# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIX — No. 13 — 267 — NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1955 — PRICE 10 Cents


# Auto Worker's Letter to the UAW Delegates

Detroit, Mich.

Brothers and Sisters:

As you convene to vote on the UAW leadership's guaranteed annual wage plan, you, along with the rest of the workers in the shop, are undoubtedly asking yourselves if GAW is really the answer to the major problems facing the auto workers today.

GAW, we have been told, is the way to win added unemployment compensation. If achieved, it would compel the corporations to supplement state unemployment allowances for a maximum of 52 weeks. And this obligation, it is hoped, would pressure the corporations into joining the demand for higher state unemployment compensation benefits.

**The auto workers want and need higher jobless compensation. And they will fight for it too. But why then is there little enthusiasm among them about GAW? And why is there questioning and even doubts?**

Because the auto workers have experienced mass layoffs in the period since the last UAW convention. Because they expect further mass layoffs in the near future, resulting from the overloading of the market with cars at prices beyond the ability of workers to buy, and from the mushrooming growth of automation.

The chief desire of the workers is **a plan to prevent unemployment.** This is not in contradiction to their desire for higher unemployment benefits. Both are problems that the UAW must tackle. But if a choice has to be made between the two, the fight against unemployment is more basic and more urgent.

**GAW will not add a single job. On the contrary. By requiring the corporations to pay benefits to members of their labor force when they are laid off, the proposed GAW would give the corporations an added reason for keeping their regular labor force as small as possible.**

## What '30 for 40' Would Do

It's no secret that many auto workers view the "little" layoffs now taking place — the groups of 50 and 200 being put out on the street — as a move by the corporations to cut the labor force to the core in preparation for granting some form of GAW to a section of the auto workers. Temporarily, GAW may mean added security and steadier work for those with high seniority, but at the expense of those with lower seniority and of young workers trying to get into the plants.

**Automation, under the present economic system, means fewer jobs. The proposed GAW doesn't even begin to deal with this problem. But a program to tackle this problem is what auto workers want, need and will fight for with enthusiasm.**

Every one of you convention delegates knows what is indicated — a reduced work week with no reduction in pay, the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.

30-for-40 to us means more jobs, or at least protection of the jobs we now have. It means the opportunity to share in technological progress. It means more leisure. It means the preservation of the UAW's present numerical strength, giving us a stronger union base from which to fight for our other demands. It means the beginning of an alternative to depression other than war and war preparations.

**We are ready to vote for a strike fund. We are ready to battle until we gain our ends. We will take them on one at a time in long struggles like at Ford in Canada or Kohler in Wisconsin, or we will take them on all together, hitting them hard and fast and getting it over with. But give us something to fight for that we can sink our teeth into; give us an answer to the needs of today; give us 30-for-40.**

## Reasons for Reuther's Stand

For reasons of its own, the Reuther leadership rejects the fight for 30-for-40 today. Two years ago it was condemning the demand as a "communist" plot to undermine the U.S. It doesn't dare to repeat such lies in 1955. Now it pays lip service to 30-for-40 as a desirable aim for some time in the future. But it still insists on counterposing 30-for-40 to GAW, instead of linking them together.

The convention's endorsement of such a position would be wrong and dangerous. Wrong because it would be evading the major need of the auto workers — a struggle to prevent the spread of unemployment. Dangerous because it would mean postponing that struggle to a time when large-scale layoffs resulting from automation, GAW or no GAW, would put the union in a weaker position to win the struggle.

Present indications are the convention and the members will go along with Reuther on this question. But few members can understand or explain why he is so stubborn about resisting the fight for a shorter work week. Some think it's a question of prestige. But that doesn't go to the heart of the matter.

Reuther himself has repeatedly explained his motivations for GAW. One of these is to help the corporations save the capitalist system. In a recent interview (Detroit Free Press, March 9) he said:

"We think these guys (the auto manufacturers) are better

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# Kutcher Wins Round in Housing Fight

**NEWARK, March 19 — James Kutcher, the Legless Veteran, who was purged from his job in the Veterans Administration because of his declared membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has won a partial victory in the court battle to prevent eviction — also because of his political beliefs — of himself and his aged parents from a housing project here.**

Yesterday New Jersey Superior Court Judge G. D. Speakman issued an injunction forbidding the federal housing authorities from evicting the Kutcher family from the Seth Boyden Housing project in this city.

The attempt to evict the Kutcher family began in December 1952 when Hyman Kutcher, a former fur worker, 75 years of age and in bad health, was notified by the Newark Housing Authority that under the Gwinn Amendment he must certify that no one occupying his premises belonged to any of the organizations on the Attorney General's blacklist.

Since his son, James, who lost both legs in World War II, is a well-known public figure of the Socialist Workers Party, Mr. Hyman Kutcher obviously could not so certify. James Kutcher, who for six years has been fighting in the courts to regain his government job, maintains that his party is not "subversive" and that the Attorney General acted unconstitutionally in blacklisting it without hearings.

**The elderly and ailing parents of the Legless Veteran were thus confronted with the choice of evicting their own son to comply with the law or to risk eviction themselves. Though they have never been connected with any of the politically blacklisted organizations, the parents decided to fight the law. American Civil Liberties Union attorney Emil Oxfeld began legal proceedings to test the housing witch-hunt law.**

Although the case has been in the courts for over two years Judge Speakman's decision of yesterday is not conclusive on the constitutionality of the law. He granted the injunction on the somewhat technical point that the Housing Authority had required tenants to certify to the whole blacklist which contains many organizations labelled "front" organizations rather than just those declared by the Attorney General to be "subversive."

**In his book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," James Kutcher describes in detail his fight to regain his job as well as the circumstances surrounding the housing case.**

# Yalta Records Confirm Plot to Save Capitalism

*"The Evil Men Do Lives after Them..."*

Roosevelt (l.) and Churchill (r.), the political leaders of the two greatest capitalist powers, and Stalin (c.), head of the Soviet bureaucratic ruling caste, who connived together at Yalta in Feb. 1945 to carve up Europe and Asia and to set the fuse to a third world war. The Yalta documents spotlight Stalin's role in helping save capitalism.

## Show Stalin's Cynical Betrayal of Workers And Colonial People

By Joseph Hansen

No new major fact is contained in the censored version of the official record of the Yalta Conference printed by the N. Y. Times March 17 and 18. Ten years ago, for instance, on the basis of press reports issued at the time of the secret parley, the Militant was easily able to expose the thieves' agreement to dismember Germany, exact reparations from the German people, set up a new version of the League of Nations, carve up the world into "spheres of influence," and form an unholy alliance against anti-imperialist uprisings in the colonial world and socialist revolutions in the world's industrial centers.

Why, then, did the State Department decide to make public at this time the documents that confirm to the hilt the harshest and truest things that were said about the imperialist character of the conference held by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin a decade ago?

The embarrassment of the Democrats and the glee of the right-wing Republicans indicate the answer. Dulles issued the papers to provide ammunition for the Republican machine in preparation for the 1956 elections.

The frequent appearance of the name of Alger Hiss, who was assigned to make memorandums at the conference on points concerning the formation of the United Nations, is made to order for the McCarthys and Knowlands in insisting that Roosevelt — either through a diabolical plot or soft-headedness or through secret "sympathy for communism" — betrayed American interests and "lost" China as well as much else to "the communists."

The cynicism of Roosevelt toward national minorities, as evidenced especially by his slurs of the Polish people, and his apparent complacency in agreeing to hand them over to the Kremlin, likewise seems made to order for Republican campaign orators in appealing to national groupings that command important blocks of votes in the big cities.

The hypocrisy of this is evident, since the Eisenhower administration is carrying on today precisely the same kind of secret imperialist diplomacy that Roosevelt engaged in. But then the secret diplomatic documents of the Eisenhower regime are safe from public scrutiny for the time being and wheelhorses trying to get the

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# WITCH HUNTERS SEEK TO SILENCE MATUSOW

The government witch hunters have given a graphic threat of swift and harsh vengeance to any of their stable of paid informers and false witnesses whose consciences may move them to follow the examples of Harvey Matusow, Mrs. Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson. These are the three former FBI stoolpigeons who in recent weeks have voluntarily confessed to lying in numerous trials and hearings against so-called "subversives" and "Communists."

Matusow, who initiated the series of confessions, was convicted and sentenced on March 16 to three years in prison for alleged "contempt of court." Charge, conviction and sentence were all handed down by Federal Judge R. E. Thomason. He was the trial judge in the case of Clinton Jencks, a local officer of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, who is under a five-year sentence for allegedly falsifying a non-Communist Taft-Hartley affidavit. Matusow, the key witness against Jencks, had dared to go to Texas and openly admit before Judge Thomason that he had lied in the Jencks trial.

### AVOIDS REAL ISSUE

The judge did not order Matusow to trial for perjury, which would have raised the question of when he was lying, in the previous trial or now. He stayed clear of any ruling which would have permitted Matusow's earlier testimony to be re-investigated and checked. He summarily ordered Matusow sent to prison for three years because the ex-informer "deliberately and maliciously and designedly schemed to obstruct justice and cause the filing of an affidavit that obtained this hearing on a motion for a new trial [for Jencks]."

Thus, it becomes an "obstruction of justice" for a self-confessed perjuror, who was instrumental in sending a man to prison, to admit his perjury and try to get justice done. The judge took advantage of the law to attempt to silence Matusow and avoid any independent investigation of the truth.

At this writing, Matusow is sitting in an El Paso, Texas, prison, unable to raise the high $10,000 appeal bond slapped on him. Jencks was refused a retrial.

### EMBARRASSED SENATORS

Just previous to his testimony in the Jencks appeal, Matusow had re-appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee, which tried to discredit his confession that exposed his testimony in the trial of 13 Communist Party leaders convicted in 1952 and his smears of hundreds of other people in some 21 different government hearings.

**Matusow turned the Senate hearings into an embarrassing ordeal for the Senators when he proved that his earlier testimony before the committee was so absurd and false on the face o it that the Senators were either idiots for believing it or accepted it knowing its obvious falsity.**

**MAIL HELD UP.** After Iowa enacted a "right to work" law, the CIO Packinghouse Workers of that state decided to paste a small sticker on the envelopes of all its correspondence reading: "Iowa, Scab Law State." It is now learned that the post office in Sioux City is holding for "inspection" letters with this label. Furious union officials have protested to Postmaster General Summerfield.

## SACB Member Defends Use of Fifth Amendment

Harry P. Cain, a member of the Federal Subversives Activities Control Board and former Senator, **has denounced major aspects of the so-called "security" program and defended use of the Fifth Amendment. Speaking before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House on March 18, the right-wing Republican Cain attacked Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, with whom Cain had been closely associated in the Senate, for using the term "Fifth Amendment Communists."**

Cain defended the use of the Fifth Amendment, which protects accused persons from being forced to incriminate themselves. He said that those "who use 'Fifth Amendment' as an adjective of disapprobation modifying the noun 'Communist'" are "guilty of disrespect for the Constitution."

"Centuries of inquisitional tortures, mental and physical, and misgivings over man's inhumanity to man forged and tempered the bulwark of freedom that the individual shall not be required to convict himself," said Cain.

### WARNS OF LABOR SPIES

**The former Senator warned of the growth of a new industrial spy system. He said a "citizens' informer" system is being organized in "defense" plants. This system, he added, is "not in our nation's best interests."**

He also scored the "disloyalty" purge practice of firing government workers before giving them a hearing and without giving them a chance to confront their accusers. He pointed out that many have been victimized by the Attorney General's "subversive organizations" blacklist. This has led to the firing even of employes who had left organizations long before they were on the list.

## NAACP Executive Walter White Dies

As we go to press, we learn that Walter White, executive-secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, died of a heart ailment in New York City on March 21. Born in Atlanta in 1893, White went to Atlanta University and joined the newly-organized NAACP. Two years after graduation he began his life-time work for the Association. From 1918 to 1929, White personally investigated 41 lynchings and eight race riots. After the retirement of James Weldon Johnson, White became executive-secretary.

## A Negro Finds The Answer In Socialism

By Farrell Dobbs

**Cleveland, March 7 — For most people adult life under capitalism shattens the fondest dreams of youth. Hope for individual advancement withers under the searing winds of economic frustration and, in the case of the Negro people, racial discrimination. Knowledge slowly comes that people must organize to bring about a major social change, that individual progress can be made only through advancement for all.**

DOBBS

Among those who are gaining this knowledge is a young Negro worker and veteran I met here whom I shall call Nat. His life story is rich with examples of the experiences under capitalism that are forging potential recruits for the revolutionary socialist vanguard.

### 1937 STEEL STRIKE

Nat was born 32 years ago in the South, just before the family moved to a Northern town where his father found a job in a steel mill. The boy grew up there in an industrial working class environment. With a group of his playmates he saw the National Guard drive the pickets away from a mill during the 1937 steel strike. Later he heard his father tell off a company

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# The Coming Battle in Auto

**An Editorial**

The CIO United Automobile Workers is facing one of the most crucial negotiations in its history. By June, this giant union may be plunged into a showdown battle. Every working man and woman in the United States will have a stake in the outcome. Once the delegates at the UAW convention pass upon the program of demands, the supreme question before the auto workers will be the program of action — how to win the demands.

The auto corporations are leaving nothing to chance. They are preparing for any eventuality. Fierce competition may explain in part, the greatly stepped-up pace of auto production. But production at the unprecedented rate of 9,000,000 cars a year is not to be explained by competitive factors alone. This piling up of inventories has a further aim: The auto companies are preparing for a strike.

The auto workers should show no less foresight. They must prepare for a real fight. The first essential of such preparation is to build the morale and the fighting spirit of the workers. This is the real key to victory in any labor battle.

This means the UAW must be prepared for a strike and that the labor movement must be keyed to lend its full forces to the auto workers, if necessary, for the formation of an invincible fighting front. Nothing must be left to chance. All preparations should proceed as if a strike were inevitable. It may well be.

Above all, the auto workers should not be put off guard by the notion that "they won't let a strike happen." Such rumors are being circulated in the Big Business press and may well be intended to lull the auto workers into unpreparedness. The March 20 N. Y. Times says, for instance, that "as one Federal official put it: 'What's likely to happen is that at 8 o'clock in the morning of some collective bargaining session, some one is going to agree to something called "guaranteed annual wage" and it's going to set a pattern'."

This implies that the UAW leadership are ready to accept some kind of phony proposition labelled "guaranteed annual wage" and palm it off as a "victory." However that may be, the auto workers cannot bank on the corporations coming through with even a phony offer as a face-saver for the union leaders. This is the only safe premise for the union to go on.

In the spring of 1952, everyone kept saying there would be no steel strike, because the steel union leaders were ready and willing to settle for next to nothing. They even accepted a government board ruling that drastically cut the union's demands. These concessions only whetted the appetites of the steel barons. They turned down every demand and, in the end, forced the steel union into a 53-day strike.

The auto barons are no different. They're part of the same monopoly gang who own and run American industry for their own exclusive benefit. It would be foolish to base a union policy on speculations about last-minute concessions of significance from General Motors or Ford. It is the best part of wisdom for the auto workers and the labor movement, which will gain tremendously from a UAW victory, to adopt the motto: Be Prepared!

# London Report on Bevan Ouster

By John White

**LONDON, March 16 — Today the Parliamentary Labor Party removed the Labor whip from Aneurin Bevan, leader of the party's left wing. The decision was carried by the narrow majority of 141 votes to 112. Next week, the National Executive Committee of the party is almost certain to follow today's action against Bevan by expelling him from the Labor Party.**

["Removal of the whip" is the traditional English terminology for the expulsion of a member from a party's parliamentary caucus. — Ed.]

As the Militant reported on March 14, the threatened expulsion of Bevan followed his protest at the attempts of the Attlee-Morrison-Deakin leadership to line up the Labor Party behind the latest Tory H-bomb strategy.

### UNBRIDGEABLE GULF

The party is now reaching the end of a development which began four years ago. It was then that Bevan resigned from the Labor Cabinet when the preparations for war began to eat into the social services which he had played a part in creating. Since that time his sharpening attacks on right-wing policy have reflected the widening gulf between the base of the Labor Party and its official leadership. That gulf is now unbridgeable.

The steady drive to war has driven the leadership to more and more desperate efforts aimed at tying the party behind the foreign policies of imperialism. Meanwhile the ranks of the Labor Party have been moving left. Their anti-capitalist, anti-Tory, anti-war, socialist aspirations have collided with right-wing policies in a series of crises which have exploded one after another in the Labor Party during the last few years.

### RIGHT WING BASE

Bevan has the support of the overwhelming majority of the party's rank and file. The small layer of right-wing leaders no longer control the party through support for their ideas and policies. They rest only on the party and trade union bureaucracy and the right-wing majority of the Parliamentary Labor Party. The Constituency Labor Parties — the local labor organizations — are Bevanite almost to a man. The most active rank and filers in the trade unions are behind him.

**The desperate position of the right wing was shown at the last Labor Party Conference. They secured a small majority of support on German rearmament only by maneuvering the block trade union vote without consulting the trade union membership.**

It was further shown during the past six months when they used their control of the party machine in several attempts to bludgeon down the left wing. Thus they issued threats against the Tribune editorial board recently, they banned Socialist Outlook last summer, and last November they expelled five

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# The American Way of Life

## The Children No One Wants

In the city-owned Children's Center, one of the better shelters for homeless children in New York, it is so overcrowded that last week children were sleeping two in a bed. The Center's infirmary, hallways, gymnasium and other recreational areas have been turned into sleeping quarters. The Commissioner of Welfare says the situation is "reaching a dangerous state." A member of the Commission on Foster Care of Children terms it "potentially explosive." A photograph in the N. Y. Times shows a nursery for two-year-olds with cribs so crammed together there is barely enough room to squeeze between them. Nineteen cribs are occupying space where there should be only 12. Lying in the cribs are children staring apathetically at the camera. You feel that the nursery is probably very quiet.

This is the permanent population of unwanted boys and girls. They are technically unwanted because they are mostly Negro and Puerto Rican, and the parents or foster-parents who would like to take them are in no position to do so. So these children are literally left to rot, as far as turning into human beings is concerned.

The problem of the unwanted children is this: Having been removed from their homes because of unwholesome conditions there, no one knows what to do with them. The Center is supposed to be a temporary shelter, but many of the children remain there for years. They are waiting — and as soon as they are old enough they all know they are waiting — for someone to take them home. According to the N. Y. Times of March 21:

"Most of them, however, wait in vain. The children in the minority racial groups have the added tragedy of seeing white youngsters come and go after short stays while they remain behind completely uncertain of their future and with a growing sense of having been abandoned.

"As they grow older in one institution after another and finally realize they are unwanted they become despondent, cynical, bitter. Some slip into delinquency, become emotionally disturbed or mentally ill. Many despair of ever finding hope or understanding in an indifferent world."

Furthermore, according to forecasts, the birth rate will continue to increase rapidly and in the foreseeable future, unless there is a radical change in the city's program, it will break down completely, and thousands of dependent and neglected children will either be homeless with no one to look after them or will be herded into "temporary" shelters of one sort or another to wait until they are 16 years old and may be legally turned out into the streets.

And this, in the richest city of a country that is spending $42 billion this year for war preparations. What more can be said about the callous lack of human responsibility under capitalism?

— Constance Farr

# House of Morgan Counterattacks

By Sam Marcy

**We said last week that the Rockefeller-engineered merger of the Chase National Bank with the Bank of the Manhattan Co. was the biggest challenge the Morgans had received in 50 years. The counterattack of the House of Morgan was both swift and massive. Immediately upon the announcement of the Chase merger, the Morgan-controlled Bankers Trust Co. announced that it was gobbling up the Public National Bank of New York.**

The Morgans seemed to be in such haste, that they began to change the letter-heads of the banks and other paraphernalia even before the stockholders had voted to approve the merger, and prior to the approval of the State Banking Department.

But the swallowing up of the multi-million dollar Public National by the Morgans was only the smaller of a two-pronged attack. In fact it could be regarded as small potatoes in comparison with what the Morgans pulled next.

For shortly thereafter, it was revealed that the National City Bank of New York (now the third largest bank in the country) was to "purchase" the Morgan controlled First National Bank.

### BRIGHTEST STAR

Now, the National City Bank is regarded by the American ruling class as the brightest star in its financial firmament. A reading of its leading stockholders and depositors is a veritable roll-call of "America's Sixty Families." Until about a decade ago, the Bank would not accept accounts of less than $200,000. What particularly endears this institution to the ruling class, is that it was dominated by a **coalition** of financial giants, not merely by one of the ruling dynasties. It was thus an "independent" institution.

It so happens that the largest stockholders in the Nat'l City Bank are not the Rockefellers, the duPonts or the Mellons, — but the Gianninis, of the west coast banking group, who control a solid block of 250,000 shares. The Morgans before this merger, were merely the second largest stockholder.

**To say that the Gianninis control the west coast financial set-up would be an understatement, for one of the important factors issuing out of the second World War is the phenomenal rise to power of the Gianninis on the basis of the tremendous industrial expansion of the Pacific coast. Although there has been a growing awareness of the power of the Gianninis, it is in no way commensurate to its actual dimensions.**

### CONCENTRATED WEALTH

As long ago as 1948, the Federal Reserve Board, in an extraordinary proceeding, instituted a suit against Transamerica Corp. (controlled by the Gianninis) to break it up as a monopoly. After four long years of litigation, the Supreme Court finally invalidated the Board's order against the Gianninis. But one of the findings of fact by the Federal Reserve Board, which apparently was not invalidated or contested, was that "the Transamerica Corp. has concentrated more economic power in one small group of men — perhaps only one man — than has probably ever happened before in the business life of our country."

Also uncontested was the Board's allegation that the Transamerica Corp., in addition to controlling the California financial structure, also controlled a majority of the stock of the banking corporations of Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Arizona.

In 1935, the Gianninis declared war against the Morgans. The dispute concerned itself with the banking legislation of the Roosevelt regime, which eased the credit situation for the West Coast bankers at the expense of the so-called Eastern bankers (Morgan-controlled).

But much water has flowed under the bridge since then, and the stark fact is that from a financial giant, the Gianninis have grown into a colossus of finance. It is here that the "purchase" of the Morgan-controlled First National by the National City (actually a merger) acquires a special significance. For, as we said, the Gianninis control a solid block of 250,000 shares, and Morgan was the second largest stockholder.

**The merger therefore, could not possibly go through except by an understanding between the Morgans, now the largest stockholder, and the Gianninis. It spells out, if not a permanent, at least a temporary alliance between the Gianninis and the Morgans against the Rockefellers.** The latter, through its Standard Oil of California, constitutes the sole obstacle in the way of a **supermonopoly on the West Coast.** Furthermore, the Gianninis also own about 10,000 shares of the Bank of the Manhattan Co., which has just merged with the Chase. This means that the Morgans have a sentry posted inside the Rockefeller Empire.

The civil war for bank control has a crucial significance. In bank advertisements throughout the country, the present standing of the big banks is revealed as follows:

(1) Bank of America, supposedly ranks first, with resources of over $9 billion. (2) The new Chase Nat'l-Manhattan Bank, second, with resources of about $7½ billion. (3) The new Nat'l City, third, with about 6½ billion dollars.

But this tells only half the story. The other side is rarely revealed outside of the "practitioners of the banking fraternity." **The ability to make single multi-million-dollar loans to industrial corporations, is of the most critical importance in the struggle** between the Morgan and the Rockefeller controlled banks.

The present banking law permits these huge single loans, **not** on the basis of **total resources** (deposits plus capital), but rather on the basis of established **ratios** between the deposits (which are owned by the depositors) and the **capital funds** (which are owned by the bank). It is the **capital funds** rather than the **total** resources which are decisive.

Viewing it in this light, the rank is somewhat different. The new **National City** (Morgan) rates **first**, the **Chase** (Rockefeller) **second**, and the Bank of America (Giannini) rates sixth or seventh. For example, since the Chase merger was announced, it now means that the bank is able to make a single loan up to **$49 million**, as against **$39 million** before the merger. The Morgan-controlled National City can now make a single loan of **$60 million** as against **$45 million** before.

**Huge industrial corporations, which are not within the orbit of any of the dynastic cliques such as the Rockefellers, Morgans, etc., have an imperative need for short-term loans to be used for working capital (wages, immediate expenses, etc.). There is a whole new crop of such giant industrial corporations that grew up on the basis of the second world war. Thus, if a corporation like General Dynamics needs a short-term loan amounting to $60 million, the Morgan-controlled bank is best suited to establish a loan relationship with them, and thereby hook them into the Morgan empire. Examples like this are manifold.**

### WHY BANKS MERGE

The struggle among the giants for control of the big banks comes against the background of a truly tempestuous wave of post-war bank mergers, which to date has obliterated more than 600 independent banking institutions.

This was not created by the Morgans or the Rockefellers. The wave developed automatically, and slowly gathered momentum, until giant banks inevitably were absorbed into it by the very force of the drive. For the truth is, that the uncontrollable wave of smaller bank mergers which preceded the giant bank mergers, is in anticipation of an impending economic catastrophe. Whether this comes sooner or later is not the point.

In this respect, the present pre-crisis stage of economic development differs only in form from the pre-crisis period of the 1920's. Few of the capitalist economists who try to analyze the present wave of bank mergers, seem to recollect what happened in the Twenties. For in the period between 1920 and 1929, there were more than 5,700 bank failures in the great boom period. 5,000 of these banks failed **before** the year 1929. Their assets were naturally absorbed by the larger banks. That was a form of concentration of assets into the hands of large banks, just like the mergers today.

The obliteration from the face of the USA now of more than 600 banking institutions, **which exceeds in assets the bank failures of the Twenties**, emanates from the same general causes as did those bank failures. **In the Twenties the banks failed because bank loans were expanding in the face of a contracting consumer market. In the 1950's the banks are merging for the same reason. Both are symptoms of decline.** A bank in need of a merger is suffering from an abscess. The mergers seem to absorb the abscesses, but actually spread the infection throughout the entire system.

**Marx was right after all. Omnipotent though the bankers appear to be, they are not masters of the system they espouse, but rather its blind tools.**

**(Second of a series. Watch for the next installment: "The du Pont — GM-Ford Fight.")**

# $15,000 Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Allentown | $ 75.00 | $ 89.00 | 119 |
| Seattle | 175.00 | 207.00 | 118 |
| Detroit | 750.00 | 835.00 | 111 |
| Pittsburgh | 150.00 | 155.00 | 104 |
| Chicago | 1,600.00 | 1,625.00 | 101 |
| Youngstown | 200.00 | 200.00 | 100 |
| Boston | 600.00 | 579.00 | 96 |
| Newark | 275.00 | 260.50 | 95 |
| Cleveland | 250.00 | 225.00 | 90 |
| Philadelphia | 400.00 | 351.00 | 88 |
| San Francisco | 800.00 | 667.00 | 83 |
| Buffalo | 1,600.00 | 1,250.00 | 78 |
| Los Angeles | 3,000.00 | 2,297.83 | 77 |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul | 1,200.00 | 909.00 | 76 |
| Milwaukee | 250.00 | 177.00 | 71 |
| St. Louis | 75.00 | 50.00 | 66 |
| New York | 3,200.00 | 2,044.82 | 64 |
| Akron | 125.00 | 75.00 | 60 |
| Oakland | 300.00 | 118.00 | 39 |
| General | — | 133.00 | — |
| Totals through March 22 | $15,025.00 | $12,248.15 | 82 |

# PRESS FUND CAMPAIGN HAS BEST WEEK YET

By Constance Farr
Campaign Manager

Last week was the most exciting week to date in the $15,000 Militant Press Fund Campaign. On Friday, a man came into the office, said he was a reader of the Militant from way out of town, pulled out his wallet and handed us a $100 bill!

Two more cities went over the top, **Detroit** and **Chicago**. "Well, here we are, up and over and more to come!" writes **P. Stall.** "This check brings **Detroit's** total up to $835. A mere 111%, however, isn't sufficient for the readers and supporters of the Militant in **Detroit.** We shall be sending more along." **Chicago** sent $152.90, topping its $1,600 quota by $25.

To **Buffalo** goes the credit for sending in the largest amount this week. **Lou Mason** writes: "Enclosed is another $100 to add to the $225 sent yesterday. We made a late start in **Buffalo** but are sure to make our quota. A number of workers here are taking money regularly out of every paycheck during the fund campaign. How different from the various payroll deductions endorsed by the companies and the taxes snatched without consulting the workers. These Militant contributions are the real investment in the future, the great future in socialism."

An enthusiastic supporter of the paper who had made a generous pledge in **New York** moved to Ohio recently, and this week sent his entire first paycheck to be applied to **New York's quota.** And from **Cleveland, Jean** writes, "Included is $25 from a friend of the Militant who was just waiting to be asked. He's been watching **Cleveland's** score with concern."

Besides the $100 mentioned above, four other contributions came in from localities which are not listed on the scoreboard: Five dollars from a reader in Illinois, $3 from Indiana, $3 from Baltimore and $10 from a devoted friend of the Militant in Connecticut who promises considerably more before the campaign is over on March 31. These donations were added to the **General** category on the scoreboard.

Receipts of $1,838.32 bring the campaign virtually up to schedule. By this time, we should have 84% of the total and we have actually received 82%. All in all, a grand week for The Militant!

# ...Auto Worker's Letter to the UAW Convention Delegates

(Continued from page 1)

than they think they are. We say they can do this (grant GAW), and we want to give them a little vision. They can't save this system of ours unless they do the things we're proposing. . ."

And a few days later (Detroit News, March 12) he answered a Big Business critic of GAW by saying:

"They have no faith in the ingenuity of American industry or in the health and vitality of our free economy. The UAW-CIO does have faith in the future of our free economy. . ."

**We won't argue with Reuther when he says he has more faith in the capitalist system than the capitalists. What concerns us here is that he is trying to use the UAW to save capitalism and that he doesn't want the UAW to do anything that might harm the system.**

Can the capitalist system grant a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay? Will the capitalist system be weakened if it is compelled to grant a shorter work week now? These are the questions uppermost in Reuther's mind, not the question of whether the workers need a shorter work week.

### HARMFUL TO CAPITALISM

Reuther evidently thinks 30-for-40 would harm the system he is so determined to defend. Two years ago, at the 14th UAW convention, his resolution charged that 30-for-40 would "reduce America's production by one-fourth." That was a lie and Reuther knew it; 30-for-40 wouldn't prevent workers from working more than 30 hours, but they'd have to be paid overtime after that. Reuther either thought the capitalists couldn't afford that, or they would resist it so ferociously that the capitalist system might be impaired in the course of the struggle. There is no evidence that he's changed his thinking on this point.

Reuther wants to postpone the demand for 30-for-40 until the process of automation has gone so far that the capitalists can grant a shorter work week without any serious reduction of their present rate of profit. In that same resolution two years ago Reuther said a shorter work week was still a good idea and he would be willing to fight for it "as soon as and whenever the productive capacity of our national economy makes it possible to maintain high and satisfactory living standards with fewer hours of work."

**But he denied this was possible in 1953. In effect he is still denying it in 1955. His tendency will be to keep on denying it until he thinks productivity and automation have grown so great that even the capitalists may be ready to concede that the work week should be cut.**

In other words, Reuther approaches these problems first of all from the standpoint of how they will affect this "system of ours." But the auto workers, being practical people, are concerned with something else — the solution of their problems. And if the pressing problems of depression and war can't be solved with one system, in the course of fighting for a solution they will move on to another system that will better meet their needs. If the fight for a shorter work week leads beyond the confines of the present system, it will not be the working people who will hold back.

### FOREIGN POLICY

Reuther's concern about capitalism carries over to foreign policy too. At the last convention he opposed 30-for-40 partly because it would have the alleged effect of "impairing the national defense effort and undermining the economic and military strength of the free world in the face of totalitarian aggression." To him it was "unsound, impractical and irresponsible particularly at a time when the free world is engaged in a struggle for survival." He still contends that this "struggle for survival" is going on, which further explains his opposition to 30-for-40 now.

In the report on automation given at the recent Economic Conference we were told that **"Barring an increase in international tensions requiring greatly increased diversion of economic resources to defense production,** the timing of the fight for a shorter work week depends basically on the rate of acceleration of productivity advances. . . The fight for the shorter work week and for higher living standards must go hand in hand. The strategy which will determine the timing and relative emphasis of the struggle for these two objectives must of necessity remain flexible at this time."

This little masterpiece of "flexible" language means that if production for war doesn't go up, then at some time in the future Reuther may actually propose that we fight for a shorter work week. This overlooks at least one main point: That the Democratic Party, to which the labor movement has been tied hand and foot, has made its major campaign against the Republicans around the charge that they are cutting back military production. Therefore if "our" Democratic Party program wins out, the struggle for the shorter work week is off the agenda.

**In short, Reuther is afraid of the struggle for the shorter work week because it might hurt the war drive. We, on the contrary, are for the shorter work week because it will promote jobs without resort to war.**

### BANKING ON WAR

From all this it seems clear that the Reuther leadership is banking on a war or increased preparations for war to take them off the hook.

Isn't that why this powerful labor movement is silent while a coalition of Democrats and Republicans pushes us closer to the slaughter?

Isn't that why we have been delivered, tied hand and foot, to the Democratic Party at the same time that it has become taboo in the UAW to even talk about an independent Labor Party, which alone could hope to begin to deal with the problem of prosperity in peacetime?

Isn't that why Reuther (according to the N. Y. Times, Dec. 12, 1954) told a closed meeting of the CIO Executive Board "that unions would get their best results . . . if they geared their programs to the thinking of such moderates as Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, instead of pinning all their hopes on extremists of the Hubert Humphrey-Wayne Morse type"?

**Has the labor movement fallen so low that it has to compete with the weak-kneed liberals for the privilege of climbing into bed with the Southern Bourbons?**

That the mighty force of organized labor is held in political contempt cannot be questioned.

The liberal "extremists" of the Humphrey-Morse type, whom the Reuther leadership helps to elect, sold out the fight for a cloture rule against filibustering in the U.S. Senate.

### 84 CONGRESS

The present Democratic Congress is no more willing to repeal Taft-Hartley than the preceding Republican Congress, and it's just as unwilling to prohibit the spread of the "right to work" laws in the states.

**Gov. Williams of Michigan, who owes his entire political career to the CIO, blandly "compromises" for additional consumers taxes after promising the workers during his election campaign that he would oppose more consumers taxes.**

Senators McNamara of Michigan and Douglas of Illinois, both elected primarily by labor and the Negro people, ignore the requests of labor and the NAACP for an amendment to the federal school aid bill to prevent use of funds by Jim Crow schools, and announce that they will vote against any such amendment.

This is how the workers are being paid off for supporting the Democratic Party. This is how they will continue to be paid off until they form a party of their own.

**A new leadership is needed for the labor movement — a leadership that will fight the threat of unemployment, oppose all moves leading to war, demand 30-for-40, start a Labor Party, make no compromises with the Jim Crow forces — a leadership whose only responsibility will be to the workers who chose them, and who will not stop fighting for the solution of the workers' problems regardless of the consequences for Reuther's capitalist system.**

# ...A Negro Finds the Answer in Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

**agent who tried to recruit him as a strikebreaker. From these events and the teachings of his father, who was a staunch union man, Nat learned something about the class struggle and the need for labor solidarity.**

Being a Negro, he also learned about racial discrimination very early in life. This kindled in his young mind a desire to become a lawyer so he could fight in defense of his people. Thwarted in that plan because he saw no hope of going to college, he elected instead to take an industrial course in high school to prepare himself for a job as an auto mechanic.

**One day a teacher asked him to name some of the outstanding Negro leaders. To his embarrassment he could name only one person, Booker T. Washington, so he dug into Negro history with a will, determined to know much more about the story of his people and their leaders.**

Always eager for new knowledge, his high school studies stimulated him to read widely and in time he ran into the theories of Darwin and other scientific works that made him dubious about religion. Further thought and experience caused him to decide to live in this world and let the hereafter take care of itself.

### BLIND ALLEY

A few months before Pearl Harbor he graduated from high school only to find that there was no demand for Negro auto mechanics. Instead he had to alternate between working as a laborer at a steel mill and hustling odd jobs during periods of lay-off. A deep restlessness surged within him, a feeling that things should be better than they were and a burning desire to break out of the blind alley in which he found himself.

As he neared draft age he began to think with dread about the Alabama training camp to which Negro draftees from his town were being sent. When he learned he could get into a Northern camp by volunteering he did so. Prejudiced white officers made it tough for him just the same and his later promotion to a high non-commissioned rating did not bring any important change in the degrading assignments he received. However he was meeting many people, including a white Texan without racial prejudice. As a result his thinking began to broaden.

**"While in the service," he told me, "I first connected my thought to the whole present system. The whole thing needs to be taken apart and remodeled. The claim this is a democracy is not so. It boils down to the fact that a few people run the country. The constitution can be bounced around and twisted around to mean anything.**

"I talked about the war with other Negro servicemen," he added. "We thought we saw an opportunity to use it like the Irish did against the English. The Irish said it wasn't their war and they took advantage of it to push their own cause ahead a little.

"We figured that the Democrats and Republicans are just two names for largely the same thing and we speculated about whether Roosevelt was a liberal because he wanted to be or because he had to be. I heard some reference to socialism in such discussions but nobody seemed to have any clear notion about it.

"When we got back to the States in 1946 for demobilization," Nat recalled, "an officer made a speech in which he said every man would be treated as a man. That sounded good. Then the Negroes were segregated in the barracks in the same old no-good fashion. We knew we still had some fighting to do."

To his surprise Nat learned that among Negroes he met in the service there were more from the South than from the North who had some college training. That fact stimulated his respect for Southern Negroes and aroused in him an increased desire to get a higher education. Since he had learned quite a bit about combustion engines in the armed forces, he decided to bone up at a night school and enter college under the GI Bill to take an engineering course.

During his second year in college he married and later a child was born. The plan had been for his wife to work and for him to work only part time so that he could go to school full time. But sickness in the family made it necessary for him to drop out of college entirely during his third year and go back to working full time in the home-town steel mill.

### BACK IN THE MILL

**In the mill Nat joined with other Negroes and their allies among the white workers to fight against discrimination. He became a steward and joined in a mixed caucus of Negroes and whites working to strengthen union policy on issues most vitally affecting the membership. This experience helped him learn to distinguish between those who sincerely fought for the workers' interests and others who sought advancement in the union for reasons of their own.**

When steel production began to slump in 1953 Nat knew he would soon be out of job. He and his wife talked it over and decided to go to a bigger city like Cleveland or Los Angeles. They finally elected to live in Cleveland because the struggle for Negro equality has been above-average in militancy in this city. That militancy stemmed primarily from the Future Outlook League which came into being parallel with the rise of the CIO. In its best days the League adapted the mass action methods of the industrial unions to the fight for Negro rights and got some important results.

Nat now has a fairly good job in the distributing industry here. However his chances for advancement are slim because company policy confines men like him to work in the colored neighborhoods. Today he could probably land a job as an engineer if he had been able to finish college but his hopes of doing that have grown mighty dim.

While in college Nat heard a professor lecture on the Soviet Union, an abstract discussion in which communist theory was contrasted to the present practice under the Stalinist regime. He caught the essence of the point and was interested in it but he didn't pursue the subject any further. He came into contact with the American Stalinist environment only indirectly through a friend who interested him in a campaign conducted by the Young Progressives against racial discrimination in a city park.

Just before Nat left his home town to come here a fellow steel worker gave him a copy of the Militant. The paper aroused his interest and he later began participating in a study class here based on Marx's book, "Value, Price and Profit," his first direct introduction to the science of Marxism.

**"Here's a program that's concrete," he told me. "It squares with my experience in life and the thinking I have been moving toward. I am eager to get a sure knowledge of all the major aspects of Marxism. The whole situation in this country is a mess today and the people up front in Washington are getting in deeper all the time. I don't think they know where they are going. For my part I want to find the right answers."**


**New York Friday Forum**

Fri., April 1, 8 P. M.
Speaker: Marvel Scholl
"The Working Class and Peron — Report on Argentina"
116 University Place
Contribution 25c.

**Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum**

The UAW Convention:
A Report from Cleveland
Friday, April 1, at 8 P. M.

Automation: Blessing Or Curse?
Friday, April 8, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207
Donation 25c.
Free to unemployed

Los Angeles Friday Forum

**"Race Prejudice And the Supreme Court Decision"**

speaker:
Richard Fraser

Fri., April 1, 8:15 P. M.
1702 E. 4th St.

Subscription $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.

# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: MURRY WEISS
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XIX — No. 13 Monday, March 28, 1955



# ...The Yalta Records

(Continued from page 1)

Republican bandwagon out of the mud are not inclined to worry about the hypocrisy of it all inasmuch as that is an essential ingredient of capitalist politics.

The irritation the disclosures appear to have caused Churchill and other prominent government figures in Wall Street's satellite countries was of little concern to the State Department. First of all, Dulles from the opening days of the 1952 Republican campaign has aimed his "foreign policy" statements primarily at the Poles, Italians, Jews, Germans, China Lobbyists, etc., here in the United States. Secondly, the power damaged most of all by publication of what went on behind the curtains at Yalta is neither Washington nor London, but Moscow.

It was Stalin, if any, who was the most crude and cynical, who made the worst slurs against the Jews and other nationalities, who pressed for savage reparations from the German people. (Roosevelt and Churchill advised against exacting reparations but granted Stalin's demands). It was Stalin who was most openly contemptuous of France and of the rights of small nations, and most sordid in voicing "Russian" nationalist interests at the expense of the German workers and, indeed, of workers and oppressed peoples everywhere. It was Stalin, finally, who was most concerned about the placement of "frontiers," about loot and plunder from the defeated powers, about assurances of territorial concessions at the expense of Japan in return for violating the non-aggression pact he had signed with that country.

Small wonder that four days after the Yalta documents were printed by the N. Y. Times, Pravda denounced their publication! Moscow's official voice, sounding like an echo of Czarist times in its concern for keeping secret convenants really secret, repeated its ritualistic praise of the Yalta agreements as "the foundation for fruitful post-war co-operation" among the Big Three powers. It has not yet seen fit to reprint any of the revelations. The conversations revealing Stalin's counter-revolutionary role at the conference are an ill match to the Kremlin's public declamations in favor of nations oppressed by the western imperialist powers.

## Roosevelt's Real Role

With the exception of the right-wing Republican newspapers, the capitalist press is virtually unanimous in deploring the concessions Roosevelt made to Stalin. They make various excuses for Roosevelt — even going so far as to imply that he was a dying man and so his mind was impaired.

None of the commentators reveal or explain Roosevelt's real role and therefore do the Democratic chieftain who dragged the U.S. into World War II an historic injustice. Actually Roosevelt knew precisely what he was about and at few times in his career displayed greater finesse as an imperialist politician concerned about preserving the capitalist system.

When the Yalta conference was called, the Second World War was coming to a close. In many countries it had already turned into civil war. The Italian workers were soon to hang Mussolini by the heels. The Yugoslav partisans were in the seats of power. The Greek people, occupying local government buildings throughout the land were first feeling the counter-revolutionary weight of England. Revolution threatened in France, not to speak of Germany as the Nazis faced defeat.

In the colonial world things looked even more ominous for imperialism. China, Indonesia, Indochina, Burma were in ferment, with revolutions on the order of the day. Latin America was seething. Rumblings were apparent in the Near East and in Africa. Even in the United States unrest was apparent — GI demonstrations were to flare up around the world before the end of the year and along with them the mighty strike wave that was touched off by the workers of General Motors.

The main problem the capitalist system faced was how to stave off socialist revolution and colonial uprisings. What Roosevelt sought at Yalta was Stalin's services in this foul work, for all that was needed to end the whole capitalist system and usher in the new order of socialism was a revolutionary socialist leadership. The eyes of hundreds of millions of people were turned toward the Soviet Union, the land of the November 1917 revolution and the land that was now defeating the armies of German imperialism. Moscow's role was thus of crucial importance.

Stalin had already demonstrated on numerous occasions, especially in the Spanish civil war, what counter-revolutionary capacities he had as the head of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. But just the same the capitalists and their political representatives did not trust Stalin. Perhaps with the victories of the Red Army over the Nazis he might have changed?

One of the first questions Roosevelt asked Stalin at Yalta was "whether in the advance into Germany the Russians had altered the gauge of the railroads from the customary European gauge to the wide Russian gauge."

This was a diplomatic way of asking, "Do you intend to amalgamate the parts of Germany occupied by the Red Army into the Soviet system?"

That Stalin understood the import of this question is indicated by his reassuring answer "that the greater part of the German railroad lines would remain of their customary gauge and that it was not for pleasure but for absolute necessity that any at all had been changed. . ."

With this auspicious opening, Roosevelt and Churchill soon got down to the key question — Moscow's support for the United Nations, Roosevelt's version of the League of Nations which Lenin had correctly called a "thieves' kitchen." Stalin gave that support as soon as he was convinced that each of the Big Three had genuine veto power over any United Nations decision affecting its particular interests.

Thus with Stalin's support the United Nations was cold-bloodedly set up as a trap for war-weary peoples hoping for some instrument that might guarantee enduring peace.

It is true that Roosevelt then gave Stalin a number of concessions. But the outstanding fact about these concessions is that by and large they constituted simply recognition of gains already in Moscow's hands or clearly attainable before the end of the war.

## What Stalin Gave

In return Stalin really delivered. The Italian and French Communist Parties, for instance, prevented the workers from taking power. With the war's end, the masses surged forward in both countries in repeated nationwide strikes. But the Stalinists bolstered the tottering capitalist governments, actually taking key posts to prevent capitalism in both Italy and France from being replaced by socialism. The Stalinists followed the same kind of counter-revolutionary policies everywhere in the world where they had influence and any control over events in the first crucial years following the war.

In anticipation of this course by the Kremlin, Roosevelt spoke only the truth when he said at one of numerous Yalta banquets that "he felt the atmosphere at this dinner was as that of a family. . ."

Even in Eastern Europe Stalin attempted to preserve capitalism. It was only under the threat of the cold war launched by Truman that he finally carried out in bureaucratic fashion the expropriation of the capitalists isolated in those lands.

In China, too, he did his best to maintain Chiang Kai-shek in power. But here the Chinese people proved mightier than the bureaucratic restraints with which Stalin sought to chain them. The Chinese Stalinists, faced with the imminent prospect of revolution sweeping over their heads, chose to ride the tide. Roosevelt did not lose China because of any concessions he made to Stalin nor because of any extraordinary double-dealing by Stalin. The Chinese people themselves took China away from the native agents of western imperialism — despite Stalin's treachery.

The Yalta documents deserve the widest circulation. They offer a most illuminating illustration of the contrast between what the imperialist rulers and their agents publicly proclaimed as their aims in World War II and what they really sought.

In their propaganda they voiced the most noble objectives — self-determination by the peoples of the earth, democracy, four freedoms and so on. In this secret get-together, however, they carved up the map of the world like gangsters agreeing on who was to get which territory. The only references to democracy were in the vote-getting problems mentioned by Roosevelt and Churchill. The fine-sounding slogans about freedom had no place in the bandit decisions about [illegible] and natural resources and puppet governments and the shifting of whole populations.

What was being planned here was an imperialist peace in which the participants were all busy planting the seeds of another world war. That is the main lesson to be drawn from their revealing "top secret" documents.

# Automation--Key Word in Auto Industry

By Harold Robins

**As negotiations between the auto corporations and the UAW-CIO open, automation looms as one of the most vital issues in dispute. The corporations say that automation will bring more work. The union says that if the introduction of automation is left to the employers mass unemployment will result. Not many auto workers will doubt the truth of the union's position.**

Let's review some of the published reports on the development of automation in the auto industry, particularly in General Motors.

Plans for financing the changeover are kept more or less secret. But enough data has been published to show that GM, for example, revised its financing plans in 1954 and spent a quarter of a billion dollars more than it had anticipated. This year, their performance may very well be duplicated. Ford is reported to be keeping up with GM's automation projects — or is even ahead. Chrysler and the other independents are trying to keep up with the change.

Although of recent origin the introduction of automation in the GM auto plants have introduced striking changes in production methods.

"Transfer machines are used for automatic machining of auto engines, transmissions, rear-end assemblies, etc. Early in 1953, the Buick engine line was automated." (Mill and Factory, Dec. 1953)

The same source reports that Buick installed two automatic machining lines for manufacture of engine heads and two lines for manufacture of auto engine blocks. **"The only manual handling is pushing the work a few feet on a roller conveyor and that requires little exertion on the part of the operator . . . Where necessary to turn the work, it is done automatically." On later model transfer lines at Pontiac and Chevrolet, laborers are not required.**

### INCREASED OUTPUT

This engine block line has 18 automatic machines to do the work. The engine head line has five machines plus cleaning and inspection units; output is rated at 750,000 engines per year. (In 1953, a big year, Buick sold 485,000 cars.)

The output of one of these 18 machining units may be seen from the following report dealing with the second of two Cincinnati broaches that head the production line for engine blocks: "It is over 65 feet long and weighs 96 tons. The single ram alone is 30 feet long. Heads are operated by a 350 hp dc motor. The hydraulic mechanism operates only the clamps. Cycle time is 25 seconds. The 762 tools remove metal at the rate of 140 feet per minute. Capacity production of each machine is 100 blocks an hour. The machine costs over $350,000."

While waiting for delivery and installation of the other one of these two broaches Buick installed 17 other machines in order to do the same work . . . "several of which required two men."

**Forty-three years ago — in 1912, to produce 108 cylinder heads an hour required 162 machines with an operator at each machine, and the total investment was $243,000. In 1953 automated equipment cost $230,000 to do the same job. (Instruments and Automation, Aug., 1954)**

Buick has installed automatic machines that cut and machine 1200 engine friction bearings an hour, equipped with an electronic inspection device. Buick uses an automatic setup that machines intake manifolds. It drills, mills, spotfaces, countersinks, core drills and taps holes. Carburators are machined by the same setup without changing tools, according to the same source.

The valve guide bushings are cast in the Buick Gray Iron foundry and then transferred into the engine plant where they go through a number of machining operations which require only a couple of workers to handle material. All the machining operations are automatic. After all the processing they are punched into engine heads automatically, and then automatically finish machined on the production line. (Iron Age, Sept. 17, 1954)

### "NO MANUAL EFFORT"

The foundry too, has been largely automated. Iron Age, Aug 12, 1954, writes of ". . . the installation of 4 station, fully automatic moulding machines . . . producing in excess of 200 molds per hour. No manual effort is required except to clean the patterns and apply the parting agent."

The article continues, "This has, for the first time, eliminated the following manual foundry operations: **(1) Moving heavy flasks into position; (2) filling the flasks with sand; (3) operating the jolt and squeeze machine; (4) drawing the pattern; (5) moving the completed mold onto conveyors.**

". . . this method . . . eliminates any possibility of bumping molds against each other during the handling."

Pontiac and Chevrolet are reported by the magazine Automotive Industries to have installed new automatic machining units for production of their V-8 models. At Pontiac tolerances on cylinder bores are held to 0.00025; on main bearings tolerance is plus or minus 0.00005. Reports from the Chevrolet engine lines (three of them) indicate that output is rated at 280 engines per hour, and it also reports that men are placed at about 25 stations on each engine block line head and assembly.

At Pontiac they have a completely automatic setup for plating front and rear bumpers. At the new Chevrolet bumper plant in Livonia, Mich., they not only automatically plate the bumpers, but they cut, pierce and drill them as well. There they use a single man to load the line and another man to unload each of three lines. This work was formerly done at Chevrolet Detroit Forge.

### OLDER WORKERS

**In all of these operations not only are all the machine operators eliminated by the automatic production setup, but the handling process too is eliminated, resulting in faster work, better work, better inspection, savings in workmens compensation insurance, wages, hospitalization costs to the company. Also by eliminating the older machine hands the company doesn't have to pay pensions for old timers reaching retirement age.**

A great number of skilled categories are completely eliminated already. One production line after another faces the same transformation. A large number of men have grown old working in auto shops. Unless they can find other work as trimmers, on the body and white lines, or as welders, on the final assembly lines, there is no place for them in the industry, and, in their older years they must find new jobs or lose their mortgaged homes after periods of unemployment. That is the capitalist system.

The fight for the shorter working day must begin now in the auto industry. Only by basing ourselves on the principle that working hours must be shortened as automation is extended can we prevent the pauperization of workers in the auto and other industries.

**The same principle must hold with regard to capitalist depressions: Reduce working hours instead of putting half the workers on the streets. "But this is socialism!" What if it is? Does any other course make sense?**

## 'Baby' A-Bomb

Despite world protest, atomic bomb tests are being continued by Washington. Shown here is a 36,000-foot atom cloud rising from the Yucca Flat, Nev., testing ground as a "baby" A-bomb is exploded in fifth test of current series. An atomic dust cloud, 1,000 miles long and 200 wide, floated eastward and hovered for two days over New York City.

# 11 Unions Hear SWP Candidate In Oakland

By Bill Morgan

**OAKLAND, March 19 — The election campaign of the Oakland California Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has begun to roll along in high gear. Lillian Kiezel, SWP candidate for Councilman-at-Large has spoken before eleven local unions with several more on the list for the coming weeks.**

As the only opposing candidate to Lester Grant, incumbent and outright spokesman for the landlords of Oakland, Mrs. Kiezel has been well received by more than seven hundred workers who attended the local union meetings where the SWP program was presented.

The Alameda County Voters League, AFL, held a meeting to screen all candidates last Monday and voted to endorse neither candidate for Councilman-at-Large. Grant, the incumbent, ignored the invitation to present his program. The League refused to endorse Mrs. Kiezel because of her membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

### ONE CHOICE

Speaking before three local unions after this decision by the League, Mrs. Kiezel made the SWP position clear: "Since we are engaged in a so-called non-partisan campaign, I consider the action taken by the Voters League discriminatory. No other candidates were accepted or rejected on the basis of party affiliation. **Although the Voters League did not endorse my candidacy because of my membership in the Socialist Workers Party you, as voters, have but one choice and that is to vote Socialist on April 19th. Any other vote would be for the representative of Big Business and the landlords."**

The SWP candidate has spoken before the following AFL local unions: Pulp and Paper Workers, Local [illegible]; Hospital Workers, Local [illegible]; [illegible] Workers, Local [illegible]; [illegible] Truck Drivers, U. C. Employees, Structural Shopmen, Local 411; Iron Workers, Local 378; and the Millmen, Local 378. The CIO United Auto Workers, Local 1031, also gave Mrs. Kiezel time to speak before the membership at the last meeting.

# ...Report From London

(Continued from page 1)

members under the banner of a witch hunt against "Trotskyism."

Every one of these police measures aroused a widespread opposition among the rank and file of the Labor Party. Right-wing leaders are therefore fully aware that when they deal with the central figure of the left — Bevan himself — they can expect militant mass opposition.

In actual fact, they are preparing to split the party. And all indications are that their course is firmly set. They have resisted every effort of the so-called "Keep Calm" group of Members of Parliament to find a compromise. The "Keep Calm" group is a handful of M.P.s wavering between the Bevanites and the right wing.

### OUT FOR BLOOD

**Yesterday there was issued a statement from a citadel of the right wing which made it clear they are out for blood. The Executive Committee of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers made a pronouncement against the "disloyal activities of the dissident group of individuals within the Labor Party."**

This big general union and Deakin's Transport and General Workers Union are the most bureaucratic of all British trade unions. Recently both organizations increased their affiliation fees to the Labor Party adding 400,000 votes to the right-wing block, as an obvious preparation for steamrolling right-wing plans through the next Labor Party conference.

The statement of this trade union bureaucracy continued: "The time has surely come when the party must make up its mind, whether to rid itself of this undemocratic encumbrance or face the inevitable consequences of disruption and decay."

Previous indications were that the right wing were holding off their plans to split the party until after the General Election which is due this year. Their determination to proceed now shows how important they view the issue which sparked the present crisis — whether or not British Labor should endorse Churchill's H-bomb policy. Churchill and the other imperialists are engaged in a desperate gamble in which they are demanding the backing of the Labor leadership.

In the Manchester Guardian of Feb. 28, General Gruenther declared that the Western Powers had already passed the "point of no return" and that they would have no choice except to use atomic weapons whether their enemy did or not. The declaration of Churchill and Co. that the H-bomb will be used right from the beginning in the next war is part of the imperialist strategy to force the Soviet bureaucracy to accept the imperialist terms for a deal. It served notice that the Western powers were preparing to strike first at the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons while they still had the advantage.

**The leadership of the Labor Party expressed itself as completely behind the gruesome Tory policy of mass annihilation. "The rulers of Soviet Russia," declared Attlee, in the House of Commons debate, "must realize that the free peoples are resolved to preserve their freedom, that they have the means for instant retaliation and that they will use these means in the event of open aggression. That may lead to the acceptance by the rulers of Soviet Russia of co-existence as the alternative to co-annihilation."**

By demanding assurances that the Labor Party was not being aligned behind "nuclear recklessness," Bevan highlighted the lengths to which Attlee and Co. were prepared to go behind the Tory H-bomb strategy. He undoubtedly reflected the opinions of the majority of workers now recoiling in horror at the prospect of the atomic disintegration of humanity.

Already from the rank and file of the movement has come a stream of denunciations of the threatened expulsions. The Bevanite members of the Labor Party Executive Committee have stated their intention of resigning if it carries through Bevan's exclusion from the party. The right wing, for their part, will use the party machine to meet the opposition. There are already rumors that they intend to proscribe Tribune — the Bevanite weekly.

**Bevan's expulsion can only open the way to a continuous series of expulsions in which the framework of the Labor Party can be burst asunder and Bevanism emerge publicly as a new left-wing party.**

# WHAT WE WROTE ON YALTA IN 1945

How truthfully the Militant characterized the Yalta conference when it was held can be judged from a few quotations from the Feb. 17, 1945 issue:

"Meeting in conspiratorial secrecy at Yalta on the Black Sea, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin further elaborated their plans outlined at Teheran to carve up Europe, reduce its segments to semi-colonial status, subjugate its peoples, and crush the popular revolutions against capitalist rule which are maturing throughout the war-torn continent.

"Their latest deliberations, like their previous conclaves, were shrouded in secrecy because these leaders do not dare to divulge the real character of their predatory aims and oppressive schemes."

The Militant pointed to the actions of the Big Three as proof of their agreement "to crush the rising revolutionary movements of the masses."

And the Militant declared that the "salvation of the European peoples, and of the USSR as well, depends not upon the support of their present rulers but upon their own independent action. The reactionary designs of the Allies can be frustrated only through the revolutionary fight for socialism."

Those words remain just as true today as then. There is no other way to frustrate the plans of Washington and London, who are now busy rearming their former foes, Germany and Japan, as part of the preparations for war on the country that was listed at Yalta as their ally.

# World Events

**THE FRENCH CABINET** is asking the National Assembly for sweeping state-of-emergency powers to suppress the nationalist movement in Algeria.

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**AFL-CIO BOYCOTT CARACAS CONFAB.** The two U.S. labor organizations issued a joint statement refusing to attend the International Labor Organization's conference on the oil industry scheduled for April 25 in the Venezuelan city. Reason given was the brutal suppression of labor by the military dictatorship of the South American country. The oil-rich country is ruled by the corrupt military clique of dictator Perez Jimenez, a puppet of the oil monopolies and the U.S. State Dept.

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**IN CHINA** the government has launched a "food austerity" program. Rice, flour and cooking oil are already rationed and the Chinese newspapers have started an educational campaign on saving food by eliminating waste in transport, storage, processing and consumption. The Peking Peoples' Daily says that food saving is necessary to meet the needs of economic construction and the growing domestic increase in food consumption. Moreover, foodstuffs are being exported to help finance the importing of equipment and materials vital to the industrialization and modernization of China.

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**RACKETEERING IN KOREA** in connection with the sale by the U.S. Army of $80 million worth of surplus goods has reached such a point that the U.S. Government has protested to the Syngman Rhee government. Using official "veterans' organizations" as a front, the gangs, which have police immunity, prevent other Koreans from bidding at the auction sales. Where by slip-up or defiance someone not in the racket buys surplus equipment, the gang visits him and "persuades" him to resell it at a price it fixes.

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**STRIKE OF AFRICAN DOCKWORKERS** in Mombasa, Kenya, was called off after British troops marched through the streets with fixed bayonets. The strikers had sought a wage raise of 28 cents a day.

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**SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS** have proposed a new law to purge "Communists" from the teaching profession. Teachers can be fired for impeding, obstructing or undermining the activities of the provincial government or any government department or if they act contrary to the best interests of school or education generally. Anyone can be named a "Communist," who encourages feelings of hostility between whites and Africans with the intention of producing political, industrial, social or economic change. The interpretation of all the vague bases for firing are of course to be made by the reactionary apartheid rulers.

* * *

**MICROFILM RECORDS** of British property owners will be kept safe from atom and hydrogen bombs in a new vault constructed 100 feet below the earth's surface. This depositary was inspired by a similar one in Hudson, N. Y. Property rights will, thus, survive the hydrogen bomb even if human life won't.

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**THE GENEVA CONFERENCE** for revision of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) ended March 7. The U.S. delegation was satisfied with the results of the conference according to the N.Y. Times because: "Specifically, there is no chapter on 'full employment,' none on commodity agreements, none on cartels and no wide-open mandate for the proposed organization to become involved in vague and controversial international economic problems such as the promotion of economic development in underdeveloped countries."

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**JAPAN** does not plan more than a "slight" increase in military expenditures for the coming year despite considerable pressure from the U.S. State Department. Premier Ichiro Hatoyama gave as a reason: "We have to consider the psychological aspect as well as the economic. The Japanese people abhor war. Because of this feeling of abhorrence, we have to re-educate them before we can push the matter (of rearmament)."

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX | MONDAY, MARCH 28, 1955 | NUMBER 13


## Discussion on Civil Rights

**[We print below, in its entirety, an editorial from the Feb. 14 issue of Congress Weekly, a publication of the American Jewish Congress followed by this column's comment and criticism.]**

"Eighteen members of the liberal bloc in the Senate, Democrats and Republicans, have introduced a "package" of eleven civil rights bills in the 84th Congress. The "package" can be described as a liberal's dream, for it includes measures on virtually every significant aspect of civil rights — fair employment, poll tax, lynching, segregation in interstate transportation and so forth.

"It has only one slight flaw. No part of it will be enacted. Probably even more important at this stage is the fact that these measures will not even serve the purpose of dramatizing the issue of civil rights and thus contributing to public education on the problem. Introduction of the bills, as the sponsors well know and as we must be candid enough to admit, is simply a gesture. And it is unfortunately the kind of gesture that is no longer serving any useful or constructive purpose.

"Civil rights as an issue in the 84th Congress was buried at the very outset of the session when the liberal bloc, over the lone protest of Senator Lehman, decided not to challenge the Southern Democrats to a fight on the Senate rules. So long as the present rules prevail, no bill to combat racial discrimination or intergroup violence has even a remote chance of enactment unless it is watered down to a level of total ineffectiveness.

"The opening day of the session provided the only possible opportunity for a serious attempt to change the rules. Even if the effort had failed, as was likely, a dramatic debate would have contributed to public understanding of the problem. The failure of the Democratic majority in the Senate to compel a vote on the rules was rationalized on the theory that Democratic unity on other issues is too important to risk by provoking dissension within the party on civil rights.

"While that point of view prevails, no progress can be made in Congress. Since 1946, we have had every possible political combination of Congress and executive in Washington — a Republican Congress with a Democratic president, a Republican president and a Democratic Congress, and Republican and Democratic control of both branches of government. Regardless of the combination, the legislative result on civil rights has been the same. The Southern bloc has held firm to its determination to filibuster any civil rights bill to death.

"It is high time civil rights forces face this fact and undertake the reappraisal — however agonizing — that must flow from it. Repeating the annual ritual of introducing measures that are buried in committee has become waste motion that advances the cause of equality not a step.

"At least three other avenues, it seems to us, should be explored. More effort, clearly, must be devoted to organization and mobilization. Higher priority must be given to the task of building public interest and understanding.

"Second, we must give earnest consideration to concentrating on more limited legislative objectives than has generally been our habit. An alluring "package" of eleven measures helps make a fine press release. But when its display becomes an empty gesture, the time may have come to substitute a program less sweeping but somewhat more capable of achievement.

"Third, we must never for a moment forget that, although no civil rights legislation has been enacted by Congress since 1875, great progress has been made toward the goal of full equality from other directions. There have been the notable legal victories, won primarily by the NAACP.

"There have been such gains as the ending of segregation in the armed forces, in Army post schools, in naval shipyards and other establishments. If the federal legislature record is barren, the result of administrative and executive action and of litigation are impressive and encouraging. Further gains of this nature can and should be made."

## Our Comment

The dim prospects for civil rights legislation in Congress is realistically appraised in the above article. Similarly the worthlessness of the "gestures" of the much-touted liberal "friends" of the Negro people and of labor. The proposals offered to remedy the situation, however, are pitifully inadequate and ineffective.

Let us examine them one by one. First "more effort" must be devoted to "organization and mobilization." No objection can be raised to this. More organization and mobilization of anti-Jim Crow forces is always a good thing. But this is much too general. More organization and mobilization to do exactly what? This is the nub of the question. Point one also says there should be "higher priority" given to "building public interest and understanding." This, too, is commendable. However, the source of the present bogging-down of the civil rights fight is in Congress. Build public understanding, sure. But how do you get the Senators and Congressmen to respond to public understanding. The Negro people are for civil rights legislation, so is the labor movement. Many liberal Democrats were endorsed and elected by these two powerful segments of the American population. But nothing can be got out of the liberals in Congress on civil rights except a "gesture." So doesn't it seem that the core of the trouble is the faulty mechanism for transmitting the desires of the people to its elected "representatives"?

Proposal number two is either a sign of fuzzy thinking or faint heartedness. It is the suggestion that perhaps the anti-Jim Crow forces should lower their legislative sights. Thus instead of being piggish and demanding the passage of eleven civil rights bills, maybe one or two would be more likely to pass.

It's not a question of weakening the fight by spreading the forces too thin. It is a question of no fight at all. A real fight for the eleven bills might result in the passage of one or two — even in this Congress — if the liberal Democrats had any guts or principles (they have neither so there's no chance). But the Negro, labor and other organizations interested in ending second-class citizenship long ago concentrated their efforts on one legislative aim. This was the change of Senate Rule 22 — the rule that permits the filibustering-to-death of civil rights legislation.

The Emergency Conference on Civil Rights year after year held big mobilizations in Washington just to lobby on this one point. Many Northern Democratic Senators pledged themselves to changing Senate Rule 22. But on Congress' opening day, the only day Rule 22 can be changed, they decided it would hurt the feelings of their Southern colleagues, and let the chance to change the vicious rule slip by for another two years. This sealed the fate of all civil rights bills in the 84th Congress. It was only after this sell-out that the eleven civil-rights-bills-that-have-no-chance were introduced by Senator Humphrey and the other liberals who had welched on the Rule 22 fight. They introduced them as an empty "gesture," so don't blame them on the fighters for civil rights forces and then say they were asking too much.

Point number three is a sort of don't-get-discouraged point. That's good advice. but it is a fact that many people do get discouraged, and even a little sick to the stomach, when they watch the labor- and Negro-sponsored candidates knifing an amendment to deny federal funds to segregated schools.

The Congress Weekly editorial points out that no civil rights bill has been passed by Congress since 1875. Moreover, since 1946 every possible Republican-Democratic party combination of Congress and the presidency has come up — and in none of them could any of the civil rights measures get passed.

Doesn't this prove that a new political course is needed? Shouldn't the minority organizations begin educating and organizing for the launching, in collaboration with the labor movement, of an independent political party controlled by labor and the minority peoples? Such a party would have its hands free of the politicians who represent the class that has a vested interest in discrimination and segregation. It would place civil rights legislation high on its agenda — and get action.

## Notes from the News

**MISSISSIPI LEGISLATORS** have ordered the screening of all those invited to speak to state-supported institutions, with the aim of barring those opposed to "the Mississippi Way of Life." While hookworm, pellagra, illiteracy, low wages and the open shop are all prominent features of "the Mississippi Way of Life," what the legislators particularly had in mind was white supremacy. If they have their way the state's three Negro colleges, for example, would not be permitted to have as guest speakers anyone belonging to the NAACP or known to oppose segregation.

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**50,000 PHONE WORKERS IN THE SOUTH** are on strike. The strikers belong to 130 CIO Communications Workers locals in nine southeastern states. Big issues are wage boosts to end Southern pay differential in the Bell System and rejection of the company's demand for a no-strike pledge. Bell authorities have registered numerous complaints with the police and FBI over alleged sabotage of cables.

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**22,000 RAIL WORKERS** are on strike in Kentucky and Tennessee. They belong to ten AFL non-operating unions and are trying to force the Louisville and Nashville Railroad to adopt a health and welfare plan accepted by other roads. Company would contribute half, the other half to be deducted from workers' paychecks. The L&N says it is against its "principles" to make such deductions from paychecks. Back in 1932, when the road was in financial difficulties, it persuaded the unions to agree to 10% deductions from the men's paychecks. That was different! That was the kind of deduction in complete harmony with the company's "principles."

* * *

**TELEPHONE OPERATORS** are aiming for a 30-hour and 35-hour work week, depending on the amount of night work in the cases involved, for 150,000 workers. This is the answer of the CIO Communications Workers of America to the job losses resulting from automation. Among other contract demands are wage raises and welfare fund improvements for all 300,000 members.

* * *

**PEANUTS** is what the peanut processing workers in Suffolk, Va. were forced to settle for in a recent strike. They got a wage increase of 1½ cents an hour. This brings wages for women up from 80 cents an hour to 81½ cents. Men get 91½ cents. There are about 4,000 peanut workers in this region of Virginia, about 3,000 belong to Local 26 of the CIO Retail, Wholesale and Dept. Store Union. The fact that for a 40-hour week a woman worker earns only $32.60 — less deductions — shows the crying need for the $1.25 an hour minimum wage that the labor movement has been demanding and that Congress has been ignoring.

* * *

**BUT A ZOO IS EDUCATIONAL AT LEAST.** In the "debate" on the bill to increase the pay of Congressmen and Senators by $7,500, Senator Kefauver (D-Tenn.) endorsed the 50% pay hike by pointing out that it totalled no more than the annual cost of maintaining the Washington Zoo.

## *Meeting of AFL and CIO Leaders*

AFL and CIO top leaders show at their recent meeting in Miami Beach where they agreed to merge their two organizations into one organization, 15-million strong. Seated: AFL Pres. George Meany (l.) and CIO Pres. Walter Reuther. Standing (l. to r.): CIO Steel Workers Pres. David J. McDonald; AFL Bricklayers Pres. Harry Bates; AFL Sec.-Treas. William Schnitzler; and CIO Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey.

# Wickwire Strikers Forced Back To Work by International Officers

**BUFFALO, March 16 — A four-day walkout followed a mass meeting on Monday, March 7, of Local 1060, United Steel Workers of America (CIO) at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation, Wickwire Division, Tonawanda, N. Y. The walkout was prompted by an employer attack on the plant seniority system which the members of Local 1060 had initiated and fought for throughout the years.**

Recently the company violated the seniority system in the Electrical Department. New men were forced into lower-paying positions. Other attacks on the seniority setup were taking place. A new system of disciplinary layoff slips was introduced. All this resulted in the mass meeting and walkout.

### MILITANT MOOD

At a meeting of the union and the company on the first day of the strike the company took a "tough" position. They refused to discuss the workers' grievances until the men returned to their jobs. A series of mass meetings, held from Monday through Thursday, reflected the willingness of the rank and file to fight. A militant atmosphere prevailed at these meetings with the rank and file demanding action from the international union officials present.

**The role of the international union consisted of pressuring local officials and workers to re-enter the plant. "Nothing can be done unless the men go back to work!" was the byword of the international representatives. This is typical of the game played by the international union bureaucracy in other steel walkouts which have taken place in this area.**

On Thursday, March 10, the company agreed to meet with the union. The international representative seized on this to renew their pressure for the workers to get back on the job. After four days of bucking both the company and the international union the workers ended the walkout.

### LESSONS

The walkout at the Wickwire Plant was the result of an overall attempt of the company to weaken and undermine the union. The workers are not under the illusion that these attempts have been beaten.

The walkout was a good experience. Many of the workers voiced the belief that with the support of the international union officials the company would have been forced to retreat.

**Thus, both the union bureaucrats and the company hammered home fundamental lessons to the workers: International union officials that turn up on the other side of the picket line when the chips are down are worse than useless — they are a liability. The international union must be overhauled; it must become a fighting organization from top to bottom.**

# Locals Drawn Into Fight over Steel Union VP

YOUNGSTOWN — Locals of the CIO Steelworkers Union in this District are endorsing candidates for the office of vice-president of the international union. This is a result of the struggle that broke out in the executive board of the union, a struggle that began over filling the post of vice-president left vacant by the death of James G. Thimmes.

When Thimmes died, David J. McDonald, president of the union, proposed to the executive board that Howard Hague, an appointee of McDonald's working in the national office of the union, become the new vice-president. **Nine members of the executive board were opposed and insisted that the post should be filled by election; 22 members of the board voted to have Hague perform the duties of the vice president until a special election, held later in the summer, can pick the successor of Thimmes.**

The opposition to McDonald's choice for this position nominated Maloney, the district director from New York State. Supporters of McDonald are campaigning for their choice.

### WHY THE FIGHT?

What are the reasons for this struggle among the union officials?

The steelworkers' union bureaucracy was held together by the late Phillip Murray. Murray had a great deal of prestige in the union, having been a coal miner, and having been on the ground floor of the organization work of the union.

McDonald, the former secretary-treasurer, built a machine within the union and upon Murray's death tried to take over completely. At that time there was some disagreement and a compromise was effected with McDonald becoming the new President and I. W. Abel becoming the Secretary-Treasurer.

**But since that time, McDonald has not been able to entrench himself. He has alienated himself more and more from the ranks of the union; and even the bureaucracy in the labor movement as a whole has lost respect for him.**

McDonald has more than once made public pronouncements that seemed to parrot the ideas of management. His junkets with Benjamin F. Fairless and other executives of the steel corporations through the plants have not endeared him in the hearts of the steelworkers.

The death of Murray signaled the beginning of a struggle for power within the leadership. But **underlying the struggle is the fact that McDonald's policies are so obnoxious** that even a big section of the union leadership opposes him — though they make make their fight on secondary issues. These opponents did not fight McDonald when he broke strikes in Buffalo, Youngstown, and other steel centers. Nevertheless, the fact that they have decided to resist the undemocratic actions of McDonald now is progressive and long overdue.

### WHAT IS NEEDED

**If the struggle for leadership continues the rank and file, which has had very little democracy, may find an opportunity to express itself, and tell both factions that what is needed is a program to solve the many problems of the steelworkers. What is needed is an answer to such questions as the short work-week and even shorter pay that the steelworkers suffered throughout 1954.**

If a struggle continues the contending sides will have to appeal to the rank and file — and reveal the weaknesses of their opponents.

The Steelworkers Union has nothing to fear from an internal fight. Democratic discussion of union issues may seem, to superficial observers, to weaken the organization. But in fact, internal struggle can result in more democracy, greater clarification of program, and confidence in the ranks.

**The rank and file want to feel they can express themselves and intervene in making the Steelworkers Union the kind of union that will take its rightful place in the struggle of the American workers.**

# *There's a "Method in their Madness"*

**By Theodore Kovalesky**

**The Union negotiating committee stood nervously in the hall up in "Mahogany Row," smoking cigarettes and fingering their manila folders of notes and documents. Suddenly a scream rang out. The Union president coughed up a lungful of tobacco he had just inhaled. The whole committee stiffened.**

A door opened, and a man in white stepped out. "OK," he said. "J.B. will see you now."

One by one the union men filed somewhat reluctantly through the doorway. The room they entered was square and empty of furniture. The walls were heavily padded with material much like that of wrestling mats. At the far end of the room, nattily attired in a camisole and leaning jauntily against the barred window, stood the manager of industrial relations. He smiled benignly and said, "Welcome, dear subjects. Speak, and tell us what you would have of our royal will."

### SILLY?

Now doesn't this sound silly? It would seem to be a pretty feeble attempt at satire. And as for reality, well, things like this just don't happen, do they?

Well, I see by the papers they do happen . . . or at least they may. Just keep tabs on your negotiating committee. Maybe they'll give you a report just like this any day now.

It seems there's a sociologist named Dr. Herman Lantz from the Southern Illinois University, who did some checking and came up with some figures. He took a thousand air force officers and men from the Second World War and followed them up. One hundred nineteen of them wound up in the higher brackets, executives and such. That's a pretty high figure out of a thousand, but perhaps he got a special thousand. Or perhaps nine hundred of them were officers. **Anyway, of this 119, it turned out that 36.1% were "severely psychoneurotic"; 21% were "mildly so";** and 8.4% were "actual psychotics — in the most advanced stage of mental illness."

So there you are.

I said to Jimmy, "Here is the root of our problem. H. R. Maxwell is crazy." H. R. Maxwell is just a name. It comes out of the secret recesses of the front office. Nobody ever sees H. R. Maxwell, but you hear of him. He gives statements to the newspapers. He is a captain of industry. We have never seen him, but we know he exists. Oh brother! How we know it!

Jimmy just grunted. "Huh! Crazy like a fox!"

### ARE THEY NUTS?

That made sense. In fact that's the way I always looked at it. When we'd be sitting sloppily amid our sandwich papers and thermos bottles and talking to each other with our mouths half full, someone would often say, "What's the matter with those guys up in the front office, are they nuts?" Or sometimes somebody would grumble, "Aw, those guys are always trying to make it hard for the working man." At such times I would stand up for the sanity of the captains of industry. And I would answer that they didn't particularly try to "make it hard for the working man."

"It's like this," I'd say. "They don't particularly try to make it hard for us. They don't try to make us unhappy. In fact, they know we'll probably work better for them if we're happy. But they don't look at us like people. We're part of the investment. We're like the machines. If Slim's wife is sick and he's worried almost sick about her, they don't feel good about it. They don't feel bad either. They don't care one way or the other. They want Slim to come in and work his head off, that's all.

"Same thing with us all. They just want their profits. If they could get better profits by giving us all beautiful homes and limousines and yachts, they'd do it in a minute. **And if they could get better profits by wiping us all off the face of the earth with a hydrogen bomb, they'd do their damnest to do that just as fast. And as far as being crazy goes, they can make mistakes all right, but they generally have a pretty good reason for everything they do . . . and that reason is just one thing: what's best for profits?"**

That's the whole thing. I've made a clean breast of it. That's what I've been saying, but I pride myself on being a big enough man to admit a mistake when I make it. It looks as though I've been deluding my fellow workers about the sanity of what the newspaper called this country's "business leadership."

### THEY SEEMED SANE

But then, you can see how I made the mistake. They seemed so sane. Everything they did, no matter whom they hurt, no matter how many children they orphaned in their speedup drives, no matter how many widows they made by working their husbands to death, no matter how much agony of anxiety and privation they caused with their layoffs, both small and large — everything they did seemed to make sense, seemed to be perfectly reasonable, because it made money for them, made huge profits.

Now, looking back, I remember hearing how mental patients with paranoia could make themselves seem perfectly normal and fool everybody but trained psychiatrists, and even fool them sometimes. So maybe these captains of industry are fooling us that way. And then too, Dr. Lantz speaks of a new mental illness called "executive neurosis." Perhaps this disease is like paranoia in that you can't spot it very easily.

**But there's one thing about this neurosis, psychoneurosis, or psychosis, or whatever it is: it sure pays off in profits. It seems to be like what Shakespeare said so many years ago: "Though this be madness, yet there's method in it."**

# SWP CANDIDATE IN L.A. HITS USE OF "LOYALTY" OATHS

LOS ANGELES, March 19 — "While loyalty oaths don't make anyone loyal, still they are useful in catching people for perjury and should be supported as long as they are the law," said Laurence B. Martin, liberal candidate for the Board of Education, before a meeting of the Los Angeles Citizens' Commission for Public Schools.

Martin is one of a slate of three candidates supported by the official labor leadership in Los Angeles. He represents the kind of liberalism which results from the failure of labor to advance its own candidates for public office.

**Opposing Martin in Office No. 1 is Robert Morgan, Socialist Workers Party candidate and the only one out of 32 in the field who takes a forthright stand against the loyalty oaths and all other manifestations of the witch hunt.**

Morgan shared the platform with two liberal Democrats, Joseph J. Weissman and Robert L. Brock, at a meeting of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. The SWP candidate spoke for civil liberties. He saw the reasons for the attack on political freedom in the attempt by the government of Democrats and Republicans to stifle criticism of its war preparations and reactionary foreign policy in the interests of Big Business.

After the candidates spoke several members of the audience volunteered to distribute Morgan's campaign literature.


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