the "voice of the people" and threatened them with everything from defeat in the next election to assurance that "we are organized and will not be caught asleep" if the ordinance passed.

The most thorough case for the ordinance was made by Attorney Robert W. Gilbert of the American Federation of Labor, who provided detailed statistics and other evidence to prove that discrimination in employment exists in Los Angeles, that the proposed measure would help remedy the situation.

Neither he nor any other speaker, however, exposed the flagrant discrimination by the city government itself, which, more directly than other employers, could be affected by an FEPC ordinance. Complaints against consistent refusal by some departments to hire qualified Negroes have been met with the bland statement: "There's no provision against discrimination in our civil service code. We may choose any one of the three highest names on the list."

Morris Stein's Tour On Stalin-Tito Fight

The following is the schedule of Morris Stein's lecture tour, under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, on "The Stalin-Tito Conflict and the Crisis of World Stalinism."

Youngstown	Oct. 9-10
Akron	Oct. 11
Cleveland	Oct. 12-13
St. Louis	Oct. 14
Los Angeles	Oct. 15-19
San Francisco	Oct. 21-23
Seattle	Oct. 25-27
St. Paul-Minneapolis	Oct. 29-Nov. 1
Milwaukee	Nov. 2
Chicago	Nov. 3-5
Detroit-Flint	Nov. 6-10
Toledo	Nov. 11
Philadelphia	Nov. 13

Additional dates to be announced.

Jim Crow Is Maintained In Army's New Program

By J. Meyer

The Truman administration continues its plan to build a basis for itself among the "talented tenth," as W.E.B. Dubois, the Negro writer, once called the layer of well-educated Negroes. This is the concession it makes in order to be able to continue freely with its policy of Jim Crowing the large majority of American Negroes in every department of the federal service.

The latest manifestation of this is the "new" program for Negro troops announced by Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray and approved by Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson. The wording of the program is a study in cynicism. For example:

All military occupational specialties will be opened to all qualified personnel "without regard to race or color."

All promotions will be by open competition "without regard to race or color."

All members of school units will be trained "without regard to race or color."

But, says Secretary Gray, "This program does not mean that existing Negro units will be broken up, or that Negro personnel of these units will be scattered throughout the Army."

In other words, the vast majority of Negroes in the Army will continue to be Jim-Crowed "without regard to race or color."

The Americans for Democratic Action have denounced the plan as a "sham" and a "feeble gesture" that was "only a little better than previous attempts by the Army to sidestep the issue." The ADA called upon President Truman to reject the plan and order the end of segregation in the Army. This is indeed big talk coming from the ADA, especially when two of their leading lights, Senators Douglas of Illinois and Humphrey of Minnesota, covered themselves with disgrace not only by their capitulation on the civil rights amendments to the housing and education bills in Congress, but by the disgusting manner in which they cringed before the Southern Senators.

AS WE PREDICTED

We would like to draw attention to an article on "The Talented Tenth" which we wrote in the April issue of **Fourth International**. The article traces the nation-wide upsurge on the Negro question and shows the strategic counter-measures of the Truman administration.

It notes that hundreds of Negroes were invited to the Truman inaugural celebrations; there has been a careful distribution of some high posts to Negroes; politicians of the ADA stamp have been appointing Negroes to their personal staffs; certain big industrial firms operating through the Urban League have been taking qualified Negro personnel into their engineering departments.

The article points out that some such change in policy was necessary "or the American bourgeoisie would face disaster on the Negro question with all its national and international implications." The article stated also: "The administration, there is not the slightest doubt, is preparing to make some token moves in regard to segregation in the armed forces."

Here then is the move, and miserable as it is, its political aim is clear. To quote Secretary Gray on what his new policy means: **"It does mean that qualified Negroes, including members of these existing units, will have the opportunity to learn those skills previously unavailable to them. Hereafter, Negroes who acquire skills will be assigned to positions where their specialities may be applied in the manner most useful to the Army."**

Gray does not even promise that qualified Negroes will have full opportunities, but the promise is held out that qualified upper-class Negroes will have equal opportunity in training, and can look forward to some higher ratings than hitherto.

It is an old game this — divide and rule. It worked for generations in India. But here as elsewhere, American imperialism begins too late. Today the decisive elements among the Negroes are proletarians, workers trained and disciplined in large-scale production and union politics. All the invitations to the White House and the officers' bars on a few subservient Negro shoulders will not corrupt the determination of the great masses of Negro proletarians and semi-proletarians to put an end to Jim Crow. **And this, even when some of it is administered "without regard to race or color" by selected Negro stooges.**

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