

CIO HEADS CLING TO 2-PARTY SYSTEM

Imperialists Step Up War Drive

Urge Military Bloc As Part of Marshall Plan

By Art Preis

Leading imperialist spokesmen in Washington and London have bluntly proposed that the Marshall Plan be used to power an economic and military bloc of Western European capitalist countries against the Soviet Union. They are speedily discarding any pretense that the Marshall Plan is simply a humanitarian program of "relief and rehabilitation."

At Senate hearings last week, Bernard Baruch and John Foster Dulles, chief Wall Street advisers to the Democratic and Republican parties respectively, demanded, in effect, that an economic and military alliance of anti-Soviet governments in Europe be made an integral part of Marshall Plan aid.

British imperialist spokesmen promptly responded. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin blasted unreservedly at "communism" and called for a "western union" of England, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg. This would be the "nucleus" for an eventual bloc of all capitalist regimes in Western Europe, including their "dominions and colonies."

Tory Churchill, original author of the scheme, hailed Laborite Bevin's words in a speech that bristled with incitement to war.

The day after Bevin spoke, the U. S. State Department issued a public statement approving "this statement of British foreign policy."

This is but the latest of the beligerent actions marking the progressively hotter stages of the "cold war" launched by the Truman Doctrine last March. On every front—propagandistic, economic, diplomatic and military—American imperialism is stepping up its ominous drive toward an atomic war of global conquest.

Simultaneous with the call for a U. S.-dominated Western Bloc financed by the Marshall Plan, the Truman Administration intensified its propaganda attacks on the Soviet Union. It found potent ammunition in Stalin's crimes—particularly his alliance with Hitler. The U. S. State Department published



BEVIN

The third resolution was directed to the Joint Conference Committee on Amalgamation, with a request that, due to the length of time that this committee has been in continuous session, it was high time that the membership of both organizations received some definite information, instead of meaningless generalities, on what the committee has accomplished, or failed to accomplish, up to date.

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MILITARIZATION—THE NO. 1 DANGER

By Arthur Burch

The infiltration of the Big Brass into key government posts and into every phase of American life is no accident. It is part of the plot to place the country on a permanent war footing in preparation for war. The armed forces are called upon in this scheme of things, to perform the threefold task of fighting the enemy, policing the peoples of the world to prevent revolutions, and above all, crushing any resistance on the part of the American workers. For this the officer caste is well fitted.

The ordinary police forces proved inadequate even in the strike struggles of the Thirties. The American industrialists hesitate to resort to fascism because the American workers have learned from the Italian and German experiences. Any appearance of fascist hoodlums on a large scale would very likely precipitate civil war. Thus Wall Street looks upon the Big Brass as the least expensive and most effective instrument in preventing revolution both at home and abroad. This is the real reason behind the tripartite merger of the govern-

ment, Big Business and the Big Brass. Unfortunately the American labor leaders are in awe of the arrogant military martinets. At most they only whisper a polite protest as the militarists stride into plants in peacetime and push around militant workers for being "bad security risks." Unaware of the increasing danger to themselves, the American workers likewise look upon the Big Brass as war heroes possessed of only patriotic motives to protect the country from its enemies.

Thus there was little outcry as the Big Brass began to take over one government post after another and entrenched themselves in innumerable spheres of activity. Today they are in a position to start regimenting American life in accordance with their Junker standards. With every beachhead gained they have moved more boldly and ominously toward Prussianizing American life until some of the capitalist spokesmen themselves, like Hanson Baldwin, have become scared of the new Frankenstein. Now a group of educators and scientists led by Albert Einstein

Boss Politicians Conspire to Keep Wallace off Ballot

Ruling Requested of U. S. Attorney General

There is plenty of evidence that the Democratic administration is toying with the idea of barring the Wallace Third Party from the ballot, or so hampering it that it will not be able to compete seriously in the coming presidential election.

Washington columnists are openly speculating on the two methods available to the Truman administration of barring Wallace from the presidential race. One of these is embodied in the bill now before Congress to bar "un-American" parties from the ballot. This bill is so vaguely worded that practically any party other than the Democratic and Republican could be kept off the ballot. Parties "directly" or "indirectly" connected "by any means whatsoever" with the Stalinists are to be outlawed.

This bill has been openly talked about as a possible weapon against Wallace. Attorney General Tom Clark has even been asked for a formal ruling on whether it would bar Wallace from running.

The other possible method of Truman's hamstringing the Third Party would be by extending the notorious "subversive" list recently issued by Attorney General Clark. Truman simply has to order his legal hatchet man Tom Clark to add the Progressive Citizens of America to the list of "subversive" organizations.

While this would not legally bar the Third Party from the ballot, it would make it well nigh impossible for that party to get on the ballot in many states. It would also intimidate people from supporting Wallace.

As I. F. Stone, Washington correspondent of the anti-Wallace PM, points out, this method is "more inviting because there seems to be no legal redress against the Attorney General. . . . An organization cannot sue the Attorney General for libel."

The fact that the administration is even considering barring a rival from the ballot underlines the hypocrisy of capitalist democracy. The pretense of democratic election procedure is loudly hailed when only the Wall Street parties—the Democratic and the Republican—are in the field.

Whenever this profitable confidence game is threatened in the slightest—even by emergence of a liberal capitalist party like Wallace's—the leading capitalist politicians are ready to drop the pretense and prevent the new party from getting on the ballot.

Backs 45-Hour Week



William Green, AFL President, gave aid and comfort to the NAM propaganda to destroy the 8-hour work day by favoring a 45-hour work week—although he proposed that time and a half be paid for the extra hour's work. Here Green is conferring with Charles W. Tobey (R., N.H.), Chairman of the Senate Banking Committee. (See the editorial on Page 3.)

Police Reign Of Terror Against Nashville CIO

Members of CIO Steelworkers Local 4057, striking the Nashville Corporation plant at Nashville, Tenn., are being subjected to brutal violence and intimidation by the state and county police. The police patrol the picket lines armed with sub-machine guns, pistols and tear gas.

The courts also have come to the aid of the labor-hating Nashville Corporation by issuing an injunction against the strikers. On the basis of this, Public Safety Commissioner Lynn Bomar—who was involved in the savage anti-Negro riots in Columbia, Tenn.—has limited pickets at the huge plant to 12 persons. All other strikers are prohibited within 100 yards of the plant.

Scores of strikers have been arrested, many of them brutally beaten, and mass contempt of court citations have been issued.

Here are a few typical examples of police violence and brutality: Charles Barranco, Jr., CIO organizer, was arrested by state police on the pretense that his auto registration was not correct. The police

took him to the county jail where ten of them took turns beating him. Seriously injured and with two ribs broken he was sent to the hospital. Two strikers, L. A. Davenport and James Temple, trailed by state police in an auto, were stopped on a lonely road on a charge of "reckless driving." Then both were beaten with blackjacks. Temple, who had given testimony in court against Public Safety Commissioner Bomar a few days before, was told between blows of the blackjacks that he was being taught to "keep his mouth shut."

CIO Steelworkers Local 4057 has been on strike since Nov. 10, 1947. Although the union won an NLRB election by a 2 to 1 vote, before the Taft-Hartley Law became effective, the company claimed the union was not certified because the Steel Union has refused to sign the yellow-dog affidavits. Even Denham's scabby board had to admit that the union was certified. Still the company refuses to bargain.

The Jan. 19 CIO News observes that "The Tommy-gun and the blackjack appear to have become standard 'labor relations' equipment down at Nashville, Tenn."

Happy Days for Plane Corporations. One significant aspect of the Air Policy Commission report was practically buried by the capitalist press. The Commission proposes to let the bars down on all restriction on profits of aircraft manufacturers. No wonder in a slumping stock market aircraft securities boomed. The Air Policy Commission recommends that the 12% profit limit for the aircraft industry as provided in the 1934 Vinson-Trammell Act be eliminated. It wants to abrogate the section of the act that requires 10% of naval aircraft and engines be built in government plants to provide a yard-stick to measure prices and profits of private firms. It calls on the Export-Import Bank to help finance private export of aircraft, but opposes the bank's requirement that "the manufacturing assume up to 25% of the risk."

CIO Board Splits On 3rd Party, ERP

The growing split in top CIO circles developed further at the CIO Executive Board meeting held in Washington Jan. 22-23. The hostility between the Murray-led majority and the Stalinist-led minority was evidenced not only in the dispute over the third party, but above all, in the debate around foreign policy.

The Boston CIO convention last November had unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the principles of the Marshall Plan, without specifically naming it, and with a few pious phrases about opposing the use of U. S. aid "as a means of coercing free but needy people in the exercise of their rights of independence and self-government or to fan the flames of civil warfare."

In state CIO conventions since then, the Stalinists have tried to hide behind these phrases by asserting they precluded support of the Marshall Plan. At the CIO Board therefore, Murray and Co. decided to remove all ambiguity by coming out flatly "for the adoption and implementation of the Marshall Plan."

In fact, Murray and his supporters went so far as to say that in the interests of putting "first things first," the CIO leadership's fight for the Marshall Plan must "stand side by side with the necessity of removing the fever of inflation in our own economic system."

SPEND AS MUCH

That statement should certainly be of interest to the members of the CIO. It notifies them that their leaders intend to spend as much time, money and energy in whooping it up for Wall Street's program to dominate the world as they will in trying to defend labor's living standards against ever-higher prices.

The Stalinists, who voted against this resolution, came out with the familiar arguments. Repeating many truths about the reactionary nature of the Marshall Plan, they reaffirmed their support of the Boston CIO resolution, of the need to

Just Matter of Time To a Shooting War

A United Press dispatch from Larissa, Greece, on Jan. 24, reports that American Army officers have left Athens to take up "the duty of advising the Greek Army in the field." They "have strict orders to go unarmed at all times . . . to observe combat whenever possible without taking any part." The dispatch adds, "But as one military official commented, 'It's only a matter of time before someone gets hit.'"

Deportation Arrests Mount As Witch Hunt Is Intensified

By George Lavan

The government witch hunt to whip up war hysteria and intimidate the labor movement has hit new heights in a deportation delirium.

The outstanding recent cases are the arrests of Stalinist leaders Alexander Bittelman and Claudia Jones for deportation and the refusal of re-entry from Canada to Charles Doyle, national vice-president of the CIO United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers.

Bittelman, a leading Stalinist hatchetman is a member of the party's national committee. He has been in this country since 1912. Claudia Jones, a 32-year-old Negro Stalinist leader entered the United States from Trinidad at the age of nine. She has been 23 years in this country and received all her education here.

One of the slickest tricks pulled in this deportation wave was against Charles Doyle. Born in Scotland, Doyle has lived in this country for 23 years. His wife and children are American born. Doyle was leading a strike in Niagara when he visited Canada for 3 days to attend an executive board meeting of the union. At the border he was issued a re-entry permit. While he was in Canada his re-entry permit was secretly cancelled and when he attempted to re-enter the U. S. he was arrested, jailed and then released on Canadian soil.



MURRAY

strengthen the United Nations, and of Wallace's seven-point foreign aid program.

Both factions spoke against Universal Military Training. The CIO wage policy, adopted unanimously, stated that "wages have not been solely responsible for higher prices. Prices would have increased anyway." It promised that in the coming months the CIO would fight actively "for substantial wage increases through collective bargaining and for passage of an effective anti-inflation program through the Congress."

IGNORED NEED

But the resolution said nothing about the need for a unified wage strategy to prevent a few of the top leaders from agreeing to an inadequate wage pattern that stymies the efforts of most of the CIO internationals.

It said nothing whatever about the growing demand for a sliding scale of wages, or cost-of-living bonus, which more and more workers realize they need to protect themselves against future price rises.

It said nothing whatever about Truman's "anti-inflation" program, the most important part of which is a demand for wage-freezing powers.

The CIO Board also adopted a resolution attacking the newspaper publishers and NLRB General Counsel Denham, whose office "has now become the strikebreaking headquarters of the United States," for trying to destroy the AFL International Typographical Union.

The fight of the ITU against the Taft-Hartley Act, the Board and its union-busting general counsel, is the fight of the entire labor movement," the resolution concluded. "We pledge the support of the CIO to the ITU in this fight."

Same Policy Led To High Prices, Taft-Hartley Law

Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and their associates on the CIO Executive Board are doing their damndest to preserve the two-party system, whose monopoly of American politics is now threatened by the Wallace candidacy. The CIO Board, meeting in Washington on Jan. 22-23, adopted a resolution declaring a third party in 1948 is "politically unwise."

The resolution made no reference to either Wallace or Truman, declaring that "at this time the CIO is in no way committed to any presidential aspirant." But that didn't fool anyone.

By narrowing their choice to Democrats or Republicans, Murray and Co. were plainly rejecting Wallace because he had split with the Democrats. At the same time they were laying the basis for a future endorsement of Truman. The bureaucrats feel it is tactically smart not to endorse Truman now, when the CIO ranks are engaged in serious thought about the need for an independent labor policy in 1948.

SELF-CONDEMNATION

To "justify" this slavish defense of capitalist politics, Murray's resolution quoted approvingly from the 1944 CIO convention resolution which stated that the presidential election that year "fully confirmed the correctness of our decision to abstain from and discourage any move in the direction of a third party. A third party would serve only to split and divide the forces of progress at the very moment when unity is our greatest need."

But instead of justifying Murray's policy, this quotation condemns it. Murray had his way in 1944, and ever since. The so-called "forces of progress" were not "split and divided" by a third party. And what happened?

Labor has been taking one shellacking after another. Higher and higher prices. Government strike-breaking. Speedup. Oppressive taxes. The abolition of portal-to-portal pay. Militarization. And finally, the Taft-Hartley Act. Every single one of these evils is directly traceable to the victory of Murray's "forces of progress" and to his prevention of a Labor Party.

And now he has the nerve to come to the workers and tell them it is "politically wise" to do it all over again!

The anti-third party resolution was carried by a vote of 33 to 11, with the Stalinist-influenced members in opposition. But theirs was (Continued on Page 3)

Iowa, held for deportation to Austria.

Alexander Stephens, N. Y., held for deportation to Hungary.

Frank Carlson, San Francisco, held for deportation to Poland.

Paul Cline, Los Angeles, held for deportation to the Soviet Union.

John Santo, N. Y., organizational director of the CIO Transport Workers Union, held for deportation to Rumania.

Michael J. Obermeier, N. Y., president of Local 6, AFL Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, held for deportation to Germany.

Steve Tandaric, Hammond, Indiana, brought to U. S. at age of five, held for deportation to Yugoslavia.

DANGER TO LABOR

The Greater New York CIO Council has demanded that Doyle be allowed to re-enter from Canada. In the cases of other union officials held for deportation, the unions involved have protested. But this is not enough.

The current deportation proceedings are aimed chiefly against the Stalinists and their fellow travelers. The labor movement must understand, however, that if these are successful, the deportation campaign will be broadened to include every foreign-born union official with left-wing opinions and every opponent of the prevailing system. The labor movement must be aroused to the danger.

100 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

By John Adamson

Marxism, that is the science of social development and of the socialist revolution, is 100 years old. In this span of a century, it has given birth to giants of thought and action, and produced innumerable works of depth, brilliance and even genius. But it is doubtful that any of these compare with the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, which founded and launched the movement of scientific socialism.

The centennial of this epochal document brings back the surge of high feeling that so many of us experienced when we first read through its magical pages! It was as if a new planet swam into our ken. So much of what had been confused, jumbled and vague became sharply defined and wonderfully clear.

Trotsky said that the Communist Manifesto displayed genius greater than any other in world literature. At the ages of 29 and 27 respectively, Marx and Engels unravelled the mysteries of social development and revealed their essential mainstays!

Not only did these two young men discover historical materialism, but employed this new scientific method with such sureness and skill that they were able to sketch out in bold strokes the motive force of history—the class struggle; the anatomy and laws of capitalism which Marx later developed in finished form in Capital (the periodic outbreak of commercial and industrial crises, the tendency to pauperize the proletariat and middle classes); the place of capitalism in man's history; the growth of the modern working class and its historic mission to destroy the outlived capitalist system and replace it with the new socialist society, which would at the same time spell the end of all class exploitation and antagonism.

These contributions have successfully withstood a century of hostile criticism and have been vindicated in the fires of great events.

But it is not given to man—even genius—to see into the future in the manner of a fortune teller. The Communist Manifesto foresaw the development of the last hundred years in their broadest outlines. It portrayed correctly the general tendencies of capitalism and its fundamental driving forces and lines. But naturally it did not—and could not—foresee the events in their full empirical unfolding. Marxism is not a dogma or a ritual, but a scientific method. All ideas and programs are tested in the light of experience. And it would indeed be strange if after 100 years—and what years they have been—the Manifesto needed neither additions nor corrections. But as Trotsky stated in his study of the Manifesto, these corrections and additions can be made successfully only by using the method of the Manifesto itself.

MADE MORE PRECISE

Marx and Engels, in their own lifetime, corrected some sections of the Manifesto in the light of further experience and knowledge, and made other parts more concrete and precise on the basis of the lessons of the class struggles in Europe.

Thus for instance, in the Manifesto, capitalism is depicted as a system of free competition. Only in Capital did Marx show how free competition leads to monopoly. And only a half century later did Lenin in his Imperialism give a rounded analysis of

the organic tendencies of monopoly capitalism.

The Manifesto correctly predicts the pauperization and ruin of the middle classes. But it oversimplifies the whole process and pictures the elimination of all petty tradesmen and peasantry. Thus it misses the emergence of the so-called "new middle class"—the vast army of technicians, administrators, supervisory employees, etc., as well as the persistence of a ruined middle class of the older variety. This whole subject has not been adequately analyzed by later Marxists and constitutes a gap in modern Marxist literature. Its importance is sufficiently underscored by the rise of Mussolini and Hitler.

The Manifesto, as has been pointed out many times, does not deal with the colonial or semi-colonial countries, or their struggles for independence. To Marx and Engels, the question may not have seemed of decisive importance in 1848. One hundred years ago Europe was the center of the world, the seat of Western civilization. And Marx and Engels expected a rapid development of the workers' revolution. A thorough analysis of the colonial question began in earnest only with the emergence of the Third International. Lenin was the chief architect of revolutionary strategy for the colonial masses and oppressed nationalities.

The Manifesto foresaw the early consummation of a bourgeois revolution in Germany, and cited as proof the advanced conditions of European civilization in comparison with England in the 17th century and France in the 18th century. But the 1848 revolutions in Europe demonstrated that precisely because of the more advanced stage of capitalism, none of the capitalist classes could push the revolution through to its conclusion. The big capitalists already had a close tie-up with the feudal landowners, and besides feared the rising working class; the middle classes were too divided and too dependent on the big capitalists.

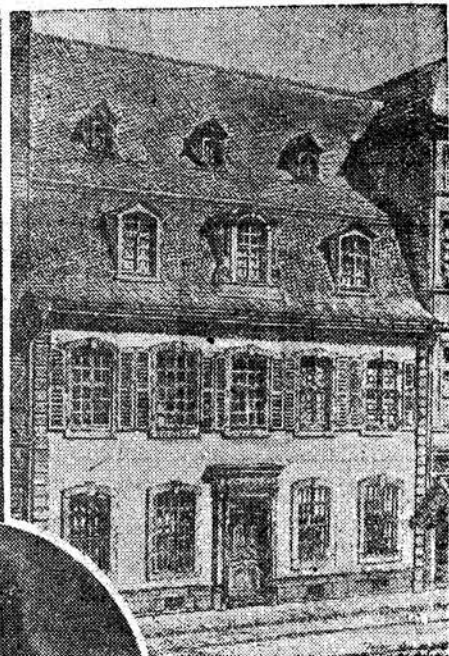
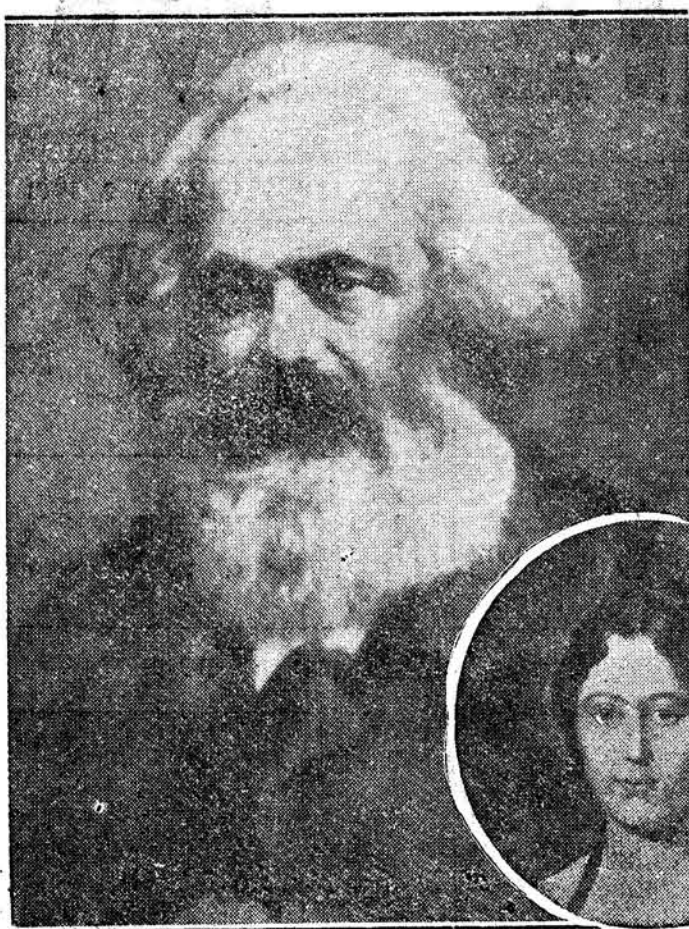
PERMANENT REVOLUTION

It was Trotsky who first generalized these developments in a scientific manner, in what has become known as the theory of the permanent revolution:

"The bourgeois revolution, taken by itself, can no more in general be consummated. A complete purge of feudal rubbish from society is conceivable only on the condition that the proletariat... can take its stand at the head of the peasantry and establish its revolutionary dictatorship. By this token, the bourgeois revolution becomes interlaced with the first stage of the socialist revolution, subsequently to dissolve in the latter."

This theory was vindicated in the 1917 Russian revolution and today constitutes the key of revolutionary strategy for the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Beyond these necessary corrections, amplifications, refinements and additions stands the fundamental error of the Manifesto. Marx and Engels grossly underestimated the capacities and powers of capitalism to continue to expand and develop the productive forces; and by the same token they vastly exaggerated the political maturity of the working class and its readiness to take power and reorganize society along socialist lines. Marx and Engels, at the time they wrote the Manifesto, thought that the bourgeois revolution was on the order of the day



Karl Marx, (left); his wife, Jenny Von Westphalen, (insert); the house in which Marx was born in Trier, Germany, (above).

in Germany and would be the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

Instead, the German and European capitalists, grown increasingly conservative, could not push the revolution to the end, but arrived at a compromise with the feudal aristocracies. The capitalist upturn which followed, and the ensuing prosperity, produced not the strengthening of the revolutionary vanguard but rather of the labor aristocracy, which up to the First World War became the greatest brake on the proletarian revolution in Western Europe.

The very genius of Marx and Engels and the piercing clarity of their vision made them telescope and simplify the whole process. It is taking longer to unfold in its actual historical development. But the two young revolutionists charted with uncanny accuracy the main lines of its evolution and the path the working class must take to realize its historic destiny.

The Russian revolution of 1917 demonstrated for all time that the Communist Manifesto was no utopian dream—but scientific prognosis. It demonstrated that the working class is the only modern revolutionary class, that it can take power and reorganize society on new planned lines. This towering fact is not vitiated or annulled by the subsequent degeneration of Russia under Stalin, and the weakening of the international socialist movement. History, we have learned, does not move in a straight

ascending line, but rather in cycles. It has its ebbs and flows. And a decade or two for history is as but a day in the life of a man.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

In the past 100 years, the working class movement has had great triumphs and equally great defeats. And unfortunately the present generation has witnessed more of the latter than the former. But the Fourth International—the Marxist movement of today—the inheritor and continuator of the great tradition inaugurated with the Communist Manifesto, is confidently pursuing its work of organizing "new cadres for the solution of old tasks." Confidently—because it knows that its aims are the embodiment of the needs and aspirations of suffering humanity; because it knows that its program represents the necessary next forward step in human history.

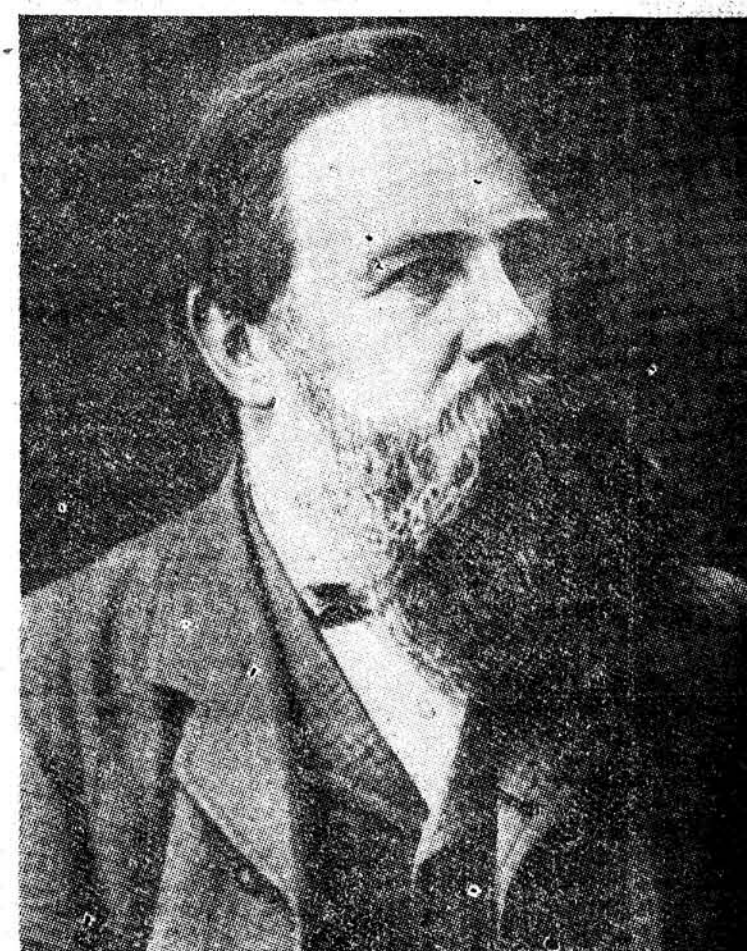
The present agony and protracted crisis of humanity stems from the working class delaying too long in overthrowing the outlived capitalist order. And that delay is derived, in turn, from the crisis of the revolutionary leadership. The Fourth International is working to bridge the gap between the objective needs of the situation and the lack of necessary maturity of the working class and its leadership, in the full knowledge that objective events are helping it in its struggle and ensuring its eventual victory.

Engels Stated Marx Was Chief Author of Manifesto

"The Manifesto being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus belongs to Marx. That proposition is: That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

"This proposition, which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed toward it, is best shown by my Condition of the Working Class in England. But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in Spring, 1845, he had it already worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here."

—Frederick Engels, 1888



FREDERICK ENGELS

Historical Background of Communist Manifesto

One hundred years after its first appearance, the Communist Manifesto remains the most remarkable and illuminating pamphlet of all time. Representing the battle-cry of the movement of scientific socialism, it was only natural that it won the undying hatred of despotism of every variety.

In our own time, Hitler ordered it burned; Stalin, who permits it to be printed, daily violates its most elementary principles and murders those who uphold them; Roosevelt's Eric agents seized copies of it on sale in the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party as "evidence" for the famous Minneapolis "sedition" trial in 1941.

But neither capitalist reaction nor the betrayals of the Stalinists and Social Democrats have been able to extinguish the flame ignited by the Manifesto.

This history-making document had its origins in the coming together of a small, illegal organization consisting mainly of skilled workers, and two young intellectuals, who had already dedicated themselves to organizing the overthrow of the rising capitalist system.

"ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS"

The organization, known as the League of the Just, was formed in the middle 1830's, with headquarters first in Paris and later in London.

In the beginning it was composed almost exclusively of Germans, many of them political refugees. Later it was joined by members of other nationalities. It was a secret society based on a program of utopian socialism, many varieties of which then enjoyed popularity among radical-thinking people. Its slogan was: "All men are brothers."

The League of the Just organized

was on the verge of revolution. The criticisms of Marx and Engels had a strong effect on the leaders of the League. They sent an emissary to notify Marx and Engels that they planned to hold a congress in London, and to revise their program along the lines of Marx' and Engels' criticisms. Marx and Engels thereupon joined the League.

workers' educational societies, which discussed the social questions of the day, and issued literature explaining the need for a new kind of society. In the middle Forties these views were subjected to sharp criticism by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels on the ground that the "task was not to work out a utopian system but to participate consciously in the historic process of social transformation taking place before our eyes."

Marx, who was not yet 30 years old when the Manifesto was published, had been born near the Rhine in Germany. He was a brilliant scholar, first in law and then in philosophy, and for a while considered earning his livelihood by teaching. But when he got his degree, he found he could not be a professor in Germany, because teachers were supposed to be unquestioning servants of the ruling class. He turned to journalism, becoming editor of the Rhenish Gazette but resigned when the publishers tried to soften its tone against the Prussian government. He went into exile shortly before an order was issued for his arrest.

In 1844 he met Engels for the first time in Paris. Thus began a life-long friendship and intimate collaboration in which each contributed to the scientific and political development of the other. That same year Engels, two years younger than Marx, wrote The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, a work which showed he and Marx were thinking along the same lines.

In 1847 it was clear that Europe

A few weeks later the revolution began in France, and was followed by others on the continent. Marx, Engels and the other communists were all active participants. But the revolutions of 1848 were defeated; within two years reaction had triumphed all along the line and the revolutionary movement was hurled back. The Manifesto, as Engels recalled more than 40 years later, had been "greeted with enthusiasm, at the time of its appearance, by the not-at-all numerous vanguard of scientific socialism... With the disappearance from the public scene of the workers' movement that had begun with the [French] February Revolution, the Manifesto too passed into the background."

But that was not the end of the Manifesto. It became the guide of the Communist elements in the

First International. And by the time of the formation of the Second International in 1889, virtually every socialist group in the world had accepted the principles of the Manifesto.

The Manifesto was first published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages. It has since been published in countless editions not only in these but in virtually every existing language and dialect. Just ten years ago it was issued by the Trotskyites in Afrikaans, the language of the people of Dutch ancestry in the Union of South Africa.

Marx and Engels never dreamed that it would have such a long and active history, because they believed that socialism would conquer in the 19th century. While some of its contents have become outdated, it remains on the whole almost as timely as though it were written a few years ago. And so it will remain until the working class has completed its historic task of replacing capitalism with a new social and economic system.

IDEAS STILL VALID

Here, briefly, we can indicate only a few of the main ideas contained in the Manifesto which still guide the revolutionary movement 100 years after they were first written.

The Class Struggle: The great changes and progress in society have taken place as the result of the struggle between contending classes, between the exploiters and the exploited. Today's rulers, the capitalist class, came to power through revolutionary struggles against the previous dominant force, feudalism. By the development of the modern

productive forces, the capitalists have given birth to their grave-digger, the working class. The final victory of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists will do away altogether with class distinctions and conflicts.

The State: The capitalist government is an instrument for managing the common affairs of the whole capitalist class. Despite the political forms the capitalist government may assume—monarchy, capitalist democracy, dictatorship—it is a vehicle of capitalist domination and therefore cannot serve the purposes or interests of the revolutionary working class.

Independent Labor Politics: Since every class struggle is a political struggle, the workers must be organized as a class into their own political party seeking to take power and reorganize the foundations of society.

Workers Governments: In order to establish the new classless society, the working class must become the ruling class, placing the instruments of production in the hands of the state, which will expand the productive forces—and then begin to wither away.

NEW UNDERSTANDING

Just as important as the lessons it drew, which established the basis of the modern socialist movement, the Communist Manifesto provided the revolutionary workers with a new method for analyzing and understanding the historical processes of the past and present. This was the materialist conception of history, which revolutionized sociology and, as Engels predicted, did "for history what Darwin's theory, has

WORKERS' FORUM

Many Workers Support Wallace

The most active unionists here who have a degree of class consciousness respond in the main favorably to the Wallace move. Even many militants who have supported the Labor Party have reacted favorably to Wallace and apparently interpret the Wallace movement as a step in the Labor Party direction. This support of Wallace is voiced in spite of his known relationship with the CP.

With the most advanced workers, a brief discussion on the nature of the Wallace movement, its capitalist character, the record of Wallace, its adventurist aspects, its lack of a genuine labor base, etc., finds a response for our approach. But my impression is strong that failure of a genuine Labor Party to appear on the scene before the election will find this group of most advanced workers casting their votes for Wallace should he remain in the race.

The response of the Negro is acutely enthusiastic. They feel that in Wallace they have a genuine champion of their rights and will vote in large numbers for him.

The average rank and file worker remains apathetic but is inclined toward opposition to Wallace along the line of the press attacks—thus is, his CP connections.

E. H. Detroit

Favors Convention For New Party

We hear a lot of criticism from phony liberal and progressive leaders in regard to Mr. Wallace being a CP candidate for President. If I remember correctly when Browder ran for President on the CP ticket he only polled some 100,000 votes. If I remember correctly, in 1924—and I happened to be a county committeeman at the time for the La Follette-Wheeler third party ticket—I recall the third party polled

more than four million votes. Seems to me, fellow liberals, there is something screwy in the manner in which certain loud-mouthed boys are shouting that Wallace is a CP candidate. What I'm driving at, folks, is that the 1924 vote record shows that in that year there were four million dyed-in-the-wool liberal and progressive voters. How many today? The votes in 1948 will tell the story and you can bet your boots it will surprise the "Money Changers in the Temple."

If our trade union leaders and our socialist speakers are not phonies, let them arrange an immediate new party convention and at this convention let the delegates nominate their preference for a candidate for President and Vice President. How about it, folks? Put up or shut up.

It's high time the workers of America rid themselves of phony leadership which shows subservience and cowardice—the philosophy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies." This has always meant in practice that when labor's friends in Wall Street's Republican Party stab labor in the back, then the workers should turn and embrace labor's friends in Wall Street's Democratic Party, or vice-versa.

A Reader Kansas City, Mo.

Faction Fight in Cleveland CIO

Garland Ashcraft resigned here as editor of the Reuther-ACTU Cleveland Union Leader to take a job as "public relations" director for some un-named "industrial concern." That makes 2 "victories" for the Stalinists in the war of attrition here for control of the Cleveland CIO Council. The fight originally started when the Stalinists tried to fire Ashcraft. That led to an administrator over the CIO who gave the leadership to Donovan of the steel workers union. Then the CIO Executive Committee by majority vote passed a motion that the Cleveland Union Leader was no longer the official public organ of the CIO. With that decision CIO Director Sam Sponseller and the Reuther-ACTU UAW locals officially sponsored the Cleveland Union Leader. Now Ashcraft resigns to take a "public relations" job for industry.

The Stalinist CIO locals are circulating a petition for the removal of Sponseller as their first aggressive move since the faction fight began here a year and a half ago. S. T. Cleveland

N. Y. MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL

(Winter Term - 1948) Beginning Wednesday, Feb. 4th "PRELUDE TO THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION" U. S. Capitalism in Crisis: 1929-1941 Instructor: Sam Ryan Wednesday 7:30 p.m. "BUILDING THE LEFT WING IN THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL UNIONS" A Study of Current Trade Union Problems Instructor: E. R. Frank Wednesday 9 p.m. Each class consists of four lectures. Admission: \$1 for the course or 30 cents for individual lectures 116 University Place

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Militant Sub Week Starts with Bang!

Preliminary reports on Militant Sub Week indicate a successful start, notwithstanding the nationwide cold wave and various previously planned activities that prevented some cities from participating at this time. Several of these will have their own Militant Sub Weeks later. Most of their reports were unavailable for this issue.

Chicago and New York's Harlem branch each turned in 26 subs and Newark sent a dozen from the first day's work, Jan. 25. Many members who could not go out Sunday will solicit during the week.

Four branches of New York Local sold the remarkable number of 448 individual copies of The Militant on Sunday, Jan. 25, beginning a one-month sales campaign to build up regular delivery routes. These routes are expected to prepare the way for a successful Sub Week later.

Sixty New York comrades and five from the youth group braved the extreme cold to begin the campaign. Branch sales were as follows:

- East Side 223 Bronx 104 Brooklyn 66 Central 50 Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant Branches, which have a large backlog of expired subscriptions, were assigned to concentrate on renewal work. Harlem brought in the excellent total of 26. Bedford-Stuyvesant's report was not available for this issue.

Each Sunday, reports City Literature Agent Ike Blake, comrades will revisit all persons who bought Militants on the previous Sunday, and will reach as many others as possible.

Besides New York, branches which will carry on later Militant Sub Weeks include Connecticut, Milwaukee, West Virginia, and probably Detroit, which was frozen out Jan. 25.

Subscriptions: \$1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months.

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Monday, February 2, 1948



TROTSKY



LENIN

"It is hard to believe that the centennial of the Manifesto of the Communist Party is only ten years away! This pamphlet, displaying greater genius than any other in world literature, astounds us even today by its freshness. Its most important sections appear to have been written yesterday. Assuredly, the young authors (Marx was 29, Engels 27) were able to look further into the future than anyone before them, and perhaps than anyone since them."

—Leon Trotsky, Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto, 1937.

Three Labor Traitors

The American labor movement is the strongest in the world. No other working class can surpass its members in militancy, initiative or solidarity. This they have shown on innumerable occasions in great strikes. Properly led, their power is great enough to easily sweep aside the obstructions placed in their way by the capitalist class and to reorganize society on a sane and rational basis.

But that's the catch—they're not properly led. To illustrate just how cowardly, stupid and unreliable the labor leaders are, let's look at just three of them.

On Jan. 22, AFL President William Green appeared before a Senate committee and implied that the workers would forego urgently necessary wage increases if the employers will lengthen the working day by an extra hour, at existing overtime pay rates! This wonderful plan was presented as a cure for inflation.

What a "cure"—to make the workers sweat at their jobs longer, and to pile up still more profits for the capitalists. Why, even the government concedes that it is the workers who are bearing the brunt of the inflation and that rising prices result from the fantastically high profits. And how neatly Green's scheme fits in with the anti-40 hour week propaganda of the NAM. If it doesn't work, Green can always come around next year and suggest that maybe hours should be raised from nine to ten.

At the very same time Green was making his outrageous proposal, Truman was telling the press that the president of General Motors, who had called for ending the 40 hour week as an "inflation curb," was living in the 1890's. What greater condemnation

can there be of a labor leader than the fact that he sounds even more conservative than the White House spokesman for Wall Street?

Or take Philip Murray, the head of the more dynamic CIO. On the same day Green was stooging for the corporations on the economic field, Murray was performing a similar service for them on the political field by committing the CIO to the preservation of the two-party system. When the Wallace candidacy and the anti-labor record of Congress have awakened large numbers of workers to the need to break with both capitalist parties, Murray exerts all his power to keep them tied to the strings of the bi-partisan labor-baiters and warmongers. Nothing frightens this "labor statesman" so much as the prospect of labor candidates running for office on an out-and-out labor program.

Also beneath contempt is the role of Railroad Trainmen President A. F. Whitney. Two years ago he vowed he'd move heaven and earth to defeat Truman for breaking the railroad strike. Now he vows he will move heaven and earth to elect Truman. Last year he promised to spend his union's money to prevent the election of a single congressman who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act. Now he promises to spend his union's money to elect those very same congressmen if their rivals are "deemed to be even more unfriendly to labor."

Is it any wonder that with such leadership the members of this mighty labor movement are bewildered and uncertain about the future? Is there any doubt that in order to make progress they must rid themselves of such leaders as they would a millstone around their neck?

Let's Have the Whole Truth

When the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky took power in Russia, it published the secret treaties and deals between the Czarist regime and the Allied powers. For the first time, the greed, rapacity and duplicity of the imperialists was laid bare with irrefutable documentary evidence.

It would seem that the U.S. State Department has now taken a leaf from the Bolshevik book. But whereas Lenin and Trotsky exposed the secret diplomacy of the Czarist government of their own country, Washington publishes only those documents bearing on the crimes of the government of another country.

The Truman administration has not suddenly become addicted to truth and the practice of open covenants openly arrived at. It merely finds the publication of secret documents exposing Stalin's dealing with Hitler of particular advantage at this time to U.S. imperialism. They are useful as part of the propaganda preparation for the contemplated atomic war against the Soviet Union.

But why does the State Department cull from the more than two million captured

Nazi documents only the few that remind us of Stalin's crimes? Why, for instance, does it not give us the documents relating to the Munich Pact of 1938? Is it a "military secret," perhaps? Or does the State Department fear to shed light on the filthy deals between the Allied imperialists and Hitler?

We'd like to know what Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin really cooked up at Teheran and Yalta. Let Truman—who is so willing to tell damaging truths about another government—make public the minutes of the secret conferences between himself, Attlee and Stalin at Potsdam. The American people—the people of the whole world—are entitled to know the full facts about the secret deals between the Allied imperialists and the Kremlin to divide up the world into "spheres of influence" and to dismember Germany.

Let's have the WHOLE TRUTH about secret diplomacy. Let's have ALL the documents, ALL the secret treaties. And, first of all, those that disclose the dirty connivance, horse-trades and grabs schemed by our own imperialist diplomats and statesmen.

The Brass Hat Conspiracy

The Big Brass of the armed forces are acting as a law unto themselves. They are thrusting their boots into every phase of American life. They have a full-fledged program to take over control of this country and make the American people strut the goose-step to their command.

In their determination to militarize and regiment this country, the generals are conducting an expensive propaganda campaign to put over universal compulsory military training. A House committee, headed by Representative Forest A. Harness, has been uncovering the facts about the huge sums the army is spending to "sell" the UMT program.

Recently this committee questioned Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army. He coolly admitted that the generals are spending the taxpayers' money to put over Universal Military Training and further brazenly informed the Congressmen that he had "no apology" to offer for this. He claimed that it is "perfectly proper" for the army to spend our money as it sees fit, even to running a propaganda campaign to influence Congress on the UMT program.

"The army is the third biggest advertiser in the nation," according to the pamphlet on

"the Militarization of America," sponsored by 25 leading figures, including Albert Einstein and Ray Lyman Wilbur. We are shelling out tens of billions to the militarists. They are using part of it to get Congress to spend still more and hand over still greater power to the brass hats.

The Army is spending money to entertain women's clubs and get their backing for universal militarism. It has invaded the Boy Scouts and girls clubs, the high schools and colleges. Its object is to get its hands on every unformed youth and subject him to the indoctrination and martinet discipline of the military caste through UMT.

The militarists' scheme goes further. They have elaborated plans for a rigid censorship over civilians, to put a military padlock on our lips and our very thoughts. As "Militarization of America" shows, they have a detailed plan for "control of industry and labor." The workers "will be told where they must work and what they must do."

If the reactionary military clique succeeds in its plot to rule this country, the American people will learn first hand what it was like living under Hitler.

The time to prevent this is now. The way to begin is to destroy the conspiracy to put over UMT.

Nazi Documents Disclose Details Of Stalin-Hitler Secret Deals

Next to their violation of the Stalin-Hitler "peace" pact and invasion of the Soviet Union, the dirtiest trick the Nazis pulled on their Kremlin partners was to leave some two million documents lying around for the U.S.-British armies to pick up in Germany.

After concealing the contents of these documents for nearly three years, the U. S. State Department saw fit to make public on Jan. 21 the text of 260 papers of the German Foreign Office, carefully-selected and edited. The texts are contained in the recently issued 357-page book, "Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41."

These contain the Secret Protocols of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and other indisputable documentary confirmation of the sordid deal between the Kremlin and the Nazis to carve up Poland and Eastern Europe and to give Hitler a free hand for war against his imperialist rivals in the West.

Publication of these extremely damaging documents at this time is part of American imperialism's propaganda preparations for war against Russia. They are also intended to divert attention from Wall Street's own world-grabbing designs by focusing the spotlight on the Kremlin bureaucracy's criminal alliance with Hitler.

What the documents confirm in detail are:

- 1. Stalin agreed with Hitler, in advance of the invasion, to jointly carve up Poland.
2. The Secret Protocols included an agreement to divide Europe into "spheres of influence," with the Kremlin to get the Baltic Countries, Finland and Bessarabia.
3. Stalin cooked up a pretext for his invasion of Eastern Poland by agreement with Hitler, who objected to the first proposals of the Kremlin.
4. Part of the secret pact provided for mutual aid of economic and military aid—which Stalin, at least, lived up to.
5. Stalin agreed to suppress any movement hostile to Hitler operating on Russian-occupied territory, in return for a like service from Hitler.
6. Hitler proposed to cut Stalin into a four-power pact, including Japan and Italy, to divide Europe, Asia and Africa into "spheres of influence." Stalin shifted the discussion over to the question of an agreement guaranteeing Russian hegemony in the Balkans and Black Sea area. Hitler gave no answer. From this point on the honeymoon began to blow up.

The Stalin-Hitler pact was initiated by the Kremlin. A memorandum by the State Secretary Weizsacker in the German Foreign Office, dated Berlin, April 17, 1939, reports his conversation with the Russian Ambassador who said "there exists for Russia no reason why she should not live with us on a normal footing. And from normal, the relations might become better and better."

Conversations and negotiations proceeded in an atmosphere of growing cordiality. On August 18, 1939, Reich Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop wired the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union to conclude a pact speedily as "German-Polish relations were becoming more acute from day to day."

The next day, the German Ambassador wired back the text of the proposed "non-aggression pact" to

"Law and Order" in Germany



Mounted police patrol the streets of Essen, Germany after more than 100,000 Ruhr workers went on strike, protesting the severe food shortage now gripping the area. An estimated 200,000 workers in the U. S.-British occupation zone joined the walkout in solidarity with the Ruhr strikers. Later two million workers staged a one-day strike in Bavaria.

Federated Pictures

"strengthen the cause of peace among the nations."

On Aug. 23, 1939, Ribbentrop in Moscow wired his Fuehrer that the remaining hitch was "the demand of the Russians that we recognize the ports of Libau and Windau as within their sphere of influence..."

The signing of a secret protocol on delimitation of mutual spheres of influence in the whole eastern area is contemplated, for which I declared myself ready in principle."

A detailed memorandum describes the jovial get-together of Ribbentrop, Stalin and Molotov to celebrate the final agreement on Aug. 23, 1939. "In the course of the conversation Herr Stalin spontaneously proposed a toast to the Fuehrer, as follows: 'I know how much the German nation loves its Fuehrer; I should therefore like to drink to his health.'"

Hitler's armies invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. On the 9th, Molotov telephoned the German Ambassador Schulenberg to "please convey my congratulations and greetings to the German Reich Government, on the entry of German troops into Warsaw."

"SPEEDY ACTION"

The next day Schulenberg reported that the rapid advance of the German armies had taken the Kremlin "completely by surprise" and the Red Army "required possibly two to three weeks more for their preparations..."

Molotov came "to the political side of the matter and stated that the Soviet Government had intended to take the occasion of the further advance of German troops to declare that Poland was falling apart and that it was necessary for the Soviet Union, in consequence, to come to the aid of the Ukrainians and the White Russians 'threatened' by Germany. This argument was to make the intervention of the Soviet Union plausible to the masses."

After objections from the German Ambassador, "Stalin with the utmost readiness so altered the text that the note now seems satisfactory to us."

On Sept. 25, 1939, Stalin and Molotov called Schulenberg to the

Toronto AFL Calls For Support Of Labor Party

By Paul Kane

TORONTO, Jan. 18—The Ontario Federation of Labor, representing some 150,000 AFL workers, today threw overboard the "old line" Liberal and Conservative parties and laid the basis for support of a labor party in the next provincial election.

This is the first time that a major body in the AFL Trades and Labor Council has disowned the two capitalist parties.

The Sunday session of the second annual convention of this body was a stormy one, taking place in the midst of fantastic price boosts that have roused the entire labor movement.

Delegate after delegate lashed out against the Tory (Conservative) provincial government and the Liberal federal government. E. W. Gardner of the Jewelry Workers Union declared that the Canadian TLC would have to divorce itself from the political line of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

"No one can represent labor except labor," J. W. Buckley, secretary of the National TLC, declared.

BEGIN THE FIGHT

Joe Meslin of the Fur Workers Union declared the "dissipation of our energies in appeals to the capitalist parties, which fall on deaf ears." He said that "The Liberals and Conservatives are not betraying us—they are being loyal to their own class. They represent capital. We represent labor. We must begin the fight to put a workers' and farmers' government into Ottawa."

The political resolution, adopted with only one dissenter, stated that the two old line parties have "consistently followed the dictates of Big Business." It called for support of "only those candidates who have proved by their actions to be worthy of labor's confidence."

The way has now been opened for unofficial support of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, which has 28 Members of Parliament in the Federal House at Ottawa, and which is in power in the province of Saskatchewan.

French Police Jail Trotskyists

The Dec. 31 La Verite, publication of the French Trotskyists, reports that the capitalists have launched a campaign against leading militants, as a result of the setback of the recent strike wave.

"Cases which until now have been buried in the court files are now quickly brought to trial," declares La Verite. "Thus our Comrade Rougier, father of three children, has been sentenced to three months in prison for having fraternized with German workers in uniform."

"Our comrade M. of Paris, father of two children, has been sentenced to three months in prison and 4,000 francs fine for distributing literature of the Trotskyist Youth League. "For sticking up posters denouncing the war against Indo-China, twelve of our comrades are at present under indictment."

"Five of our comrades have been indicted in connection with a poster calling for a general strike. "We are not the only ones to undergo persecution. Dozens and dozens of strikers, accused of 'interference with the right to work' or 'sabotage,' are still in prison."

Imperialists Step Up "Cold War" Urge West Europe Military Bloc

(Continued from Page 1)

war-like actions—direct military measures in Greece and the whole Mediterranean area. In the Balkan peninsula, American arms and military direction are playing the major role in the Greek civil war. American troops, battle-equipped, are in the vicinity prepared to do the fighting too.

The pronouncements of Baruch and Dulles before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the Marshall Plan carry a semi-official weight. Baruch, White House intimate and adviser during two wars, told the Senate hearings on Jan. 19 that the countries of Europe, "as many as are willing," should "band themselves into a political, economic and defense union;" and that "the United States, and such others as will join us, mutually guarantee the nations entering this union against aggression."

He added with significant emphasis: "By guarantee, I mean a firm promise to go to war in joint defense if any of them are attacked." Dulles, Republican foreign policy adviser and participant in seven post-war international conferences, addressed the Senate hearing a day after Baruch. He stated that a condition for effectuating the Marshall Plan program is establishment of "sufficient political unity so that these states (in Western Europe)

will present a solid front to any aggressor."

This "political unity," he said, should have the form of a "regional defense pact" like that fashioned by U. S. imperialism at the inter-American conference in Rio de Janeiro. The "degree of aid" any country would get from the Marshall Plan "should be measured by the degree of cooperation" it gives to the U. S. and its western war bloc.

Just two days later, British Foreign Secretary Bevin proclaimed that the British and French governments had already set into motion plans for a bloc of England, France and the so-called Benelux countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg). "I believe the time is ripe for a consolidation of Western Europe," he said.

U.S. "MISREPRESENTED"

He admitted that "the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) brought all this to a head." He issued fulsome praise for U. S. imperialism, which is supplying the cash to bolster British capitalism. He complained that this wealthy "benefactor" is "misrepresented in propaganda as a sort of Shylock of Wall Street."

Churchill, whom British labor kicked out of the government during the war, rose from his seat in the

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p. m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p. m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p. m.
BOSTON—80 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m., Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MADison 3969. Every afternoon except Sun.
CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARborn 4767. Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.
CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m.
FLINT—215 E. Ninth St. Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve.
LOS ANGELES—Militant Pub. Assn., 316 1/2 W. Pico Blvd. Phone Richmond 4644. Daily, 12-5 p. m.
SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 E. Pacific Room 214.
WATTS—Militant, 1729 E. 97th St. LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11 Sat. 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30 p. m.
MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.
NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room, week nights, 7-10 p. m.
NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.
EAST SIDE—351 E. Houston St. 1st fl.

Dunne Hits Mayor Hospital Scandal

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 22

The guilt for the death of four month old Arthur Jensen, who died in Mayor Humphrey's office Tuesday morning, falls upon the city administration which has not taken steps to replace "the cramped antiquated, outworn General Hospital building," said Vincent Dunne at a public meeting of the Socialist Workers Party held here tonight.

"Efforts of certain public officials to place the blame for this tragedy upon the professional staff of General Hospital are completely unfair," Dunne told the audience. "The doctors and nurses at General Hospital, together with their aides, are a fine job, but almost every conceivable obstacle is placed in the way," he went on to say.

Dunne pointed out that the organized labor movement of Minneapolis has been demanding a new General Hospital for more than ten years. He charged that "labor-endorsed" Mayor Humphrey has failed to carry on his campaign pledge to build this much-needed new General Hospital. "In this present emergency Mayor Humphrey has not even referred to the need for a new and enlarged General Hospital," Dunne stated.

V. R. Dunne, National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was a candidate for mayor in last spring's city election. He is a former organizer of General Drivers Local 544.

CIO Heads Back 2-Party System

(Continued from Page 1)

not a very aggressive or principled opposition.

They did not come in with an independent political course forming its own party. In fact they did not even come in with a resolution for the CIO to endorse the Wallace movement.

The Stalinists were on the defensive throughout the discussion. The most they asked for was the "autonomous right" of the individual internationalists to support a candidate of their choice. All the while the opportunity to endorse the Wallace movement, over which the union movement has no control in the same way they support Roosevelt in the past.

Fitzgerald of the UE asked for postponement of action on the resolution so that he could consult the UE membership first. Murray said "Bunk!" and reminded the Stalinists that they had voted for the anti-third party resolution in 1944 without consulting their members.

The Stalinists further tried to appease the Murray majority by promising that they and the third party would not oppose Democratic or Republican "progressive" candidates for Congress.

After the meeting, Murray said the Board resolution was not binding on CIO members, although they were "morally obligated" to abide by it.

The CIO Board meeting was followed by a meeting of the national CIO Political Action Committee which praised the Board resolution against a third party. Emil Meda UAW secretary-treasurer who recently declared he was in favor of a Labor Party, did not attend the meeting of the PAC, although he is a member.

By Albert Parker

This year Negro History Week begins Feb. 8. Its purpose is to encourage understanding and study of the history of the Negro people...

What is the real Negro tradition in this country? It is the tradition of long, continuous, never-ending struggle against oppression...

This resistance movement assumed different forms, depending on prevailing conditions—slave insurrections, individual rebellions, escape through the Underground Railroad...

Balconies, Bathtubs and Change

By John F. Petrone

The Militant is on the ball when it comes to covering Truman's strikebreaking, encouragement of high prices, responsibility for which hunts, fomenting of war, etc.

First, there is the question of Truman's whole method. To quote Harold L. Ickes: "With all the hush-hush of the Pendergast Gang getting ready to steal an election in St. Louis, President Truman, an honored and dues-paying member, has suddenly announced that a contract has been let for mutilating the south facade of the White House by building thereon a scabrous balcony..."

Second, there is the question of the balcony's cost, which will run to \$15,000. An angry suburbanite matron explodes: "The inconsistency of using money for unnecessary government expenditures while sending Congress a message dwelling on the dangers of inflation!"

Third, where is the \$15,000 coming from? Frederick Muhlenberg (R., Pa.) took the floor in the

House of Representatives and pointed out: "The president has indicated that he will use maintenance and repair funds for a capital improvement. It is just as illegal for him to do this as it would be for any one else to switch funds from the specific purpose for which they were authorized to another purpose."

House of Representatives and pointed out: "The president has indicated that he will use maintenance and repair funds for a capital improvement. It is just as illegal for him to do this as it would be for any one else to switch funds from the specific purpose for which they were authorized to another purpose."

There are valuable lessons to be learned from this. Whatever progress the Negro people made in the past was due, in the first place, to their own organized efforts; whatever progress they make in the future will be due to the same. Equality will not be handed to them on a silver platter; they have to fight for it themselves.

The final victory against Jim Crow cannot be won by the Negro people alone. But it cannot be won at all unless the Negro people show the same readiness to fight and die for freedom that their forefathers did. The harder they fight, the sooner they will receive the necessary support and reinforcements from the organized labor movement.

Balconies, Bathtubs and Change

By John F. Petrone

House of Representatives and pointed out: "The president has indicated that he will use maintenance and repair funds for a capital improvement. It is just as illegal for him to do this as it would be for any one else to switch funds from the specific purpose for which they were authorized to another purpose."

Fourth, and most frequently heard, is the complaint that Truman's procedure in this matter constitutes a violation of "good taste, propriety and historical feeling" because no temporary tenant of the White House has the right to change the structural appearance of this "national shrine."

Truman apparently can endure charges of secret maneuvering, arrogance, promotion of inflation, misuse of funds, etc. But the charge that he doesn't have an "historical feeling" got under his skin, and he hotly defended himself against it at a press conference. As a matter of fact, he said, historic precedent is on his side. Those who are condemning him are the same kind of people who wanted to lynch the wife of President Fillmore when she installed the first bathtub in the White House way back in the 1850's.

Well, there you have the facts and you are free to draw your own conclusions. Personally, I think we can all agree with one aspect of Truman's argument: It's about time some changes were made in the White House. And I am not talking about architecture.

Notes from the News

GI STUDENTS HARD HIT—The average married veteran spends almost twice as much to stay in college as is allotted to him under the GI Bill of Rights, while the average single student has to spend 65% more than his allotment, according to a survey by the American Council on Education. Both Truman and the GOP are opposed to raising these allotments.

TRUST BUSTING—In 1890 the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed with criminal provisions for violators. To date not one person in the U. S. has been put in jail for violations, whether there was a Democratic or Republican Attorney General in office.

WALLACE WINS IN NEGRO POLL—In the first two weeks of a presidential straw vote being taken by the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Negro paper, Wallace got 84% of the votes, with Taft, Truman and Dewey dividing the remainder.

\$30,000,000 CAMPAIGN—The International Typographical Union will raise as much as 30 million dollars if necessary, to protect gains won in the past 132 years, declared James J. O'Connor, President of the Typographical Union in Washington, D. C.

LONGEST STRIKE—America's longest strike of AFL lumbermen against eight big timber companies in the redwood forests of northern California has entered the third year. The strikers' ranks remain solid.

REAL ESTATE JIM CROWERS—The National

Association of Real Estate Board lumps together bootleggers, gangsters, "madams" and Negroes as "blights" whom "no reputable broker" should introduce into a reputable neighborhood. Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington Bureau told a congressional committee.

ARMY COSTS UP—Col. Phillip Smith, Army Purchasing officer told a Senate Banking Committee that a 30% price increase for supplies during the last nine months cost the army an additional 250 million dollars.

MURDER IN COLD BLOOD—Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho requested Secretary of State Marshall to investigate the case of Antonios Ambatiello, general secretary of the Greek maritime unions, who is facing trial by a Greek military court on charges of organizing deportees against the Greek government. Taylor's letter states that "accurate correspondents have reported that trade union leaders are being subjected to trial before kangaroo courts, and in effect, are being murdered in cold blood."

TEXTILE PURGE—The Executive Council of the CIO Textile Workers Union suspended the president and another officer of Local 75 of Paterson, N. J., for "promoting the interests of the Communist Party." The right-wing Textile Union leaders seem determined to smother all opposition in preparation for the union's national convention scheduled at Atlantic City on April 27.

RUSSIA'S 5-YEAR PLAN—Moscow reports that the first two years of the fourth 5-year plan have been fulfilled 100%.

Bourbon Campaign to Keep Jim Crow in Education

By J. R. Johnson

Persecution of the Negro people is the most irrational, the most unjustifiable, the most flagrantly undemocratic feature of American life. As the social crisis deepens Negro issues rise up to confuse, confound and expose the pretensions of the traditional social and political groupings in the country.

Faced with the case of Ada Lois Sipuel, the Supreme Court made a dramatic gesture of ordering the State of Oklahoma to produce a law school for this Negro girl or admit her into the regular school. This school has hitherto admitted only white students and had refused her application two years ago. The State of Oklahoma had only a few days to admit her or provide the monstrosity of a law faculty for one student.

The apparent decisiveness of the court ruling created a great stir in

the press. The liberals, as is customary with them, hailed this as a great victory for the democratic process. They saw visions of the achievement of Negro equality by process of law. They were somewhat disturbed by the fact that the Supreme Court carefully avoided pronouncing on the principle of segregation. But they comforted themselves with the fact that one of the justices had declared that a law school of one student was not a law school.

Now Oklahoma state officials have proceeded to set up a separate Negro "law school" with a 3-man faculty.

The Southern persecutors of the Negro people are already embarked on a vast scheme for circumventing the Supreme Court, taking advantage of its evasions, and continuing their persecution of the Negro people. Aware of the growing pressure for higher education among the Negroes, and conscious of the absurdity and expense of providing whole faculties for half a dozen

students in each state, the Southerners now propose to open regional schools for Negro higher education, supported by groups of Southern states. As usual they are aided and abetted by powerful interests in the North.

In the Saturday Evening Post of Jan. 24, the scheme is launched in a nauseating article, full of superficial gestures towards Negro equality. The death of Negro doctors is deplored and a solution is proposed. Meharry Medical College is one of the two grade A higher medical schools in the country (Howard University is the other). Together they have turned out about 85% of all Negro doctors now practicing. Meharry is an 8 million dollar institution, with a yearly budget of a million dollars. It is run mainly by whites.

"REALISTIC" SEGREGATION Now Meharry is—or claims that it is—faced with bankruptcy. Last fall the Southern Governors con-

ference proposed to take over Meharry, finance it by fixed contributions from all Southern states who wish to send Negro students there, and expand its facilities. The Saturday Evening Post article takes a "realistic" view. Of course, segregation is deplorable. But inasmuch as there is no immediate probability of ending educational segregation in the South the proposal seems to the Post a good one.

It is obvious that the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the Oklahoma law school will spur this plan, not only in medicine, but in every other field. By evading the issue of segregation the Supreme Court encourages the movement toward regional schools.

The Southern Governors do not rely only on propaganda. They employ bribery and corruption as well. Already Meharry has students whose fees are paid by the states. These can be sure will be increased. But there is an even bigger bait. Negro professors, doctors and scientists will be dangled before

them the prospect of being placed in charge of a large institution like Meharry with all the prerequisites and prestige such posts carry. There is a notorious vested Negro interest in such segregation projects.

It is notorious, also, that segregation always results in discrimination and lower standards than those prevailing in similar institutions for whites. But already the Negro capitalists are praising the prospects of the project, under the banner of realism. No doubt if the scheme goes through they will receive their reward. And Jim Crow will flourish more vigorously than ever.

The sentiment of many Negroes is overwhelmingly against such projects. A few benefit. But that is nothing compared to the enrichment of the Southern system. The decision on the Oklahoma case with its evasion of the segregation issue will only spur on the Southern governors. The short-sighted celebration of the decision as a great milestone in the progress of democracy merely shows how super-

THE MILITANT

Flint UAW Leader Gives Radio Talk on Sliding Scale of Wages

Fight Not Over

UAW Conference Urges Formation Of Labor Party

CLEVELAND, Jan. 24—Region 2 of the CIO United Auto Workers, embracing eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, held its regional conference here last weekend.

Richard Reisinger, regional director and one of the four anti-Reuther members of the International Executive Board, presented to the conference the wage program of a 25-cent hourly wage and 5 cents additional for health and sick benefits, adopted the week before by the Board. Reisinger explained that this was not a "bargaining figure" and that no local would be permitted to undercut the national demands without specific sanction from the international.

This wage program was endorsed by the conference. The only opposition voiced came from the delegation of White Motor Local 32 in Cleveland, which constitutes the leadership of the Reuther-ACTU bloc in this region. One White Motor delegate asked, "What are we to do if the rank and file won't support such stiff demands?" But this attitude received no support.

Paul Russo, formerly assistant director of the Illinois-Wisconsin region and now on the UAW-PAC staff, presented a one-hour political action report to the conference. In the discussion on the report, Anthony J. Pire, president of Cleveland Local 337, took issue with Russo. He called attention to Russo's statement that 25 million workers didn't vote in the last election, and that it was the union's job to get these workers to the ballot box. Pire stated it was his opinion that the PAC has the cart before the horse. That if you want to get the workers to the ballot box, you have got to give them something to go to the ballot box for.

Pire then presented a resolution that had been passed by a previous regional conference in the summer of 1946 calling for a united labor conference for the purpose of launching an independent Labor Party.

Pire's remarks were followed by two hours of lively discussion. In the course of the discussion, Reisinger took the floor and stated that he favored the resolution but proposed an amendment that this be done after the 1948 elections. The resolution was finally passed in this amended form.

What Fight in Korea Is All About

"In Moscow in December of 1945 the Big Three decided on a plan for Korean independence. A joint Russian-American commission was to help set up a provisional Korean government that would function during a five-year trusteeship; then Korea would be free. The Russian-American commission held a total of 61 meetings over 19 months. It got nowhere."

"Disagreements turned on the kind of political organization to be consulted in forming the provisional government. But basically the Russians wanted to form a government oriented toward Moscow; the United States wanted a Korea in which anti-Communist forces would predominate." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 18)



Seated in the admission office of the University of Oklahoma Law School is Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, who went to the U. S. Supreme Court when she was denied admission because of her race. The Court refused to ban segregation, and now Oklahoma officials have set up a separate Negro "law school." Mrs. Fisher refuses to have anything to do with this Jim Crow set-up. Looking on are J. E. Fellows (left), University official, and her lawyers, D. H. Williams and Thurgood Marshall. Federated Pictures

GM Victimizes Tucker—Veteran Union Militant

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Jan. 20—News has just been released that the GM umpire ruled against Ray Tucker, a member of Fisher Body Local 581, UAW-CIO. This case graphically illustrates the rotten state of bargaining in 100 General Motors plants throughout the country. Four months ago, Ray was fired for taking his overalls off three minutes before the whistle blew. For ten years this has been a common practice among maintenance men in the Fisher Body plant.

The shop rules of the corporation explicitly state, "Making preparations to leave work (such as washing up or changing clothes) before the signal is sounded for lunch period or at the end of the shift — REPRIMAND TO ONE WEEK."

After four months of bargaining, the so-called impartial umpire has rendered his decision. Not a reprimand, not a week off — but a permanent release!

Ray Tucker has been in the forefront of every major fight of the UAW, from the 1937 GM strike to the 1939 Tool-and-Die strike, the fight against the no-strike pledge, the 1945-46 GM strike, and the latest struggle to keep democracy alive in the UAW.

He has held, at one time or another, every post of importance in his local. He took up the battle in his local when the corporation successfully fired 80 workers and leaders in 1939. Since then he has been on the top bargaining committee for four years, chairman of the shop committee for two years, vice-president of the local in 1944. He has served his local as a delegate to every UAW convention from 1939 except one.

At the last UAW convention, he was appointed to the all important Resolutions Committee where he

fought against the Taft-Hartley compliance resolution of Reuther, and was one of two to favor the resolution for a Labor Party.

Tucker was convinced there wasn't the slightest possibility that he would lose his case. He had bargained grievances like this a thousand times. The shop rules were explicit — "reprimand to one week."

It may never be known what happened after Tucker left the chambers of the "impartial umpire." But auto workers everywhere will know that one more militant has been framed by a stinking contract, rammed down the GM workers' throats by Walter P. Reuther.

Detroit CIO Debates Politics

DETROIT, Jan. 20 — The Greater Detroit and Wayne County CIO Industrial Union Council held a discussion at the last meeting on the coming presidential election. From the executive board came a recommendation that endorsement of any candidate be delayed. The board gave as its reason that this delaying tactic would be favorably received by Democrats and Republicans. In reality, both the Truman and Wallace supporters are biding their time to better prepare their forces.

Two amendments were offered from the floor. One called for a conference of CIO, AFL, and other unions before the end of February. The other proposed that steps be taken to organize a genuine Labor Party which will nominate a popular labor leader for the presidency.

The Stalinists succeeded in defeating both these propositions. They ridiculed the Labor Party proposal, while Wallace's program, domestic and foreign, received their uncritical support.

We are reprinting a section of the important speech delivered by Jack Palmer, president of the Flint Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, over station WFDF on Jan. 20, on the union's wage program in 1948.

Fellow workers and friends of the radio audience: Four weeks ago the five General Motors union presidents in Flint adopted a wage program to answer the curse of inflation. It consisted of a demand for a 25-cent wage increase per hour and a sliding scale cost-of-living adjustment clause in our contract.

You and I have seen this proposal sweep through this great auto union like a prairie fire. Locals in Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, Briggs and Budds went on record backing us. In all, leaders of 250,000 workers have supported our demands.

Our proposal for a 25-cent wage increase would bring our wages on a par with the increase in prices that has taken place since our last wage increase in May, 1947. But we understand what inflation means. According to the Government, it is freely predicted that prices will soar another 10 to 20% in the next three to six months. Thus, this price increase would wipe out the wage demand just as it devoured the previous one. To protect THIS wage increase, we requested of our union officials to fortify the 25-cent-an-hour proposal with the sliding scale of wage clause.

Many of you have heard of this clause for the first time. It is not new. It was tried after the last war with great success by the AFL. Many unions use it today. The most notable example is the Sinclair oil workers of the CIO.

Briefly this is how the clause works: It is agreed between the corporation and the union that wages will be examined every 3 months by both parties. If the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor declares that prices have risen 5%, wages automatically go up 5%. If prices climb 10%—wages automatically, with no ifs, ands, or buts, go up with prices 10%—and so on.

ELIMINATES NEED OF STRIKE THREAT

You can readily see the advantages of this clause. It eliminates the need of threatening strike action each time prices go beyond our buying power.

Many of you will say this is good—but what will happen when prices come down?

When this clause is negotiated, as is the case with all unions that have this agreement in their contracts, it is agreed with the corporations that a certain base minimum figure is set. Thus, wages can rise to \$1.75, \$2, or \$2.50 an hour—but they cannot go below the wage figure of \$1.75 if that is the minimum figure agreed to.

ANSWERS PROBLEMS OF INFLATION

We believe that these two wage proposals answer the many problems of inflation. Chevrolet local overwhelmingly supported this at its last membership meeting—the largest since the last strike.

Saturday I attended the national General Motors Conference of the UAW, representing our local union. The delegates listened very carefully to the wage and contract demands of the International President of the United Automobile Workers, Walter Reuther.

During the past week you have read a great deal about the pension plan. I have worked for General Motors for 19 years. All of us in our old age look forward to protection from insecurity and other hardships that result when we are unable to work because we find our youth has slipped away on the speeded up production lines. I don't know of an auto worker who doesn't want old age security.

The attempt on the part of some people to confuse the problem of inflation with the pension plan is ill-founded and displays a sad lack of respect for the intelligence of the auto workers. We want an adequate pension plan. We intend to get one for our members.

At the conference Brother Reuther stated that prices in the terms of wages, since the end of OPA until today, have risen 25.1 cents per hour. But he only asks for 15 cents an hour!

In effect, Brother Reuther is making US pay for the pension plan. He does this by knocking ten cents off the wage proposal! Before negotiations have begun, we have already lost ten cents! But let us continue to examine the rest of the program.

NO PROVISIONS AGAINST INFLATION

Let us grant that we get the 15 cents. The government predicts that prices will soar 10 to 20% in the next six months. We enter the next period ten cents BEHIND prices—and within six months find ourselves 30 cents in arrears—with no provisions made against further inflation!

Brother Reuther claims to protect us in our old age—but he makes no provision to protect our children in their youth by giving us the sliding scale of wages so that we can buy milk, butter and meat for our growing families.

Brother Reuther's complaint against the sliding scale of wages—and he had only one—was that this clause made no provisions for improving our wage scale over and above prices.

This sounds like a mighty poor argument when he can only propose a 15 cents wage increase while he states we need 25 cents to close the gap with prices.

On the contrary, the sliding scale of wage clause in no way prevents us from improving our contract. All it does is keep wages from lagging constantly BEHIND prices.

The government reports that Big Business made this last year 17 billion dollars in profits after all taxes were deducted. This, compared with 12 billion dollars in 1946. You can see that only the wage earner suffered during this past period of inflation—and only he will suffer in the coming period.

CORPORATIONS CAN AFFORD TO PAY

These huge stockpiles of profits indicate that the corporations have price-gouged the American people into sub-standard conditions. More than that, it proves beyond any question of doubt that the corporations can afford to pay a 25-cent wage increase fortified by the sliding scale cost-of-living adjustment clause, plus a pension and health program.

There is no excuse and no justification for our union to ask for less. Why should the auto worker continually foot the bill of inflation? We believe it is high time the auto corporations begin to carry the load. This much we can say—THEY can afford it. WE can't.

The conference decided to carry on negotiations in Chrysler and GM. If Brother Reuther is serious in his demand for a wage increase, a pension plan and a health and welfare fund, it seems to me that he would recommend that the negotiations be carried out on an industry-wide basis.

THE FULL POWER OF THE UNION

We do not want our union to make the grave mistake of negotiating with one corporation—and permitting them to provoke a strike for another four months. Industry-wide bargaining brings the full power of our union to bear on negotiations. In this way we can bring about a single contract termination date for ALL companies in the auto industry.

More than that, I am absolutely sure that our members would like to see the steel workers, electrical workers, and the auto workers work out an over-all policy. In that way unity would be lifted from the realm of words and would be made a genuine reality.

The corporations, finding such concentrated power against them, wouldn't dare—let me repeat—they wouldn't DARE to drag out a strike for four months.

After careful study of the 15-cents an hour wage request, it is my duty as your elected officer to recommend the following:

In the latter part of February there will be another General Motors national conference. At this time I propose that we accept the demands made on the company for an adequate pension and health plan—but that our membership reject the 15-cents wage proposal as being totally insufficient. reject it as grossly unfair to the auto worker, a demand that in no way answers inflation, a demand that makes the auto worker pay for the pension plan out of his own pocket when he can ill afford it.

I further recommend that we request in the name of our 12,000 members in Chevrolet that the wage demand be increased to 25-cents an hour across the board, and that it be fortified by the sliding scale of wage adjustment clause.