

ACLU to Probe Violations of Union Democracy

NEW YORK, Jan. 31 — The American Civil Liberties Union is undertaking a "preliminary study" of widespread violations of members' democratic rights by officials of several AFL and CIO unions, the ACLU Board of Directors has announced.

"Within recent weeks the ACLU has been disturbed by numerous reports of illegal and undemocratic procedures in disciplinary proceedings of trade union members taken by national administrations of several CIO and AFL unions," the Board states. The majority of cases "appear to have resulted from individual opposition to the policies of the national leadership or the expression of unpopular minority political opinions."

Although it does not name them specifically, the ACLU statement makes clear that its investigation is aimed primarily at practices in the CIO National

Maritime Union and in the AFL International Seafarers Union and its affiliated Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The ACLU reports "cases where membership books, without which an individual's economic existence is imperiled, have been taken up sometimes by the use of force; outright expulsion of members has been practiced" and "violations of free speech and free press are rampant."

Stressing its non-partisanship, the ACLU states its purpose "is not to condemn the political beliefs of either individual members or heads of unions, but simply to discover if, and to what extent, the civil liberties of working men and women have been violated." It asks cooperation of union leaders and members in its inquiry.

Another ACLU statement, released today, directs attention to the notorious Jim Crow practices in the SIU-AFL. It reports that in reply to protests which the ACLU has made to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, the SCAD has informed the ACLU that the SIU "had still not accepted 'in toto' a suggested program to end such practices."

ACLU Board Chairman John Haynes Holmes, general counsel Arthur Garfield Hays, acting director Clifford Forster, Herbert Horthrup, chairman of the ACLU Labor Committee, and New York City ACLU director, Rev. John Paul Jones, have protested that "the SIU maintains separate hiring halls for Negroes and whites and that Negroes are dispatched only to the stewards department for employment regardless of their individual qualifications."

The ACLU reports that SCAD Chairman Edward W. Edwards replied that the union had answered charges of discrimination by stating that a single hiring hall "is impossible in view of the physical limitations of the union headquarters, but that larger quarters are being sought and when a new location is found the segregated hiring hall will be eliminated." SIU officials tried to justify their Jim Crow practices on the ground of "practical differences" and asked for more time "to eliminate existing segregation . . . on a gradual basis."

Newark Banquet For Jim Kutcher Highly Successful

NEWARK, Jan. 29 — Stephen J. Moran, Newark Director of Public Affairs, headed the list of prominent public figures here who warmly greeted James Kutcher at a homecoming dinner in his honor tonight at the Cadillac Restaurant. The banquet, sponsored by the New Jersey Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, marked the veteran's return from a six-months tour during which he presented the issues in his case to large sections of the labor movement and civil rights groups from coast to coast.

"This is more than a case of fighting for a veteran of World War II who has lost his limbs," said Moran. "This is an over-all fight on a fundamental principle of liberty and democracy. As one of the five city commissioners, I am more than proud to lend whatever assistance I can to the support of James Kutcher."

PROMINENT SPEAKERS

Warm applause frequently interrupted the militant speeches by the numerous labor and civil leaders who participated in Kutcher's homecoming dinner. Presiding was Peter J. Flynn, secretary-treasurer of the New Jersey State CIO Council and chairman of the

(Continued on page 4)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS VOTE FOR MERGER WITH SP

By a narrow margin the members of the Social Democratic Federation have voted in favor of merging their organization with the Socialist Party. Since a simultaneous referendum of the SP also approved the merger, the prospect is that the Social Democrats will be reunited in a single organization some time this year.

Three-fourths of the SDF membership participated in the referendum voting. Of these, 52.6% voted in favor of unity with the SP, and 47.2% voted against. 64.8% voted in favor of simultaneous conventions of the two groups to consider a program for organic unity, and 35.2% voted against.

The SP vote showed a considerably greater desire for unity, 86% voting for unity and simultaneous conventions and 14% against. This was a reflection of the fact that the SP membership is demoralized, sees no future as an independent organization and has come around to the viewpoint of the SDF on the major political questions over which their split took place in 1935.

While the SP referendum therefore took no stand on any programmatic questions, the SDF voted on two "advisory motions" to guide their leadership in the unity negotiations.

At the time of the SDF split,

NMU Seaman Reject Curran Purge Move

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 — The Curran machine in the National Maritime Union received its first major setback to-night in its attempt to purge the union of all opposition. By a vote of 902 to 827 the N. Y. membership meeting rejected the proposal of a hand-picked Curran trial committee to remove Vice President Jack Lawrence from office. Lawrence was accused of opposing the illegal removal of regularly elected N. Y. NMU officials from office and with failure to perform official duties. The voting at the meeting was conducted by the Honest Ballot Association.

What gave this particular affair its special significance was its "united front" character, particularly the participation of leading CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood officials.

Together in one seething stew of "anti-communism" were virulent labor-haters and union officials; fascists and self-proclaimed anti-fascists; anti-Semites and Jews; those who damn even the "New Deal" and "Fair Deal" as red-baiting "socialism" and those who sing hosannas to the "Welfare State."

But all delegates had one thing in common beside a mutual desire

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White House Ultimatum Handed Mine Workers

FEB. 2 — The need for all-out labor support to the coal miners was underscored when Truman two days ago moved to stiffen the resistance of the profiteering coal operators to the contract demands of the United Mine Workers.

On the eve of yesterday's renewal of negotiations between the union and Northern and Western mine owners, Truman issued a virtual ultimatum to the miners to resume work on a "normal production" basis without a contract or be clubbed into submission with a Taft-Hartley injunction.

Truman did not refer specifically to the Taft-Hartley Act. But his direct intervention and his emphasis on his "grave concern" about the continued strike of more than 100,000 soft coal miners and the three-day week, left no doubt that he intends to wield the Slave Labor Law if the miners don't resume five-day work on terms dictated by the owners.

Truman's ultimatum, to which he demanded a reply by 5 P.M. on Saturday, Feb. 4, was couched in terms of a proposal for "voluntary action, not compulsion." But it would be about as "voluntary" as a man handing over his wallet with a gun pointed at his head.

Truman demanded a 70-day "truce" during which the miners would go back to "normal production" at the wages and conditions prevailing under the old contract that expired last July. Truman would pick a three-man "fact-finding" board to "study" the dispute and bring in recommendations 60 days after Feb. 6.

The mine owners immediately indicated delight at this proposal. Why not? It would give them 70 days to pile up surplus coal, and

by then the cold-weather "burning season" will be over. The operators will be in better position to resist the miners' pressure.

As for Truman's "fact-finding" board the "findings" of his steel board have already indicated what the miners can expect. That board established a principle of \$100-a-month pensions including federal social security; the miners now get \$100-a-month retirement payments over and above social security. The steel board also laid down the general proposition that there shall be no industry-wide wage increases. And it supported the contention of the monopoly corporations that industry-wide collective bargaining means union "monopoly."

Naturally, the operators are most agreeable to "fact-finding" because, as the N. Y. Times points

Beginning this week Ernest Germain, noted Marxist writer, becomes a regular correspondent for The Militant with a new column dealing with current events and problems of world importance:

European Notebook
(See first article on Page 2 of this issue.)

ed out, "they are confident they have a strong case, particularly in terms of the fact-finding report in steel."

Meanwhile, the UMW is being threatened from another angle by the Truman administration. The miners' legal counsel were in federal court yesterday to fight NLRB General Counsel Denham's petition for an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act to restrain the union from taking any action in support of what the operators, and Denham on their behalf, call the "illegal demands" of the miners. Truman has ignored labor's demand that he remove Denham.

UMW President John L. Lewis has stated he will make known the union's reply to Truman's ultimatum before the deadline. He has previously strongly assailed government intervention on through the "fact-finding" device.

The UMW leader's hand has been strengthened to resist Truman's strikebreaking intervention by the magnificent stand of the miners, whose "no contract, no work" strike — primarily in the coal subsidiaries of the steel corporations — has grown more widespread since Truman's demand that they go back without a contract.

At this crucial juncture of the struggle, the intervention of the entire labor movement would prove decisive. A direct appeal by Lewis to the CIO, AFL and other unions would undoubtedly evoke an enormous response from the rank and file of labor. The moral support and material aid of millions of union men and women can tip the balance in favor of a speedy victory for the miners.

H-Bomb Faces Humanity With Annihilation

People Must Take the Power To Decide Peace or War

SWP Leader To Be Honored

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 — James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be honored on his 60th birthday by a dinner and social to be held here on Feb. 11. Friends and members of the party will join in wishing him a happy birthday and pay tribute to his 40 years of devoted service to the labor and socialist movement.

His career as a fighter for working class emancipation began in the IWW before World War I. Later he became a leader of the Socialist Party left-wing and one of the founders of the CP. His struggle for the principles of revolutionary internationalism led to his expulsion from the Stalinized CP and the formation of the American Trotskyist movement. He was imprisoned for opposing World War II.

The dinner will be held in the New Starlight Restaurant, 55 Irving Pl., Sat., Feb. 11 at 7 P.M. After the dinner there will be brief speeches and the program will conclude with a social evening at 115 University Pl. Reservations can be made by writing the SWP New York Local at that address, or calling Gramercy 5-8149. Admission for the dinner and program is \$1.50.

President Truman followed up his brazen declaration that the decision on making the Hell-Bomb was "his and his alone" by issuing on Jan. 31 the fateful order to go full speed ahead with the mass production of the Hell-Bomb. Truman's Hell-Bomb order was timed deliberately with the publication of the semi-annual report of the Atomic Energy Commission which boasts that the mass production and stockpiling of A-Bombs has been greatly improved and is proceeding at a stepped-up pace.

The same report indicates that the Hell-Bomb project is already beyond the blue-print stage and is actually in laboratory production. Senator McMahon, chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Committee, also deliberately left this impression at a press interview on the eve of Truman's official announcement whose real meaning is that the mass production of the Hell-Bomb is to be launched immediately.

What does the decision relating to the Hell-Bomb actually involve? It involves directly the lives of millions of people, if not all of them. It is the millions of civilians in all cities, big and small, in this country and throughout the world, who are the real targets of the Hell-Bomb whose

major effectiveness, like that of the A-Bomb, lies in destroying not military objectives or forces but primarily civilians, cities and industrial installations.

And the Hell-Bomb is merely the second installment in the frantic atomic armaments race. There will follow inescapably the third, fourth and other installments, each spelling out more infernal destruction than the one before.

The Hell-Bomb itself, with its unlimited blast potential, spells out the total annihilation of any and all cities, any and all inhabitants. How is it that such a life-and-death decision is made by a single individual?

CIVIL RIGHTS MENACED

The American people have now been told not only to accept a course that may lead to universal suicide, destroying civilization and perhaps the planet itself; the Hell-Bomb decision involves directly all their democratic liberties as well.

We have had a taste of what happens to civil rights under a "security regime" involving the A-Bomb. The production of the Hell-Bomb will provide the basis for a spy-mania and witch-hunts which will make the current ones pale by comparison. The Washington witch-hunters under the cover of "national security" will presently attempt to undertake the wholesale destruction of civil liberties. Let there be no illusions on this score.

When it comes to the complete surrender of their lives and their liberties, who must and should decide if not the people themselves? All these issues intimately linked with the Hell-Bomb are more than ever before concentrated in the question of who shall decide on whether there shall be peace or war.

LET PEOPLE DECIDE!

Dr. Arthur H. Compton, famous atom scientist and now Chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis, has come out publicly in favor of letting the people decide on whether the Hell-Bomb shall be built or not.

In a statement issued Jan. 30 to the International News Service, Dr. Compton flatly rejected the contention that even this question could be safely left to "experts, either militarists or scientists," and insisted that the decision must rest with the people.

To be sure, Dr. Compton shies away from drawing the full and consistent conclusion that flows from his position, namely, that the people themselves must decide the over-riding question of peace or war. He even suggests that a "public opinion" poll would serve just as well. It would of course be little less than mockery to entrust the final say on any vital issue to the pollsters, the most discredited of all "experts."

But the gist of Dr. Compton's position is sound enough. It stands in refreshing contrast to the position of other scientists who have either remained silent in public, or have plumped for the H-Bomb, voicing this or that minor disagreement over how its mass production should be undertaken.

It is necessary to take the war-making (not only Hell-Bomb making) powers out of the hands of President and Congress and let the people themselves decide whether there shall be peace or atomic-hell war let loose upon our planet.

PA. MINERS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE BATTLE

By F. Forest

BROWNSVILLE, Pa., Jan. 29 — "No contract, no work" took on new significance last week when 4,000 miners met here and decided to strike until a contract

was won. These men have been without a contract for 7 months; without a 3-day week for 42 days, and have now been either cut off entirely from credit by the company store or are limited to \$1 a day for the entire family, and miners' families are large. The last straw was the audacity of the coal operators in going to court to force them to work full time without a contract.

The miners said nothing doing, and showed their defiance of both the coal operators and the government trying to utilize the Taft-Hartley Slave Law against their working conditions. Their ranks are unbroken, their morale is

very high and so is their defiance of any and all who try to tell them they are a "monopoly" and have no say over "production."

This has been played up by the capitalist press as a revolt against Lewis. But as one local union official put it, "Hell, if Murray and Green had fought half as hard as Lewis and the UMW there would be no Taft-Hartley Law!" Another said, "We are the vanguard of the whole labor movement. We have often been way out front and here we are again. But we know that if we take one single step backward, we will lose everything we have fought so hard to gain over these years."

TILL WE GET CONTRACT

Although it was Sunday, many workers were milling around Moose Hall where the union meets and they were all talking excitedly about the Wednesday meeting of Lewis with the coal operators. "They" — that is how they referred to the coal operators — will know that we are staying out until we get a contract. If you want to call it "pressure," go ahead, said one.

Another said: The Wednesday meeting doesn't matter, one way or another, we will continue to stay out until a contract is won, no matter what. As for Denham, his name is less than mud around here. "Who the hell does he think he is?" One old militant said "He has no power whatever against all of us."

Some of the militants around here felt the full weight of the government during the war when William Patterson was imprisoned under the Smith-Connally Act and two others got two-year probation periods. "Wild-cattling?" "Hasn't a man a right to work or not to work? Let them then go and dig the coal."

The Militant was widely read (Continued on Page 4)

A 'Labor' Cover for the Legion-Hearst Mob

By Art Preis

There's nothing unique about the American Legion and the Hearst press trying to whip up a mass vigilante movement against civil rights and "communism." From this standpoint the Legion-sponsored and Hearst-promoted "All-American Conference to Combat Communism," held in New York City Jan. 28-29 was not especially newsworthy.

What gave this particular affair its special significance was its "united front" character, particularly the participation of leading CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood officials.

Together in one seething stew of "anti-communism" were virulent labor-haters and union officials; fascists and self-proclaimed anti-fascists; anti-Semites and Jews; those who damn even the "New Deal" and "Fair Deal" as red-baiting "socialism" and those who sing hosannas to the "Welfare State."

But all delegates had one thing in common beside a mutual desire

to deny civil rights to anyone they choose to call a "communist" — they were all white. The sponsors of the conference had "overlooked" any invitation to Negro organizations, however anti-"communist." But there was an invitation to Mervin K. Hart, head of the strikebreaking American Legion; Senator Karl Mundt, former acting chairman of the House Un-American Witch-Hunt Committee and co-author of the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston police-state bill; Jack B. Tenney, California state senator who headed that state's "Little Dies" Committee. The Chamber of Commerce and National Association of Manufacturers were also "in on the act."

Mundt, William Randolph Hearst Jr., Sokolsky, Lieut. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith and Tenney keynoted the conference. All of them foamed at the mouth about the "menace" of the Soviet Union and what would happen to the U. S. if this country didn't hurry up and drop "the Bomb" first.

Carey got up in this unsavory

company and made a speech in which, while professing the need for opposing reaction in "peace-time," he declared, "In the last war we joined with the Communists to fight the Fascists. In another war we will join the Fascists to defeat the Communists."

Carey wasn't waiting for the next war, however. Right in this "United Front against Communism," he and the other union spokesmen were joining forces with the very elements who will form the spearhead of any serious fascist movement that will develop in America.

A "LABOR" COVER
The last day of the conference was a locked-door session from which the press was barred. Thereafter, the announcement was made that another conference would be called to set up a permanent organization and that Legion Commander Craig had picked a 17-man steering committee to direct the interim activities of the "United Front."

European Notebook

Europe, 1950

By Ernest Germain

In 1900, world politics was European politics. The great European powers had divided the globe among themselves and as supreme rulers determined the fate of four continents. The English bourgeoisie ruled the seas and the markets. German capitalism approached the pinnacle of its scientific and economic progress. The French bankers were usurers for half the world.

In 1950, European politics has become world politics. Europe is divided between American imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy who as supreme rulers determine its fate. The English bourgeoisie, having long since lost their rule over the seas, see their empire shrinking like a cheap suit in the rain. The German capitalists are reduced to peddling their scientists and haggling over the extent to which their factories should be dismantled. As for the French bankers, they eke out their existence thanks only to the loans they receive from their American uncle.

In 1900, at its apogee, capitalist Europe was based on the exploitation, poverty and degradation of three continents. The fervent knights of European civilization put their brand on the African brush and the Pacific islands, the Arab oases and the towns of China. Everywhere famine, opium, syphilis and forced labor followed in the wake of the generals, the traders and the missionaries. They exterminated the Hereros in Southwest Africa; they depopulated entire regions in the Congo and New Guinea. Hunger, the most totalitarian force in the world, drove Chinese and Japanese by the thousands over the oceans.

WARS AND REVOLUTIONS

In 1950, the decline and disintegration of capitalist Europe is not accompanied by prosperity anywhere in the non-European world with the exception of the United States of America. Wars and famine, revolutions and counter-revolutions continue to exterminate thousands of unfortunate residents of Africa, Asia and Latin America. But the boons previously exported are coming back to the donor laden with a half-century's interest. We have returned to the times when barefoot children are to be seen on the highways of Europe. Jews, Germans, Ukrainians, Balts have been transplanted, deported, driven to forced labor, exterminated as once were the Kanakas of the Pacific, Vienna, Budapest, Petrograd, Berlin, Turin — these are no longer the dwelling places of triumphant modern monarchies — they have become poor agglomerations with wounds gaping in the streets as well as in human flesh. And hunger no longer lies only beyond the ocean; its emaciated

face is to be seen in every European city.

In 1900, the rise of capitalist Europe saw at the same time the rise of its gravediggers, the socialist proletariat. Marxist ideas, hardly emerged from intellectual circles, advanced to the conquest of the masses. In Germany, in Sweden, in Austria, in Belgium, the socialist parties and trade unions already included the majority of the working class in their ranks. Everywhere, the proletariat was gradually tearing itself free from a century of brutalization and ignorance, everywhere it was filled with fervent hope of a better society. The road to socialism seemed wide open.

In 1950, the number of workers and the number of socialist workers is infinitely higher than it was half a century ago. There is no country in Europe where the majority of the working class is not in organizations which claim to be based on the class struggle.

NEW BELIEFS

But at the same time, the old generation of socialist and communist militants, discouraged by twenty years of defeats, has lost its ardor and its confidence in Marxist ideas. The working class youth has not received any Marxist education for more than two decades. The workers' organizations are covered with the most abysmal crimes. For these reasons, the road to socialism today seems longer, more difficult and more obscure than ever.

But to understand how completely unjustified is this pessimism, it suffices only to look closer at the relations between the masses and their leaders 50 years ago and today. In 1900, the socialist leaders attempted to imbue the instinctively anti-capitalist working class masses with an elementary Marxist education. The wealth and stability of European capitalism created no basis for a revolutionary workers' struggle, except on the periphery of the continent, in Russia and in Poland. The experience of the masses was limited to strikes and electoral battles. The reformism of the official leadership corresponded to the sentiments and illusions of a majority of the proletariat.

In 1950, except for a few Scandinavian countries and Great Britain, the combative sections of the proletariat no longer believe in a gradual development toward socialism. The experience of the last decades has taught them to fight for their rights arms in hand, in Vienna as in Barcelona, in Milan as in Athens, in the

French Against Viet-Name



These women fighters are on their way to an internment camp after being seized by French troops seeking to smash the Indo-Chinese independence movement. France's puppet government in Indo-China is now awaiting U. S. arms and funds to be used to deny the Indo-Chinese people the right to establish a government of their own choice.

workers' suburbs of Paris and in the ruins of Warsaw, in the Yugoslav forests and in the mountains of Norway.

The conservative and reactionary mentality of the working class leaders no longer corresponds to the instinctively revolutionary surge of the workers and poor peasants but is in flagrant opposition to it. The revolutionary vanguard, still numerically small, consciously expresses the ideas which millions have been seeking instinctively to apply in practice.

In 1900, when Europe was at the peak of its prosperity, the perspectives, considered retrospectively, were rather somber. Triumphant imperialism was preparing to hurl the continent into two bloody wars. The working class, paralyzed by an incompetent leadership and by a lack of revolutionary experience, was momentarily impotent to assure the rising. Only the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, succeeded in seizing power from the propertied classes. But remaining isolated in a capitalist environment, the Russian Revolution succumbed to the barbarous past of the country and underwent a frightful degeneration. This Stalinist degeneration of a large part of the international working class leadership then became the main obstacle to a victorious struggle against decadent capitalism.

SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

In 1950, when the disintegration of Europe seems to be definitive, the perspectives of socialism are more real than ever before. A first wave of the European revolution, from 1943 to 1945, was not sufficiently broad to liberate the workers' movement from its Stalinist masters. But it aroused new millions to political life, and the chronic crisis of capitalism is con-

stantly mobilizing these millions for the defense of their elementary rights. Through their experiences of struggle they slowly but surely are assimilating the lessons of the victories and the defeats of the past. The crisis of Stalinism, and especially the courageous resistance of the Yugoslav workers and peasants to the Kremlin diktat, opens a wide breach in the bureaucratic wall through which revolutionary ideas are finding and will find a way. Before the Third World War becomes an immediate threat, the European proletariat will yet measure once again its forces with those of its enemies, and this battle is heralded under the most favorable subjective conditions at any time since 1923.

TO ASSURE EMANCIPATION

The rise of bourgeois Europe saw the rise of the great national states. Nothing better illustrates the irrevocable decadence of the bourgeoisie than its inability to unify the continent at a time when this unification becomes a life-and-death question for it. But our Europe, the Europe of the laboring masses, is a promise whose fulfillment comes closer with each step forward of the workers' movement. The day is not far off when the workers of the whole continent will inscribe these magic words on their banners in every strike and every demonstration: "For the Socialist United States of Europe! All power to the committees of workers and poor peasants!" To affect the fusion between the proletariat and the revolutionary program expressed in these slogans is to assure the emancipation of the old continent from decadence and tyranny, from hunger and oppression, from unemployment and war. That is the mission of the Fourth International.

Yugoslav Job-Freeze

By John G. Wright

Last week's Militant reported the promises of the Tito regime to introduce such reforms as liberalizing the electoral laws and instituting "advisory" workers councils in industry. Latest dispatches from Belgrade tell of the decision to promulgate labor legislation that would freeze workers to their jobs, deprive those who leave their jobs "without authorization" of ration cards, and impose fines and other penalties for "unjustifiable absenteeism."

According to the Belgrade correspondent of the N. Y. Times, this decree makes six-month contracts compulsory in industry and transport; and three-month contracts in building trades, timber industry and farming. These contracts may include a clause obliging the worker "to reimburse any effective loss in production resulting from unjustifiable absenteeism."

It means that severe fines may be imposed not only for skipping a day's work but also for tardiness. Severe penalty of all is the loss of a ration card for leaving a job, which will henceforth be construed as "breach of contract." Food and necessities, without a ration card, are so highly priced as to be beyond the reach of the vast majority of the workers.

The loss of ration cards is also to be extended to all those who

own 5 acres or more; households with an annual income of 15,000 dinars — a relatively high standard for Yugoslavia — are similarly affected.

Jovan Vesiljovic, Vice-Premier of Serbia, speaking before the Serbian Parliament, explained the necessity for this drastic decree by citing a huge turnover of more than 60% in the first ten months of 1949 among the state enterprises in that area. He maintained that Serbian workers "quit their jobs because they were not under contract and had no obligations."

Statements like that are typical of the reasoning of narrow-minded bureaucrats. Yugoslavia is suffering simultaneously from an acute shortage of labor, a huge turnover of the labor force and low productivity. These are consequences which inescapably accompany any attempts to industrialize a backward country. The higher the tempo, all the greater the difficulties.

The cardinal Marxist precept is to solve all these and similar difficulties within the framework of the democratic intervention of the workers through freely functioning Councils (Soviets), through the participation of the workers in the control and management of enterprises, and, in the final analysis, in the elaboration and application of planning itself.

In absence of these, inadequate housing, poor living conditions and, because of bureaucratic mis-

management, insufferable working conditions tend to become not the exception but the norm. In his recent speech to the Slovenian miners, Tito himself admitted as much.

The proposal to introduce workers councils tended in the direction of solving these problems in a progressive manner; the drastic labor legislation takes just the opposite course and, in fact, vitiates the role and meaning of such councils.

KREMLIN PRACTICES

The classic example of bureaucratic planning is, of course, afforded by the Kremlin. Its economic objectives, which flow from the fantastic and fatal Stalinist conception of building socialism in one country, are geared completely to the needs of projected capital construction to which the needs of the masses are utterly subordinated and which can be fulfilled, if at all, only by ever tightening the screws on the toiling population, extorting greater and greater sacrifices, vesting the bureaucracy with ever more sweeping powers.

The theory of building socialism in one country is by no means an empty abstraction. Inherent in it are bureaucratic methods and practices. With such a theory as a starting point, the self-action and intervention of the masses in the elaboration and fulfillment of any and all plans is almost automatically pushed further and

further into the background. The bureaucracy, bureaucratic methods of operation, waste and inefficiency, cracking of the whip, application of bureaucratic coercive measures against the mass of the workers, come more and more to the fore.

WHEN PRODUCTION ROSE

The whole history of Stalinist planning shows that it is impossible to solve in this way either the problem of labor shortages or of labor turnover and productivity of labor.

On the other hand, the Yugoslav leaders have themselves admitted that conditions and production were highest in their own experience where the workers have been permitted the greatest elbow-room and participation. In fact, this record has been advanced as one of the main reasons for the introduction of "advisory" workers councils.

If in this instance the Tito regime started to depart from the theory and practice of Stalinism, then in sponsoring such measures as the job freeze, they are still in part blindly following the same road as Stalin traveled in the Soviet Union. If they continue on this road, the Yugoslav bureaucracy will rapidly grow and entrench itself, instead of being combatted and subjected to control of the masses as the Belgrade leaders have publicly avowed they wish to do.

WASHINGTON BACKS FRENCH INDO-CHINA PUPPET

By Charles Hanley

Having failed to crush the Viet-Nam movement by armed intervention, the French imperialists are seeking to reconquer Indo-China by political maneuvers. They have granted "independence" to the puppet government of Bao Dai which they set up in the coastal provinces occupied by the French Foreign Legion and other French regiments. But that kind of "independence" in the framework of the French Union (i.e., the French colonial empire) has no attraction for the Indo-Chinese.

They know Bao Dai, ex-emperor of Annam, who supported French imperialism before the war, pledged loyalty to Marshal Petain in 1940, collaborated with the Japanese imperialists to whom Petain conceded military bases in Indo-China, flirted with the new Republic of the Viet-Nam in 1945, and in an attempt to influence its policy, and then became a quailing agent, heading a French puppet government and now look-

ing for American recognition and military aid.

Bao Dai represents the feudal lords and their allies in the towns, the native bourgeoisie — a class which cannot resist the pressure of the native masses without support from foreign imperialists. The former emperor, who is scared by Mao Tse-tung's victory in China, wants to build up his own army and is hoping for American dollars and tanks which, according to latest dispatches, are to be shortly forthcoming. The French, American and British imperialists look at him with sympathy.

The bankrupt French bourgeoisie has spared nothing in order to reconquer that rich colony, the land of rice, cotton, rubber, silk and other important raw materials. Let us quote a passage from a Jan. 27 dispatch by C. L. Sulzberger, foreign correspondent of the N. Y. Times:

"NO SIGNS OF ENDING"

"Approximately 35 per cent of France's military budget is ex-

ended in Viet-Nam. . . in a struggle that shows no signs of ending. It is estimated that the overall cost to France of the partisan struggle amounts to \$500,000,000 annually, when items not directly visible on the budget are included. As a result: 1. France, which is scheduled to be the keystone of the arch in Western defense preparations on the Continent and which may receive up to 50 percent of North Atlantic aid appropriations of the United States, continues to be permanently weakened. The bulk of the fighting strength of her army is fighting an invisible guerrilla war against Ho Chi Minh's organization, the Viet-Minh. The conflict shows not the slightest sign of ending. . ."

Millions of French workers feel that this is not their war, but the war of their exploiters. More and more, the French dockers and other sectors of the French working class are opposing shipments of war material and troops to Indo-China.

But it should be remembered that the French Stalinist party which is now organizing actions of resistance and parliamentary protests against the Indo-Chinese war, for several years scandal-

ously supported this imperialist policy of intervention in Indo-China and of maintaining the "French Union," whereas the French Trotskyists have opposed the imperialist war in Indo-China from the very beginning and always supported the Viet-Nam struggle for independence.

MERIT OUR SUPPORT

The people of the Viet-Nam want complete independence; and because President Ho Chi Minh is at the head of the fight against the French forces, the Viet-Nam people are supporting him and his Viet-Minh government. Bao Dai, the agent of foreign imperialism, has no prestige whatsoever.

There are indeed few finer symbols of the birth of New Asia than the long and tough struggle which the partisans of the Viet-Nam Republic are putting up against the armored units and bombers of the French army, against the former SS-men of the Foreign Legion. They merit the support of the American workers who should protest in strongest terms against sending arms to Bao Dai or recognizing his "government."

Atomic Energy and Capitalist Society

By Arne Swaback

The popular term "splitting the atom" means in reality the transformation of one kind of atomic nucleus into another kind of atomic nucleus. Matter changes form, and in the process energy is released.

Experimental attempts of "splitting the atom" were initiated by shooting bullets at the atomic nuclei. What kind of bullets were used? Obviously one cannot crush a microbe with a drop hammer weighing several tons; one must use something closer to the microbe's own size. The bullets scientists shot at the atomic nuclei were particles of nuclear size — electrons, protons, neutrons, alpha particles, etc.

And yet the instrument that was used to shoot these bullets, the cyclotron, is an imposing piece of machinery indeed. The largest in existence, recently built at California University, weighs several thousand tons.

The cyclotron, through the medium of a rotating electromagnetic field, impels the shooting particles around in a circular course until they have speeds corresponding to millions of volts of energy, and lets them go at the nuclear target.

Protons were used as projectiles, but the positively charged atomic nuclei tended to repel the similarly charged protons. Elec-

trons proved too light and were easily deflected. Neutrons, however, carrying no electric charge and not subject to forces of repulsion, proved to be the most effective projectiles, even though used in the cyclotron only indirectly. Neutrons, when released, move at a speed of thousands of miles a second, and penetrate iron, lead or other heavy elements like a rifle bullet going through cheese.

When the cyclotron bombardment recorded rare hits on the target, changes sometimes occurred in the struck nuclei. Either by having some of their particles knocked out, they were transformed from one kind of nuclei into another kind, or they were simply transformed into nuclei of a different weight.

The initial stage of these man-made nuclear transformations had one result in common: when the bombarded nucleus broke into two fragments, one of them was always very small, while the other contained all the rest of the nucleus. This could hardly be called atom splitting.

THE PRINCIPLE

But in 1936 some German scientists discovered that when a neutron of not high but low velocity (so-called slow neutrons) hit a nucleus of uranium-235, the nucleus split into two fragments

of almost equal size. This is nuclear fission and the basic principle of the atom bomb.

From this process of actual nuclear fission, scientists were able to calculate the amount of energy set free by following Einstein's principle of the equivalence of mass and energy. In the fission a small part of the mass of the uranium nucleus is converted into energy. It is only a small part of the mass indeed; the difference in mass between the uranium atom and its fragments was only one-tenth of 1 percent. But, as already noted, this still corresponds to enormous energy. Potentially this is the greatest energy source ever devised by man.

The energy release per fission of a uranium nucleus is approximately 200 million electron volts. It has been estimated that the atomic energy in one pound of matter, if it were all released, would be equivalent to the total energy produced by the entire electric power industry of the United States running for one month. But such an energy release involves what is called chain reaction.

Neutrons are emitted in the process of nuclear fission, the average number per fission being between one and three. Let us suppose that two neutrons are thus emitted, then the initial neutron supplied to a block of uranium-235 causes the fission of one atom, that will lead to the emission of two neutrons, each of these will produce fission, resulting in the emission of four neutrons, and this multiplication will continue indefinitely. As the fissions multiply the energy stored in the uranium nuclei is liberated.

If unchecked, such a nuclear chain reaction leads to a violent explosion like that of the atom bomb which is made for the destruction of life. But the chain reaction can also be perfectly controlled and used for the production of atomic power for the benefit of mankind. So far we have considered only

uranium-235 which is one of several isotopes of uranium. Isotopes are simply atoms of the same element but of different weight. The atoms of most elements exist in several isotopes. The identity of the atom, that is, the element which that atom makes up, is determined by the total positive electric charge on the nucleus, or what amounts to the same thing, by the total number of protons in the nucleus. The weight of the atom is the sum of the weight of its protons, plus the weight of its neutrons.

DISCOVER NEW ELEMENT

Thus the uranium-235 atoms carry only 143 neutrons in the nucleus which in addition to the 92 protons gives a weight of 235, whereas atoms of the ordinary uranium-238 carry 3 more neutrons. But uranium-235 is the explosive, or fissionable, kind, whereas uranium-238 is not explosive. Moreover, the former is extremely scarce; it exists in ordinary uranium only to the extent of seven-tenths of 1 percent.

But the explosive chain reaction can proceed only through uranium-235. When the neutron projectile hits a nucleus of the far more predominant uranium-238, it is usually captured and absorbed within that nucleus. What happens in this case? By the addition of one neutron, uranium-238 becomes uranium-239, still another isotope, which is unstable.

However, to understand what happens to this unstable isotope it is necessary to take another look at the neutron. The prevailing view is that the neutron is in actuality a collapsed proton-electron combination with the opposite electric charges neutralizing and cancelling each other, and with the electron's motion lost.

From the unstable uranium-239 nucleus two of the neutrons break down and shoot out their two electrons, which pass into the electronic orbit. Thereby two neutrons

have been converted into two protons. By this process the number of protons in the nucleus increases by two at the expense of two neutrons. The result is that the atom is no longer an atom of uranium. It now contains 94 protons instead of 92; it is the atom of a different and a new element altogether. In fact it is a man-made element, one not known to exist in nature. This new element has been named plutonium, and plutonium is used for the atom bomb.

When plutonium is bombarded with "slow" neutrons it undergoes fission exactly the same way as does uranium-235 with the same great release of energy. Non explosive uranium-238, which is many times more abundant than the other isotope, has by this process been transformed into explosive material.

A GREAT TRIBUTE

This magic in metals stands out as a great tribute to modern scientific developments. For the future it holds great promise. Further studies of the awesome forces that are buried within the atom undoubtedly will reveal new and limitless powers which may, under favorable social conditions, serve to transform industry, make land more fertile, and help to conquer the ravages of disease.

Today, however, atomic energy for socially useful purposes is of little or no interest to the rulers of capitalist society. Their whole concern is centered on its military possibilities.

The development of bigger and better atom bombs is now a most important part of an armaments race on a monstrous scale. Active research in this field began here even before the United States formally entered the war. Under government sponsorship thousands of scientific workers were drawn into the atom bomb program in the universities and elsewhere. By 1940 the lid of secrecy was clamped down. Natural science was put into a strait-

jacket. Exchange of information, the very life blood of scientific research, was shut off.

Scientists protested vehemently, but to no avail. They had used to imagine themselves to be free spirits delving into the abstract, theoretical realms of the unknown; now they became just hired hands, assigned specific tasks in research, while subjected to the indignities and persecutions of the witch-hunt campaign.

Many scientific talents came here from other lands. Many, who had formerly been prominent in the development of Hitler's war machine, came here from Germany, despite the fact that the United States immigration laws did not permit enemy aliens to enter. These were snatched up, so to speak, as one of the first acts of the American occupation authority, before they would fall into the hands of the erstwhile allies, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Late in 1946 the American Military Government in Germany announced that 300 German scientific workers had been sent to the United States, and that around 1,000 would finally be sent. They were put to work under contract to the War Department.

The echo from the atomic blasts of World War II had scarcely faded away before preparations began to make bigger and better bombs for World War III. (The fifth article in this series will be printed next week.)

PIONEER POCKET LIBRARY:

1. The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International 64 pp. 25c
2. The Suppressed Testament of Lenin with an article by Leon Trotsky 48 pp. 25c

THE MILITANT ARMY

3,200 Extra Copies Of Miners' Edition Ordered by Branches



Branches of the Socialist Workers Party ordered 3,200 extra copies of last week's Militant devoted to the current struggle of the miners.

Pittsburgh and Philadelphia each ordered 1,000 extra copies to distribute in the mine areas of Pennsylvania. Other branches planned sales among city workers to aid in rallying the labor movement behind the miners. Chicago ordered 450 extras; Milwaukee, 200; St. Paul, 75; Seattle, 50; and St. Louis, 7.

Comrades in the West Virginia coal fields ordered 200 extra copies. Jim Singleton, Literature Agent in Morgantown, West Virginia, notes that The Militant is particularly appreciated by the miners in times of struggle "as the press in the region vacillates when the pressure is on."

The New York Local ordered 200 extras to launch a one-month subscription campaign for The Militant. Nearly 50 points were scored during the first Sunday mobilization (each 6 month subscription scores 2 points). Bezie, from the Bronx branch, was high scorer with a total of 6 points. Irving Beinin and Doris, who went out as a team, were runner-ups with 6 points between them.

As prizes to top sub-getters during the campaign, New York is offering a table-top radio and a copy of Paul Blanshard's American Freedom and Catholic Power.

Two comrades of the New York Local, Ray and Ruby, also sold 24 Militants at a meeting of the New

York delegation to the Civil Rights Mobilization. This meeting was held several days after the delegation had returned from Washington.

Dixon Woods, Literature Agent in San Francisco, reports that about eight Militants are sold each week at the University of California campus in Berkeley. San Francisco has also started the first of a series of monthly renewal mobilizations.

From Los Angeles, Bert Deck writes that "Vivienne is now back selling at her regular street corner. She sells about 20 Militants in an hour. R. takes time to sell on the campus although working full time in a factory; five copies of Fourth International and a Militant were sold last week. Last night Helen sold 20 Militants in a half-hour at the CIO Council meeting. These three will be taking regular weekly stands at selling our literature. D. is now taking 25 Militants a week to sell and distribute to his student friends. E. has been getting our literature into the hands of Stalinists and liberals on the campus."

Comrade Howard Mason of Detroit writes that "at a meeting of officers of the Chrysler unions, 7 Militants were sold, in spite of the fact that other political papers were being given away free." He also reports that the Detroit youth "resumed their campus sales and met with phenomenal success. In one day they sold 22 Militants, 5 FI's and assorted pamphlets. Not bad, eh?"

H.A., of Chicago, sent \$2 to renew his subscription for another year. "The Militant is a paper that I highly recommend to all workers I come in contact with," he says. And a friend from Canada, H.D., sent in \$2.80 from his unemployment check of \$14.40 as a contribution to The Militant. H.D. will no doubt agree that you don't have to be unemployed to appreciate the value of a socialist paper but it helps.

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1 for six months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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TROTSKY

"The bourgeoisie and its agents use the war question, more than any other, to deceive the people by means of abstractions, general formulas, lame phraseology: 'neutrality,' 'collective security,' 'arming for the defense of peace,' 'national defense,' 'struggle against fascism,' and so on. All such formulas reduce themselves in the end to the fact that the war question, i.e., the fate of the people, is left in the hands of the imperialists, their governing staffs, their diplomacy, their generals, with all their intrigues and plots against the people."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Death Agony of Capitalism*, 1935.

LENIN

Spotlight on Union Dictators

The announcement by the American Civil Liberties Union that it feels impelled to investigate "illegal and undemocratic" practices in several AFL and CIO unions — including the Seafarers International Union and the National Maritime Union — reinforces the charges this paper has repeatedly made about the scandalous violations of union democracy by officials of these organizations.

We have made it plain that we believe the bureaucratic tramping on membership rights in these and other unions should be eliminated by the action of the members themselves. Only the union ranks can effectively eradicate these abuses and keep vigilant guard against their recurrence.

But we recognize that sometimes the membership is rendered almost helpless by sheer terrorism and gangster violence and that it has no other recourse than to obtain the aid of disinterested and non-partisan organizations like the ACLU in bringing attention to conditions in their unions. That is the case in the NMU, where the Curran machine has had the help of the city police to crush the opposition, which represents a majority of the New York members. Likewise, in the SIU, the members have been terrorized

by goon-violence. By its splendid record in the defense of civil liberties for more than three decades, the ACLU merits the confidence of union progressives. While it is extremely regrettable that ACLU intervention should be made necessary, we are glad that this intervention is being undertaken by an organization whose concern for democratic rights has been demonstrated in hundreds of cases.

In exposing the Jim Crow practices in the SIU, the ACLU has taken the step of protesting these practices to a government agency, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. To invite government intervention into unions for any reason is always dangerous, because it reinforces a precedent which in 99 out of a hundred cases results in aid to the employers against the unions.

But here again, the responsibility for such intervention rests squarely on the SIU officials. They invite SCAD intervention by their enforcement, through economic reprisals and physical intimidation, of racial discrimination in the union, which in turn reinforces the discrimination maintained by the shipping companies to create division and conflict among the workers.

"Always Refreshing"

Commenting on the struggle between the UE and the IUE-CIO, which is increasingly becoming a battle of injunctions, Lemuel R. Boulware, General Electric vice-president in charge of labor relations, said last week:

"It is always refreshing to see unions apply to the courts for the supposedly hated injunction, as there is inherent in such moves the admission that the injunction is an honorable and useful instrument."

And that's the truth. When unions seek injunctions against other unions, they create the atmosphere in which employers can seek injunctions against unions, and that kind of situation is "always refreshing" to the capitalist class.

These are not the only kind of actions by unions which benefit and please the ruling class. Take the case of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, where President David Dubinsky has succeeded in imposing the rule that all members wanting to be candidates for office in the union must first sign the non-communist affidavit required by the Taft-Hartley Act.

Taft and Hartley could both say with full honesty that it is refreshing to see

such a requirement in the ILGWU because inherent in such moves is the admission that the Taft-Hartley Act is a good thing.

The brass hats who want to establish a military dictatorship in this country must view with similar satisfaction the expulsion of oppositionists from the maritime unions. If it is all right for union bureaucrats to expel members from the maritime industry because of their political beliefs, why isn't it all right for military bureaucrats to do the same in other industries?

We have always condemned the union bureaucrats for being capitalist-minded, particularly in their politics but also in their general values, objectives and methods. Nothing confirms this indictment more graphically since the beginning of the cold war than their shameless adoption from the arsenal of decaying capitalism of the most reactionary means of repression. Nothing pleases the capitalist class more, nothing serves the real interests of the labor movement less. The ruling class has a stake in maintaining the present conservative leadership of the unions, but the workers surely have none.

Doubts in the Ruling Circles

Last week's *Militant* quoted Supreme Court Justice Jackson's sharp dissent on Jan. 16 in the case of the war bride whose "abrupt and brutal exclusion" from this country was made by the Attorney General "without a hearing." Pointing out that "not even a court can find out why this girl is excluded," Jackson called attention "to the menace to free institutions inherent in procedures of this pattern."

This police-state pattern, which is applied to U. S. citizens as well as the foreign-born, is beginning to arouse apprehensions and doubts even within the ruling circles of this country. Here are a few examples:

Supreme Court Justice Black, who had dissented with Jackson in the war bride case, made a speech to the American Jewish Committee in New York on Jan. 21 in which he said that a government that "convicts and punishes people without fair trials has reason to fear." He made no reference to the government witch-hunt, but it was plain that the witch-hunt was what he was talking about.

On Jan. 27 Democratic U. S. Senator Lehman of New York, speaking at an ADA dinner in Washington, expressed support for the "objectives" of the "loyalty program" and said the government has the right to demand "complete loyalty" from all its employees in "sensitive," policy-making or confidential jobs. (The purge is applied to ALL government employees.) But, he added, no individual should be branded disloyal by an admin-

istrative body: "No such finding [of disloyalty] should be made for any individual, except after a judicial proceeding, with all the safeguards for the accused which Anglo-Saxon and American law provides. . . I hope some way can be found to bring the extreme and unfortunate aspects of this program to an end. . . I sincerely hope that the entire loyalty program may be reviewed, and a better system, more consistent with the American tradition, be developed and established."

The next day the N. Y. Times, in a belated editorial comment on the war bride case, said "the point that troubles us is the grant to any official — no matter how able or how honorable — of the absolute power to make a decision of this gravity without the necessity of holding a hearing even in camera." It admitted that under present regulations aliens, slanderously accused, "really have no means of protecting their own reputations." (The same goes for citizens slanderously accused, although the Times does not say so.)

In great part these sentiments are motivated by fears lest the purge injure U. S. pretensions about democracy abroad and by concern lest the purge, by going "too far" and perhaps silencing "safe" criticism, hurt the political interests and stability of the capitalist system itself. But whatever the motivation may be, these expressions of doubt indicate that an aggressive campaign against the purge by the labor movement is overdue.

Why Revolutionary Socialists Favor Victory Of British Labor Party

By Paul G. Stevens

For revolutionary socialists, for class-conscious workers, it is clear that the British Labor Party government has acted essentially in the interests of the capitalists during the four and a half years it has been in power. Nevertheless, the world as well as domestic relationship of forces renders the victory of this party in the coming elections important for workers everywhere.

The Labor government has tried to solve the new and grave and complicated problems confronting Britain within the framework of capitalism. The Laborites have greatly expanded social security, notably the introduction of universal free health services. But "welfare state" measures are common also to capitalist politicians like the Trumanites here at home who consider such concessions to the masses indispensable if capitalism is to be preserved.

The Labor government undertook nationalizations of industry of considerable scope. But, first, the industries nationalized — coal, railroads, utilities — were in the main in such a decrepit state owing to outmoded machinery, wasteful competition and super-exploitation that only such a drastic measure as nationalization could bring some order into the chaos and restore a degree of capitalist efficiency and profitability. And, secondly, the owners of the nationalized establishments were comfortably compensated with government bonds that bring them a stable annual interest rate. Finally, no socialist plan has been set up to operate the nationalized industries in co-ordinated fashion; the "new" managements have the same old capitalist managers; the workers themselves have not been given any measure of control over the operations.

MOOD OF MASSES

They do not trust the Labor Party either to be able to resist the pressure of the masses in such a direction or to enforce further capitalist measures by outright suppression. The Tories are not far from wrong about the moods of the masses. The vote in the Trade Union Congress on the wage-freeze reflected a much more powerful current in the ranks, if we judge by reports in British newspapers recently arrived here. They report voting on the wage-freeze propositions district by district in the National Union of Mineworkers, as an example: In the Kent District the miners voted 100% opposed, in the South Wales District 90%, Northumberland 60%, with the Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derby and Scottish districts having previously gone on record against the wage-freeze. Only one district, the Midlands, gave the government policy a majority.

Obviously the Labor leaders will not be able to put through acceptance of their capitalist measures as easily as in the past. Nor are the trade unions unaware of what they face by a Labor Party defeat in the elections. It is significant that the election manifesto issued by the TUC made its first point in its appeal for support, the fact that the Labor Government in 1945 "set the trade unions free" by repealing the "restrictive and punitive" Trades Disputes legislation passed by the Conservative Government after the General Strike of 1926.

Left Wing Views

The revolutionary socialist wing of the Labor Party, in its publication, the *Socialist Outlook*, sums up the election issues with admirable clarity as follows:

"The capitalists are of course thankful that this Government has shown such an incredible leniency towards them. . . these undoubted concessions to Tory pressure, while they confuse, bewilder and disappoint the working class, do not satisfy the capitalists. For them it is all or nothing. They want a Government which is directly under their own control — instead of one which, in the final analysis, is answerable to the organized workers. The Tories want power unadulterated. Power to extend the working week without overtime pay; power to abolish the food subsidies; to slash the social services achieved under the Labor Government; to reduce taxation of the rich; and to regiment the population in readiness for the war which they and their American counterparts are preparing. . .

INTERNATIONALLY, the Labor government has simply continued the policy of Churchill, accepting the role of Wall Street's junior partner in the cold war against Stalinist Russia.

TORY FEARS

In spite of the services rendered to the British ruling class, however, the Labor Party now faces a veritable life-and-death onslaught by the Conservatives, the Tory party which has been the traditional heart and brains of these

same rulers. Just because they are the most sensitive, the most conscious and devoted representatives of the capitalists, the Tories know that the gains made by crisis-ridden British capitalism under the Labor government, the degree of stability attained after the shake-up of the war, can very easily be destroyed again if the Labor Party is to be left in power. For they know that behind the Labor Party stands the solid mass of a nine-million strong trade union movement which first brought it to power in 1945. They know that within this trade union movement, there has been great tolerance and patience with the leaders but a growing resentment toward their policies of making capitalism work and of working with the capitalists. They know that this kind of patience cannot last forever. They see the signs of trouble in the powerful vote in the Trade Union Congress against the latest government wage-freeze. They know that the alternative to such measures of placing the burden of the economic crisis upon the shoulders of the working masses is revolutionary action, making serious inroads into the economic power of capitalism.

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OUR FIRST TASK

"If the Tories win it will be a defeat for the international working class. Reaction throughout the world will be encouraged. Our own movement will be forced into a rear-guard action to defend itself from the capitalist attacks which will inevitably follow. . . If Labor is returned to office, then the valuable experience of the last four years will be continued. The fallacy of trying to make capitalism work will become more and more apparent to the organized workers. The demand for a more socialist policy will be irresistible. The possibility will open up for the transformation of the Party into a powerful instrument of social change — the ideal of those who pioneered the movement."

"For this possibility to become fact it is necessary to rout the Tories at the general election. That is our first and most urgent task."

No doubt, class-conscious workers in Britain will for these reasons rally behind the Labor Party, despite its record, just as the capitalists rally behind the Tories.

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"Standing in the way of the realization of this program however, is the powerful trade union movement. . . The removal of the Labor Government is their [the Tories'] first objective. That is why the election will be bitterly contested. . .

"The working class could easily defeat these [Tory] plans if Labor



CLEMENT ATLEE

would come before the electorate with a clearly defined socialist program. As it is, however, the Government's repeated capitulations to Tory pressure are sapping and undermining the enthusiasm of working people. Furthermore, it is probably too late to change the present policy before the election takes place. But this fact, unpleasant though it is, must on no account deter the socialist wing, which at all times is the most devoted and hard working section of the movement, from throwing itself wholeheartedly into the battle. Indeed, the responsibility for regenerating the enthusiasm of the working class rests primarily with this socialist rank and file. It is this section of the movement which is most interested in securing a decisive Labor victory."

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WHAT DID CIVIL RIGHTS MOBILIZATIONS ACHIEVE?

By Albert Parker

Scene: The White House, the morning of Monday, Jan. 23. The President is holding a conference with the Democratic leaders of Congress, including Rep. Rayburn, the Speaker of the House. It is the morning of the day on which Rayburn will be asked to let the House vote on a FEPC bill which was bottled up in committee all last year. It is also six days after the leaders of the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization met personally with the President, asked him to direct Rayburn to let the FEPC bill come up for a vote today, and got his oft-repeated promise that they could count on him to continue the fight to enact his civil rights platform.

What were the President and his Democratic colleagues talking about that morning? We do not know. But we do know that Rayburn left the conference, went to the House and there refused to let the FEPC bill come to the floor. (This move fitted in perfectly with the Dixiecrat strategy of postponing House action on FEPC so that the beginning of the Senate filibuster against this measure can be delayed as long as possible; the later the Senate filibuster begins, the harder it will be to defeat it.) Both Rayburn and the White House let it be known that the FEPC bill, on which the whole nation was awaiting action that day, was "never mentioned" at the morning conference.

Better than a dozen articles or a score of editorials, this simple little incident shows how little was achieved by the Civil Rights Mobilization — and it also shows why.

We did not believe that the mobilization would be able — in three days — to force Congress to pass the FEPC bill; our estimation that the mobilization did not achieve much is not based on any such unrealistic expectations. But what it could have done — and what it needed to do to obtain successful results — was to show the capitalist parties and their leaders in Washington (1) that the fighters for civil rights legislation are wise to their shoddy maneuvers over the issue, and (2) that the labor, Negro and liberal movements propose to retaliate against all politicians responsible, openly or behind the scenes, for blocking favorable action in this session of Congress.

Nothing New Was Added

Neither of these steps was taken. The mobilization was turned into just another lobby — bigger than usual but not different in kind from the ones that failed miserably in the past. It showed the members of Congress that the organizations participating in the Civil Rights Mobilization want FEPC passed, but they knew that before the mobilization. In short, nothing substantially new was added to the civil rights fight by this mobilization.

The legislative key to the passage of the FEPC and other rights bills lies in Truman's hands at the present time. If he really wants them passed this year, he can apply the necessary pressure on the members of his own party. But as last year's session demonstrated, he prefers to let it hang on as a vote-catching issue. The measure of the Civil Rights Mobilization can be gauged by the fact that never once during its three days of activities was this undeniable truth about Truman even mentioned to the delegates or the public.

Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the NAACP and leader of the mobilization, wired Rayburn after Truman's Democratic Speaker had refused to let FEPC come up for a vote on Jan. 23 that his action can be interpreted only as "a slap in the face" to civil rights advocates. That is correct, even if it is politely put. But note this: Truman did not regard it as a slap in his own face: he did not reprimand his lieutenant; this was another matter he probably "never mentioned." How can anybody seriously claim that the mobilization was effective when it did not even succeed in persuading Truman to direct his subordinate to let the House vote on FEPC?

Another important thing to bear in mind: Wilkins sent a letter of complaint to Rayburn, but he did not send such a telegram to Truman. Why not? Wilkins knows that Truman is Rayburn's boss. Doesn't Wilkins want the people to know the whole truth about this slap in the face? How does he expect to arouse the masses for a successful fight if he doesn't let them know who their enemies are in this fight?

Two-Faced Exploitation and Evasion

Of course Truman is too astute to administer a slap in the face personally; that wouldn't be smart politics when he is banking on Negro and labor votes. In fact, four days after the Rayburn incident, Truman held a press conference where he said that he was standing firm on civil rights (for the 71st time) and that he knew nothing about a rumored compromise with the Southern Democrats. But the very next day, several of his cabinet members and three top Trumanite labor leaders delivered speeches at an administration-sponsored "Southern harmony conference" in North Carolina and none of them uttered a single syllable about civil rights. Like Truman, they can talk your ear off on the question in the North but the cat seems to make off with their tongues when they are in Dixie.

Truman is able to continue this two-faced exploitation and evasion of the issue for only one reason: He knows that he has the labor and Negro leaders of the Civil Rights Mobilization in his pocket, that they are afraid to break with him politically, and that therefore they will keep on covering up for him before the masses (just as they did on the Rayburn incident). He wasn't bothered by the mobilization and it had no effect at all in persuading him to change his double-dealing course because he knew in advance that its leaders would not breathe or tolerate a word of criticism against him. If he can get away with the way he has handled the question up to now, a major part of the blame must be put on the Negro and labor leaders who encourage him to do so.

There will have to be another mobilization (perhaps many of them) before the civil rights fight is finished. But they won't make any more headway than the last one unless they are based on the simple principle that no capitalist party or capitalist politician can be relied on and that all of them must be fought without mercy. And that won't be done until the labor and Negro rank and file assert themselves and tell their leaders: "We want you to quit acting as stooges for Truman and recruiting sergeants for the Democratic Party that slaps us in the face every chance it gets. If you don't want to fight Truman as well as our other enemies, then the honest thing for you to do would be to resign your posts of leadership in our organization and go on Truman's payroll where you belong."

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ERNEST BEVIN

the British Empire — is only the expression of a new world relationship of forces.

The "grants" of independence were made necessary by the greatly weakened position of British capitalism, and its inability to cope by means of the old strong-arm methods with the insurrectionary masses of awakened Asia. This becomes particularly clear when we witness the brutal repressions of the native populations in Malaya and in Nigeria, where Attlee's troops find the situation more manageable. With the "New Commonwealth," British capitalism — under a Labor government — has merely arrived at a compromise in which it is forced to accept a reduced share in the exploitation of the former colonial masses in partnership with the native capitalist class of India, Ceylon etc.

INTERNATIONALLY, the Labor government has simply continued the policy of Churchill, accepting the role of Wall Street's junior partner in the cold war against Stalinist Russia.

TORY FEARS

In spite of the services rendered to the British ruling class, however, the Labor Party now faces a veritable life-and-death onslaught by the Conservatives, the Tory party which has been the traditional heart and brains of these

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High Cost of the FBI

By Joseph Keller

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is asking for more money to continue and expand its criminal activities. Wiretapping, perjury, tampering with the mails, breaking and entering, illegal trespass and other forms of confessed and unconfessed FBI lawbreaking don't come cheap.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has submitted a report to the House Appropriations Committee demanding \$57,400,000 to run his secret police agency for the fiscal year beginning next July 1. This is \$594,859 more than for the current year.

No doubt Hoover looks on this as a modest increase, considering the almost unlimited possibilities for breaking the law just by wiretapping alone. His snoopers, he admitted several weeks ago, are listening in on around 170 private lines at the moment.

The public simply has no idea of what it costs to do a first-class job of invading the privacy of American citizens by illicit methods. In the first trial of Judith Coplon, it was revealed that the FBI had not less than 14 agents and informers at one time or another "investigating" actor Frederic March. And they couldn't even get anything on him.

But that kind of item just comes out of petty-cash. Imagine what it costs to keep a flock of stoopgiens inside the unions looking for "subversive" activities. This phase of the FBI's work was disclosed in the Foley Square trial of the 11 Stalinist party leaders.

Good FBI agents don't come at bargain rates, either. You need experts to tap wires and then get up on a stand in the federal courts and perjure themselves convincingly about not knowing anything about wiretapping by the FBI. You have to have educated people, the kind who can rob mailboxes and read other people's letters, as was revealed in the Coplon case.

Then just consider the cost of the FBI's "industrial" activity. You have to pay a man something more than the regular union scale to work in a plant and ferret out strike "agitators," union militants and similar "poor security risks."

Then think of the wastage that goes into the FBI's violations of the law. All that wiretap evidence is inadmissible in Federal courts, so the FBI has to dig up "independent" evidence. Besides, it has to destroy the illegal evidence, as it did in the Coplon-Gubitchev case, because if enough public howl and stink were raised they might try to toss FBI agents in jail for committing felonies in violation of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

And for some mysterious reasons, even when FBI wiretap records are produced as evidence, as in the Coplon-Gubitchev case, all you can hear is squawks and gibberish. You can't prove a thing from them. Some folks complain what's the sense of paying wiretap experts for that kind of botched-up job, but others point out it takes high-priced skill to do a first-class fool-proof job of destroying material evidence.

What annoys no few taxpayers, especially those concerned about the protection of civil rights, is the 100% record of failure by the FBI to catch perpetrators of violence against the Negro people or union leaders. The FBI is mighty good on digging up characters like Whittaker Chambers and pumpkin-shells full of allegedly implicating documents when it goes after an Alger Hiss; but it can't seem to pick up a single useful clue in the case of the lynching of the two Negro couples in Georgia or the shot-gun maimings of UAW President Walter Reuther and his brother Victor.

From all recent disclosures, it seems that the highly-touted FBI (it still boasts about catching Dillinger some 15 years ago) breaks more laws than it enforces, and keeps more lawbreakers on its payroll than it catches. And a lot of people in this country are coming to the conclusion that even \$5.74 a year — let alone \$57,400,000 — is too much to pay for a "law-enforcement" agency that acts as a law unto itself, tramples daily on the Bill of Rights and more and more constitutes itself as a secret police on the pattern of Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's GPU.

A Traitorous Silence

By Fred Hart

Neither the CIO, the AFL nor the newly-formed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has issued a public statement on the State Department's announcement that it intends to push for admission of Franco's Spain into the United Nations, thereby permitting Washington to renew full diplomatic relations with the Spanish butcher.

This silence is surprising in view of their repeated formal declarations in the past against any dealings with the fascist regime which wiped the whole Spanish labor movement out in blood.

The ICFTU manifesto, issued in London last December, specifically declared: "The free trade unions of the world will support with all their strength the efforts of the peoples suffering under police-state rule — such as those of the Soviet Union and its satellite 'popular democracies,' Franco Spain, and all forms of military dictatorship in Latin America and throughout the world — to free themselves from totalitarian oppression." (Our emphasis).

The CIO convention last fall declared in its foreign policy resolution that "in no circumstances should ERP aid be given to that regime [Franco's]. We reaffirm CIO policy condemning Franco's fascist regime in Spain."

It was easy for the Trumanite union leaders to express these sentiments while the State Department made no open moves to embrace Franco and bolster up his tottering regime. But will these union leaders now dare to fight the line of the State Department, whose policies they have followed like a shadow?

So far, we have only a report by Louis Stark in the Jan. 25 N. Y. Times that unnamed top labor officials have met with Secretary of State Acheson to express "chagrin" and "deep disappointment" at his declaration of Washington's intent to push a UN resolution that would permit its member nations to restore diplomatic relations with Franco.

Up to now, the union leaders who have supported the State Department's "cold war" measures have pointed to the continued diplomatic cold-shoulder given to Franco as the outstanding

evidence of the "humanitarian" and "democratic" intent of American imperialism's foreign policy and war preparations.

With this last piece of camouflage pulled off the ERP and Atlantic Pact, how can they pretend that American money and arms are going to "defend" and "build up" democracy in Europe? One labor leader, quoted by Stark, said he had asked Assistant Secretary of State Geo. W. Perkins "how labor could support the Marshall Plan, which aimed at strengthening democratic regimes, and then see our own country deal with a dictator in Spain."

Of course, these labor leaders never did believe their own malarky about the Marshall Plan being just a "humanitarian" venture to bolster "democracy." But it embarrasses them to have their shabby fiction stripped from them. For it is certain that the UN resolution will be just a step toward inclusion of fascist Spain in the ERP and the Atlantic military alliance.

We may still hear some feeble bleats from these union officials about the State Department's policy of the extended hand to Franco. But it is extremely unlikely that they will put up any kind of consistent and vigorous opposition to this policy. The fact that Acheson's announcement did not immediately bring forth from them any strong public protest is sufficient to indicate they will go along, no matter how much they pretend to gag at the prospect.

The Murrys and Greens are labor lieutenants of the State Department. If the State Department tells them to shake hands with Franco, they'll shake, sooner or later. As James B. Carey, national secretary of the CIO, speaking on Jan. 30 to the American Legion's "All American Conference," has already declared: "In the last war we joined with the Communists to fight the Fascists. In another war we will join the Fascists to defeat the Communists. . . ."

They propose to "support with all their strength the efforts of the peoples suffering under police-state rule. . . to free themselves from totalitarian oppression" — except when the State Department gives any police state its blessings.

The Jobless Cab Driver

By Robert Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 25 — At 1670 Mission St. an agile five-year-old girl led us up the three flights to room number 48 and looked in. Then she called down the hallway to the medium-built man coming toward us: "Daddy, two men to see you."

We shook hands with Joseph Breen, the unemployed cab driver, father of five children, who is facing eviction for failure to pay rent. His wife is in the hospital expecting their sixth child any day. The daily newspapers carried sympathetic articles, but we felt that there was more to it than had been printed.

Breen glanced over *The Militant*. "Published weekly in the interests of the working people," he read. "Sure I'll tell you about my case." He brought up two chairs, placed the baby in the high chair to keep her put, while he expertly shoed the other two children down the hall to the room that served as bedroom for the family. A fourth child, covered with a coat, was curled up sleeping in the only soft chair in the room. "He's not feeling well," the father explained.

The stove and kitchen table dominated the small room. A washstand type of sink was in the corner. The dingy buff walls were broken in two places showing the lath underneath.

"My troubles began with the strike last year, when we were out from New Year's Eve until the middle of May. I did my picket duty at the Palace Hotel and received my \$20 a week in strike benefits. Of course it all went on the table. After we won the strike I went back to Yellow Cab and worked until Nov. 29, when they cut back 100 men. Last hired, first fired. Since then I've been drawing my \$25 per week unemployment insurance. All that goes right on the table. With five kids it takes a strict budget to manage."

"The rent for the two rooms is \$30. I was not able to pay rent during the strike, so the landlady agreed that if I would paint the hallway she would take off \$80. I worked on it for five weeks. After the first week my brother and her sister

came in to help but they were too old to do much good. When the hall was done the landlady had me sign a paper agreeing to the deduction from the rent. Then I worked two more weeks cleaning the showers and bathrooms, but she would not take off any more. I figured I had something more coming to me.

"The landlady has tried to make it tough for me. She yells and curses at the kids whenever they run down the hall. She even swings a mop or broom at them. I told all this to the newspapers but they didn't print it. I hope you do."

"We tried to find a place to live, but who will rent to a family with five kids? We applied to the housing authority for low cost housing, but they say there is a long waiting list and we have to wait our turn. We have a final eviction notice to move this morning. I went to the union lawyer and he got a postponement for a day or so."

"My wife didn't know much about this. She has enough to worry about as it is. She first went to the hospital on Jan. 5 because she didn't feel well and was there until I got my first postponement. As soon as it was arranged my wife found out about it. A doctor told her 'You can go home now, your family is not being evicted after all.' But she had to go back again yesterday."

"So far the union is the only one to help me. The business agents and the lawyer got together and are trying to help out. I'd like to say this. For years I gave money to every charity that came around, the Community Chest, Red Cross and so on. I wish I had some of that money now. But they don't seem interested in helping me one bit when I really need it. They won't even spare a nickel to call me up and see if there is anything they could do."

"The landlady leases this apartment house and one other from a real estate agent. She must get at least \$800 a month out of each of them. But she still tries to take advantage of a guy when he is down."

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THE MILITANT

Chrysler Strikers Seeking Strengthened Basic Contract

LARGE OPPOSITION VOTE IN REFERENDUM OF SUP

Growing opposition in the Sailors Union of the Pacific to the high-handed, bureaucratic rule of Harry Lundeberg's machine was expressed in the returns of the union's election as reported in the West Coast Sailors, its official paper. In the absence of an opposition slate, rank and file protest was indicated in the voting on a proposal for an increase of dues and on a constitutional amendment to bar members of the Communist Party and the "Trotskyite Party" from the union.

The proposal for a dues in-

National Telephone Strike Scheduled

Some 100,000 telephone workers are scheduled to go on strike Feb. 8, to be followed on March 1 by 220,000 more, if the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. continues its refusal to engage in genuine collective bargaining with the CIO Communications Workers.

Joseph A. Beirner, union president, said the AT & T monopoly has refused to consider the unions demand for wage increases, shorter hours and pensions, and has even turned down arbitration. In event of a strike, he urged telephone users to increase their calls to "jam" the lines.

A six-week telephone strike was broken in 1947 when the workers were in independent unions. They have been reorganized more solidly in the CIO.

Social Democrats Vote Approval to Merger With SP

(Continued from Page 1)

than the SP in its support of the State Department's imperialist policy. Thus the first of the SDF advisory motions called for "approving the Atlantic Pact and other pacts to checkmate the advance of totalitarian power and to preserve the peace of the world." This was approved by a vote of 96.6%.

Another past point of contention was electoral policy. The SDF split away in 1936 because it wanted to support Roosevelt, and since then has consistently backed capitalist candidates. The SP continued to run its own candidates, but with decreasing success in term of votes and with increasing reluctance to oppose the New Deal-Fair Deal candidates inasmuch as their political differences with them have grown smaller and smaller. Now the SP is holding a discussion on its leaders' proposal to abandon their independent electoral activities, with the likelihood that this proposal will be adopted at its next convention.

On this question too the SDF is taking no chances. Its second advisory motion, supported by 93.1% in the referendum, makes it the position of the SDF that "candidates for public office shall not be nominated in opposition to organized labor candidates except in states or cities where a Socialist organization is a recognized political party and has the support of a substantial section of organized labor." (The expression "organized labor candidates" does not mean independent labor candidates running against the capitalist party candidates; in SDF lingo, it means capitalist party candidates, Democrat or Republican, who have the support of PAC, LEPL, etc.)

The entire SP leadership favors unity with the SDF, although a minority has expressed opposition to the new electoral proposal. A section of the SDF leadership, particularly the group dominating the SDF's financial strongholds (such institutions as the Jewish Forward) is not so enthusiastic over the unity proposition, and last November even called for its rejection in the referendum.

Since, however, the SP leadership is prepared to make any political concessions required, it seems probable that even the "Old Guard" SDF objections will be overcome and that the two groups will reunite organizationally just as they have become reunited politically.

crease from \$2 to \$3 a month received 2,540 votes in its favor to 1,507 against, but lost for lack of the two-thirds required by the constitution. This provides the occasion for a big editorial diatribe against the "Trotskyites, the Commies and the Mahoney Disrupters." The Seattle branch, which turned the proposition down by a vote of 326 to 183, is accused of "spreading enough phony propaganda against the dues increase to block its passage."

It was understandable that Seattle would refuse to pay a new tribute to the Lundeberg dictatorship. The terror regime has been most acutely felt in this port. John Mahoney, a veteran member of the union, was summarily expelled by a trial occurring in his absence in San Francisco, for asking a "point of information" about Lundeberg's strikebreaking in the Canadian Seamen's Union strike. Members of a committee who rallied to his defense were similarly thrown out. An entire ship's crew was expelled from the union for contributing to the Mahoney Defense Committee prior to the passage of a resolution making such contributions illegal. A number of other sailors were expelled for similar "offenses" and many others were compelled to sign public "confessions" retracting their support of the expelled member.

Outside of Seattle, strong opposition to the dues increase was shown in the Port of Wilmington, Calif., where the proposition failed to get a two-thirds majority, with 471 voting in favor to 369 against. The winning percentage was also lacking in Portland although the "yes" votes were proportionately larger than in Wilmington. The Mahoney Defense Committee has not been able to function openly in either of these ports.

Less imposing in number but more significant in political importance was the vote of almost one-fifth of the membership against the constitutional amendment barring union membership to members of the CP, "Trotskyites" or those who "assist" them. The amendment carried 5,029 to 788. It lacked a two-thirds in Seattle and Wilmington where the opposition vote was almost as heavy as that cast against the dues increase.

The 788 votes against the witch-hunt amendment are especially significant in the Sailors Union of the Pacific where the main stock-in-trade of the officialdom for more than ten years has been attacks against "political." It is obvious that a growing section of the membership is beginning to understand the connection between the bureaucratic strike-breaking, union-raiding policies of their officialdom and the attempts to outlaw all opposition by branding them "commies and Trotskyites."

PENNA. MINERS DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR BATTLE

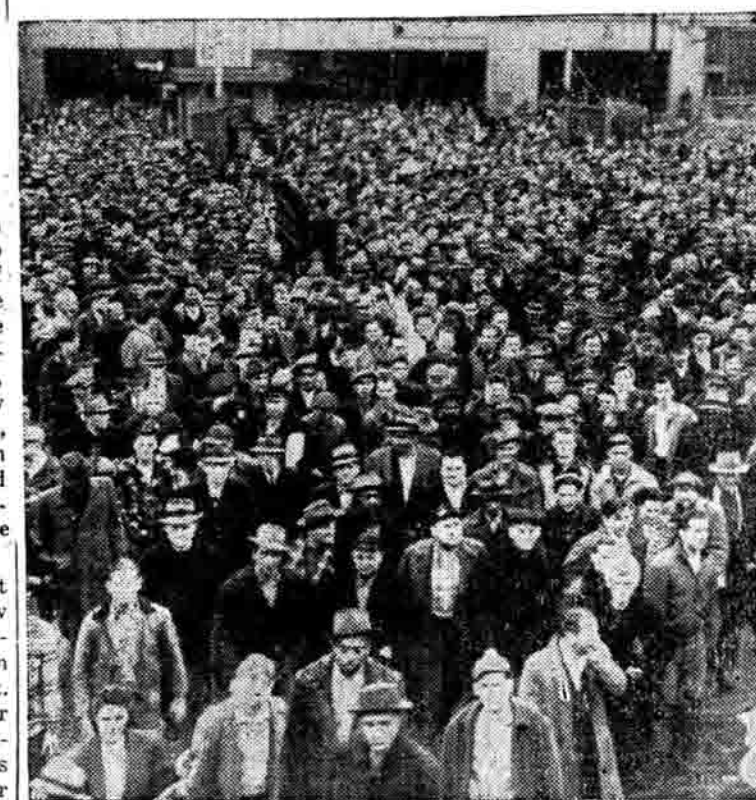
(Continued from page 1)

and the article urging labor to rally to the support of the miners met with approval, and also with skepticism so far as the AFL and the CIO leaders were concerned. "Murray and Green come to our support? Bah! Murray's talk of legal aid is doing us a hell of a lot of good — haven't we got enough lawyers already?"

All eyes are now on the Truman administration and whether it will use the Taft-Hartley Law. But the miners here are staying out of the pits. "If" said one, "the Southern operators get 'smarter' and also go to the courts and try to force us to work the full week without a contract, they will find they will have no workers for even a one-day week."

LIBRARY, Pa. — This home of the giant Consolidated Coal Co. has recently had a lot of publicity. A miner by the name of Dickson wrote a letter to the capitalist press, "challenging the dictatorship of Lewis." It was played up by the press all around this region and in the Pittsburgh papers as well.

Chrysler Strike Begins



Members of the CIO United Auto Workers are shown as they streamed out of a Chrysler Corporation plant in Detroit as the union struck to enforce demands for a 10c hourly wage or pension-welfare package. The strike soon forced the shutdown of many other plants in the same industry.

Successful Banquet for James Kutcher in Newark

(Continued from page 1)

New Jersey Kutcher Committee. Arthur Chapin, director of the New Jersey CIO Civil Rights Committee, who spoke for State CIO President Carl Holderman, unable to be present because of illness, emphasized the keynote of the occasion by declaring: "The question of civil liberties today is of greater importance than at any other time in the history of our nation. We in the CIO, along with various other groups, are fighting not only for James Kutcher, but for the ending of all these reactionary moves against the American people. These moves are steps that started the road to Hitlerism."

In a fiery speech, Ewald Sandner, CIO Regional Director and former mine union leader, reminded the gathering of the witch-hunt following World War I, and told how the Illinois miners had fought against fascist-minded groups which concealed their labor hate behind super-patriotism.

A Slight Case Of Double-Talk

Two weeks ago, U.S. Steel's President Benjamin Fairless told a Senate committee his company hadn't made a "fair profit" in 20 years. Last week, U.S. Steel announced 1949 net profits of \$165,958,806, its highest since 1929. Without deduction of "strike losses," last year's take would have surpassed the 1929 peak.

"Throughout the history of America it's always been the game of the monopolists to keep down the working people," he said. "But today we have the CIO and AFL and refuse any longer to take these blows lying down. I am glad to be among this group of people tonight. They are the genuine 'Voice of America.'"

James Kutcher, after describing the results of his tour, struck this theme in his own speech: "If I never realized it before," he said, "I realize it now better than ever — that the greatest and most powerful bulwark in the protection and preservation of civil rights is the labor movement. It was through the initiative and firm support of the New Jersey State CIO that I gained access to the CIO movement throughout the country. Now this support has extended all over the country to include AFL and independent unions as well as hundreds of fraternal, religious, civil rights, Negro and other organizations. All these people regard my case as a key test of civil rights for the American people."

"IT'S OWN STAKES"

Harry Hazelwood Jr., president of the Newark Branch of the NAACP, declared "the NAACP has its own stakes in this fight for Kutcher and part of our aim will be to acquaint the public with the facts and issues involved."

Among other speakers pledging continued aid to the Kutcher defense were Herman Sirota, international representative of the ILGWU-AFL; Reverend Chester Hodgson, executive member of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; Charles Allen, president of the Newark Teachers' Union, AFL; and George Pfau, chairman of the New Jersey Americans for Democratic Action.

George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, who accompanied James Kutcher on parts of his tour, stated: "The splendid response here tonight, as everywhere else, shows how those who value civil liberties have answered the question we raised at the start of this campaign: 'Are you for James Kutcher or for his thought-control persecutors?'"

Through its souvenir program and the collection at the banquet the New Jersey Committee expects to raise at least \$600 to aid Kutcher's fight for justice.

CORRECTION

Last week's *Militant* reported on the NLU erroneously stated that Morris Weiner is a Stalinist. He was one of the seamen expelled at the Jan. 19 NLU meeting in New York for participating in the resistance to Curran's illegal removal of regularly elected officials of the union. We apologize for the error to all concerned.

DETROIT, Jan. 29 — A favorable 8 to 1 strike vote taken five months ago and seven months of negotiations were brought to a head on Jan. 25 when 89,000 Chrysler Corporation workers hit the bricks and brought 25 plants to a standstill. Shortly thereafter, eight Briggs plants employing 24,000 were compelled to close. Strikers include workers of Chrysler, Plymouth, Dodge, Dodge Truck and DeSoto.

The men anticipate a long battle, feeling that the company's bid indicates its desire to break their union. They were indignant at the company's arrogance in refusing a meager 10-cent wage raise or a company-paid pension plan of like cost. The corporation had offered pensions costing less than three cents per hour.

The CIO United Auto Workers is raising a treasury of several million dollars to support the strike through a \$1-assessment on each working union member, collection to begin after the third week of the strike. Meanwhile "lying squadrons patrol all plants, while soup kitchens feed men and women."

Before the walkout, Walter Reuther, heading the UAW negotiating team, proposed that Chrysler grant a 10-cent raise either for wages or pensions. He said he was willing to arbitrate all other issues in dispute. But now that the strike is on, new contract demands are being drawn up.

OTHER DEMANDS

While Chrysler had demanded a five year extension of the present agreement, militants are demanding that contract changes be included in any settlement. The present agreement, extended twice, was negotiated early in 1945, and has aroused great opposition in union ranks because of its weak seniority provisions, lack of a union security clause, numerous wage inequities, poor grievance procedure, and company rights to set production standards.

Reuther has pushed a "boycott" strategy — absence of picket lines and meetings. Workers were advised to show militancy by staying at home. The chairman of the Chrysler Local 7 Flying Squadron advised the local membership: "Don't come near the plants." Reuther is quoted as having said about this strategy: ". . . we're getting smarter all the time."

No mass picket lines exist at any plants, and almost no meetings have been scheduled. Office help go to work and skeleton power-house and maintenance crews with union passes are permitted entry. Executives go in and out freely. Reuther is also quoted as stating that strikes cannot be broken in this era. However, many unionists are not so optimistic in view of recent Packinghouse Workers and Bell Aircraft experiences.

But workers instinctively are turning up to picket, maintain soup kitchens and help out the strike. Office workers were stopped at the Main Dodge plant by pickets, and 50 who could not prove union membership were turned back. At a Dodge Main stewards' meeting, great dissatisfaction was voiced with the policy of no-picketing. It was felt that mass picketing and mass meetings help build morale, strengthen the hand of union negotiators and insure membership control of the strike.

WHAT WORKERS FEAR

Moreover, despite the new top strategy, some locals have decided on their own to call meetings. For example, Chrysler Local 7 has scheduled weekly membership assemblies. Sentiment for mass picketing, keeping out office help, calling out power-house and maintenance workers, continues to mount. At the same time, sentiment for a straight 10-cent hourly wage raise receives more positive support than the demand for a weak pension plan of like cost, while contract changes are now beginning to occupy the thoughts of the membership.

Above all, militants are becoming aware of the danger of settling for 10 cents in one form or another, and throwing the rest to arbitration. Arbitration at Ford has cost Ford workers a paid lunch period and given the company sole rights to set or speed up production lines. Chrysler workers fear that arbitrators may give the corporation a five-year extension of the present rotten agreement.