

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GM CONTRACT

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THE MILITANT

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AUTO PAY BOOSTS REOPEN WAGE FIGHT

Farrell Dobbs' Talk Over ABC Radio Network

The following is the text of the speech on "Capital and Labor in 1948" delivered by Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate, over the ABC network on May 29.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY GEORGE CLARKE, SWP CAMPAIGN MANAGER:

The speaker this afternoon is eminently qualified to deal with the topic under discussion which involves the problems of the trade union movement today.

Farrell Dobbs was one of the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers strikes in 1934 and Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 544 of that city. Subsequently he directed an organizing drive which brought 200,000 motor transport workers into the union. During the recent war Farrell Dobbs was railroaded to prison for his defense of democratic unionism and for his opposition to the imperialist war. In recent years he has been editor of The Militant, weekly newspaper of the American Trotskyists.



FARRELL DOBBS

Copies of the speech this afternoon can be obtained by writing to the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, New York.

It is my privilege now to introduce Farrell Dobbs.

FARRELL DOBBS: The unceasing war between labor and capital is the outstanding issue of this election campaign. This is well understood by the rich, and they determine their politics accordingly. It is not fully understood by the great mass of the working people. Yet this conflict of capital and labor has been greatly intensified during the past year.

The employing class, aided and abetted at every turn by the government at Washington, has been conducting a furious offensive against the workers. Their object is to beat down living standards, and make the workers pay for the Third World War. They aim to break up the trade unions and impose upon the people of this country a military and police dictatorship.

WORKERS HAVE SUFFERED DEFEATS

At the very start of our analysis we must begin with incontrovertible facts. The anti-labor offensive of the employers and the government has scored numerous successes during the past year or so. Due to the false policy of the union leadership the workers have suffered a number of serious defeats on the political as well as on the economic field. The danger of still greater defeats and even catastrophes for the workers of America is inherent in the present drift of things.

Let us review in brief the price that the workers have already paid in the last year or so for tolerating the misleadership of the present labor officialdom and the false policy that is imposed upon the unions.

Labor's purchasing power has been driven down 15% since V-J Day. At the same time corporation profits have soared to unprecedented billions of dollars.

Concessions to the unions are bitterly resisted. The steel trust rewarded the no-strike pledge of Philip Murray, president of the Steel Workers Union, with a cynical refusal to grant any cost-of-living wage increases whatever. Henry Ford II has even had the effrontery to demand that the Ford workers take a wage cut.

CONGRESS SERVES WALL STREET

Today Congress works directly from the blueprint laid out by the National Association of Manufacturers. Price controls were obediently smashed and taxes reduced for the rich when the NAM cracked the whip. With the corporation heads dictating policy, the Washington government enacted the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, a dagger aimed at the very heart of the trade union movement.

The Taft-Hartley Act fosters company unions, legalizes scabbing, sanctions the firing of union members and restores government by injunction. It restricts freedom of speech and freedom of press, entangles the unions in a maze of red tape and proscribes political activity by the unions.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, the National Labor Relations Board operates openly as an agent of the employers, as it did when it obtained anti-labor injunctions against the Typographical Union.

The Democratic and Republican politicians in the state capitals have not lagged behind their Washington cousins. Wide-

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Bigart Links U. S. Mission Head to Greek Executions

Correspondent Gives The Lie to Griswold

Homer Bigart, Greek correspondent for the conservative N.Y. Herald Tribune, has refused to be intimidated by the attacks on him by the Greek Government and Dwight Griswold, director of the American mission in Greece.

As a result of pressure from Greek authorities and the U.S. State Department, Bigart was recently transferred from Greece to Yugoslavia. Bigart's unpopularity in official circles was caused by his honest reporting of the mass executions and government corruption which mark the American dominated regime in Greece.

Dwight Griswold, top strategist of the civil war in Greece, personally wrote a long letter to Bigart's employer, the Herald Tribune, charging that the correspondent was giving a false picture. On May 30, the paper carried a reply from Bigart completely refuting Griswold and pointing the finger of accusation at him for the recent mass executions in Athens.

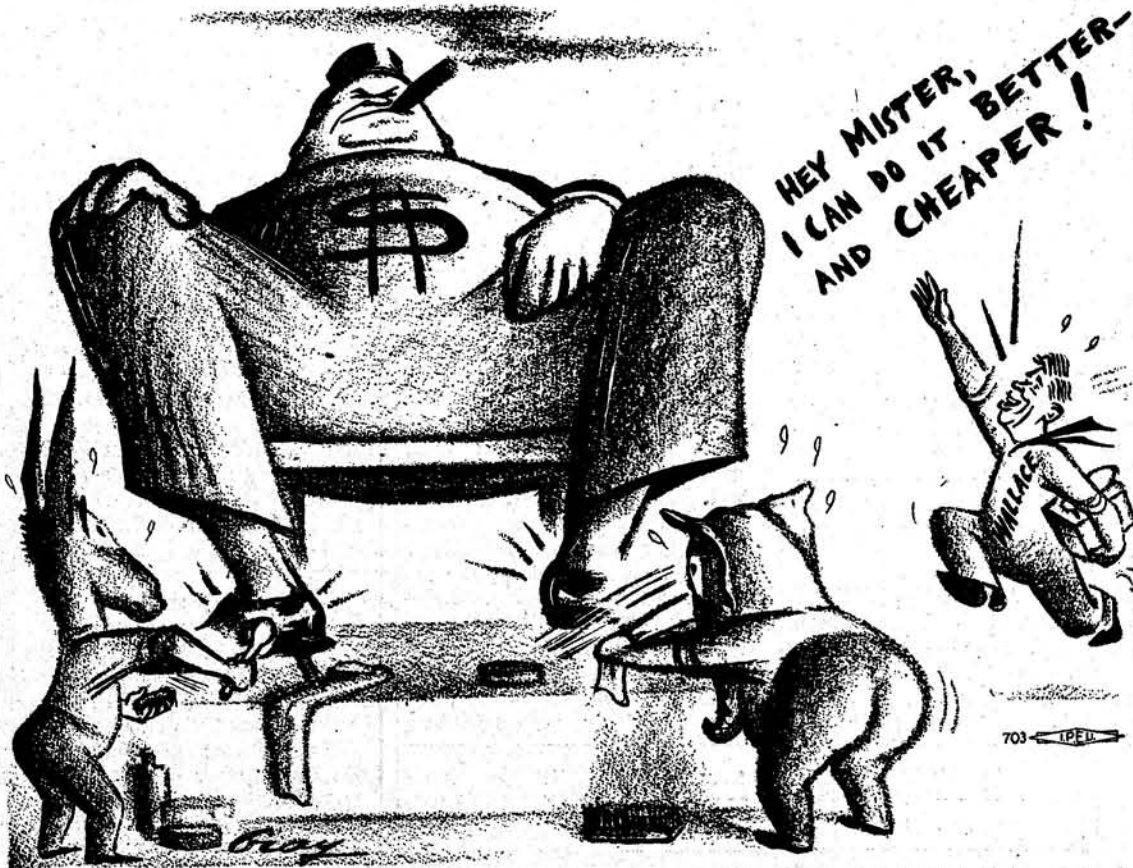
One of Griswold's hangers-on in Athens is Rentis, the Minister of Justice. Bigart states that a single word from Griswold would have stopped the mass executions. But Griswold never gave that word and the firing squads are still working overtime.

Griswold brazenly claims that freedom of the press exists in Greece. Bigart writes: "He knows very well what I think of his freedom of the press statement. You either have it or you don't and in Athens today all papers of the left have been closed by government order except Machi." And even the editors of Machi have been arrested for mildly criticizing the government.

Bigart tells of the smear campaign against correspondents who insist upon writing true reports instead of accepting the official news handouts. Bigart's Greek assistant was framed on an intoxication charge while Bigart was still on the scene. After he had been transferred out of Greece his assistant was arrested for "espionage."

According to Bigart, who is now in Yugoslavia, there is less terror there than in American-controlled Greece.

Bigart was a friend of George Polk who was murdered by Greek reactionaries because of his unflattering reports about the Greek regime.



NEWS ITEM — "I look on myself as the best friend capitalism has in the United States today." — Henry A. Wallace, Portland, Oregon, May 24, 1948.

Mounting Protest Delays Mundt 'Police-State' Bill

Opponents of the Mundt police-state Bill testified last week before a hostile Senate Committee whose intention was to rush the measure to a vote. The Senate Judiciary Committee

hastily adjourned the hearings with only a small fraction of those wishing to speak against the measure heard.

The battle did not end with the close of hearings. Behind the scenes powerful reactionary forces were pressuring Senators to put the bill on the statute books before Congress adjourns June 19. Opponents of the bill, which would violate all the political freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, organized a March on Washington of about 5,000 people. These picketed the White House demanding that Truman veto the Mundt Bill in the event it passes the Senate.

Leading the fight against the bill in the heated Committee hearings were spokesmen for the Communist (Stalinist) Party and the Wallace movement. It appears that the strategy of the Senate Committee was to give preference in the hearings to spokesmen of these movements, in order to create a popular impression that these were the only important opponents of the repressive measure.

William Z. Foster, head of the American Stalinists, told the red-baiting committee that his organization would defy the bill,

if passed, by refusing to register. The Senate Committee attempted to turn the hearings into a hysteria against the Stalinists by demanding to know whether they would support American imperialism in a war against Russia.

ROBESON TESTIFIES

Paul Robeson was asked whether he belonged to the Communist Party. Refusal to answer this question "yes" or "no" resulted in the convictions of 19 Hollywood writers for contempt of the House. Robeson stated he preferred going to jail rather than answering that question which violated his secrecy of the ballot box.

Henry Wallace, presidential candidate of the Third Party, told the Senators that his party would refuse to register under the proposed law.

Among other spokesmen against the police state bill were Oswald Franke, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, and Norman Thomas, Socialist Party Candidate for President. The Senators and the newspapers continued their tactic of using Norman Thomas as a counterweight to the Stalinists and Wallaceites. Thomas denounced the Stalinists at great length. He opposed the passage of the Mundt Bill, he stated, not only because of its violation of civil liberties but also because it would strengthen the Stalinists by making them martyrs.

WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION

Spokesmen for the National Lawyers Guild, the National Farmers Union and Lewis G. Hines of the AFL also managed to get the stand to oppose the bill.

The huge number of anti-Mundt Bill witnesses who have applied to testify before the committee has shown the Senators that there is widespread opposition to the measure. Because of this, the politicians are wavering on the next step. That is why it is doubly important that the labor movement cast its decisive weight into the balance.

If the powerful international unions of the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independents tell the Senate Committee in no uncertain terms that they insist upon the hearings being continued till their spokesmen can testify, there is very good chance that the attempt to steamroller the police state bill at this session will be stopped.

Results Show What United Action Could Have Achieved

By Art Preis

Granting of limited wage increases by General Motors and Chrysler Corporation, two of the "Big Three" in the key auto industry, appears to have loosened the log-jam of Big Business opposition to any "third-round" pay boosts.

Capitalist Press "Hesitant" About GM Sliding Scale

The capitalist press, reflecting the general attitude of the large corporations, is expressing uncertainty and uneasiness about the cost-of-living escalator contract signed by General Motors.

John W. Love, business columnist for a number of newspapers, says that reaction among Detroit manufacturers "is described as a 'thundering surprise.' Amongst employers it is said to be 'bewildering' and 'embarrassing.'"

BOOST WAGES

Joseph A. Loftus, Washington correspondent of the N.Y. Times, points out that the chief fear of the industrialists is that the sliding scale principle will boost wages enormously in a period of inflation.

"For example, suppose the foreign aid and defense programs were expanded and the supply of consumer goods were reduced substantially. The merchandise shortage would result in high prices, with wages trying to maintain the same pace."

The Scripps-Howard labor columnist, Fred W. Perkins, tells of the "hesitancy" of government officials to support the sliding scale of wages principle because "they say the plan could encourage inflation. However, it might work the other way if it would

Letters to Farrell Dobbs from ABC Radio Audience

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induce big employers to cut prices in order to avoid paying higher wages."

Observe the contradictions. Some say "inflation" will result from wages following the rise in prices, as the escalator clause provides. Others warn that if prices rise, as they must, in a period of war-preparation inflation, workers will get big pay boosts.

Summing up industry reaction, a General Electric official complained that GM's action was "confusing to the remainder of the industry."

Three days after General Motors granted an 11 cents an hour raise with a sliding scale cost-of-living contract, Chrysler bowed to the 17-day strike of its 75,000 workers, who spearheaded the wage drive of the CIO United Auto Workers. Chrysler agreed to a flat 13-cent raise and the Chrysler contract provides for reopening wage negotiations in a year.

Hard on the heels of the GM and Chrysler settlements, leading corporations in the electrical equipment industry have taken steps to reopen negotiations with the CIO United Electrical Workers.

GE BACKS DOWN

General Electric, which had been the first major corporation to lay down the dictum of "no wage increases," reopened "exploratory" wage talks with the UE on May 28.

Westinghouse Electric, which for months has refused to make the UE any offer, on June 1 tossed out the first crumb in the form of a proposal for a security and welfare program that the company said would be equivalent to three to six cents an hour more in eventual benefits to the workers.

The General Motors Electrical Division, which employs 40,000 workers under UE contract, has settled with UE for the same contract as in auto. This provides an immediate 11-cent raise, with a cost-of-living escalator clause providing automatic wage increases for future price rises.

On May 31, the four major carpet and rug manufacturers in the East came through with a 13½-cent an hour "package" raise to avert a strike of 20,000 members of the CIO United Textile Workers.

Although the wage raises in GM and Chrysler make up for only about a half of the loss in real wages due to the soaring prices of the past two years, even these meager boosts were the direct result of strike action by the Chrysler workers and the threat of a GM strike that might have spread into an industry-wide shutdown in auto.

In spite of all their tough talk and the backing they are getting from the government, the corporations still have a healthy respect for the fighting powers of the CIO. The retreat of GM and Chrysler graphically demonstrates what great gains were possible for the CIO unions if THEY HAD ALL BEEN UNITED IN MILITANT ACTION. There would have been no defeat of the CIO Packinghouse Workers strike, no smashing of the CIO strike against the cable companies.

The gains in auto, limited as they are, underscore the extent of the treachery of Philip Murray in capitulating to the steel companies without lifting a finger and withdrawing the mighty steel union from the CIO wage fight.

UNIFIED STRATEGY NEEDED Unfortunately, the new GM contract repeats the chief weakness of the steel contract by providing a two-year reopening date. Thus, next year the GM workers will be withdrawn from the firing line when the other auto workers and the steel workers, will face new negotiations. The central lesson of the current CIO wage struggle is the need for uniform contract termination dates for all CIO unions in all major corporations and for a unified strategy of action.

Had all the auto workers hit the auto corporations at one time, had the steel, packinghouse and other CIO unions consolidated their forces with the auto workers into one solid fighting front, the CIO could have scored a clear-cut victory.

"Nationalize the Roads!", Says Rail Labor

By Arthur Burch

Faced with an impasse in their fight for adequate wages and improved working conditions, the leaders of the Engineers, Firemen, and Switchmen's Brotherhoods were forced into demanding "that the government assume the full responsibilities of operation; take control of the revenues of the railroads as it already has taken control of the employees of the railroads; and begin preparations for the transfer of railroad ownership from private interests to the United States of America."

The fraudulence of the present government seizure—a crude strikebreaking maneuver—has become apparent to every rail worker and has caused mounting indignation in their ranks. When the government announced that it did not even have the power to bargain on wages and working conditions, the anger of the railworkers became so pronounced as to induce their leaders to propose this drastic solution.

"COLONELS" ARE OWNERS When the government "seized"

the railroads on May 10, President Truman ordered Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall to operate them. The next day seven new colonels, all leading railroad officials, were added to the U.S. Army to become the seven regional directors of "Operation Railroad." They were Gustav Metzner, president of the New York Central System, Roy B. White, Baltimore and Ohio; R.H. Smith, Norfolk and Western; Ernest E. Norris, Southern Railroad; Ralph Budd, Burlington Railroad; Charles E. Denney, Northern Pacific and J. D. Farrington, Rock Island Railroad.

Everything remains as before. The same people continue to operate the roads, profits continue to mount and the parasitic bondholders and stockholders continue to receive their dividends. The new colonels disdained even to disguise their roles. In an arrogant statement, Colonel Metzner explained that the army headquarters staff would function merely as "observers." "There is no change in the management, employment or in the normal responsibilities of individuals of each system," he added. "We all,

as members of our own companies are still responsible to the directors and stock holders."

It goes without saying that the railroad workers were completely overlooked in the new appointments. Moreover, the workers' demands continued to be ignored. Thus the nature of the government as the agency of the ruling class was brought home to every thinking worker.

HEARD HIT

Railroad workers have been especially hard hit by the recent inflation. Over the past 12 years, they dropped from third place to 25th place on the list of wage rates paid to skilled and semi-skilled workers. The railroad worker has continually lost ground even in comparison with the rest of labor, in the last eight years. At the same time, he is handling over 55% more in revenue traffic than eight years ago.

But the rail owners, with an inside track to the Interstate Commerce Commission, have been making hay. Since June 1946, the companies have been granted no fewer than four freight rate in-

creases, which added the tidy sum of 2,500,000,000 dollars to their revenues, an increase of 43% in less than two years. Their profits rose last year, after interest and all charges, to 480,000,000 dollars, or 64% above 1946. This year their net profit is therefore expected to go up another 50%. Small wonder therefore that rail stocks were in the lead in the recent stock market boom and are at the highest point of the last two years. But this remains the private business of the newly appointed colonels who, in or out of uniform, act on the premise that the workers and public be damned.

GROWING REVOLT

It is these facts that account for the growing revolt of the "rails." The railroad workers are tired of strikebreaking seizures. They know that the roads will soon be handed back to the parasitic owners and the same strikebreaking procedure reenacted when the workers again propose to strike for a wage raise.

If the demand of the rail union leaders for nationalization of the railroads is to be more than a

token gesture, it must be implemented with a concrete program of action. The rail unions must take the lead in insisting that the government confiscate the roads without compensation to the bondholders and stockholders who have already been compensated many times over for their original investments, not to mention the land and right-of-way which they received gratis from an obliging capitalist-dominated government.

The roads must be operated under workers' control. Committees representing the workers of the industry will secure all the experts and specialists needed for the running of the roads.

With the workers' committees at the helm, there would be no need of the present "colonels." The workers could be granted adequate compensation for their labor and the freight and passenger rates could be reduced. And then there would still be ample moneys left over to improve and modernize the roads and equipment.

This is the real basic program to solve the pressing problems of rail labor.

Presidential Aspirants V

Arthur H. Vandenberg

By George Lavan

In the recent movie, The Senator Was Indiscreet, a politician went after the presidential nomination by insisting that he was not a candidate. This has been the strategy of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg. With one strongly worded statement that "I am not a candidate," the presidential chances of the Republican wheelhorse from Michigan have shot upward.

Of course Vandenberg has a "but" at the end of his refusal. This "but" says, in effect, "If the people of this country should draft me against my will, I would have no choice but to do my duty to a grateful citizenry."

Vandenberg is a senior "statesman" of the Republican Party. He has been Republican Senator from Michigan since 1928. Before that he was a Michigan politician.



VANDBENBERG

fore that he was a power in the Republican machine in Michigan as editor and publisher of the Grand Rapids Herald. He devoted himself to editorials telling the Republican politicians of the state what to do and what to say. The paper was quite influential and Vandenberg consequently wielded great power in party politics.

The young editor, later known as an isolationist, hailed American entry into the First World War as "the greatest revival the world has ever known since Christ came upon earth." His hatred for Eugene Debs and other anti-war fighters never left him. After the war he wrote of the Socialist program as "hideous sedition," "imported communism," "which—thank God—had no effect other than to galvanize the implacable fidelity of an overwhelming American majority into grim determination that Columbia should not be shot in the back."

As an influential editor in the Republican stable Vandenberg helped build up Harding. Vandenberg was enough of an insider to know all about the notorious Ohio Gang and Harding. Nevertheless he praised Harding to the skies. Since his job was to befuddle the public with words he became an expert in propaganda ballyhoo. He coined famous slogans such as "Harding is just one of us folks" and "With Harding at the Helm we can sleep nights."

While the public was sleeping

nights Harding's gang of crooks and the Wall Street pirates stole everything in Washington that wasn't nailed down. However Vandenberg didn't bat an eyelash and we soon find him plugging Coolidge so that the American people could "sleep nights when he is in the White House." Vandenberg fought desperately to save the American people from insomnia.

By 1928 Vandenberg found himself well fixed and decided to give up editing and enter the political arena. He sold the stock he had acquired in his newspaper for over half a million dollars and today receives the respect of his fellow Senators due a millionaire.

The state of Michigan has long been controlled lock, stock and barrel by the auto barons. In the '20s their party of preference was the Republican. No one could rise in that party who was in the least critical of Michigan's biggest industry. Vandenberg never gave offense to these industrial overlords. He always played the machine's game. His editorials were always "right"—that is always for Big Business, against unions, for the legal murders of Sacco and Vanzetti, for Prohibition, etc., etc.

With such a record Vandenberg had no difficulty in getting the appointment to the Senate to fill a vacancy created by death in 1928.

OPPORTUNIST
When the depression swept the New Deal into office Vandenberg had enough sense not to appear anti-Roosevelt. In the 1934 election he presented himself to the voters not as an opponent of the New Deal but as a co-operator with it. While the political winds blew in Roosevelt's direction Vandenberg stuck close to the administration. As public disillusionment with the New Deal grew so did his opposition. The record of those days is a tribute to Vandenberg's skill as an opportunist navigator of troubled waters.

In the period of preparation for World War II Vandenberg was an isolationist. It wasn't that he was anti-war but against the war as planned by Roosevelt. He dropped his isolationism during the Finnish-Soviet war and was hot for all possible assistance to Finland. Vandenberg was also sponsor of the Senate resolution ending the Japanese Trade Treaty. Walter Lippmann called this act "the longest step on the road to war" since Wilson's action in 1915.

The isolationist wing of American capitalism was severely defeated during the war. Today very few important isolationists exist. Senator Taft keeps his mouth pretty much shut on foreign affairs. Others have swung over.

On January 10, 1945 Vandenberg became, in the course of one speech, a "statesman." He announced to the Senate that he was no longer an isolationist but was now an interventionist.

Roosevelt promptly made him a delegate to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. Then Vandenberg became a close collaborator of Secretary of State Byrnes. He accompanied Byrnes to international conferences in Moscow, Paris, London and New York. They saw eye to eye about getting tough with the Russians. When the Republicans gained majorities in Congress Vandenberg, as head of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, carried out the bi-partisan support of all the "cold war" acts of Truman. For the record it should be also noted that he voted for the Taft-Hartley Act.

Vandenberg thus emerges as a typical opportunist political wheelhorse, always ready to adapt his "principles" to the needs of Big Business and do their bidding.

New York Social And Dinner

New York's CENTRAL BRANCH will hold a Chinese dinner and social on Saturday evening, June 12, at 116 University Place. Dinner will be served at 7 p.m.

AFL Lockout in Newark



Pickets from a number of AFL building trades unions went into action against the 12 million dollar Ivy Hill housing project in Newark, N. J., after the construction company announced an open shop policy and fired 300 workers. Federated Pictures.

Report on Conference Of British Labor Party

LONDON, May 25.—The 47th Annual Conference of the Labor Party symbolized the growing frustration of the as yet unorganized left wing. Confronted with a block vote of several millions in the hands of a few trade union leaders, rank and file opinion, as shown by a number of resolutions was thwarted at every turn. It was this factor which gave rise to outbursts of hostility to Lawther (Mineworkers) and Deakin (Transport). Between them they controlled almost one and a half million votes and the delegates were very conscious of this every time they took the platform. The general comment from Divisional Party delegates was that something must be done about the trade union block vote, otherwise the Party rank and file haven't a chance.

Conference highlights were the raising of the League of Youth membership age to 25; the carrying of the Co-op resolution against the reduction of food subsidies, and the re-affirmation of the previous year's decision to abolish the Tied Cottage. The raising of the League of Youth membership age provides real scope for developing a strong national youth movement.

The main debates were centered on the National Executive's Statement on Production, the resolution of the Amalgamated Engineering Union on Control in the Nationalized Industries, the resolution of the Transport Union on the reduction of profits, the Mineworkers' pro-government resolution on foreign policy, and the North Salford DLP resolution on Iron and Steel nationalization.

BITTER RESENTMENT

Opening on Production, Herbert Morrison repeated the usual jargon about the need to work harder. This line was bitterly resented by a number of delegates. Waite from Eddisbury made a powerful case against the rising profits in industry and attacked the government for directing its fire against the workers. Speaking for some of the lowest paid sections of industry, he told the Conference that he was constantly asked, "When is the Government going to freeze profits?" A woman delegate from Barking stated that a satisfactory wage packet was the only answer to unofficial strikes. Almost all the contributions criticized the government's plea to the workers for more production. It is clear that a very strong opposition exists to such exhortations.

Deakin (Transport Union) initiated the debate on the reduction of prices and profits. His speech, although formally supporting the motion, was in fact against. This was pointed out in a speech by Mikardo, M.P. He roundly accused Deakin of making a speech that would do justice to the Federation of British Industries. It was left to John Braddock, the



ERNEST BEVAN

delegate from Liverpool Labor Party and Trades Council, to make a really good speech attacking the government's policy. He warned Conference delegates that they would be answerable to the rank and file.

A resolution calling vaguely for the reduction of profits was accepted by the Executive.

On foreign policy, the usual debate between Bevin and Zilliacus, supporting a pro-Stalinist policy, took place. It resulted in a resounding victory for Bevin.

Trotskyists Fined

The verdict in the trial of the French Trotskyists for their campaign against the war in Indo-China was handed down on April 29. Heavy fines of 10,000 and 6,000 francs were imposed on the nine militants originally charged with sedition for their solidarity with the Viet Nam struggle against colonial oppression. A campaign fund to cover the fines has been organized. Viet Nam workers in France have been the first to make generous contributions.

2,300 Signatures Gained in Conn. Election Drive

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., May 31.—A combination of rainy weather and the holiday weekend cut deeply into the results of petition gathering last week. Nevertheless a total of 2,300 signatures were secured after three weeks work.

The response of scores of workers in Waterbury and Bridgeport who are tired of the Jasper Mac Levy type of "socialism" has been very heartening. While the Connecticut organization of the Socialist Workers Party has set a quota of 12,000 signatures by July 4, it legally has until September 2 to file its petitions.



Events on the International Scene

By Paul G. Stevens

THE BRITISH LABOR CONFERENCE

At the Labor party's annual conference in Scarborough last week, the leaders of the British "Socialist" government encountered the greatest pressure from the ranks since they took power three years ago. From scattered reports in the press the following picture emerges:

An attempt, spearheaded by cabinet ministers Sir Stafford Cripps and Herbert Morrison, to scuttle the party's program of continuing nationalization—particularly the steel industry—was beaten back. Premier Attlee himself was constrained to make a "solemn pledge" that the steel industry would be nationalized before the next elections in 1950.

The leaders found it necessary to counter-weigh their expulsion of the pro-Stalinist Member of Parliament, Platt-Mills—as part of their "anti-Communist" campaign—with the expulsion of A. Edwards, a Right Wing M.P. who openly agitated against the party's nationalization program for the steel industry.

On foreign policy, the leadership had to swallow a resolution which "urges the Labor party to cooperate with European socialist parties in taking practical steps to achieve the United Socialist States of Europe in complete military and political independence of the USA and the USSR." But, of course, they indicated through cabinet minister Hugh Dalton that they merely intended to give lip-service to this idea.

Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin had to give repeated assurances that Marshall Plan aid was being accepted "without any political strings attached." A resolution condemning the government's atrocities in Greece was tempered by the party leaders to include condemnation of "reprisals" by the guerrillas.

RDR AND THE SHACHTMANITES

Swinging freely with epithets characteristic of the hysteria which is their style, the Shachtmanites in Labor Action make unfounded accusations against this column for throwing light on their unprincipledness in connection with some French ex-Trotskyists who joined the centrist swamp known as the "Revolutionary Democratic Rally" (RDR).

They say that in our column of April 12, we described the RDR as a "pro-Stalinist movement." This is, of course, a barefaced invention, as any reader can verify for himself. On the contrary, we stressed its "neo-reformist character."

We did call unprincipled the Shachtmanites' embrace of Demazieres, the ex-Trotskyist who for years headed "a right wing group which sought to water down the revolutionary program of the PCI and pursued a line of adaptation to the Stalinist policy dominant in the French mass movement." At the time of writing, however, we were not aware of Demazieres' 180-degree turn from pro-Stalinism to pro-Marshall Plan. Demazieres had never before given an indication

The Scarborough conference was preceded by agitated meetings in local organizations of the Labor party. In Herbert Morrison's own constituency, the leadership had to mobilize national spokesmen to obtain withdrawal by a small voting margin of a resolution previously adopted, which called for the government to accept the discipline and carry out the decisions of the annual party conference. (Among others, the government had failed to carry out a resolution demanding the immediate institution of equal pay for women in government employ—passed at last year's conference over the unanimous opposition of the leadership.)

No less than 15 resolutions were placed before the conference calling for workers control of nationalized industry, the most interesting of these coming from the Salford organization and reading:

"This conference calls upon the Labor government to place on the statute books, during this session, an Act for the Nationalization of the Iron and Steel industry, without compensation, an Act which shall have as its foundation a complete scheme of control by the workers engaged in the industry. In every steel and iron plant, there shall be elected a Committee of Control. The Committee shall include the Management and Technicians' representatives, but only the elected workers shall have voting powers. This Committee shall have power to examine all aspects of the companies' activities, financial and technical and to have access to all books past and present relating to the business of the firm. The principle of Workers Control shall be applied to all industries nationalized past and present."

of a change in attitude toward Stalinism, any more than did Rousset, one of the present leaders of the RDR. Under the pen-name of Leblanc, the latter wrote a brazen defense of Stalinism recently, which Shachtman tried to palm off as the "logical consequence" of SWP policy on this subject. It turned out instead, that their "logic" leads both into the same centrist swamp.

In their embrace of the RDR and Demazieres, the Shachtmanites did not breathe a word about the record of the latter or of Rousset-Leblanc. Only our exposure forced them to say a few words on the subject. Neither do we know then that the Shachtmanites are appeasing Marshall Plan supporters in their own ranks. The French petty bourgeois radicals make a 180-degree turn from pro-Stalinism; their counter-parts in the Shachtmanite ranks make just as sudden a turn toward the Marshall Plan. This provides the "principled" basis, no doubt, for an open alliance between them, which previously was kept well-hidden. If that is principled politics, excuse us!

Dobbs' Talk Over ABC Network

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spread state legislation has been adopted restricting the right to strike and picket, undermining union security in collective bargaining agreements and interfering in the internal affairs of the unions. These repressive laws have been passed not only in agricultural states, but even in major industrial states like Michigan and Pennsylvania.

The Democrats are no less guilty than the Republicans for the bitter governmental attack on the unions. President Truman has dragged the coal miners into court three times in 18 months in strikebreaking assaults against them. Truman has twice used the army to break strikes of the railroad workers. The President has been eagerly assisted by Judge T. Alan Goldsborough. Judge Goldsborough — one man — proclaims, "I am the law." This one man vetoes the will of 600,000 coal miners, tens of thousands of railroad workers, and ultimately, the will of 15 million organized workers.

The Republican governors of Iowa and Minnesota called out the national guard to break up picket lines of the packinghouse workers, fighting in self-defense against the greedy meat trust. New York City's Democratic mayor, William O'Dwyer, sent his cops into Wall Street to club the striking AFL financial employes away from the doors of the stock exchange.

Strikebreaking is the one field in which government monopoly is replacing "free enterprise." The bi-partisan coalition of Democratic and Republican politicians are in the strikebreaking business up to their necks.

What are the official labor leaders doing about it? Instead of mobilizing the workers for defensive battle, they have retreated before the corporations and the government. They have tried to buy friendliness in the circles of wealth and state power by so-called "labor statesmanship."

WALL STREET'S CRIMES

CIO and AFL officials alike eagerly support the Marshall Plan. Both unions have sent representatives abroad, to sell the program of Wall Street imperialism. They have stood as apologists for the bloodthirsty monarchist government in Greece — a Government which decreed the death penalty for strikers.

Two weeks ago, Philip Murray rammed through the convention of the CIO steel workers' union a resolution empowering Murray to decide union policy on peacetime military conscription. This undemocratic procedure is nothing but prep-

aration to capitulate to brass hat demands for the Prussianization of American youth.

When the union rank and file tried to mobilize last year to block passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the "labor statesmen" sabotaged the struggle. Then they capitulated to the Slave Labor Law by rushing to sign the "yellow dog" affidavits.

The top union officials, servile and cowardly before the enemies of labor, are very tough against the militant union members who want to fight back against the union-busters. Government-inspired red-baiting is today running wild in the unions, led and encouraged by the top officials. Democracy in the unions is under attack because the leaders are acting against the interests of the rank and file. They dare not permit freedom of discussion and criticism.

PACKINGHOUSE DEFEAT: A WARNING

The defeat of the packinghouse workers' strike is an ominous warning that the union officialdom is following a fatal course. It is a crime against all organized labor that the packinghouse workers were left isolated and unaided, while the meat trust starved them out, and the courts, police and national guard broke up their picket lines.

This grim lesson has not caused the union officials to change their course. On the contrary, they cling tighter than ever to the skirts of the capitalist politicians. They strive desperately to breathe new life into the Democratic Party, while they cynically tell workers who want to build an independent labor party: "Now is not the time."

Thanks to the spineless union officials, the night-riders of reaction seem to have everything their own way. But the rank and file of the unions have not yet said their last word. They want to fight and they know how to fight. That was firmly proven after V-J Day when the great troop demonstrations from Berlin to Tokio forced the brass hats to bring the veterans home; when four million embattled workers forced the monopoly corporations to grant wage increases; when veterans, industrial workers, white collar workers and the middle classes united solidly and victoriously against their common enemy, America's Sixty Richest Families.

WEAK AND COWARDLY LEADERSHIP

The basic reason for the present frustration of the workers in their efforts to smash the anti-labor offensive can be stated simply and correctly as follows:

The exploiters of labor are conscious of their class interests. They are united in the fight against the workers. And they have the governmental power on their side. The basic weakness of the workers in the capital-labor war as it stands today is to be found in the union leadership and their false policy. Instead of recognizing that the conflict between labor and capital is irreconcilable, the labor leaders preach the ridiculous idea of the brotherhood of labor and capital and the identity of their interests — a formula which causes the most raucous laughter in the councils of the rich. Instead of recognizing that the workers can never get a fair deal from government until they set up a government of their own, the labor leaders restrain and sabotage every movement of the rank and file to set up their own political party, which would aim at the formation of a workers' government. They support the imperialistic government of the capitalists in its monstrous program to enslave the whole world. They act in effect as agents of the capitalist ruling class in the ranks of the workers.

The retreat of the labor movement must be halted. The rank and file of the workers must recognize the reality of the war of capital and labor and create within the labor movement a new policy and a new leadership corresponding to this reality.

INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION

Twelve years ago, when the workers in basic industry were beginning to organize their industrial unions, they soon found that the old AFL leaders were not an aid, but an obstacle to the campaign. It was necessary to thrust aside the old leaders and raise up new, young leaders from the ranks.

Today organized labor is compelled to take the road of independent political action. Capitalism must be fought and defeated on the political, as well as the economic field. For that big task, leaders of broad social vision are needed; leaders like Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood and Albert Parsons; leaders who can tell one class from another in the present class society.

Workers of America! Close your ranks against the union busters! Defend democracy in your unions. Seek out the able young men and women in your ranks who can lead you with a correct program. Combine your economic struggles on the picket line with independent labor political action.

Unite with the Socialist Workers Party to rid America of the plague of capitalism with its wars and depressions. Build a socialist party of peace, freedom and plenty.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Manager Proposes 'Challengers' Club'

"Sub-a-Day" Bob Williams of Harlem Branch, New York, sells Militant subs like some folks go to movies or eat apples—for recreation and health. Already he has 46 subs to his credit this year, with every indication he can top 100 by election day. In the last three weeks, while out for air and exercise to recover from a long illness, he has obtained 23 subs (better than one every day).

How many Militant readers would like to challenge Bob to some socialist competition for this crucial election year—say 50 subs by Nov. 2? That's the date on which Militant readers will want to see an army of workers at the polls voting for Farrell Dobbs for President and Grace Carlson for Vice President. Every new sub may mean many more votes for Dobbs and Carlson. Of course, Bob's score up to now won't be counted in.

How about it, Soldiers of the Militant Army. Who's ready for a Challengers' Club?

Sara Ross of San Francisco reports The Militant and Pioneer pamphlets sold very well at two major Wallace meetings in Oakland and San Francisco last week. "At Oakland we sold about 20 Militants, 40 Build a Labor Party Now and 20 The Struggle for Negro Equality. In San Francisco we sold 50 Militants, 50 Build a Labor Party Now, 20 The Coming American Revolu-

tion and 15 The Struggle for Negro Equality. We intend to keep this up."

In Los Angeles, "both news-stands have sold all their bundles of Militants for the last eight weeks. Belmont News wants the bundle increased by one-half immediately," wrote Al Lynn.

Milwaukee sent eight more subs last week. "This gives us a total of 18 for May," writes Carol Andrews. At the same time Milwaukee trebled the size of its bundle order. Two of the new subscribers are members of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party. Another works in a plant that is producing bombs; he's sure another war is in the making. Still another knows of SWP work in the trade unions. These notations were on the backs of the sub cards sent in.

Flint's drive for 400 new subs, "hampered from the beginning by union activities and then postponed two weeks ago when it appeared there might be a General Motors strike will probably be resumed Sunday," reports Genora Dollinger. "We shall most likely have to revise our quota and the length of the campaign, because of the coming national convention, our election campaign banquet and other activities. While we'll have to lower our sights for the time being, we'll have another campaign later."

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

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.

Vol. XII - No. 23

Monday, June 7, 1948

NAACP Broadens Fight To Reinstate Frank Barnes

SANTA MONICA, Calif., May 30 — "We have just begun to fight!" This was the spirited keynote of a mass meeting held Tuesday by the Santa Monica NAACP.

for renewed support of Barnes in the fight against Sears.

Other speakers included Dr. George H. Hudson, Negro physician, politician and member of the Los Angeles NAACP Executive Board, representatives from other NAACP branches, and a United Steel Workers' representative from the National CIO-PAC.

The NAACP attorney from Los Angeles, Loren Miller, has filed with the Post Office Department's loyalty board a demand for the removal of the disloyalty brand placed on Barnes and has requested a hearing on Barnes' case before the board.

Defending Barnes' right to enlist such support and recognizing this move of the federal government as a mortal danger to the advancement of Negro rights, Noah Griffin, West Coast regional director of the NAACP, pledged to fight to a finish on this issue.



The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper.

—Leon Trotsky, Address before Dewey Commission, Mexico City, 1937.



LENIN

SWP Election Campaign

The hundreds of letters and postcards received by the Socialist Workers Party following the first two national broadcasts by its presidential nominee, Farrell Dobbs, testify to a growing interest in the program of revolutionary socialism and offer evidence of an effective SWP election campaign in the months to come.

These responses by mail — from virtually every state in the country, and primarily from people who had never heard of the Socialist Workers Party before — express a desire to find an answer to the crucial problems confronting the working people.

In our opinion there are hundreds of thousands of such people in this country today. There are many who think, like a worker writing us from Kansas, that "this country is going like Germany fast."

The Escalator Clause

The sliding scale cost-of-living contract signed by General Motors with the auto union has stirred up a considerable public discussion.

Comments on it range all the way from "unique" and "startling" to "revolutionary." Corporations are said to be approaching the question "cautiously."

For ten years, The Militant has advocated the program of the sliding scale of wages, known also as the escalator clause, as the most effective means of safeguarding living standards in a period of constantly mounting prices.

The GM contract, however, does not contain the precise proposition that we advocate. As we pointed out last week, the GM contract lacks important safeguards which are part of our sliding scale program.

Even UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey admits in a letter to the N. Y. Times, May 29, that "the present agreement, though headed in the right direction, starts with a depressed base period and allows too small an annual increase in wage rates."

The GM contract does nothing more than bring the GM wages up to the level of the depressed real wages of 1940. It does not improve the GM workers' living standards, as some have claimed. It freezes them at the "norm" of nearly a decade ago.

To this GM has added a three-cent "im-

provement" factor. This is based on the carefully calculated fact that since 1900 the output of the average American worker has increased 2% a year — last year, Truman stated in his January economic report, it was 2 1/2%.

Our readers can assist us enormously in this great endeavor. You can become campaigners for the SWP ticket on your job and in your neighborhood. You can assist us in getting the names of our candidates on the ballot in the states where this difficult task still remains to be done.

Our readers can assist us enormously in this great endeavor. You can become campaigners for the SWP ticket on your job and in your neighborhood. You can assist us in getting the names of our candidates on the ballot in the states where this difficult task still remains to be done.

Our sliding scale program, we have always taken pains to make clear, is designed to FORTIFY the basic wages. The UAW negotiators accepted a sliding scale as a SUBSTITUTE for the higher basic wages.

The sliding wage scale program, properly applied, is a tremendous weapon in the hands of the workers during the further inflation which war preparations are bound to bring.

The GM wage agreement, for all of its inadequacy, has set a precedent, demonstrated the realizability of this far-reaching wage program and introduced it into the thinking of the broad ranks of the unions.

Jack London's socialist writings inspired a generation of working-class militants all over the world. The two great leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, both expressed admiration for London's novel 'The Iron Heel.'

National Guard Strikebreaking

The renewed large-scale use of injunctions against strikes has been accompanied by the use of National Guard units to break up picket lines and escort scabs into struck plants.

A striking example of the problems raised for the union members was an incident in Iowa, where one leading member of the CIO Packinghouse Workers was called up by the National Guard, in which he holds the rank of first sergeant, and sent to another town to interfere with the picket lines of his own union.

Commenting on the return of widespread strikebreaking activities by the National Guard, the Seafarers Log, weekly newspaper of the AFL Seafarers International Union, declares:

"More and more Americans are waking up to the threat posed by the National Guard and the Naval Reserve. . . As trade unionists, the members of the Seafarers International Union should have nothing to do with these governmental agencies, which have in the past, and can be in the future, used to break strikes."

That conclusion is correct so far as it goes, but unfortunately it does not go far enough. Refusal to join the National Guard may enable workers to escape such situations as the Iowa packinghouse worker was placed in,

but it will not and cannot do away with the National Guard itself or with its use as a strikebreaking agency.

In these troubled times, when force or the threat of force settles so many crucial disputes, military training is an art which it is wise for all workers to acquire.

The National Guard must be rejected because it puts its members under military discipline and forces them into actions against the interests of the working people. Instead of the National Guard, the labor movement should advocate the establishment of a guard, financed and equipped by the federal and state governments just as the National Guard is, but operating under the control and discipline of the unions themselves.

Such a guard could do everything that the National Guard does in the way of aiding victims of floods and disasters. It could teach the workers how to use arms and would attract a far greater number of recruits precisely because it would be a democratic body, free of the brass hat control which repels so many workers.

The book has selections from London's autobiographical writings dealing with the life of workers sweated dry in their labor for the bosses and of tramps and slum-dwellers submerged in the cesspool of capitalist society in which London is at his revolutionary best. His care-

Strike Leader Shot



Lying in a pool of blood, James Price of the AFL National Farm Labor Union writhes in pain while awaiting arrival of medical aid after being shot through the head. For seven months, Price has been leading a strike against the DiGiorgio fruit ranch, Bakersfield, Calif. The Kern County Central Labor Council has offered a \$5,000 reward for capture of the "person or persons" who fired nine bullets at Price through a window while he was presiding over a strike committee meeting. Federated Pictures.

BOOKSHELF

JACK LONDON, AMERICAN REBEL: A COLLECTION OF HIS SOCIAL WRITINGS, edited by Philip S. Foner, The Citadel Press, 533 pp., \$3.50.

Jack London's socialist writings inspired a generation of working-class militants all over the world. The two great leaders of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky, both expressed admiration for London's novel 'The Iron Heel.'

The book also has some of the best passages of 'The Iron Heel. Although London was not a theoretician, 'The Iron Heel, which embarrassed the reformist socialist leaders by its vivid depictions of brutal reaction and revolutionary struggle, so that they complained that it gave "a new impetus to the old and generally discarded cataclysmic theory," has proved to be a remarkable prophecy of fascism.

With this fundamental insight and his artist's imagination London produced his blood-stained vision of triumphant counter-revolution. Condemned as romantically lurid at the time of its publication in 1908, the vision is pale beside the reality of the fascist police-state which he prophesied.

The Iron Heel, however, is not only a grim warning which still retains its validity; it is a statement of faith in the working class, which London portrays as being delivered to the Iron Heel by the criminal blindness of its reformist leaders, sold out by the

labor bureaucrats and savagely repressed by a huge police force whose secret agents ferret out the revolutionists in labor's ranks, but as being indestructible, constant, renewing itself and finally, inevitably victorious. This warning and statement of faith is presented in vigorous, sometimes electrifying prose.

The Iron Heel was Jack London's great contribution to the revolutionary movement. Eight years after its publication he resigned from the Socialist Party "because of its lack of fire and fight, and its loss of emphasis upon the class struggle."

Among the productions of this great historical movement that can inspire working class militants of today as of yesterday are the socialist writings of Jack London.

WORKERS FORUM

From Topeka, Kansas

Heard your talk over radio. Would appreciate it very much if I could have a copy. This country is going like Germany fast. I think it is about time the workers took things in their hands.

S. J. M.

From Harrisburg, Pa.

Please send me a copy of Mr. Dobbs' radio speech on the subject "Capital vs. Labor." Generally I should appreciate any literature you can send me on the economics, politics and sociology of America, or the whole world, for that matter.

R. S. K.

From Fond Du Lac, Wis.

I am interested in your party. Any information would be greatly appreciated.

J. R. L.

From New Albany, Ind.

would appreciate any material which you might be able to supply me concerning the Socialist Workers Party.

D. B. S.

From Corning, N. Y.

Please send me one or more copies of Dobbs speech over the air May 29. . . I would appreciate it if I had a number of these copies to spread among those of this community who are so much in need of political education.

L. M.

From Napa, Calif.

I have finished listening to your speech. . . I would appreciate receiving a copy of your script for that speech—not that I want to keep it—but I would like to send it to the FBI just in case they missed hearing your speech.

I am 52 years old, have lived all my life so far, in this, the best nation on earth. I don't claim our economic or political system is perfect, but it is the best of any on earth, and we have, for the most part, prospered under it.

I am a veteran of the First World War, and I am wondering if you ever had the guts to be in uniform for your country—or did you wear the uniform of that

From Kennelbunkport, Maine

I would like to request a copy of your May 29 speech.

R. E. C.

From Ft. Dodge, Iowa

I am interested in learning more about the socialist party and your 1948 platform. . . Please send me any free literature that you have and also a sample copy of your newspaper if you publish one. . . enclose a list of any publications that you sell.

A. W. B.

From Pontiac, Mich.

Please mail copies of Saturday evening's broadcast. Send as many as you can spare. Can use one half dozen.

J. W. M.

From Groton, Conn.

Honorable Mr. Dobbs. . . I just heard you over the radio. I am 80 years old and have been interested in the welfare of the common people all my life.

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 every Tuesday, 8 p. m. BALTIMORE—121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1733, Daily 9 a. m. - 9 p. m.; O. Coover St., MILITANT and FOURTEENTH INTERNATIONAL on sale. BOSTON—39 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p. m. Tues., 7:30-9:30 p. m. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 625 Pacific St., 2nd fl., Phone Madison 3960, Every afternoon except Sun. CHICAGO—77 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—Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 12 p. m., 7-8267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. PLINT—215 E. Ninth St., Daily 7-9 p. m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. 8 p. m. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAnkyde 8061. SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Main St., Phone 214. WATTS—Militant, 1729 E. 97th St., LYNN, (Mass.)—44 Central Sq., Rm. 11, Sat., 1-5 p. m. Discussion, Tues., 7:30-9 p. m. MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone Broadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St., Phone Main 7781, Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri., 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 465 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre). NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 835 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

incompoop Stalin and his Reds?

You speak of the inability of labor and capital to meet on common ground, and infer that labor should attempt to destroy capital. On the day that they accomplish that—God forbid—labor will be in real trouble, because if one took the whole blasted lot of you and turned you upside down, one couldn't shake a thin dime out of the whole lot of you to furnish the money for the purchase of bricks and machinery to provide yourselves with a place to work and earn a living.

No, Mr. Dobbs, better stop making inflammatory speeches and learn to accept the American way of doing things, and that is by arbitration and meeting on a common ground with capital, and both working together rather than labor trying to have all the advantages, while capital provides the MONEY for erecting buildings and machinery and opportunities for labor which labor couldn't provide for themselves. And remember I admit that there are faults that need correcting on both sides of the picture. Neither side is wholly without blame or working under ideal conditions.

I say, "Hurrah" for Judge T. Alan Goldsborough. He should have sent John L. Lewis to jail for life for trying to consider the welfare (or so he stated) of his miners before the welfare of the general public.

I think they better load all of your followers, led by yourself on a boat and ship you over to Russia where you evidently would rather be. Or better still sink the ship in the middle of the ocean, so that you can't beget any more of your ilk to inflame ignorant and unthinking workers who will follow any will of the wisp who promises them an unattainable Utopia.

Edward C. Spengman

From Kennelbunkport, Maine

I would like to request a copy of your May 29 speech.

R. E. C.

From Longview, Texas

would be pleased to receive a copy of the address by Mr. Dobbs of this date over ABC.

E. L. J.

From Kewanee, Ill.

Comrade Dobbs speech was a dandy. He told them just what is what, right from the shoulder; didn't mince words. I wish we could have the ticket in Illinois, but I guess I will have to stay home on election day because if I can't vote socialist I won't go near the polls, never have for 48 years. Well, tell them all to work like hell and roll up as big a vote as they can. I talk with a lot of fellows that take The Militant and they are all well pleased with it.

J. W. C.

Akron Will Hold Smorgasbord Supper

On Saturday, June 19, at 7 p. m., the Akron Branch of the Socialist Workers Party will hold a Smorgasbord supper and entertainment as a send-off celebration for the Akron delegates to the SWP National Convention. Militant readers invited. The SWP headquarters is at 4 South Howard.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2774. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m. NEW YORK CITY (HQ)—116 University Pl., Phone GR. 8-9426. SEATTLE—Fairway Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington, Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, Forum, Thurs., 7-30-10 p. m. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily, bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 8:30 p. m. TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1070. Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Fawcett. TOLSON—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily. YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 5-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

—Paul Schapiro

By Mary Wood

You might call them the League of Frightened Men... the great scientists who see so clearly that their inventions mean for mankind. They cry out in horror and wring their hands in anguish, helplessly driven on to new, more ghastly discoveries that haunt them constantly.

"There never was a time," the British scientist Robert Watson-Watt admitted recently, "that the scientist was more frightened of the citizens' representatives, the politicians, and what they can do with his work."

With all their vast knowledge, these brilliant analysts of the physical world stand trembling like schoolboys before the power of their masters—the politicians. Some seek escape, as Sir Robert said, "by staying in their ivory towers," others have developed "an acute social conscience."

In the second group, for instance, are the six leading atomic scientists, headed by Dr. Albert Einstein and Dr. H. C. Urey, who held a special session recently to arouse the world to the dangers of atomic war.

"Atomic bombs have been developed to the point where we can't expect to use them in large scale war and have the human race survive," Urey said.

And so these scientists, who have explained and harnessed the energy of the atom, turned their attention to politics. You might expect them to weigh all the elements, the contradictions, the conflicting forces, and arrive at a scientific conclusion. But all they produced was a feeble and hopelessly Utopian reliance on some kind of

The Negro Struggle

Keep an Eye on Congress

By Albert Parker

Keep your eye on Congress during the next two weeks. That's when the Democrats and Republicans will put on their bi-annual football game with civil rights bills demanded by the Negro and labor movements. The game generally ends in a tie, so far as these two parties are concerned; the bills get buried in the muck of capitalist duplicity; and Negroes and unionists are left on the sidelines, with no greater satisfaction than the right to hiss.

(And even that right is now being threatened by the Mundt Bill.)

It's the same old routine of big promises and bigger double-crosses. That goes for the Democrats and Republicans who pretend to be friends of civil rights just as much as it goes for the Southern Democrats who make no bones about their devotion to Jim Crow.

It's many months now since Truman made his bid for the Negro vote by endorsing the proposals of his civil rights committee. It's many months now since he promised to issue an executive order eliminating discrimination in federal employment. But, as we predicted, nothing has come of it. Truman didn't introduce a single bill into Congress, saying he would leave that to the members of Congress, although he followed an entirely opposite procedure on such measures as the aid-to-Greece bill and the Marshall Plan. And, of course, he still refuses to make even a down-payment on his promises by issuing an order, as commander-in-chief, to abolish segregation in the armed forces.

The Republicans have played pretty much the same slimy game. Again and again they promised that if they got control of Congress they would pass the anti-Jim Crow bills. Now they have a clear majority of Congress. But all they have done is stall and maneuver and postpone votes

"World government, if necessary without the Soviet Union at first"—in fact, an extension of the power of Wall Street through a super-United Nations set-up.

Before that, they said, there should be another attempt to negotiate. "We understand and share the distaste among democratic peoples for secret negotiations. But we see no hope under present conditions for any settlement to come out of public negotiations in which each statesman is the prisoner of national prestige."

There, say the atom-smashers, is the unsplitable nucleus of the problem — national prestige! They go no further than Professor Charles W. Bishop, of Ottawa, who told delegates to a World Citizens Conference a few days ago, that the history books should be re-written to prevent war—because "a tendency exists in most history texts toward nationalistic bias."

If any research worker ignored reality in physics as the scientists do in politics, he would likely be drastically corrected by an unplanned explosion. If any student in our colleges showed as little logic in his arguments as Professor Bishop, he would soon flunk out of school.

But it isn't "just ignorance" that keeps these scientists and professors from seeing and telling the truth. It is their own position, as products and hirelings of the capitalist system. Until they realize this, they cannot begin to understand society or help to avert its atomic destruction.

If they find themselves today just so many frightened voices crying out unheeded, it is because, as Marx said 100 years ago in the Communist Manifesto, they are no longer leaders of thought, but tools of the present system.

"The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers."

on the civil rights bill until only a few weeks are left for action in Congress. This naturally plays right into the hands of the Southern Democrats, for whom it will be much easier to stage an effective filibuster now than it would have been six or twelve months ago.

Now the Republicans say that at best they can deliver on only one of the promised bills, and even that is in doubt because they have it way down at the bottom of the agenda. The Senate Judiciary Committee had charge of an anti-lynching bill for 17 months, but never managed to get around to sending it to a vote in the Senate. Yet, inside of 24 hours this same Republican-controlled committee sprang to life in order to hold hearings on the Mundt Bill—whose aim is to promote the lynching of civil rights altogether. And Senator Ball tries to pass the buck by saying it will be the fault of the Democrats if no civil rights bills are passed.

This is the time to remember something that happened at the end of June, 1947, when Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. At that time a few liberal Senators tried to stage a filibuster to hold up final action on the bill. The Senate immediately went into around-the-clock sessions and quickly smashed that filibuster. And Senator Kenneth Wherry, the GOP party whip, exultantly declared: "This demonstrates you can crack a filibuster whenever a majority is determined to do it."

Never was a truer word spoken. All of the civil rights bills could have been passed by now if the Republicans had been "determined to do it." The fact that they weren't passed and are not likely to be passed this year puts the finger on the Republicans, as well as on the Democrats, as friends of the Jim Crow system. Keep your eye on the capitalist parties now, and show what you think about them by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in November.

Portrait of a Red-Baiter

By Joseph Keller

It was made to order for the yellow capitalist press. A well-known member of an American Legion "Americanization" Committee was found dead in a locked hotel room. His face was bruised, his skull fractured. He was reported to have been engaged in "anti-communist investigation," including "undercover" work for the government.

"It looks like murder," solemnly stated Police Chief Thomas J. Marks, of Long Branch, N. J., where the body of Harold S. Adamson was found in bed in his room at the Elkwood Hotel. That's all the newspapers needed. Before any investigation was made their headlines began screaming "Red" and "Murder."

"Legion Foe of Subversive Groups Found Dead, Believed Murdered," proclaimed the headline in the May 25 N.Y. Times. The N.Y. World-Telegram announced: "Anti-Red Link Probed in Legionnaire's Death." With sundry dark hints, surmises and innuendoes, the Times reported that the victim, "a member of an old Monmouth County family," had just returned from Washington "after having completed a six-month course on subversive activities."

But within 24 hours, the press began to dummy up. The big headlines disappeared; small, discreet items carried the news for another day. Then thundering silence.

Notes from the News

SOUTHERN JUSTICE—E. Blaine of Memphis, Tenn., went to police headquarters to lodge a complaint that he had been robbed of \$10 during a police investigation of a disturbance. The cops thereupon beat him up so badly that he is in the hospital where it was necessary to remove his right eye.

\$1,000 REWARD — H. L. Mitchell, president of the AFL Farm Labor Union, offered a \$1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the assailants who shot down James Price, president of Local 218 of the farm union which is running the 8-month old strike at the DiGiorgio fruit ranch, near Bakersfield, Calif.

NO-STRIKE CONTRACT—The AFL Printing Pressmen's Union signed a 5-year no-strike con-

tract with the employers. It calls for no strikes or lockouts for the contract's duration, with all disputes to be settled by arbitration.

WALLACE ON BABIES—Wallace opined at a luncheon in Salem, Oregon, that "if the people insist on living on such [submarginal] land, then the government should not let them have children." Later Wallace assured the press that he had "no idea of interfering with anyone's desire to procreate."

RAIL STEAL—The Senate passed the Reed-Bulwinkle bill and sent it to the White House. The bill permits railroads to fix non-competition rates and permits further gouging of the public.

OPEN THE BOOKS—The auto union has challenged Ford to "open the books" and prove—if it can—"that a wage increase would require an increase in the prices of Ford products."

Appraisal of Wage Settlements With General Motors and Chrysler

By E. Kennedy

DETROIT — The current wage drive was the first serious test for the Walter Reuther administration in the auto union. Following the UAW convention in November 1947, the new leadership stalled on the wage problem. At the convention, Reuther confined himself to pleas for a "roll back of prices."

Last December, however, the powerful Flint locals adopted a wage program calling for a 25-cents per hour flat increase to restore purchasing power PLUS A COST-OF-LIVING ESCALATOR CLAUSE.

In January, the UAW International Executive Board felt impelled to give its answer to the wage problem by adopting demands for a 25-cent flat increase plus fringe concessions on insurance and pensions. The Board not only did not include a demand for an escalator clause, but they passed a motion specifically forbidding any local union from signing an agreement containing such a clause. In addition, in spite of the growing demands in the ranks for united action of all the auto workers in the wage fight, the International leadership continued to cling to the "one-at-a-time strategy" which had proven so costly and demoralizing in the 113-day GM strike in 1946.

NO CO-ORDINATION It soon became clear that there was no over-all unity or co-ordination of the major national CIO unions in the wage fight. Each union was left to shift for itself. Reuther and the UAW leadership were content to wait for Murray to set the pattern with U.S. Steel and thus pave the way for UAW agreements.

But under Murray's leadership, the steel workers were bound by a two year agreement which prohibited strike action. To demonstrate his servility to the boss class, Murray blandly announced, as he opened the steel wage negotiations, that regardless of the outcome, the union would respect its no-strike agreement. It was thus not at all surprising that U.S. Steel Corporation rejected all wage concessions.

The CIO electrical workers, under Stalinist leadership, and plagued by internal and external attacks, confined themselves to verbal battles with the electrical

where militant action on the Chrysler Highland Park picket line completely closed the plant, the strike strategy committee issued an order prohibiting such militant picketing methods.

As the Chrysler strike approached its third week, the UAW leadership found itself backed into a corner in the GM negotiations and compelled, despite its "one-at-a-time strategy" to announce that failure to arrive at



WALTER REUTHER

an agreement by the termination date on May 28, would result in strike action. While the Chrysler fight had been confined to the wage question, in General Motors the whole question of contract was up for discussion. The General Motors agreement has been generally recognized as the worst in the industry and job conditions have reflected this.

As the deadline for shutting down the GM Corporation approached, the GM locals completed their strike votes. Such powerful locals as Buick Local in Flint, Oldsmobile Local in Lansing, and Yellow Cab and Truck Local in Pontiac, as well as a number of smaller locals, voted against a strike. The lack of confidence in the policy of the leadership and the consequent demoralization of the ranks was the cause for this false position.

Such was the situation as the union negotiating committee met with the GM corporation representatives last week. The corporation took the initiative in the negotiations and in a day and night session the GM agreement was reached. In return for the 11-cent increase and escalator clause, the union leadership agreed to a two-year extension of the previous agreement containing only a few insignificant changes.

TOTALLY INADEQUATE

From a fundamental point of view, one must draw the conclusion that the General Motors settlement is not only totally inadequate to meet the needs of the GM workers but presents new evidence of the bankruptcy of the leadership and its inability to even defend the workers' standard of living. At a time of the greatest profits in the history of the world's most profitable corporation, the false policies of the UAW leadership have resulted in an agreement which ties the GM workers to a standard of living of 3 cents per hour above 1946 levels and 8.3 cents per hour below the levels gained through militant strike action in 1946. Moreover, to obtain this agreement, the leadership surrendered every major contract demand and has frozen the GM workers to the miserable GM contract for two years.

But doesn't the GM agreement contain an escalator clause which The Militant has advocated for the past ten years? Not quite. The proposal for a sliding scale wage agreement, or escalator clause, as advanced by us, calls for automatic increases in the wages of workers to compensate for each increase in the cost of living, with a guaranteed minimum base below which wages cannot fall. By thus protecting their standard of living, the workers would find it possible to mobilize their full fighting strength to win improvements in the standard of living. Under the GM adjustment, even with the 3 cent adjustment one year from now, the GM workers will still be more than 5 cents per hour short of the buying power they enjoyed in early 1946. Rather than protecting the living standards of the workers while they mobilize for struggles to improve their

standards, this proposal freezes their living standards at levels which represent a cut of 6% below 1946 levels and bans any improvement in base rates for two years beyond the 3 cents increase a year from now.

It is well to stop and consider what motivated the GM Corporation's sudden change of front. In the past weeks, with the flat rejection of a wage increase in steel, and electric, the all-out fight against the packinghouse workers, and the stiff-necked stand taken by GM and Chrysler in negotiations, it appeared that big battles were in the offing to win any kind of wage concessions. Suddenly this is changed by the action of the GM Corporation.

Why? Apparently the American capitalist class has just completed an experimental operation in their offensive against the packinghouse workers. That struggle represented a test of the effectiveness of their anti-labor offensive and the ability of the unions to defend themselves. It took a two-and-a-half month struggle in the meat industry to beat the packinghouse workers into submission. It is my opinion that the packinghouse strike, despite its defeat, has made the money-bags pause and reconsider their course.

This experience dictated to the monopolists the necessity for a more extended period of softening up the unions, of sowing internal conflicts within the union movement, and legislative attacks from without, before they could safely organize a head-on attack in the mass production industries. If two and a half months were required to intimidate the 100,000 meat workers, with their limited membership, resources and traditions of struggle, then a virtual civil war would be required to smash the giants of auto, steel, etc. It became clear to the barons of the auto industry that even if they forced earlier or later be compelled to make a settlement with the union. They decided it was far better to make the cheapest possible settlement now and tie up the agreements for two years, so that production and profits would proceed uninterrupted. In the meantime, they could continue the policy of softening up the unions to prepare the way for further attacks at a later stage.

MIXED REACTIONS

The first reactions to the GM settlement of the men and women in the shops were mixed and confused. The cost-of-living clause was in many cases, greeted with suspicion. In a number of GM plants there is bitterness over the complete surrender of contract demands. The most prevalent reaction to the settlement among all auto workers is however, one of relief that they will not have to hit the picket lines.

The job confronting the progressive unionists in the UAW is

UAW-GM Settlement



A unique type of contract was signed by the CIO United Auto Workers and General Motors Corp., covering 225,000 workers. It provides for an immediate 11-cent hourly wage boost and an escalator clause. At the settlement meeting (l. to r.) are UAW representatives T. A. Johnstone, GM vice-president Harry W. Anderson and GM negotiator Louis Seaton. Federated Pictures.

GM Delegates Ratify Contract For 11-Cent Raise

DETROIT, May 29 — Delegates representing GM workers in over 90 GM plants throughout the U.S. met in Detroit on May 28 to receive the report of their National Bargaining Committee. The acceptance of the agreement was a foregone conclusion. The fact that 11 cents would be added to the hourly earnings of some 225,000 workers beginning May 29 was the determining factor. When contrasted to the steel union's capitulation and with the defeat of the packinghouse workers, the 11-cent increase looked like a signal victory to the GM workers.

Harlem Meeting on Randolph Movement

THE RANDOLPH-REYNOLDS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT will be the topic of the talk to be given by William Bohannon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New Jersey Congressman, at the meeting to be held on Friday, June 11, at 8 p.m. by the Harlem Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Friends of the SWP and readers of The Militant are urged to attend. The address of the Harlem Branch is 103 West 110 St., Room 26. Admission is free.

Canadian Union Officials Call For Building of Labor Party

Editor: Your paper, we understand, enters many Canadian workers' homes, so we are enclosing a copy of a letter endorsed by the officers of our local for publication in The Militant.

A. MacCormack

Dear Brothers: The exclusion of American organizers assisting in our organizational drives in Eastern Canada should arouse all of the Canadian workers to the perilous position of their unions, International or Canadian. It should teach us that the King government, like all of its predecessors, is a direct agent of Capital.

It should also teach us the futility of protesting this criminal act aimed at the trade union movement, to such a government whose only recognized majority is Capital.

It should teach us that this is only a starter in a campaign to drive the workers' living standards to new lows, to smash the entire labor movement and again have a free hand to exploit to the

last ounce of blood. We should realize that the present drive against the LPP (Canadian Communist Party) is only the beginning, that soon all fellow travelers and left wing socialists will become communists in the eyes of the King government, and on to every branch of the labor movement until anyone who does not support the boss class in a loud voice will be disposed of.

We, the officers of the Texada Island Quarry and Mine Workers Union, Local 816, IUMM & SW-CIO, believe that the formation of a Labor Party based on and responsible to the trade union movement, is long overdue. We believe this is the only way we can halt the march of reaction and preserve our rights as free workers. Therefore, we call on all workers in Canada to take whatever action they can in this regard.

Fraternally yours, Edwin W. Olson, President A. MacCormack, Vice-President J. K. Johnson, Fin. Sec. F. Leigh, Recording Secretary Van Anda, B.C.

The position of those inclined to oppose the agreement was made more difficult because the Buick Local, an opponent of the Reuther administration, had voted against the strike. T. A. Johnstone, assistant to Reuther in the GM Department, used the Buick vote to justify the union's limited gains.

In view of the bad GM contract, the improvements gained represent an insignificant concession. The most important improvement is the reduction of the probationary period for new employees from six months to 90 days. In addition to getting better representation at the end of 90 days, the new employee will also collect for holiday pay after 90 days. Previously he had to work six months before being paid for holidays not worked.

WILSON'S SUGGESTION

The sliding scale was put into the contract at the suggestion of C. E. Wilson, GM President. When John W. Anderson, President of Local 15, made a motion to incorporate an adequate escalator clause in the contract at a National Conference on January 17, his motion was ruled out of order by President Reuther. The Conference was told that the escalator clause was in violation of CIO policy. The UAW Executive Board sent out a communication saying that no local union could sign a contract with this clause in it.

Anderson now reminded Johnstone of these facts. Johnstone did not deny that this policy was changed at the suggestion of C. E. Wilson. He weakly added that he, President Reuther, and Vice-President Livingston had worked on the formulation of the GM escalator clause.

Discussion and criticism of the contract was very limited, because of the feeling that a victory was won, and also the chairman's arbitrary rulings and the preponderance of Reuther supporters in the delegation. The final vote showed 30 delegates against, 20 abstaining, and 150 voting for the agreement.