Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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MAY DAY AND THE FIGHT FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK

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Get Out of Indo-China! Don't Let Them Drag Us into Another War Like Korea!

Stand Up and Fight Back Against McCarthyism and Unemployment

War, unemployment and fascism — these three most frightful scourges of capitalism threaten the American workers on May Day, 1954. These are the only choices that Big Business and its profits system offer the people of this nation and the world.

Vice President Nixon has affirmed that the Administration is ready to send troops into Indo-China and involve us in another Korea "if necessary." This is Wall Street's answer to the growing army of unemployed. Together with these threats goes the alarming rise of McCarthyism — American fascism on the march.

Nixon's sinister admission is designed in part to "soften up" popular hostility to a U.S. invasion of Indo-China. But do we want to be dragged into another Korea on the road to World War III and the H-Bomb pulverization of all civilization?

They lie when they say we must intervene in Indo-China to prevent Chinese or Russian "aggression." Even some of the pro-imperialist papers admit that the Ho Chi Minh regime, which Wall Street has been opposing for eight years and long before the present government took power in China, has the overwhelming backing of the Indo-Chinese people. They are fighting, as did the American colonists in 1776, for their independence.

Why do the French invaders, with their vast superiority in trained military forces and arms, stand on the brink of defeat? William L. Ryan, Associated Press Foreign News Analyst, in an April 19 dispatch from Singapore concedes that Ho Chi Minh has a strong grip on the imagination of many illiterate landless peasants and intellectuals outside the area he controls. To many of the Vietnamese peasant masses Ho is a nationalist, a patriot who is going to drive out the foreigner and give them land. That is what they want —to till their land in peace."

But Eisenhower, Nixon and Dulles say that the Indo-Chinese will not till their land in peace. The spokesmen for the American billionaires and monopolies brutally threaten that unless the Indo-Chinese bow to Wall Street's dictates on what kind of political and social systems shall exist in Indo-China, they will be burned alive with napalm like millions of Korean men, women and children were.

Don't let them drag us into another Korea. Tell them: Get out of Indo-China. Not a man, not a bomb, not a cent to aid the French imperialist butchers. Stop threatening China. Recognize the new China and reopen trade relations. Let the people of Indo-China and Asia run their own affairs and determine their own governments and social systems.

Since the Korean truce, more than five million have been laid off and millions more reduced to part-time. Capitalism once more reveals it cannot provide jobs and security for all under peacetime conditions. For months, the government simply denied the obvious facts of growing mass unemployment. Then, Eisenhower assured us that the economic decline would end in March. On April 19, Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor Mitchell said we can expect a "decline in unemployment" — by the end of the year.

The April Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York gives us the real score on the so-called "upturn." It admits that "although the opinion seems to be spreading that the worst of the decline is over, this is a matter of faith rather than of statistical demonstration."

Do you want to rely on "faith" in the rapacious capitalist corporations and their government to guarantee you a job and a living wage? Haven't we seen over and over how indifferent they are to the needs of the people? Put your faith instead in the might of organized labor and in a fighting program to combat unemployment.

Demand the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Unemployment compensation equal to full weekly union wages for the entire period of unemployment. Large-scale public works, including schools, hospitals, recreation centers and other socially beneficial peacetime projects. All war funds to aid the unemployed. Nationalize the basic industries under workers' control.

In the form of Senator McCarthy and his growing fascist movement, a Hitlerite shadow is moving across the face of the land. Democrats and Republicans alike cringe before McCarthyism. They try only to "contain" it. They "fight" it by attempting to wave the firebrands of the witch-hunt — of "anti-communism" — more frenziedly than McCarthy himself.

Labor will be crushed under the Iron Heel unless it mobilizes all its forces and takes the lead in an all-out struggle against McCarthyite fascism.

Smash McCarthyism before it smashes labor. Call a Congress of Labor of all unions to rally the working class for an implacable war on McCarthyism. Build labor's own political party and drive the McCarthyites out of Washington. Let labor take political power, set up a Workers and Farmers Government and organize the planned socialist society of peace and plenty.

Buffalo Union Slugs McCarthyism

BUFFALO, April 20 — The militant membership of Cheektowaga Westinghouse Local 1581, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, has scored a significant double victory over McCarthyism by twice beating down an Executive Board motion to deny union protection to members penalized by the company for exercizing their rights under the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution before congressional inquisition committees.

Shortly before the regular April membership meeting, the Executive Board issued a red-baiting leaflet entitled "The Flyswatter," which fabricated a big, real menace in the local and ignored the real, pressing problems of layoffs, speedup and company aggression. "The Flyswatter" — to swat the "reds" — announced that the board had passed a motion a week before not to protect members who "hid behind" the Fifth Amendment to "conceal subversion."

CONDITIONS IGNORED

The union was immediately paralyzed. The membership was torn by factionalism and the fight against the company was pushed into second place. Although a young worker has just been fired for "low productivity" — a thing unprecedented in the Cheektowaga plant and suggesting the menace of a speedup drive, "The Flyswatter" did not mention this firing. Other leaflets over the next couple of weeks were likewise devoted exclusively to the "red menace."

Some 400 out of 4,000 members (a good turnout for these times) attended the April membership meeting, primarily to settle the so-called "subversive issue." In violation of local bylaws (one of many violations by the executive board) the agenda was juggled around to try to make passage of the reactionary motion more certain.

But the executive board was in for a disappointment. The membership had not forgotten its militant traditions. Member after member rose to speak against the threat of McCarthyism, citing its parallel with Hitlerism. Some felt impelled to preface their remarks by saying they were not, never had been and never would be members or sympathizers of any "subversive organization." **One of these said, however, he felt it was "a damn shame that members felt compelled to make such a statement because of the fear they felt in their hearts."**

In response to a question from the floor, International Representative Cliff Haley, while stressing his own anti-Communist record, wound up with the plea: "Don't open the door to something that is evil." He said Congressional committees had never demonstrated they mean any good for labor and he urged the meeting to vote against the executive board's motion. He said explicitly: "This is the position of the International Union."

Finally the vote was called. The motion was defeated resoundingly by a voice vote. Then came the bombshell.

PRESIDENT RESIGNS

President Emery "Rip" Cieslinski, in a quivering, emotional voice, announced he had "a higher duty, a duty to God and country" which made it impossible to continue in office since the members had turned down his pet motion. He therefore announced his immediate resignation.

There was a shocked silence. Many members felt it was high time that not only the president but the whole executive board resign in view of their inept record in dealing with the company. A majority, however, seemed to feel it would put the local in a bad light if the president resigned on this issue just two months before his term ended. A motion was therefore adopted to turn down the resignation and hold another meeting a week later to re-discuss the issue that had just been so soundly defeated.

During the following week, the turmoil increased. But, in spite of the national witch-hunting hysteria as well as local reactionary pressure, more and more influential union members, leaders of caucuses and recognized spokesmen, swung to the side of opposition to the anti-democratic motion of the board. Even the previously unanimous board was split; board members began to break away under pressure of the ranks.

The board majority flooded the shop with petitions urging sup-

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McCarthy-Army Probe to Proceed On Fascist Senator's Own Terms

By Daniel Roberts

APRIL 21 — The Army-McCarthy hearings, scheduled to appear on television tomorrow, finds McCarthy in the role of the "accused," charged with seeking to obtain special privileges for his aide, David Schine, who was inducted in the Army last winter.

It is already clear that the McCarthy committee, which is conducting the probe, will make every effort to whitewash its chief.

In the first place, McCarthy will go to "trial" not under the usual rules of procedure by which he harries his own victims but under special rules drawn up for his exclusive benefit.

The fascist senator will not have to confine his questioning of adverse witnesses to written questions submitted to the chairman of the committee — as he would under the regular order of procedure of his committee — but he and his staff members will have equal rights with his accusers and the members of the committee to question all witnesses.

Thus McCarthy will have full opportunity to spring his sensational counter-charges and smears against the Army personnel before the TV audience.

In the second place, McCarthy, while nominally the accused, goes into the hearings with the triumph of the Oppenheimer suspension behind him. This suspension came as the direct product of the McCarthy claim, made over Edward R. Murrow's TV program on April 6, that "Communists" and "traitors" in government had delayed production of the H-bomb for eighteen months.

DR. OPPENHEIMER

When the Eisenhower administration suspended Oppenheimer last week on the grounds that the noted physicist was formerly associated with "Communists" and had opposed the production of the H-bomb, the fascist senator's position was enormously strengthened. **And the Eisenhower Administration — which is the accuser against McCarthy in the forthcoming hearings — stands under a cloud, having moved against Oppenheimer only after McCarthy launched his charges.**

McCarthy goes into the probe directed against him acting as the accuser rather than the accused. And in the exchange of formal charges and countercharges between himself and the Army personnel, McCarthy already has the upper hand.

The Army case against McCarthy is confined to the charge of preference-seeking — a minor complaint by the standards of capitalist politics and one which could be levelled against scores of other Congressmen.

To investigate McCarthy on this count is about as strong as to book a known murderer, arsonist and rapist on the charge of

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Cops Swing Clubs On Cleveland CIO Auto Pickets

CLEVELAND, April 18—Over 3,000 union members took off from work last week to help the striking Park Drop Forge Local 776, CIO United Auto Workers. The three-day demonstration, the biggest in this area since 1938, was marked by unprovoked and brutal police violence against the demonstrators.

Workers converged on the highly industrialized East 79th St. area before 6 A.M. last Wednesday. No violence was anticipated. But within half an hour, more than 150 police, including 25 mounted men, were on the scene.

When the first car approached the gate, the mounted police, to everyone's surprise, charged the pickets, seven abreast, with clubs swinging. Dozens of the demonstrators were beaten by swinging clubs or injured by rearing hooves. Two of those injured were Patrick J. O'Malley, regional director of the UAW, and Louis Eiben, president of the Cleveland CIO council.

The strike at Park Drop Forge is 26 weeks old. For the first 16 weeks a local of the AFL Blacksmiths stayed out on the picket line with the UAW local. However, when the UAW rejected a company ultimatum to reopen the contract, the Blacksmiths began herding scabs into the plant and petitioned for sole bargaining rights.

Since the majority of the workers were under UAW jurisdiction and on strike, they would not be allowed to vote in an election under the Taft-Hartley Law and were threatened with loss of their bargaining rights, seniority and jobs in the plant.

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Dulles Pushes for Deal At Geneva Conference

By Joseph Hansen

On April 16, speaking before an audience of some 1,000 persons that included the editors of the country's big capitalist newspapers, Vice President Nixon declared that "with or without the support of public opinion, if the situation in Indo-China requires that American troops be sent there to prevent that area from disappearing behind the Iron Curtain, the administration must face the issue and send the troops."

This belligerent declaration was not made on Nixon's own responsibility. Reliable reporters declared that it was inspired by Dulles and had the approval of Eisenhower.

Yet within four days, the same Nixon had retreated so far as to say that the administration was only trying to develop policies "which will keep us from having to send American boys to fight in Indo-China or anywhere else."

In addition, Dulles on April 19 officially disclaimed Nixon's speech and said that the sending of American troops to fight in Indo-China was "unlikely." And Secretary of Defense Wilson added April 21 that he sees "no possibility that American troops may have to fight in the jungle war and that no such plan is even under study."

What happened? What is Dulles up to?

STORM OF PROTEST

First of all, Nixon's bellicose remarks touched off a nation-wide storm of protest. From coast to coast newspapers were flooded with letters from readers protesting the decision and opposing in the bitterest terms any hint of another Korea. This was the clearest possible warning that the measure of support that Truman had at the beginning of the Korean adventure would not be granted Eisenhower. In fact, the people served notice that Eisenhower could expect nation-wide opposition from the very beginning of involvement.

Even the capitalist press clearly showed that the proposed plunge was considered hazardous in the extreme. The Wall Street Journal, for instance, took the unusual measure of devoting the entire editorial space of the April 19 issue to opposing the step. "Can we embark singlehandedly in a war in Indo-China and hope again to stop short of the Third World War?" And this influential voice of a section of America's rulers warned that among the people there should be **"no illusion as to where they march when they take the road through Indo-China."**

In his April 22 column, Walter Lippmann characterized Nixon's speech as "a cardinal mistake." He noted that Nixon's follow-up four days later was an effort "to repair the damage" but Lippmann was pessimistic about the results.

If the Nixon move was a "trial balloon" sent up by Dulles and Eisenhower to test popular reaction to going in for another Korea, the trial balloon was shot down in record speed by the American people. **They don't want another Korea. And they don't want Nixon or Dulles or Eisenhower to make any mistake about it.**

But there is more to this situation than a simple trial balloon. Let us try to pierce the secrecy with which Dulles cloaks his motives.

FRENCH DEFEAT

The axis around which everything turns is the defeat French imperialism faces in Indo-China. The long, bloody and costly endeavor to regain this rich colonial prize can no longer be maintained by the French despots. Militarily the situation is very bad. Not only have the armies of the freedom fighters grown in power and capacity but they are being increasingly reinforced by popular support that now tends to take the form of mass uprising.

At home in France, the war is so unpopular that the French capitalists feel forced to with-

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May Day Rally Against McCarthy In New York City

"Speak Up,— Fight Back — Smash McCarthyism" will be the theme of the May Day anti-McCarthy rally sponsored by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party Friday night, April 30.

Featured speaker of the evening will be SWP National Committee member Murry Weiss, who has just returned from a coast-to-coast anti-McCarthy tour.

The rally will be at the Grand Ballroom of the Cornish Arms Hotel, 8th Ave. and 23rd St. at 8:15 P.M.

A guitar recital, folksongs and refreshments will follow.

Notebook of an Agitator

Implications of the Labor Party

The formal launching of an independent Labor Party, the indicated next step in the preliminary mobilization of the American working class against a rising fascist movement, will hit this country like a bomb exploding in all directions. It will not only blow up the traditional two-party system in this country and bring about a basic realignment in the general field of American politics. It will also mark the beginning of a great shake-up in the labor movement itself. The second result will be no less important than the first, and it should be counted on.

Under the present system the political stage is occupied by two rival capitalist parties, which in reality represent two different factions of the ruling class. The workers play merely the part of a chorus in the wings and have no "speaking part" on the stage. The formation of a Labor Party will change all that at one stroke. The struggle of capitalist factions for control of the government will be subordinated to the struggle of classes, represented by class parties. That is the real meaning of politics anyway.

Inside the Unions

The political realignment, brought about by the appearance of a Labor Party on the scene, cannot fail to have profound repercussions inside the labor movement. There will be a great change there too. The break of the trade union movement with capitalist politics will coincide with the rise of a big opposition to the present official leadership. This rank and file opposition movement will most likely take shape in the struggle for a labor party, and be identified with it.

To imagine that the present official leaders can make the great shift from Democratic Party politics to independent labor politics, and maintain their leadership smoothly in an entirely new and different situation, requires one to overlook the basic causes which will force them to make this shift. That is, the radicalization of the rank and file and their revolt against the old policy. No matter how it is formally brought about, a Labor Party will be the product of a radical upsurge in the ranks of the trade unionists.

The more the officialdom resists the great change, the stronger will grow the sentiment for a different leadership. Even if the present leaders sponsor the Labor Party at the start, they will be under strong criticism for their tardiness. The real movement for a Labor Party, which will come from below, will begin to throw up an alternative leadership in the course of its development.

The demand for a Labor Party implies the demand for a more adequate leadership; and the actual formation of a Labor Party, under the auspices of the present official leadership, would only accelerate the struggle under more favorable conditions. As revolutionists, we advocate the formation of a Labor Party with this perspective also in mind.

Would Speed Tempo

It is true that the simple fact of the formation of a Labor Party, by itself, would have a profound influence in speeding up radical and even revolutionary developments. But those who are satisfied with that might as well retire from the field and let the automatic process take care of everything. The automatic process will not take care of anything except to guarantee defeats.

The conscious revolutionists, however few their numbers may be in the beginning, are a part of the process. Their part is to help the process along by telling the whole truth. The fight for a Labor Party is bound up with the fight to cleanse the labor movement of a crooked and treacherous leadership, and cannot be separated from it. Those radicals and ex-radicals who are willing to settle for a Labor Party, leaving the question of program and leadership unmentioned, are simply inventing a formula for their own betrayal.

A Sitting Duck

It is not permissible for revolutionists to pass themselves off as mere advocates of a Labor Party, pure and simple, like any labor faker who devotes Sunday sermons to this idea. A Labor Party headed by the present official labor skates, without a program of class struggle, would be a sitting duck for American fascism. That's the truth of the matter, and advocacy of a Labor Party isn't worth much if it leaves this truth unsaid.

Large numbers of trade union militants know this as well as we do. They know that the present official leaders are no good for a real fight on any front, and that they have to be thrown out before there can be any serious thought of a showdown with American fascism.

Those militants who know the score on this ought to organize themselves in order to conduct their struggle more effectively. This organization of the class-conscious workers can only take the form of a revolutionary party. There is no substitute for that. And since the Socialist Workers Party is the only revolutionary party in the field, there is no substitute for the SWP.

Those workers who today already recognize the necessity of a Labor Party ought to take the next step and unite with the SWP in its effort to organize the struggle toward a revolutionary goal. — **James P. Cannon**

In Memory of Edith Konikow

(The following speech in memory of Edith Konikow was made by George Lavan at the services held by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party April 18. — Ed.)

* * *

We have gathered here today to express our sorrow and to honor the memory of a dear comrade who is no more.

Death is a solemn occasion. When we are confronted with it, not in the abstract, but in the death of a relative, a personal friend or a political comrade, we feel a confused grief or fear, or even an absence of feeling.

Many of you probably know from personal experience the incongruous mixture of real grief and pious hypocrisy which is the standard accompaniment of funerals in our society.

Yet how should a conscious man or woman confronted with the overwhelming fact of the of a comrade, of a person dear to him, face and mark this overwhelming fact?

For the fact is overwhelming and solemn, we know that we are face to face not with an individual's misfortune but with the ultimate and inevitable fate of each of us and of each of those near and dear to us.

This is our common destiny. What does it mean? How do we face it? These are the questions mankind has cried out in the presence of death since antiquity.

Mankind's answers to these questions were for long, and still remain for a majority of people, a form of wishful thinking. The question, what is death? was answered by denying death. That is it was declared and intoned in ancient temples and modern churches that man doesn't really die but really goes to another world and there lives forever.

ANSWER OF SCIENCE

The march of science has dealt harshly with these wish-fulfillment answers to the question, what is death? — as harshly as it has dealt with all the other religious explanations of the natural world.

Today, knowledge forces the rational mind to accept in answer that death is the end — the final end — to individual consciousness and being.

To the question, what is the meaning of man's life? must also come the answer — that it has no meaning outside of the collective consciousness, survival and progress of man's own species.

The very concepts, "purpose" and "meaning," are as human as man himself and they have no significance applied to nature beyond man. Despite all past and present attempts of religion and idealism to find justification for man's existence in the heavens, there is no justification for man's life other than in terms of humanity, in terms of his fellow man.

These things being so -- death being our common goal — death being not a state or thing in itself but the absence of the thing — life, what means the sorrow that we feel on this occasion? What meant the dismay and sorrow that all of us felt when we first heard the news of Edith's death?

If we leave aside the fear that death brings because it reminds us that we too shall die, that fear which is the heritage of mankind's superstitous past; if we leave that aside, we will find that our sorrow is not for the dead, but for the living.

True sorrow cannot now be felt for Edith. The sorrow we feel is for ourselves. It is not a sentimental self-pity but a legitimate sorrow for our loss. Should some of you think that your sorrow is for Edith because, dying so young, she has missed the chance to enjoy longer the pleasures of life — which she enjoyed very keenly — and the chance to find happiness in another decade or two of life, you are but reflecting your sorrow for the living onto the dead.

This is not sorrow for Edith. This is sorrow for ourselves, a sorrow that we shall not have the pleasure of seeing Edith enjoying life and finding greater happiness and fulfillment.

No, the sorrow is for our loss and our loss is both personal and political.

Our comrade Edith was in many ways a remarkable individual. In her being, she combined exceptional qualities of character and love for her fellow man which was expressed in the dedication of her life to the struggle to advance humanity.

Character and political understanding, though they have a tremendous interplay on each other ,are not synonymous. We see this every day in the workers' movement, in the diversity of character types at any given time supporting the same social program.

We know too that people's characters change. We have seen so frequently how some people with great political intellect and ability are none the less of inadequate character; how political understanding is no substitute for courage and integrity; how a person of great political talents can nonetheless be the victim in his political work of such base motives as careerism, jealousy and so on.

No. Knowledge of a person's political beliefs is not knowledge of that person's character. The formation of character is by far an older historical process than that of a social program. And men and women today are compelled to work out in their own consciousnesses this two-fold development.

What can we say about the character of this dear comrade we have lost? Surely, it was not ill-defined but positive and all-embracing in its scope. Edith was a woman of courage, of gentleness, of honesty, of intensity, of great sensitivity to beauty in all its forms.

She loved deeply, hated well, was compasionate and was generous. This in life, not by rote, not by a superficiality such as the ruling classes use to give the verisimilitude of these qualities. For example, generosity. In the homes of the cultured rich, generosity is instilled in children as a form of politeness, like saying "thank you" It is meaningless because the things given call for no sacrifice.

Edith's generosity was in life, it was no mere formality. It was a generosity in genuine feeling that went out to all in trouble and especially to young people. For despite her fifty years, no generation-gap ever divided Edith from the youth of our society, whether young comrades or young nurses with whom she worked.

Surely Edith had faults. The human being without faults, if ever such should arise, should be otracized from the human race as being inhuman. But her faults were of a very minor nature and never indicated pettiness of character.

Her generous nature never held petty grudges and people from whom on occasion she was alienated personally or politically soon found themselves with the passage of events or of a little time welcomed back into her warm-hearted friendship. The outstanding thing about Edith's character was the way in which her positive qualities transcended that share of defects which she held in common with all other men and women.

SOCIALIST BACKGROUND

Politically, Edith was an exception to the rule. The rule of which I speak is that the son or daughter of a revolutionist in this day and country does not usually become a revolutionist.

This is no new phenomenon. In past centuries when social struggles took the guise of religious beliefs it was an adage that inherited faith was weak and supine and that only the convert had crusading fervor.

The complementary adage was that the heresy of one generation became the orthodoxy of the next — in large measure because of the cooling off in spirit of those who had merely inherited their beliefs rather than fought their way to them.

Part of the revolt of our times is the revolt of the youth against their parents who stand for the old ideas and the old way. How difficult, then, for the youth filled with rebellious spirit who finds his parents representing not the status quo but socialism.

Confused by this paradoxical state of affairs, many youth revolt against their socialist parents by reverting to conventional beliefs. Or, if they can't stomach that by refusing to take an interest in politics and finding some other field for their own independent development. Surely these are great temptations for young people, in socialist families.

It is all the more honor and testimony to the strength of character and intellectual perception of a son or daughter of socialists in this country who becomes himself or herself a revolutionist.

There was a time when in Europe the children of socialists semi-automatically became socialists. Much in the same way that up to recently in this country the children of Republicans became Republicans or those of Democrats, Democrats.

But this is not the case in America where no great social reformist party has ever existed and it certainly is not the case in our epoch or in our party.

DIFFICULT TEST

Membership in a revolutionary socialist party demand complete conviction and perpetual acts of self-deprivation. It demands personal and intellectual courage to persevere year in and year out against all kinds of pressure and disappointment.

A faith merely inherited cannot survive such an existence. Even a faith inherited from so fine a mother as Edith's, Antoinette Konikow, the outstanding physician, fighter for womens rights and pioneer Trotskyist.

Edith's faith and convictions were a part of her character that she built personally. And it was this — herself — that sustained her in an adult life wholly devoted to the working class.

This is the kind of comrade we have lost and it is our personal sorrow for our loss that we symbolize at this memorial meeting.

But all of Edith is not lost. She has not vanished from the face of our planet without leaving her mark. For it is not only the great leaders who leave their footprints on our earth.

Edith's personality and intellect has entered into all of us who knew her, in manifold ways. Her memory and influence will never be effaced from the minds of those related to her by kinship or close friendship.

All the New York comrades consciously or subconsciously have assimilated something of her way of looking at things, of doing things. This subtle influence spreads from person to person, thus helping to shape the individual and collective, moral and intellectual character of the party and finally of the working class and eventually of all humanity.

For our party is not merely a political program. It is a social organism of humans. Each of us affects the others for better or worse, but affects them nonetheless. This is the molecular action of the interplay of personalities that shapes the party's character. But our party is more than a party. It is a political lever which will move the whole American working class and then the world.

For contributing her share of courage, intelligence, kindness and devotion, Edith has helped temper this great human lever. And the loss of this sorely-needed help is what we grieve.

Her life is a living demonstration that we humans need not be mere pebbles on the shore, tossed to and fro and worn down by the tides of history, but can be conscious human agents, shaping people, events, and consciously creating the future of the human species.

Such thoughts do not outbalance the sorrow we feel at the loss of Edith Konikow but they can in some measure assuage our grief and reaffirm us in the knowledge that death does not render life meaningless.

NY Local Bids Farewell To a Socialist Fighter

NEW YORK, April 18. — Members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party met here this afternoon to pay tribute to the memory of Edith Konikow, a front-line socialist fighter for more than two decades, who died April 13, after a prolonged illness.

Born in Boston, Aug. 15, 1903, Edith joined the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, in 1932. She was the daughter of Antoinette Konikow, a founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement and one of its most beloved figures, who died in 1946.

The speeches at the memorial meeting demonstrated that Edith had in every respect proven herself worthy of her mother's name.

Speaking for the Socialist Workers New York City Committee, Harry Ring told of how he first came to know Edith in 1946 when he was the party's Brooklyn organizer.

"Edith was a genuine intellectual," he said, "a truly cultured person who deeply loved every important expression of cultural life.

"We both came to Brooklyn about the same time," he explained "Edith, who was a registered nurse, had just secured a job in a Brooklyn hospital." (She had been blacklisted in a number of the city's hospitals because of her militant role in the unsuccessful union organizing drives of 1945.)

LEADING ROLE

"At the time," he said, "the branch was growing rapidly, recruiting many active unionists to its ranks. Edith gave us a wonderful demonstration of the enormous role that an intellectual with correct political understanding can play in the building of a workers movement.

"She understood that the unionists were the backbone of the party. She never under-estimated their role, and at the same time, she did not attempt to sanctify them. She knew that she could learn much from them, and at the same time she could help to teach them.

"She became a member of the branch executive committe. To its work she contributed her store of political and organizational experience. Always clear-eyed and objective in her approach to problems, she demonstrated to al. of us the qualities of a mature and practical revolutionist.

"Edith contributed substantially to the education and integration of the workers in that branch, and she won their deep respect and admiration."

HEAVY BURDEN

About a year later, Edith left he hospital to become the office secretary of the SWP New York local. "There," the speaker said, "for the two years that her health permitted, without any demands for special recognition, she assumed, and executed well, the major burden of the technical and administrative responsibilities of the local."

At that time Edith became afflicted with high blood pressure, making it increasingly difficult for her to function actively in the party. "But in spite of the heavy pressures she was confronted with," Ring continued, "at a time when others began to buckle in the face of the reaction, Edith resisted every pressure. To the very end she remained a solid supporter of the party and its program.

"Edith sharply drove home the fact of the equality of women. She did so not only as an articulate and militant fighter for women's rights, but in a sense, even more so, by her way of life.

"She was a truly independent woman, who took her equality for granted and never permitted anyone to trespass on her rights. Living as an emancipated socialist woman, she left an indelible imprint on all of us. That is the way we will always remember her."

Joan Farr, the next speaker, movingly told the meeting about working with Edith when they served together on the staff of an inter-racial vacation camp.

"In a summer not without difficulties," she said, "Edith proved to be a rock of strength. She was ready to tackle any chore, no matter how distasteful. She proved to be a worrier — not about herself — but about the camp. She would go over to the lodge about ten or eleven o'clock at night, after a long day's work, and start cleaning, or getting a room ready for a latecomer.

"Edith loved the country. Although she was a city dweller, she loved to walk for hours through the woods. Her sensitive nature responded to the beauties of the countryside.

"She was the hardest worker I have ever seen. She did a thorough job of everything. Once she undertook a task, you could be sure it was done to perfection, be it washing a big pile of dishes, straightening out the accounts after a strenuous weekend — she pitched in everywhere she was needed.

"Edith loved life and did everything with gusto. She loved young people, and with her wonderful sense of compassion, she helped them find their way. She often spoke of the young nurses in the hospital, and we know she must have opened their eyes to much that was helpful to them in understanding life's problems.

"Because of her high blood pressure, Edith was on a very strict diet All summer she was heroic in the way she stuck to the diet, and it seemed she was getting better.

"Then, with terrible suddenness, she had a brain hemorrhage. It happened a few days after her fiftieth birthday. We were able to take good care of her at camp, but she was the one who really fought her illness.

EXEMPLARY COURAGE

"She would often indicate that we shouldn't spend too much time with her, she was getting on just fine. Her courage was remarkable. She never showed the slightest sign of resignation or self-pity, but resolutely tried to help herself, even when she was at her very sickest. It was typical of Edith that the first day she was allowed up, I caught her just in time with a large container of trash, which she was about to take down to the incinerator. The minute she got up she tried to go back on active duty."

The principal address at the meeting, the full text of which is printed in an adjoining column, was delivered by Militant staff member George Lavan, who paid tribute to a woman whose "personality and intellect has entered into all of us."

Spring Bazaar Announced by New York SWP

NEW YORK, April 20 — The spring bazaar of the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party will be held May 22 at 116 University Place (near Union Square).

The bazaar committee is asking for contributions of books, toys, jewelry, perfume, appliances, or whatever you want to unload — new or used.

Send your contributions to 116 University Place or call the committee to pick them up at your home. Telephone: AL 5-7852.

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Youngstown sets the pace nationally this week by taking first place in both the Fund Drive and the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign. Our warmest congratulations go to these comrades who have made such a magnificent demonstration of their determination to mobilize the anti-fascist forces in Ohio.

Many friends of the Socialist workers Party are stepping up to help us in our campaign. This week we received $40 in the mail from a friend in Cincinatti.

Jean Blake from Cleveland sent in $25 "from a sympathizer who lets neither advancing years, nor poor health nor the pressures of the times affect his understanding and conviction. A fine friend." And Youngstown reports, "A good friend of ours came over and said he wanted to help, so he gave $50, some for literature, a sub, and the rest for the fund."

Four branches are now ahead of schedule: Youngstown, Detroit, Buffalo and Newark. Comrade Stall of Detroit writes: "This $50 was given by two comrades who had already fulfilled their original pledge of $50 and have now doubled their original expectations . . . but that kind of effort and spirit are everyday occurrences in Detroit now, I'm proud to say."

The three top branches in our Anti-Fascist Literature campaign are: Youngstown, Newark and St. Paul.

St. Paul still has the lead in the sale of anti-McCarthy pamphlets.

Milwaukee sent in its first score and moved right into second place as a demonstration of the growing popularity of the anti-McCarthy movement in the fascist Senator's home state.

Minneapolis has captured the lead in the sale of **The Road To Socialism**, the pamphlet by James P. Cannon, about America's inspiring future and the struggle to achieve it.

Youngstown is in second place and St. Paul follows close behind. Youngstown, Newark and Philadelphia have done an outstanding job in selling **The Case of the Legless Veteran**, the story of James Kutcher and how his case became of outstanding importance in the fight for civil liberties in the United States.

Winifred Nelson of St. Paul, with 118 points, still holds the highest score.

The very best way to celebrate May Day this year will be to help out in the anti-fascist campaign. Talk it over with your friends. Send in a contribution to the Fund Drive and sell the pamphlet "Stop McCarthyism."

This is the best way to pledge yourself once more to internationalism, the great cause represented by May Day.

Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	Youngstown	289
2	Newark	508
3	St. Paul	454
4	Minneapolis	346
5	New York	581
6	Philadelphia	107
7	San Francisco	88
8	Milwaukee	63
9	Cleveland	33
10	St. Louis	14
11	Oakland	25
12	Los Angeles	155
	Total	2,663

$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Youngstown	$ 150	$ 145	97
Detroit	500	466	93
Buffalo	1,500	1,200	80
Newark	400	281	70
Pittsburgh	150	90	60
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	657	55
Boston	500	270	54
New York	3,000	1,438	48
Chicago	1,500	698	47
Allentown	65	30	46
San Francisco	700	314	45
Philadelphia	400	176	44
Cleveland	250	100	40
Milwaukee	250	95	38
Los Angeles	2,500	759	30
St. Louis	75	20	27
Akron	100	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Seattle	250	0	0
General	260	55	22
Total through April 19	$14,000	$6,794	49

Now Available Again

THE CASE OF THE LEGLESS VETERAN

by JAMES KUTCHER

"The much argued case of Kutcher is summed up in this impressive volume." — **Newark Evening News.**

* * *

"The book gives a remarkable insight into the witch hunt which is today ravaging American democracy." — **Socialist Outlook.** London.

* * *

"The book includes a letter from the late Philip Murray, expressing his deep interest in the case; a statement by Carl Holderman explaining the issues involved; and a resolution by the N. J. State CIO Convention endorsing the work of the Kutcher committee and pledging continued support until the case is won." — **New Jersey CIO News.**

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TWIN CITIES

May Day Meeting

Speaker:
Dorothy Schultz

Sat., May 1, 8 P.M.

10 S. 4th Street
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Questions, Discussion, Supper and Social Hour

— Admission Free —

All Militant Readers Invited

SEATTLE

May Day Meeting

"WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE AMERICAN WORKERS"

Speaker:
FRANK POWERS

Sat., May 1, 8:30 P.M.

Socialist Workers Party Headquarters
201 Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington

Questions and Discussion
Contribution 35c.

DETROIT

May Day Social

Address by Frank Lovell

Singing, Dancing, Refreshments

Dramatic Presentation
"The Story of May Day"

Sat., May 1, 8 P.M.

3000 Grand River

LOS ANGELES

May Day Celebration

Sat., May 1, 8 P.M.

1702 E. 4th St.

Donation 50c. — Includes social, dancing, refreshments.

Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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May Day and the 30-Hour Week

30-40!

Thirty hours work; 40 hours pay! That is the clamor growing throughout the union movement.

The slogan is advanced as an immediate answer to mounting unemployment. But it is far more than a temporary expedient. American labor is getting ready to take another big cut out of the length of the working day.

The shorter working day — that is the most solid of all the gains the working class has achieved in 150 years of struggle against the employers.

The shorter working day means time for the worker to relax. Time to learn. Time to participate in politics. Time to be an individual instead of a constant appendage to a machine.

It means that the worker obtains in small measure the benefit of the great technological advances; that "automation" becomes in small degree a boon for the worker instead of a curse.

The demand for 30-40 is in the best tradition of the American labor movement, which has fought some of its most heroic battles over the last 150 years in the struggle to shorten the hours of work.

The greatest of these was May 1 — May Day — 1886. From that time on it has been celebrated throughout the world as the workers' international holiday.

On May 1, 1886, 80,000 workers demonstrated in Chicago for the eight-hour day. The movement was fiercely resisted by the employers.

The outstanding leaders of the demonstration were brought to trial on a frame-up charge. Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fisher were hanged.

But despite the legal lynching, despite the witch hunt, despite the temporary defeat, the movement for the eight-hour day won out.

The memory of the May Day martyrs and their heroism has inspired the American working class in all the great battles since that time. And it will inspire the American workers again in the coming battles for the shorter working day.

The eight-hour day became the norm in the United States more than three decades ago. The 40-hour week has been accepted for a decade and a half.

It is time to place the union movement on record for the 30-hour week; time for the unions to press this demand on the employers; time for a Congress of Labor to be called to map out a united drive of the labor movement to win the 30-hour work week with 40 hours pay.

In preparation for these tasks, May Day 1954 is the time for all union militants to dedicate themselves to the struggle for 30-40!

The American workers were victorious in the past. Their great power — plus the experience and inspiration of past battles — will bring them victory once more in the struggle for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

McCarthy -- Pegler's Bosom Pal

Senator McCarthy, who aims to become the American Hitler, is a bosom pal of Westbrook Pegler, most violently anti-labor columnist of the capitalist press. The close personal tie between McCarthy and Pegler, hitherto kept in the dark, was uncovered last week when reporters sought out vacationing McCarthy for his views on the latest developments of the probe into his feud with the Army.

McCarthy, previously reported merely "on vacation in Arizona," was disclosed by an April 8 Associated Press dispatch from Tucson, Ariz., to be "vacationing here at the home of Westbrook Pegler, columnist. . ." Subsequently, the April 21 issue of Life magazine, casually wrote of "Joe McCarthy . . . basking on Westbrook Pegler's ranch last week," and ran a picture of McCarthy and his wife as Pegler's personal guests strolling amid the cacti.

Revelation of the Wisconsin senator's personal links with Pegler, made known despite reported efforts by McCarthy to keep the fact under cover, provides further confirmation that McCarthy is a deadly enemy of labor and that his chief and ultimate objective is to smash the American labor movement.

We declared editorially, March 1, that Pegler had "voiced the true aims of McCarthyism" when the widely-syndicated columnist made his brazen open declaration in favor of fascism — the exact word he used — and called for "smashing" the AFL, CIO and all independent unions.

McCarthy's Arizona host, Pegler, wrote in the Feb. 24 N. Y. Journal-American, one of the chief papers of the Hearst chain, and in other papers reaching millions, the following unambiguous call for the fascist destruction of the unions:

"I am now convinced that all that prevents us from smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the independent' predators is a sentimental fear on the part of lay citizens and public men that they would be charged with fascism if they advocate this desirable reform. . . Even laymen and politicians who find it impossible to say a single word of excuse for the abominations of unionism . . . are afraid to plump for state control of unions. . . They are afraid to advocate anything like State management of unions, because that, they say, would be fascism.

"I agree. Yes, that would be fascism. But I, who detest fascism, see advantage in such fascism. . ."

We were 100% right when we warned labor that the above sinister words may have been Pegler's but that they voiced McCarthy's program. "Let every worker, every union man and woman, every union leader read and absorb the meaning of Pegler's words," we said. "They bear the stench of the concentration camp, the torture chamber, the executioner's axe. Smell them. These words are meant for you."

McCarthy has found it expedient, at this stage, to keep his union-smashing program partially under wraps and to concentrate his fire mainly on "communists" and "traitors" in government. But his ventures into the industrial field with the hearings of General Electric employes, also ostensibly aimed at "reds," have begun to lay the groundwork for a later general assault on organized labor as such.

McCarthy is not the columnist's crony and guest merely because he likes Pegler's liquor and sour personality. They are tied by powerful political bonds. Those bonds are the belief that only brutal totalitarian dictatorship can save American capitalism and crush American labor and that McCarthy is the man to do the bestial job.

"Plain Speaking" -- and Plain Speaking

Condemning the "increasingly demagogic, Hitler-like actions of McCarthy," the April 15 issue of Kenosha Labor, voice of the AFL and CIO unions in Kenosha, Wisconsin, announces its support of the petition drive to recall "the junior feuhrer" from the U.S. Senate.

An editorial statement declares: "The Kenosha Labor cannot and will not pussyfoot on this issue. McCarthy and McCarthyism must be cleansed from the American political scene."

Kenosha Labor's decision to finally get into the anti-McCarthy fight is a welcome one. But their excuses for the delay are no contribution to the struggle. To "explain" their shameful foot-dragging, the editors assert that if the AFL and CIO and the Democrats got into the movement at the beginning, the McCarthyites "would brand the recall campaign a Democratic or labor movement — which it definitely is not."

Thus, even in joining the fight, the editors refuse to admit the error of the AFL and CIO in not launching the recall movement, and even now, cringing and crawling, they apologize as if the labor movement were something to be ashamed of.

Their stupid and cowardly attitude is nailed down in a letter to the April 12 Labor's Daily by Stephen L. Kreznar. He's president of Milwaukee Local 5501, Communication Workers, CIO — a local which has taken a militant anti-McCarthy stand. (The text of their resolution calling for labor action to achieve "the destruction of McCarthyism" was printed in the April 19 Militant.)

President Kreznar's letter to Labor's Daily declares in part: "Without labor's leadership, mccarthyism may be slowed up temporarily but never permanently checked. Yet . . . the Wisconsin CIO Council buried its head in the sands with a 'hands off' policy. . . Why? They left their brains in the hands of the Democratic party. And the Democratic party isn't sold on the recall. . . Besides, it's dangerous for labor leaders and rural leaders to get together. Realizing their strength they might decide not to go begging for crumbs from either party, but form the beginning of a Farmer-Labor party.

"However, those labor leaders and members who have guts and understand the real meaning of mccarthyism are supporting the recall. . . If you hear rumblings in Charleston, it ain't another atom bomb; its just us boys in Milwaukee giving the mccarthyites, the fence-riders and the dead-head labor leaders the business."

We recommend brother Kreznar's letter to the editors of Kenosha Labor for careful study. There's not going to be any room in the decisive days ahead for "dead-head labor leaders."

"Together We Will Push Everything Up"

Salt of the Earth

Rosaura Revualtas and Juan Chacon are the leading players of Salt of the Earth, independently produced full-length motion picture, which depicts the inspiring struggle of southwestern metal miners and their wives in a strike.

By Evelyn Reed

The superb motion picture, Salt of the Earth, which was reviewed in the March 29 Militant, marks a new high in labor propaganda, for it takes up where others have left off. All the familiar elements of the class struggle are incorporated in this film. But they only furnish the backdrop for its central theme: the struggle and victory of women for equality with men. It is all the more profound in that the women's struggle is placed within the framework of the struggle of a minority sector of labor — Mexican-American zinc miners — for equal rights with the white "Anglo" miners.

Rosaura Revueltas; sensitive Mexican actress, is one of the few professional members of the cast. The bulk is composed of hundreds of miners, members of Local 890, International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, and their wives and children. Since the story is built around their lives and struggles, they all the more truly represent themselves.

Juan Chacon, real-life president of Local 890, plays the part of Ramon, a rank-and-file militant, and Rosaura plays the part of Esperanza, his wife. Together, Ramon and Esperanza represent all the husbands and wives in this exploited and oppressed section of labor.

The story opens on a scene of antagonism between husband and wife in the home. A strike is brewing, for the miners are in revolt against the discrimination which forces them to work under dangerous conditions in the mines, while the "Anglos" across the tracks have won security measures in their mines. But the wives want social equality too.

"Across the tracks," Esperanza points out, "the Anglos have hot water. In pipes! And bathrooms. Inside! If your union is asking for better conditions, why can't you ask for decent plumbing too?"

And the film shows in graphic detail the foul sanitation conditions and back-breaking toil of the women without laundries, toilets or modern facilities of any kind.

WHO COMES FIRST?

The dispute poses a life-and-death question for the miners (illustrated by another mine accident) against an almost equivalent urgency for the women. Fast death for the miners; a slower death for the wives. But the "Divide and Rule" strategy of the ruling class, seeping down through every level of society into this lowly sector, is polarizing husbands against wives, and wives against husbands. Who comes first: the enslaved or the doubly enslaved?

The reality that the women see is that the Anglos have better conditions for both men and women. The wives have plumbing and the men have safety measures. Against the timid, conservative notions of the men of "One thing at a time," the women correctly feel that if the banner of "Equality" is raised, it should be a joint banner including both sexes.

But these women are not in the strategic position of being workers in industry themselves. They are the domestic slaves and they do not have a union. Burdened down with children, dismembered into petty, individual homes, they can only assert their demands through their husbands. **They are at the bottom level of the social jungle — the most helpless sector of the working class.**

SYMBOL OF THE RADIO

And so inevitably the social antagonism spills over into a sexual antagonism. The precipitating factor in this instance is a radio bought on time-payments. This single, pitiful fragment of the immense wealth that workers produce and cannot enjoy, means a great deal to the wife.

In her bleak, impoverished home, it represents the sum total of pleasure, education and contact with the wonderful outside world that a domestic drudge never sees but can only hear about. The strike will mean the loss of the radio.

"The curse of a working man," says Ramon, hitting the radio and the time-payments it represents. And as the wife cries out in pain at the thought of losing it, he expostulates: "Why must you always be thinking of yourself?"

She replies: "I think of myself because you never do — I listen to the radio when you are out having beer. . ." Genuine love between the two is poisoned by poverty, resentment and recriminations that lead nowhere.

Against these cleavages and antagonisms the strike intervenes like a mighty powerhouse of unity and equality. Part of its equalizing effect lies in the punishment that both sexes endure in the class war.

This is symbolically represented in two separate shots. The wife is seen in the travail of giving birth to her third child. She calls out the name of her husband, but he is not around. He is a captive in an auto between two of the company sheriff's cops, his hands handcuffed behind his back. **These Southern white supremacists take turns delivering vicious blows to his belly. He, too, calls out the name of his wife. They are equals in suffering.**

But another equality is born in the course of the strike action which far transcends the overhead price paid for it. This is the equality that the women win through their own leadership and efforts and in a united front with the men. The doubly-enslaved see farther and clearer.

For this strike turns out to be one in which the women are obliged to play the decisive role if it is to be won. After weeks of striking, a Taft-Hartley injunction forbids the miners to picket. If they obey the injunction the strike is lost. If they defy it, they will be thrown in jail and lose the strike anyway.

It is the women who discover the deficiency in the injunction. The clause states only that miners may not picket, but says nothing about their wives. Through the energetic intervention of a few more daring women, Esperanza and the other housewives are mobilized first into the idea and then into the action of taking over the picket line.

The women raise their proposal at a union meeting, and the opposition to it is significant. Among the women, only a single voice is raised against it: it isn't "ladylike."

Among the men, trained in the class-rule traditions that woman's place is in the home, the majority are opposed to it. They have typical rationalizations: "Let's not hide behind women's skirts," "If things get rough, we'll have to fight anyway," and so on.

But when the vote is taken, the women augmented by a minority of men, win. On the men's faces are mixed emotions: surprise, chagrin, pride, fear — and relief that the strike has been saved.

As workers are well aware, on the picket line there are no sex distinctions so far as the bosses are concerned. All blandishments and hypocritical formulas regarding male chivalry toward women cease. These housewives, some of them with children in arms, were subjected to all the open and concealed violence that men strikers go through.

The first test of strength came when the scabs were brought up in cars. Previously, when the men were on the picket line, these scabs had turned tail without a fight. But now, with the women, they were cockily sure: "They will scatter like quail."

But the women didn't scatter. They presented a solid wall of their bodies against the cars, and remobilized as fast as they were knocked down. They fought the scabs in direct combat and these male heroes lost the battle to the women. **When the tear-gas was used against them, the women put kerchiefs over their faces and marched on. Esperanza, her new-born infant in arms, did likewise.**

Finally, there came the jailings of the "ring-leaders." These militant women turned out to be so many that it took two trucks to cart them off to jail. But new reinforcements of women rushed up to fill out the depleted picket line.

"WE WANT THE FORMULA!"

In the jail, the mass of women packed the cell. They began to clamor for all kinds of things; beds, food, etc. But Esperanza, who took her three children with her to jail, required a special formula of milk for the infant. With the remarkable ingenuity of workers, the whole striking power of the women's disruptive tactic was thereafter registered in an uninterrupted din: **"WE WANT THE FORMULA!"**

And these women got the formula. They got not only their immediate demands and the release of the women from the jail. They had discovered the formula for victory in their far-reaching demand: **Full equality of the women as part of the struggle for full equality of the whole working class.**

The women learned that the fight for women's equality began not in the individual kitchens against individual men, but in their own organized mass strength, and on the field of battle against the exploiters of both sexes.

But this was only half the formula. Now the women had to teach the men the same lesson; that men workers cripple their own struggle for emancipation if they do not draw the women out of the kitchens and help organize them into fighting divisions in their own class army. And here again, it was not through intellectual discussion, but through strike action that the men learned their lesson.

IN THE KITCHEN

For while the women were learning the art and science of strike warfare, the men were learning the meaning of domestic slavery. Between spectator visits to the picket line, where they watched the heroic exploits of their wives, they had to hurry home to wash endless diapers, feed the children and carry on the household chores.

They found it a very inglorious role. And they discovered by direct experience the importance of hot water in pipes and toilets inside the house. Through the unexpected reversal of roles, male superiority and complacency were evaporating fast.

Sulking on the part of the men, and sex collisions took place as the men tried in vain to restore their old authority. When Ramon complained, Esperanza said coolly: "Must you have someone beneath you to feel superior?"

When he lifted his hand as though to strike her, she added for good measure: "Sleep where you wish tonight, but not with me."

This housewife, steeped in religion that taught women to be submissive and obedient to their husbands, had cast off the shackles. In her conduct and bearing she displayed an entirely new dignity and self-esteem.

The women were not interested in taking revenge, however. They had a clear aim and a direct goal: to forge a united front of men and women against the robbery of both. And this was expressed in the famous line by Esperanza to her husband at the height of their collision: "I want to win. **Together** we will push everything up with us as we go."

LEARN THE HARD WAY

But the men had to learn this lesson the hard way as, indeed, all important lessons are learned. For it was through an action of the sulking and discouraged men, who decided to go off on a hunting trip during a momentary lull in the strike, that the victory was almost lost.

On the way, however, Ramon became uneasy and induced the others to return. And they come back at the critical juncture, when the first eviction from the company-owned houses is under way. The bosses had planned this major assault at precisely the time when the men and women would be divided and separated.

Against this threat the whole community mobilizes — a symbol of the might of the whole American working class across this great continent. The unifying power of the strike cuts across all cleavages and antagonisms within the sector.

From near and far the men, women and children move in, assembling around the test house where the sheriff's men are carting out the household goods. As their numbers multiply, their courage and ingenuity mount.

The women and children produce a new tactic: a "back-to-the-house" movement is begun. Gradually at first, and then with quickening tempo the stuff is carted back into the house as the sheriff's men are carting it out. The striking miners, still pinioned by the law, can only watch.

"Tell your women to stop, they are obstructing the law!" the sheriff demands of Ramon. But he is talking to newly created men, who have learned their lesson. They are lined up solidly behind the women who have brought the scabs, the jailors, the cops, the sheriff and the bosses to their knees.

"These women don't listen to us any more," replies Ramon, with ill-concealed delight.

At this point, with the arrival of carloads of men from the open pit who have nothing to stop them from open battle, the sheriff throws in the sponge. Through the united action of the whole working sector, the strike is won.

SIGN OF THE TIMES

This motion picture is a significant sign of the times. The emergence in recent years of 19 million women in industry and other fields of work has left an indelible mark upon American labor and American social thinking. It has penetrated deep into the ranks of the unorganized housewives.

From a superficial standpoint, it would seem that these lowly wives of a lowly minority group would never be able to lead in the struggle for woman's emancipation. But this ignores the dynamics of class struggle. It is precisely among the most downtrodden, who have so little to lose, that the spark will come to ignite the social conflagration.

Among the better-off working-class wives, it is only when they are threatened with the loss of what they have accumulated after 13 years of artificial war prosperity, that they will discover their own capacities for revolutionary action and leadership.

What this picture demonstrates better than a dozen written documents on the woman question, is that the emancipation of women is an integral part of the emancipation of the working class as a whole from its capitalist chains.

This question cannot be resolved through bickerings and antagonisms in the home, or even interchange of domestic chores. It will be resolved only through the combined struggle of men and women on the field of labor, and the interchange of class-war theory and tactics.

And once the women are assimilated into the labor army, a whole new dimension will be added to the power and dynamism of the class struggle. And this combination will guarantee the final victory of socialism.

...M'Carthyism Slugged

(Continued from page 1)

port for its position against the decision of the membership meeting, the highest body of the local. **This was done on union time at union expense.** At one board meeting they went so far as to pass a motion claiming that International Representative Haley had falsely represented his own position against the motion as that of the International Union. They even demanded he appear before the special membership meeting and apologize.

Six more days of hashing over the issue in the shop, with all union opposition to the company's marauding brought to a halt, clearly showed how red-baiting can be the ruination of unionism.

At the special meeting, the board was even better organized to control the discussion than before. Vice President Phil Carlino, an arch red-baiter, was prepared to call on speakers in the order best calculated to advance passage of the McCarthyite motion. Nevertheless, once again speaker after speaker spoke in the militant tradition of Local 1581 in defense of all members against the predatory company.

International Representative Haley stood by his former position and read a letter from IUE President James B. Carey which said the union would not go along with any unilateral company action against any union member. While the letter contained much red-baiting, it nowhere expressed the supine attitude of the executive board's motion which would let the company penalize union members as it sees fit.

Cieslinski, Carlino and Chief Steward Enders all spoke for the McCarthyite motion. But the membership had something to say too. Along with recognized rank and file leaders, some members not accustomed to take the floor were moved to speak out against the motion. Several board members openly reversed their previous position and sided with the membership. The board refrained from reporting the miserable results of its petition drive.

A SECOND VICTORY

The vote finally was taken. The result: 141 against the board's motion; 103 for. Although this may not seem an impressive victory, it was a real demonstration of courage for workers to stand up openly in the atmosphere of the witch hunt and boldly announce their opposition to a McCarthyite motion put forward by their own local leaders. Some who wanted to vote against the motion abstained because they did not want to stand up and be counted. But a decisive majority carried the day.

The membership, following a similar action by the Executive Board, called on Cieslinski to fulfill his responsibilities and finish his term of office. Haley added his plea and that of International President Carey. Cieslinski said the roof didn't have to fall on his head to convince him. He said he took back his resignation and would finish his term.

STILL DEFIES MEMBERS

But, Cieslinski promptly called a special executive board meeting at which he said he was willing to serve out his term, but that in case any member of the local union was called before a Congressional Committee and refused to state whether or not he was a member of any subversive organization, availing himself of the Fifth Amendment, this member should not be defended by the union.

This was his treacherous position after two membership meetings had emphatically repudiated such yellow-dog unionism. This was the position of the man who didn't need to have the roof fall on his head. But it did fall then. The executive board itself then called for his resignation and accepted it immediately.

The smoke of one battle has cleared away and the union is getting back into the fray with the main enemy. The membership is looking forward to a militant fight to maintain union conditions and jobs now that the shocking affair of the McCarthy-type motion has been swept away by the powerful hands of the Local 1581 ranks.

The concluding article in the series by George Breitman on Deutscher's biography of Leon Trotsky will appear in next week's issue of the Militant.

Just Out! A New Pamphlet

Stop McCarthyism!

Your Stake in the Fight

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by James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

A McCarthyite Smears the NAACP

Last week we discussed the dangerous consequences of the McCarthyite smear of The Militant and five other organizations and publications by the West Coast Regional Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its secretary, Franklin H. Williams. We said that the NAACP must disavow the criminally irresponsible publication of a "subversive list" by the West Coast office, and retract it.

If we were not convincing enough, perhaps George S. Schuyler will be. Schuyler, for the benefit of those who do not know the "gentleman," is an associate editor of the national Negro weekly, the Pittsburgh Courier, and an avowed McCarthyite.

Mr. Schuyler has been the ideological leader of reaction in the Negro press for a long time, a supporter of red-baiting, witch-hunting, thought-control and now McCarthyite fascism.

In his column, "Views and Reviews," in the March 27 issue of the Courier he wrote: "Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin was the loudest, most dramatic, most courageous, most persistent of the many patriots determined to save America from the fate of the 800 million behind the Iron Curtain."

This praise of the fascist demagogue from Wisconsin was in keeping with Schuyler's consistent role as glib Negro press agent for official and unofficial character assassins and destroyers of civil rights.

Part of his job has been sniping at Negro leaders who have resisted to any extent the pressure to make them conform to McCarthyism.

Mimicking his hero's slanderous attacks on all who disagree with him, Schuyler has opened up on the NAACP. In his column of April 10 he put this largest Negro civil rights organization on his "subversive list."

He cited as evidence that "such loud and persistent Negro anti-McCarthyites as Walter White, Earl Brown, Judge Delany, et al" have "made some headway in corrupting the thinking of other Negroes . . . the increasingly frequent, gratuitous attacks on McCarthyism by resolutions passed at NAACP conferences and other gatherings."

Then, with a typical McCarthyite insinuation, he explained: "This is understandable since there are top brass of the NAACP who could not survive a security check. They, along with some of our reverend clergy, have been in more fronts than a burlesque house brassiere."

This type of underhanded smear is the logical fruit of acceptance of the witch-hunt, "loyalty program," subversive list techniques for dealing with critics and opponents.

And it underscores our point, that the NAACP must reaffirm its traditional opposition to such methods by dissociating itself from such procedure and guard against its infiltration into the organization by an educational campaign in its branches and by instructing its representative, Mr. Williams of the West Coast office, to withdraw his "subversive list" publicly and at once.

No Deal for Children

By Joyce Cowley

Mayor Wagner's budget for 1954-55 hit a record high of $1,639,388,325. To an ordinary man this sounds like a lot of money but it's apparently not enough to provide essential services for New York City's children.

The Citizen's Committee on Children reports that all city departments and agencies serving children will continue to be handicapped by insufficient funds.

"From prenatal clinics to high school student guidance offices, from nursery schools to courtrooms, the pinch will be felt."

The Commissioner of Welfare made a request for ten new day-care centers. Not one additional center or additional position in the day-care division was granted.

The Commissioner's request for 25 additional mothers' aides in the visiting housekeeper service was also denied.

No funds were allocated for 27 vacation playgrounds requested or for new teachers and supervisors for such recreation activities. Funds were granted for only ten of the 68 new after-school playgrounds. Fifty-two more counselors were proposed for the Bureau of Child Guidance. No new positions were created.

Mrs. Ascoli, chairman of the Children's Committee health section, reported that because of lack of qualified personnel, the children's health services in New York City are becoming a "scandal."

$500,000 was granted to strengthen probation and psychiatric services in courts dealing with children. This is one-third of the sum regarded as the minimum necessary to strengthen these services.

About a month ago Mayor Wagner made a nice talk on television about the need to wipe out juvenile delinquency. There was a good deal of publicity in the press about a committee that he set up. All agencies dealing with delinquents were to map out a comprehensive plan of action. For several weeks, reports in the press indicated that the committee was hard at work studying the problem. But in this budget all the preventive agencies represented in the committee are conspicuously neglected.

The Mayor obviously has more confidence in the police than he has in good schools and adequate recreation. There will be no funds to carry out any plans the committee draws up. The most that it's likely to accomplish is to provide the Mayor with material for another television broadcast.

Thousands of teachers, firemen and other city workers have been picketing City Hall to protest against the meager raises they are being granted in this budget. I'd like to see thousands of parents in a picket line to protest the criminal neglect of our children, who are being robbed by greedy politicians of the education, health services and recreation so desperately needed by youngsters in New York City.

...Dulles Pushes for Deal

(Continued from page 1)

draw. They are prepared to throw in the sponge in Indo-China.

Thus the Eisenhower administration, which came into office condemning the Democrats for the "loss" of China and for "bungling" in Korea, now sees itself in a similar situation in regard to Indo-China. They feel highly vulnerable politically to the same kind of charges they used to defeat the Truman administration.

Dulles' "trial balloon" calling for sending American troops to Indo-China in this context is a preventive move. It calls the hand of the Democrats and even more so of McCarthy and the China lobby. Dulles is saying do you have a better proposal? Then bring it forward. In any case, you can't accuse us of not wanting or proposing to send American troops "in time." And if it is impossible to send troops because of popular resistance, let's see you try to overcome this resistance.

These calculations, however, only involve the domestic side. Dulles' main concern is something else. When he says that the Eisenhower administration will not permit Indo-China to fall "to the Communists" he is quite sincere, although by "Communists" he means the Indo-Chinese nationalist movement. He is speaking for Wall Street, which counts itself as heir to the French empire and does not intend to let it "fall" to anyone else, including the colonial peoples.

But how does Dulles hope to secure Indo-China for Wall Street without another Korea and without precipitating the Third World War? The key to this problem is held by Moscow.

The H-Bomb tests, timed to occur before the Geneva Conference, were, like Nixon's warmongering speech, designed to frighten the Stalinist bureaucracy. And also to arm them in dealing with the Stalinists in Indo-China. Look, Malenkov can say to Mao Tse-tung as well as Ho Chi Minh, these American imperialists are as insane as Hitler. They are perfectly capable of plunging the world into an H-Bomb war, as you can see from their actions. It is necessary to concede to them as it was necessary to concede for a time to Hitler's demands.

Whether Moscow can convince the Chinese and Indo-Chinese satellites is another question. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese have already indicated that the possibility of having to sacrifice the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence must be seriously considered.

In any case, the kind of deal Dulles wants might still require the use of American troops in Indo-China even if Ho Chi Minh himself went along, for a Stalinist betrayal would not mean that the Indo-Chinese people would simply give up the struggle. They would continue fighting for a long time.

Here we should pay attention to the repeated reference in the capitalist press that involvement in Indo-China would not mean another Korea but another Greece.

Reading the April 20 column of Joseph C. Harsch of the Christian Science Monitor, one can almost hear the State Department briefing officer: ". . . high strategists in Washington do not seriously think it will be necessary to send American troops into combat in that country." After the speech by Nixon, "the sequel has been a radio broadcast from Moscow asserting Moscow's interest in a 'cease fire' and Ho Chi Minh's readiness to negotiate with the French."

"And it begins to look," says Harsch, "as though Moscow and Peking might rather sacrifice Ho Chi Minh than find United States troops landing at another point on the mainland of Asia."

Then he explains, "the parallel to the Indo-China situation was never Korea but rather the case of Greece."

(There, it will be recalled, Stalin made a secret deal with Churchill to sell the Greek Stalinists down the river.)

"The Communists in Greece," continues Harsch, "did not give up quickly or easily. **Moscow did not let them down suddenly.** But from the time the Truman doctrine went into actual operation on the ground in Greece, Moscow conducted **a gradual liquidation of its Grecian venture.** General Markos, the original Communist commander in Greece, wanted to go on fighting. He was 'liquidated.' General Zachariades, sent in by Moscow to replace Markos, lives today in comfortable retirement in Romania." (My emphasis. J. H.)

It is this kind of deal, we may imagine, that Dulles seeks at Geneva. Not publicly, of course, but in secret. If it goes through, then the French would remain in Indo-China the way the British did in the civil war in Greece, not trying to do much more than hold the lid down while the U.S., step by step, moved in deeper and deeper.

Whether Dulles can succeed in getting such a perfidious deal remains to be seen. But it is not a deal that will give the workers or colonial peoples any cause for cheering. It will mean a far bloodier conflict than was the case in Greece. It has far less chance of success. And despite the deal, the suppression of the Indo-Chinese people would not defer the danger of World War III but only bring it closer.

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Seeks Fascist's Recall

Editor Leroy Gore of the Sauk-Prairie Wisconsin Star holds up copy of his paper urging recall of Sen. McCarthy (R.) without waiting four years for a regular election. In Washington, recently, Gore claimed he had already obtained 185,000 of the 403,000 signatures necessary to institute recall vote.

Gosser Pay Cut Deal Angers Auto Workers

By Beatrice Evans

DETROIT — Detroit auto workers emphatically don't like the 10% wage cut at the Toledo Willys Motors plant that UAW vice president Richard Gosser pressured UAW Local 12 into accepting.

"We won't take a pay cut from nobody!" Stanley Atkinson, Ford assembly line worker, was quoted as saying in the April 15 Detroit Free Press.

Die maker Bob Broderick said of Gosser: "I think he's full of hot air. He's thinking only of selling more Kaiser and Willys cars."

"The workers would sure be against Reuther on that," said Jim Wilson, engine plant worker.

"I never did believe in pay cuts," said Sam Granata, tool maker. "I believe in working 30 hours for 40 hours pay to alleviate the unemployment situation."

Carl Stellato, president of UAW Ford Local 600, speaking for himself, said, "If it is true, I think it is a shame. I don't think industry needs the help of labor leaders to run its business." Later he sent UAW President Walter Reuther a telegram saying he could not believe the UAW had embarked on a give-away program.

Gosser's plan was described as a move to keep Kaiser Motors and its subsidiary, Willys Motors, on a competitive basis with other auto makers. The 10% wage cut in weekly earnings will be achieved through the elimination of incentive pay received by workers who produce more than the fixed norm for their jobs.

Gosser said the union hoped to shave Willys production costs by 20% in the next three to six months. To auto workers, this has the smell of a speedup.

Out of the savings from increased production "efficiency," Gosser said, might come a bonus system that might compensate the workers for part of the loss in pay they are taking now. But even if this plan could be worked out, bonuses would not show up in pay envelopes until next December at the earliest.

Under the proposed bonus plan, a part of sales receipts would be set aside and divided three ways — one-third to the union, one-third to the company, and the other third to a fund for improving manufacturing efficiency. This means the company would get two-third and the workers one-third. The part for improving efficiency would go to the company to increase the production of the workers. All this is based, of course, on sales of the Kaiser Willys car. So far, no bonus arrangement has been decided on.

Edgar Kaiser, president of the company, hailed the union's agreement to the wage cut and commended Gosser and regional UAW officers. The comment heard in the shops, buses and union halls here is somewhat different:

"Cut the salaries of the big boys and the dividends of the stockholders, not the wages of the workers."

"If you want to put Willys on a competitive basis, then the way to do it is by raising the wages at GM, Ford and Chrysler, not by cutting them at Willys."

"We're not in favor of incentive plans in the first place, but when you eliminate them for God's sake get hourly wages raised high enough to cover the cut!"

"This is the kind of thing that can help to topple Reuther and Gosser."

Detroit Dodge Local 3 Demands "30-for-40"

By Edith Woodruff

DETROIT, April 19 — "The 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay now!" was one of the chief slogans raised in the spirited demonstration held here last Tuesday by 500 unemployed members of Dodge Local 3, United Auto Workers, CIO.

Other demands, chanted and printed on placards carried by the jobless workers were: "We Demand Jobs — Not Soup Lines!" "A Public Works Program — now!" "We Demand Our Bonus!" (Local 3 is fighting for the bonus which its unemployed members would be eligible for if they were on the payroll. The company is saving 74 million dollars by having laid off workers, many with 10-20-30 years seniority, a few weeks or days before the eligibility date for the bonus.)

The demonstration was preceded by a meeting of Local 3 unemployed members at their hall at 6 A.M. They have been holding such meetings regularly each week. It was at one of these meetings, according to the April 10 Ford Facts, that they went on record in favor of the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

From the hall the workers marched to the Dodge plant at 7:30 A.M., where they paraded for an hour, carrying banners, singing union songs, and chanting their demands.

After marching back to their hall, they boarded buses provided by the local and proceeded to City Hall for a demonstration and the presentation of their demands to the Common Council.

The usual procedure before anyone can speak to the Council is to make a request and get approval at a previous meeting. But the presence of the demonstrators persuaded the Council to waive the usual procedure and to give the floor to Pat Quinn, vice-president of Local 3.

As the demonstrators sat in the Council Chamber, Quinn told the Council that some 20,000 workers have been laid off at the Dodge Main plant since July, leaving only 12,000 on the job.

"Sixty per cent of these workers will collect the last of their unemployment compensation this month," he said. "Many of them already have fallen behind in house payments and rent."

URGE PUBLIC WORKS

He urged the Council to take action to help secure an "honest public works program that would give laid-off people jobs and not welfare."

The Council members had nothing to say in response to this appeal. Earlier their president, Louis C. Miriani had advised Quinn to take the appeal to the state authorities, who in turn would tell him to take it to Washington.

The March on City Hall demonstrated the growing support among unemployed union members for the 30-for-40 program. To achieve this program they will have to get the active, militant support of the labor movement at the bargaining table and in politics.

...COPS SWING CLUBS

(Continued from page 1)

Everyone felt this to be a test case for the whole area, and that was why workers from other plants came to their aid.

The aim of the company is to smash not only the UAW, but the Blacksmiths as well. In a conference with the mayor, the company representative told the AFL and CIO men they did not represent any of the workers at the plant. This explains why many AFL people are supporting the strike, and why some of them reacted to the police attacks last Wednesday by expressing sentiment for a joint AFL-CIO holiday to protest the police brutality against the demonstrators.

The cops cleared the street of all strikers on Wednesday. On the next two days they remained in complete control, barricading all the streets leading to the plant, so that only scabs and workers in nearby plants could enter.

POOR LEADERSHIP

The strikers and their sympathizers suffered from the failure of their leaders to give any effective leadership. While O'Malley knew the area would be barricaded on Thursday, he did nothing to prepare the thousands of workers for action, and he didn't even call a meeting of local presidents to plan the next steps.

Thursday morning, when the pickets couldn't get within 500 yards of the plant, O'Malley finally consented to a strategy meeting of the presidents. But then he and his staff walked out of the meeting, fearing the consequences of "a conspiracy to undermine the court order limiting pickets to 18." The local leaders tried to save the situation by organizing Friday's demonstration. But O'Malley vetoed their decision for a caravan of cars to City Hall if mass picketing would fail. He also vetoed a decision for TV time and newspapers ads as "ineffective," saying such things "would turn the public against us."

Friday morning the presidents met for the last time to call off further demonstrations. All sympathetic workers were told to return to work.

COURAGE HIGH

Courage was not enough to win this strike. A woman picket put in a call to her shop "to get some girls down here with rolling pins so we can break through that barricade." AFL Teamsters left their trucks, keys in pocket, in the middle of the busy St. Clair traffic, refusing to cross a picket line; the trucks had to be towed away. An AFL Hodcarrier in the demonstration kept asking, "When are you boys going to recognize that this is war? This is war between management and labor. The sooner you see it, the better it will be."

This is not the first Cleveland strike lost through Taft-Hartley injunctions. The same thing happened not long ago to the UE Air Maize strike. First an injunction was slapped on picketing and the workers walked the streets for months while an "independent" union petitioned for bargaining rights. All the UE workers, including many with long seniority, have now lost their jobs. It is ironical to recall that the CIO officials ordered affiliates to keep hands off when the UE asked help from the CIO in that strike.

One lesson of this strike was expressed by a steward after the Friday demonstration. "You can't fight fire with whipped cream. Next time this happens there are going to be some leaders around here to organize it."

...M'Carthy Sets Terms

(Continued from page 1)

drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

The real crimes of McCarthyism — his trampling of civil rights, his fascist demagogy, and his fascist bid for power — all these are omitted from the Army complaint.

TAKES OFFENSIVE

McCarthy, on the other hand, presses his "treason" indictment. He brands the very charges of favoritism levelled against him as having given "greater aid and comfort to Communists and security risks than any other single obstacle (to the investigation of 'Communists' in government) ever designed."

Just to keep his Army accusers permanently on the defensive, McCarthy has added to his main accusation (that the Defense Department is covering up those responsible for "protecting Communist infiltration") a charge of war profiteering against Assistant Secretary H. Struve Hensel. And he undoubtedly is prepared to tax the Eisenhower Administration during the course of the hearings with having shielded Oppenheimer until he forced its hand.

McCarthy will have his way in the hearings because his opponents — the Eisenhower administration and the Democratic members of the McCarthy committee — cringe before his "treason in government" charges and are always anxious to placate him.

They are incapable of exposing his fascist demagogy without exposing the whole witch hunt to which they are solidly committed.

The investigation of McCarthy by McCarthy's committee will strengthen McCarthy's hand. It will reveal once more the utter inability of capitalist politicians to wage effective struggle — even on the side of public exposure — against McCarthyism.

McCarthyism will be exposed and defeated only by a working class movement which recognizes the fascist nature of his drive to power, singles him out as the greatest menace to the liberties of the American people, repudiates the whole redhunt and moves forward to a working class solution of the problems of the day.

An intensive three-months campaign by the Alabama Conference of NAACP Branches is expected to bring a vastly increased Negro registration for the May primary election. W. C. Patton, state NAACP president, reports that despite discrimination hundreds of Negroes are presenting themselves for registration, and that Negroes registered have increased from about 750 to more than 1,500 in Talladega County. Long lines of Negroes form almost every day the board of registrars is in session in Birmingham. However, the NAACP may take legal action against registration officials in one county where apparently the officials do not hesitate to break the law rather than permit Negroes to register.

Miners Feel Squeeze of Slump in Coal

By Marianne Moore

PITTSBURGH — Coal mining has felt the effects of the depression earlier and more severely than any other basic industry. Governor Fine of Pennsylvania has invited governors of 15 coal-producing states to an "unprecedented conference in Washington on April 26 to review economic conditions created by the decline in coal production." John L. Lewis was asked to send a United Mine Workers delegation. Coal barons plan to ask for a cut in taxes and decreased oil imports.

Meanwhile, the operators have already launched an anti-union offensive in the coal areas. Old-timers in the industry are comparing the speeches and actions of the coal industry spokesmen with those of the coal depression in the 1920's which almost wiped out their union.

The coal industry has been sick for some time. Last June, when other industries still showed an overall increase of 9% in net incomes over the previous year, coal income showed a drop of 61% for the same period.

After hitting a postwar peak in 1948, coal production has been steadily declining. This trend was temporarily checked by the enormous demand created by armament production during the Korean war. In 1948 bituminous production of coal was 600 million tons. In 1949, it was down to 438 million tons. In 1950 — 516 million. In 1951 — 532 million. In 1952, production nosedived to the 1949 level with 459 million tons and coal production has been declining ever since.

The Pittsburgh Press of April 11 comments: "If the soft coal industry is 'sick' then the anthracite section, 'hard coal,' even has a foot in the grave. Here is a picture of how a once flourishing industry can slip: In 1914 there were 180,000 hard coal workers. In 1952, the number had dropped to 66,000. There are less than 50,000 today."

In January of this year, there were 12,700 unemployed in the Scranton district. That's "acute distress" — 12% of the labor force. In Wilkes Barre and Hazelton, the unemployed amount to 12% of the labor force and in Pottsville to 15%. The United Mine Workers reports 40,000 to 50,000 unemployed miners in the anthracite region.

The coal slump is speeding up the process of wiping out the small producers and strengthening the position of the bigger concerns. Out of some 9,300 coal mines in the U.S., the 50 biggest mines accounted for 12.5% of the total production in 1951, for 13.8% in 1952. **While decline of production for the industry as a whole was 12% the big 50 showed a drop of only 3%, most of which was caused by a strike at that.**

Mechanization, though reaching the mines later than most other basic industries, has aggravated the unemployment problem. According to the Western Pennsylvania Operators' Association, less than 37,000 miners are now employed in ten counties of that region which employed 72,000 twelve years ago. This is a drop of 48% in the working force while the drop in production in the same period was less than 24%.

Already hit by layoffs, miners suffered a severe setback when the pension and welfare payments were cut in half. The fund from which these payments are made is financed by a royalty of 40 cents on each ton of coal mined. This has been of inestimable value to the men who dig coal.

Countless injured and crippled miners as well as widows and children, victims of this hazardous industry, have been helped to a new start in life with money provided from this fund. It is estimated that half the homes in every mining community received some benefits from the fund.

The drop in demand for coal has heightened competition between the coal operators. In their struggle to maintain profits the union looms as their biggest obstacle. The Pittsburgh Press of April 2 reports a trend toward non-union operation developing in the industry.

"The Splashdam Coal Co., a mining company of Southern West Virginia, is looking for additional miners willing to break away from the United Mine Workers' Union for a full time job at less than union pay." **The company has already cancelled its contracts with the UMW and has signed up miners with a 35% decrease in hourly pay.**

While this represents union-busting on a small scale, there are indications of bigger threats in the offing. Joseph Moody, president of the Southern Coal Producing Association, formally notified John L. Lewis a month ago that four Southern firms are breaking off contracts with the UMW and will operate on a non-union basis after May 1. "There are lots of others going independent that you don't hear about," Moody said. "This is the beginning of a trend. It looks like we're right back in the Jacksonville agreement days."

Those words have an ominous ring to oldtimers in the industry. They know that Moody is referring to the anti-union drive of 1924, when operators flaunted the agreement reached at Jacksonville and almost succeeded in breaking the union.

The coal barons have used every weapon at their command to fight the miners — courts, injuctions, government seizures and armed forces. All the signs point to another big fight in preparation right now. The miners had better mobilize all their forces for a showdown struggle.