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## BIG BATTLES LOOM AFTER LABOR DAY

### SWP Calls for Defeat of Detroit Witch-Hunt Move

DETROIT — The No. 1 job of Detroit voters in the Sept. 13 primary election is the defeat of the yellow-dog "loyalty" amendment to the city charter. All the capitalist politicians and newspapers are bent on setting up a thought-control "loyalty" board based on Attorney General Clark's "subversive" list. This list, arbitrarily estab-

lished by the Truman administration without charges or hearings for accused organizations, has been condemned by both AFL and CIO conventions. The purpose of the proposed amendment would be to persecute and fire all militant workers on the city's payroll under the snookscreen of ferreting out so-called reds and subversives.

This campaign was launched in July when Democratic Mayor Van Antwerp appointed a temporary "loyalty" board of three, with Police Commissioner Toy as chairman. Toy is a life-long Republican agent of the Ford Motor Company, notorious for his vicious bias against labor, Negroes and Jews. This board showed its Gestapo-like outlook by asking the people of Detroit to act as informers against city employees.

There was one obstacle. The city charter adopted in 1918 prohibits the firing of city workers for political or religious reasons, and forbids civil service examiners from framing application or examination questions "so as to elicit information concerning political or religious opinions or affiliations."

#### SHARP CONTRAST

The stooges of Big Business took immediate steps to remove this obstacle. In record time they rushed through an amendment to appear on the September primary ballot. The City Council's swift action in restricting rights of city employees stands in sharp contrast to their stalling tactics on housing, hospitals, sewer control and many other issues vitally affecting Detroit workers and their families.

When Genora Dollinger, state secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, asked for a public hearing on the amendment so that opponents could speak against it, (Continued on page 3)

### LET PEOPLE CONTROL RENT, SAYS G. BARKER

NEW YORK, Aug. 23 — Gladys Barker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of City Council and a leading member of the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League in Harlem, today called for the enforcement and administration of rent control by the organizations of labor and tenants.

The SWP candidate branded as "a fraud and deception" the excuse of Federal Housing Expediter Tigue E. Woods that the Truman Administration has insufficient funds to administer rent regulations and therefore is lifting controls from a third of all rental units in the country. "The excuse used by the Administration is a fraud and deception used to conceal the fact

that it does not want to enforce rent controls and has been actively decontrolling or raising rents as fast as it can.

"Even before the administration made its latest decontrol move, it had lifted controls from hundreds of thousands of rental units throughout the country. Mr. Woods himself knocked the main beam from the rent ceiling when he issued the regulation to guarantee landlords 25 and 30 per cent profits on their gross operating incomes.

"Here in New York City, the rent administration has raised rents under the recent 'fair net operating income' formula from 25 to 50 per cent on some tenants and they are also being ordered to pay retroactive rent increases amounting to hundreds of dollars in some instances. This is just a hint of what the real estate sharks, with the aid of the government itself, have in store for tenants.

Charging that the administration has no real concern for the 15 million tenants in this country, most of whom are wage workers, Miss Barker declared:

#### LET PEOPLE CONTROL

"Rent control should be taken out of the hands of the government bureaucrats, many of whom have ties, direct or indirect, with real estate, mortgage and construction interests, and should be placed in the hands of the people. "The alibi of Mr. Woods that there are insufficient funds to administer rent controls is absolutely spurious. The organization I belong to, and hundreds of similar labor and tenant organizations throughout the country, as well as CIO and AFL committees stand ready here and now to step into the breach, to control rents on a voluntary basis and see that chiseling landlords live up to their obligations."

Miss Barker added: "I intend to campaign vigorously in this election for this program of effective rent control by the people themselves."



GLADYS BARKER

### UAW TO SET UP JOBLESS UNION IN 'DISTRESS AREA'

DETROIT, Aug. 22 — The CIO United Automobile Workers is launching an unemployed organization this week in Muskegon, an important auto foundry center, where more than 12,000 workers, over 24% of the area population, are out of jobs. The drive to organize the jobless under UAW sponsorship will begin at a rally in Muskegon tomorrow afternoon at which UAW President Walter Reuther is scheduled to speak.

This "union of unemployed," as the Michigan CIO News calls it, will be set up by a series of meetings of laid-off workers from eight plants. The jobless will elect their own officers as well as two representatives from each plant unit to a central body.

#### TO OBTAIN RIGHTS

The new "Unemployed League" will "collectively bargain and obtain for the unemployed their rights at relief offices, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation and other government offices. They will also handle seniority grievances arising out of any rehiring which may occur," reports the Michigan CIO News.

Similar organizations are expected to arise in other Michigan "distressed areas." Jackson and Port Huron, both auto parts centers, have a jobless rate of more than 15%. Detroit does not as yet suffer such severe unemployment, but the situation in the outstate auto parts cities and statements of industry spokesmen indicate large-scale layoffs in Detroit auto plants this fall and winter.

Progressive unionists here urge extension of union-sponsored

## One Year of James Kutcher's Fight

By William F. Ward

"VA Ousts Amputee Over His Politics; Legless Vet Fights Against Job Dismissal." Headlines like these first brought James Kutcher's case to public notice a year ago. In his letter to the VA Loyalty Board protesting his dismissal, Kutcher declared: "This is political persecution and I intend to fight against it with all my vigor — because my job is at stake, because a great principle involving my own rights is affected, and because it concerns thousands of other government employees, many of them veterans, whose rights are similarly threatened by this dictatorial procedure."

Kutcher's victimization immediately called forth widespread indignation. Sharp expressions of protest were forwarded to Washington. Many people believed the Truman administration would take account of these protests, rectify its "mistake" and restore Kutcher to his job. This impression was fostered by Attorney General Clark who assured Kut-

cher that he would speak to VA head General Gray about the case and told Newark reporters that Kutcher's war record and disability would be considered in reviewing his appeal.

That was before Truman's reelection. After Truman's victory, the loyalty purge was not relaxed but extended and toughened. Kutcher's appeals have all been unceremoniously denied. Now, a year later, he is forced to carry his fight for justice into the federal courts and to the American people.

There are two main reasons behind the administration's refusal to reverse its action and heed the protests emanating from its own liberal and labor supporters. First, the capitalist government is committed to the witch-hunt as part of its program of preparation for war which requires the silencing of all opposition from the left to its imperialist projects. This is the general cause of its assaults upon civil rights and drive toward a police-state.

Second, Kutcher has not begged

for pity, but demanded justice and his constitutional rights. He has directly, fearlessly challenged the basic premises of the entire purge procedure. The facts and issues in his case are completely clear-cut and require an equally clear-cut answer. Do federal workers have the same right to their political ideas and activities as other citizens, or can they be persecuted for their beliefs? Who gave Truman and his Attorney General the power to proscribe working class and other organizations and penalize their members in disregard of the Constitution and all democratic traditions?

If the administration should give Kutcher back his job, it would do more than admit the injustice against an individual. It would implicitly question the very basis of its loyalty purge and deal it a damaging moral blow. The administration must maintain the thought-control machine intact, no matter how many people are injured by its operations. Meanwhile, Kutcher has be-

### Kremlin Concentrates Full Fury on Yugoslavs

By George Clarke

Within the last week the struggle between Stalin and Tito has risen to its highest pitch. The dictatorship in the Kremlin has practically dropped its attacks on American imperialism in order to concentrate its full fire and fury on the dissident regime in Yugoslavia. Through an Albanian mouthpiece Moscow has openly proclaimed the goal of its attack to be nothing less than the head of Tito.

Stalin's drive to overthrow the Tito regime, in preparation for more than a year, has gone through a number of stages. Having failed to undermine the Yugoslav government from within by the activities of Russian and native GPU operatives, Stalin expelled Tito from the Cominform and applied a murderous economic squeeze against Yugoslavia, imposing terrible hardships on the Yugoslav people. Trade between Yugoslavia and the USSR along with its satellite nations in Eastern Europe dropped practically to zero.

In short, Stalin is applying the same type of sanctions upon Yugoslavia that Wall Street has been directing against Eastern Europe.

In order to concentrate his main attention on his opponent in the Balkans, Stalin is attempting to clear his hands of some of the diplomatic problems in the "cold war." This was one of the reasons behind the lifting of the Berlin blockade and the consum-

mation of a temporary "truce" with Western imperialism. It was also one of the reasons behind the liquidation of the Greek civil war which could not continue without the active aid of the Tito regime; moreover, Stalin now finds it more necessary to use the partisan bands against Tito than against the monarcho-fascists in Greece.

The charges hurled by Moscow against the Tito regime are, to be sure, utterly demagogic in character but that is not their most important aspect. They are a damning indictment of the usurping bureaucratic police regime in the USSR and if it is

correct to overthrow the Tito regime for these crimes it would be a thousand times more correct to overthrow the Stalin regime on the same basis.

1. Tito is accused of opposing "proletarian internationalism" by the very regime whose cynical nationalism is a by-word in the world labor movement. It was the Kremlin which fought the war against Hitlerism as a chauvinist war against the German people. It was the Kremlin which demanded its full pound of flesh in reparations and indemnities from the defeated nations. All over the world the Stalinist (Continued on page 2)

### Strike Parade Inspects Bell Plant, Finds Only Few Scabs

BUFFALO, August 22 — Several hundred striking members of Bell Aircraft UAW Local 501, in a bold move calculated to stem the strikebreaking efforts of the company, marched into the Bell

plant, inspected the premises for scabs, and paraded through it. The marching pickets found that only a few workers had actually responded to the company's back-to-work call, and some of them voluntarily joined the strikers in the parade.

The action of the union came as a surprise to the company, which in past weeks has been using every trick of the trade to create the impression that a

mass back-to-work movement had begun. The union's action exploded the company's fraudulent claims and aroused the entire Buffalo labor movement against the company's strikebreaking tactics.

The company, in a frenzied red-baiting attack, sought to blame "Communists and Trotskyites" for the parade. It characterized the union's action as a "belligerent mob led by union leaders and known Communists and Trotskyites who forced their way into our plant today and waged a half-hour of violence that will leave a permanent blot on our community."

#### DEVEY'S ADVICE

The Buffalo labor movement, however, was not taken in by this malarkey. On the contrary, it gave renewed confidence, and growing support to the ten-week-old struggle of the Bell workers. The company, which is hell-bent on smashing Local 501, wired Governor Dewey to send out the militia or state police to break the strike. It had previously laid the ground for this request by cooking up a petition allegedly signed by several hundred office workers who demanded protection from what they termed "intimidation and coercion by striking members of Local 501."

Dewey wired back that he would not send out either the state troopers or the militia. But he gave the green light to Sheriff Becker of Niagara County, who signed Bell's demand for the troops by advising him that he has "complete and unlimited power to deputize any number of additional special deputies to assist" him. Sheriff Becker has been in complete collusion with (Continued on page 3)



### Action Needed On Wages and Unemployment

By The Editors

On Sept. 5 the American workers will be drenched once more with Labor Day oratory. Capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, will vie with each other in glowing promises to labor and lie about what they have "given" the workingman. Conservative, well-heeled union officials, echoing the NAM and Chamber of Commerce, will extol "peaceful collaboration" between capital and labor and the virtues of "free enterprise" monopoly capitalism.

But "though they speak with the tongues of angels" their words will be as "tinkling cymbal" and "sounding brass" to tens of millions of American workers hounded by fear and insecurity. This Labor Day — four years after the war that was supposed to bring the "Four Freedoms" — the American people face a growing depression, with millions already without jobs. Witch-hunters are running amuck and slashing at civil rights. Militarists and statesmen are whipping up war scares and ransacking the public treasury. The crushing hand of the monopolies weighs more brutally than ever on the whole of American life.

Ten months after the union officialdom hailed the "great victory" of Truman and the Democratic Party, we are farther away than ever from the promised "Fair Deal." The savage Taft-Hartley Law remains in full force. The civil rights program, which was to bring the "blessings of liberty" to the Negro people, has been trampled underfoot in the Democratic-controlled Congress. Small farmers are taking a beating, while the food monopolies skim the cream from the price-support program and keep prices sky-high. Landlords are guaranteed 25% and 30% "fair net operating income" and four million tenants at one clip are threatened with rent decontrol.

Fortified by immense profits and capital reserves, armed with the Taft-Hartley Act and commanding a host of government retainers, the corporations hurl brazen challenges at the 15 million organized American workers. Let 'em strike, it would be a "hell of a good way" to settle the steel wage and pension issue, says Republic Steel's president — and by that he voices not so much the monopolists' desire for a showdown battle as their contempt for the union leaders who tremble in their boots at the mere thought of leading a militant labor struggle.

#### Workers Ready to Meet Challenge

That the industrial workers are ready and willing to take up this challenge is indisputable. The Ford workers in Michigan have voted overwhelmingly for strike and the deadline has been set for Sept. 13. And even the conservative Murray leadership — now being pushed to the wall by the steel trust — may find no other road open but that of strike to win the CIO steel union's demands. The deadline for action — postponed from July 16 for 60 days of "fact-finding" — is Sept. 14.

If Philip Murray were the right kind of labor leader, this Labor Day would be, above all, the occasion for him to sound the call to battle, to summon the CIO ranks in every industry for unified struggle, to lay out a strategic plan involving the whole coordinated might of the many-millioned CIO. Unless this is done, the CIO unions waging uncoordinated struggles may be picked off one at a time and go down to ignominious defeat.

The battle for wages and pensions is but one front of the great struggle facing American labor. The challenge of capitalist depression and unemployment can no longer be evaded or ignored. With nearly six million totally unemployed and 10 million reduced to part-time jobs, organized labor cannot mark time.

This winter will see an army of workers and their wives and kids in desperate plight, their unemployment compensation exhausted. Truman and Congress have made only gestures toward alleviating the growing mass distress. It is up to organized labor to mobilize nation-wide action to fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay; for vast public works, including, housing, schools and hospitals; to be financed out of the billions now going for war preparations; for adequate unemployment compensation, equal to union wages; for all unemployed during the entire time of their unemployment.

It is at this crucial hour, when all the forces of labor should be welded more firmly together in defense of the workers' living standards, that the ominous word "split" is being flung about recklessly inside the CIO between the two bureaucratic machines, the Murray leadership serving the U. S. State Department and the Stalinists serving the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin.

#### CIO Split Must Be Prevented

The Murray clique in the past year has tremendously strengthened its bureaucratic power at the top, deprived the local CIO councils of their autonomy, lifted the charters of local bodies, asserted authority over international unions, threatened with expulsion those who do not conform with the pro-imperialist, pro-Trumanite line dictated by the Murray majority on the CIO executive board. At the forthcoming CIO convention next month in Cleveland, a move is expected to expel a number of Stalinist-dominated unions.

For their part, the Stalinists appear to be making all the preparations for a split and an adventurist attempt to set up their "own" union group independent of the main body of organized industrial workers. The Murray machine and the Stalinists must be prevented by the CIO ranks from carrying out their irresponsible threats of expulsions and splits.

The spectacle of the CIO being torn apart by two sets of power-seeking bureaucrats, each acting as the agent of outside alien forces, would never arise if the membership had a real voice in CIO affairs. And this points up the greatest weakness of the unions — their lack of internal democracy, their bureaucratic crust that stifles all initiative and independent action.

Without internal democracy, the unions will never be fully effective instruments of labor struggle and therefore will never be able to solve the burning economic and political problems of our times. On this Labor Day, the workers must prepare to fight the enemy from within in order to be able to deal with the enemy outside. The union ranks must fight for the right to speak and act in their own interests, to assert their own initiative, to hold and discuss their own political views. They must build a leadership responsive to their will — and theirs alone.

The American workers are once more on the threshold of mighty battles. They can achieve victory only if they are truly free to think and speak and act — free both from bureaucratic restraint inside their unions and from the agencies of the capitalist class enemy outside, its political parties and government. This is our chief message to the American working class on this Labor Day.

Labor Union Trends

'Human Engineering,' or Management of Labor

By Bert Cochran

Students of the labor movement recall how Samuel Gompers joined with Mark Hanna, the big capitalist spokesman at the end of the last century, to form the National Civic Federation. This organization, which included such outstanding personalities of the time as Grover Cleveland, President Eliot of Harvard University, Archbishop Ireland, John D. Rockefeller Jr., Charles Schwab and August Belmont, as well as the leading labor leaders of that era, was supposed to bring about harmony between labor and capital and see that both sides got a square deal.

But what it actually did accomplish was to corrode the labor movement with the acids of class collaboration and corrupt its officialdom, while the scions of great wealth pursued their predatory aims with cynicism and abandon. It was symbolic that John L. Lewis, as the representative of the new unionism in 1935, directed some of his first shafts at the National Civic Federation at the very Atlantic City convention which saw the emergence of the CIO. The birth of the CIO spelled at the same time the death of the National Civic Federation.

DISARMS THE UNION

The pre-war Debs Socialists and IWW left wingers exhausted the vital of their wrath against the Gompers and Mitchells for this betrayal. But the Gompers-Hanna partnership was just a measly amateur affair compared to the present slick and streamlined alliance of the labor poo-bahs and the American multi-millionaires. It is our contention that this alliance is draining the labor movement of its vitality, disarming it in the face of its mortal foe and mentally castrating the labor leaders.

This menacing trend got a big push during the war when the labor leaders took posts in the war agencies. It was at this time that a number of prominent officials like Reuther, Emil Rieve, Allan Haywood and others accepted positions in the National Planning Association, an institution similar to the old Civic Federation, composed of representatives of "management, labor and the public" designed to bring sweetness and light into the relations between labor and capital, and incidentally, to speed up the productivity of the workers.

In the period since, the capitalists have really been doing a job to draw the teeth of the labor movement and sell both the officials and workers a bill of goods about the natural community of interests between the two sides. In the crucible of this partnership they are forging labor leaders on the tried and tested Gompers-William Green model. Since they can't smash the unions by a frontal attack, they are sapping them from within.

SCIENTISTS FOR SALE

All the genius of American technology has now been enlisted in this enterprise. The big boys have gone out into the public market place and have started buying up wholesale college professors, economists, statisticians, historians, psychologists, psychiatrists, like one purchases the services of a mouthpiece. These experts, in turn, have gone to work. They are making elaborate studies of the labor movement, its history, its inner mechanisms, its weak spots. The techniques of science are brought to bear — not to change this crazy, out-moded social system and alleviate some of the miseries of the masses — but to "adjust" the worker to his lot. Science is subverted and the scientists themselves prostituted on the altar of Mammon.

The professors and psychologists have been interviewing masses of workers, devising sampling polls, writing books, making charts and graphs. A new career has opened up before the bright young men from the colleges in the "labor relations" field. Some of the most important universities in the country, Harvard, Yale, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Chicago, Rutgers, have opened new labor-management centers financed by the vested interests and are grinding out polls, theses, clinical experiments and what have you.

This mania to capture the inner essence of "human engineering" has gone so far that the General Motors Corporation had its Employee Relations Staff spend 18 months analyzing and categorizing the 175,000 letters it received from its workers in a contest it ran on "Why I Like My Job." The experts went on the not un-sound theory that what the workers didn't mention were the things they probably disliked about their jobs. Now, all this academic hoopla

and all these charts and graphs wouldn't amount to a whoop in hell but for the fact that the labor leaders are cooperating with these retainers of Big Business and indoctrinating a whole generation of young unionists in the bloodless philosophy of the old National Civic Federation. Here is an item in the July 11 CIO News typical of this new striped-pants education: Union representatives are being sent to Harvard for a 13-week course financed under the Trade Union Fellowship Program "to provide training for executive responsibility."

A recent book called "Partners in Production — A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding" brings together the main findings of the experts and scholars in this field and gives us an inkling of the bunk that is being dished out in these "education courses." This book is published by the Twentieth Century Fund and its contents are a report issued by the Fund's Labor Committee consisting of William H. Davis, former chairman of the War Labor Board, James A. Brownlow, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Metal Trades Department, William L. Cheney, publisher of Colliers, Howard Conroy, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, Herbert W. Payne, vice president of the CIO Textile Union, Sumner H. Slichter, professor of Harvard University, Herman W. Steinkraus, president, Bridgeport Brass Company, and Edwin E. Witte, chairman of Economics Department, University of Wisconsin.

THE OLD PAP

The minute you wade into this study you realize that the "new sociology" is nothing but a repetition in fancy terms of the old pap about "cooperation," "what's good for business is good for labor," and so on; that the Big Business science of "human engineering" has as much to do with real science as metaphysics has with physics. We read in the report: "This inquiry has been conducted on the assumption that a large part of this mutual suspicion [between labor and capital] can be cleared away by knowledge and mutual understanding" and the secret to this is to learn more about the "behavior characteristics of the human being."

OK, what about the worker's "behavior characteristics"? The report relates the conclusions of Elmo Roper, who after ten years of polling workers came up with these startling discoveries: The American workingman wants 1. Security; 2. A chance to advance; 3. Being treated like a human being; 4. A desire for simple, genuine human dignity.

Another famous investigation into the worker's "behavior characteristics," known as "the bank-wiring observation room experiment" was conducted by the Harvard Business School researchers at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. Here the employees of a certain section of the plant were studied for a period of five years. The results repeat, by and large, Roper's findings. The following conclusions are drawn from this experiment:

"Most of us want the satisfaction that comes from being accepted and recognized as people of worth by our friends and work associates. Money is only a small part of this social recognition. . . . We all want tangible evidence of our social importance. We want to have a skill that is socially recognized as useful. We want the feeling of security that comes not so much from the amount of money we have in the bank as from being an accepted member of a group. A man whose job is without social function is like a man without a country; the activity to which he has to give the major portion of his life is robbed of all human meaning and significance." (F. J. Roethlisberger, Management and Morale, Harvard University Press.) Amazing! No?

An especially interesting discovery or near-discovery of the investigators on output was this: "Despite the incentive of greater income, the group kept production at a predetermined level and the one worker who surpassed it was cordially disliked. The lowest producer in the room ranked first in intelligence . . . the highest producer in the room was lowest in intelligence." Now, any scientist would stop here for a moment and ask himself: Is the worker justified in his feelings and opinions? Do they correspond to the reality or are they just based on hallucinations? And if the worker's feelings and

opinions are based on social reality, then the question is, how can we change the repugnant social system to eliminate these evils? This is the question, you would imagine, which would strike any intelligent person in the face, even a college professor or a labor bureaucrat. Not so with our remarkable researchers. Their job is not how to change the inhuman factory system, but how to chloroform the workers into accepting it.

The workers want more dignity on the job? They have a solution. Do what the Lever Bros. did in their Toronto plant where the working hours were reduced from 48 to 40 with no reduction in wages on the proviso that the workers increase production by 20%. The workers want a sense of security? Do they suggest measures to give them real security by operating production according to a plan and for human use instead of profit? Not this labor-management crew. They offer another brilliant "approach" modeled after the scheme employed in the Bundy Tubing Company of Detroit where the union agreed in 1945 that the workers and the company share on a 50-50 basis any savings made as a result of increased production. Make the worker feel, our authors urge, that the company he is working for "is now his enterprise, not in the sense of ownership but in the sense of belonging." In plain English, since you are not going to give him the real thing, kid him along.

The "new approach" is paying off all right — at least for one side of the partnership. The July 9 Business Week carries the following important item: "All employers want to cut production costs these days. And they got some advice on how to do it from two important sources this week. One was the American Management Association; the other, the American Federation of Labor. Curiously enough, the independent studies came up with the same answer: Revive labor-management production committees."

This cooperation for speedup is not just exclusive AFL property. The American Management Association book, Greater Productivity Through Labor-Management Cooperation, reports that "Cooperative projects undertaken with a dominant CIO union are twice as numerous as those with an AFL union."

Where is all this labor-management cooperation stuff leading the unions? It's converting them more and more into playthings of the bosses. It's creating the atmosphere where the apple-polishers and the company men are getting elected to union office. This kind of philosophy and misleadership ran the old AFL right into the ground until the CIO came along and revived the whole labor movement. This kind of philosophy is bleeding the present-day unions and leading to loss of strikes and general decline.

The Murrays and Reuthers and Baldanzos better get wise and forget all about this statesmanship racket while there is still time. Or, in due course, their members will give them the business just as the auto workers handed Frances Dillon and his insistence upon united action of all organ-

Got "Fast Track" at Tanforan



Housing Expediter Tighe Woods (r.) scans some evidence after he told Senate "five-percenter" investigators that White House military aide Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan urged him to "please hurry" a construction permit for the Tanforan, Calif., race track. Left is Senator Hoey of N.C., center William Rogers, chief counsel

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parties have acted as "patriots of the fatherland." They supported de Gaulle in France against the "Boche" and still demand that German territory be annexed to France. The German Communist Party is urging former Nazis to unite in a "fatherland front" for a "Greater Germany."

Their "internationalism" consists in servility to the Kremlin, which is the long and short of what the Kremlin means by its word. Tito's crime against "internationalism" is that he refuses to bend his knee to Moscow gangsters, refuses to convert Yugoslavia into a colony to swell the privileges of the Russian bureaucracy, refuses to turn the country over to the tender mercies of the GPU.

THE DEMOCRACY ISSUE

2. Tito is accused of a lack of "internal party democracy" by

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filiales, the American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 108 professors at the University of Chicago, and spokesmen for the Japanese-American and Mexican minorities.

Only last week Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the AFL Amalgamated Butcher Workmen, speaking for a growing body of support among the more progressive elements in the AFL, declared that Kutcher's discharge "has shocked the entire labor movement."

EXEMPLIFIES SWP POLICY

The rallying of such support is not only a tribute to Kutcher personally but also to the policy of his party whose banner-bearer he has been in the battle for civil rights. In his courageous defiance of the witch-hunters, his call for defense of all victims of the purge, and his insistence upon united action of all organ-

the very regime which smashed Lenin's Communist Party, filled the concentration camps with millions of political opponents and murdered all of Lenin's collaborators in the October Revolution.

In attacking Tito, the Stalin regime offers three examples as "proof" that it practices internal party democracy in the Soviet Union. But none of the three examples which supposedly illustrate how a party leadership is changed by normal methods occurred in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin.

The first pertains to a shift in the leadership, of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1907 when Stalin was an unknown figure and his present methods would have been considered impossible in a workers organization. The second refers to a slight alteration of the leading committee of the Bolshevik Party in

1921. This charge took place, it is true, by democratic methods. But since then, Stalin has placed virtually all the members of that committee before the firing squad. The Yugoslav note correctly points out that there has been no Congress of the Russian Communist Party since 1939. They might have added that since the expulsion of the Trotskyist opposition in 1927, no one who values his life and liberty and livelihood dares to demand a change of leadership by "normal" or any other means.

The third example is the replacement of Browder by Foster, a change that was ordered by Moscow through Ducloux and took the membership of the American Communist Party entirely by surprise. Browder, and all who supported him openly, were expelled regardless of agreement to accept the new leadership.

TITO IS ACCUSED OF TORTURING his opponents. The description of this alleged police terror corresponds line by line with the stories of the GPU cruelties reported by Ciliga, Kravchenko, Barmine, Marguerite Neumann and a hundred others who spent time in GPU prisons in the Soviet Union. If the Kremlin is telling the truth about Tito's jails, then it must be said that Tito learned his methods in the Moscow school.

4. Tito is accused of capitulating to "imperialism." Here the wish is father to the thought. Tito has not capitulated to Wall Street but Moscow is doing its best by its constant pressure and its economic sanctions to drive him into the arms of the capitalist west. It would prefer a victory of the West over Yugoslavia to any solution of its conflict with Tito which would preserve the independence of that country. The Yugoslavs have pointed out that if seeking loans and trade from the west constitutes "capitulation," then all the countries of Eastern Europe including the USSR should be convicted of the same "crime."

THE CRISIS IS DEEP

The very venom of the campaign against Tito, the open appeal for his assassination made by the Daily Worker, reveals how deep is the crisis of Stalinism on a world scale. At the very moment when it appeared that the Kremlin had won its greatest victory in China, it must reveal its hateful dictatorship whose only method against opposition even in so small a country as Yugoslavia is lies, terror and assassination.

Stalinism cannot tolerate this opposition because it reflects a general sentiment within the ranks of the workers under its influence. The pot of dissidence in the camp of Stalinism is brewing on a world scale. The formation of a new Communist Party in Eastern Germany, openly sympathetic to Tito, follows the purges in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece of all suspected of Titoism.

A Letter from Germany On the Aug. 14 Elections

By R. L.

WESTERN GERMANY, Aug. 15 — The elections of August 14 are a manifestation of a trend to the right. It is significant that in Germany the parties of the bourgeoisie are divided along the lines of their relationships to the occupying powers. All the Social Democrats had to extenuate or to deny their collaboration with the foreign capitalists at the last moment, for only in this way could they gain new votes and keep their old supporters. Even Schumacher "sharply" criticized his friends of the British Labor Party. The Communist Party too was astonishingly reserved in its declarations of solidarity with Soviet occupation policies.

The heaviest defeat in these elections was suffered by the

Stalinists. In spite of a remarkably high number of votes and of an increase in the number of those entitled to vote, the CP lost 300,000 votes. This loss was caused by the terrorist policy of the Stalinists in Eastern Germany, the detention of German prisoners of war in Russia, the economic misery in the Soviet zone — and also by the Stalinist abandonment of all remnants of an independent class policy in favor of "national front" tactics.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Stalinist bureaucracy will have to find a scapegoat to hold responsible for this catastrophe. The ferment inside the CP will thus be accelerated and intensified and will produce far-reaching organizational consequences.

The main beneficiaries of the Stalinist losses were the Social Democrats who held their previous support although they lost relatively because of the increase in the number of voters. Overnight this former government party became an opposition party. There is no doubt that the Social Democratic opposition will be very friendly to the government and "constructive" in its opposition (as they have shown in Bavaria, where they have been a party of opposition for some time).

The Christian Democrats, the traditionally conservative-Christian party which was originally the executor of the battered German bourgeoisie's will, sustained losses from the monetary reform; otherwise, it would have succeeded after the improvement in the food situation in winning over important elements among the followers of Nazism voting for the first time. It made every possible concession in this respect, but within the limits permitted by its collaboration with the Western occupying powers.

The two parties which formed the government coalition until now, the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats, as well as the most "consistent" opposition party, the CP, have lost support because they were representatives of one or another of the occupying powers. The memory of the voters was stronger than the effect of the Social Democratic and Christian Democratic sham attacks against the Western powers or the embarrassed silence of the CP about the advantages of the Stalin regime.

"FREE DEMOCRATS"

The party that made the biggest gains is the "Free Democrats," which succeeded in increasing its votes up to 80%. It was this party which embarked upon the most outspoken campaign against denazification and which sought to benefit from nationalist tendencies. While the Christian Democrats represent those bourgeois elements who are prepared to collaborate loyally with the Western powers, the Free Democrats represent the tendency of the economically rehabilitated German bourgeoisie which thinks

that through the threat of revived nationalism and a possible turn to the East it can already pose its own terms for collaboration with the foreign capitalists.

As government parties, the Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats will represent the Janus-head of the German bourgeoisie — one face of which is smiling obediently while the other is showing its teeth to Western imperialism.

Important gains were made by the other rightist parties which express, under different names, petty-bourgeois sympathies for the Third Reich and neo-fascist tendencies, which would be stronger if these parties agreed on a common program.

CAPITALIST AIMS

The bourgeois parties have unveiled their economic aims and their class demands (the end of rationing of important goods, i.e., the removal of the last barriers to increased prices of consumers goods; opposition to any nationalization and socialization; curbs on the rights of the unions, etc.). But the working class had no spokesman in "its" parties to pose the abolition of capitalist rule.

Even the struggle for democratic rights and "the workers' economic interests was only a companion and bait for the election programs, whose central point was the solution of Germany's problems within the frame of international politics. For the so-called workers parties as well as the bourgeoisie understood that Germany's immediate destiny depends on the good or bad will resulting from the relations among the big powers.

The strong participation in the voting indicates the growing interest of broader layers of the German population in their own fate. While the will to act politically is still outwardly weak; while the number of strikes does not correspond to the deteriorated economic situation; while life inside the parties and participation in campaign rallies and election preparations were very feeble until the last moment (a fact which seemed to foretell a small participation in the elections themselves, the masses had hoped by depositing a ballot to bring about a change in their situation and a solution of their problems. This hope was strengthened by every party and by the propaganda of the occupy-

ers. This illusion will be destroyed sooner or later. The present overlords of Western Germany cynically expressed their opinion even before the elections. The Baltimore Sun, an American capitalist paper, wrote some days before the voting that Germans cannot solve their problems under the conditions of the occupation regime, nor force the occupying powers to withdraw, and that the Western allies will have to solve the complicated problems of Germany if they are to be solved in the coming period.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seattle Branch Sells At Stalinist Meeting

Branches are reporting progress in selling literature to civil rights meetings. M. S. of Seattle writes, "At the recently held civil rights meeting sponsored by the Stalinist Civil Rights Congress, at which the delegates reported about the New York Civil Rights Conference, two comrades sold three copies of Socialism On Trial and 10 copies of The Militant. Considering that the meeting was not well attended (they had about 35 people) and that the audience was predominantly Stalinist, that is not a bad result."

M. S. also notes that in continuing their sub campaign Seattle has started a contest using the San Francisco scoring point system.

Here is a good idea if you are concentrating on single copy sales of The Militant, suggested by Phyllis B. of San Francisco: "Where we sell single copies we try to get the names and addresses of buyers with the intention of calling back on these buyers after they've had a chance to read the copy."

Howard says that the next phase of the Detroit subscription campaign is being directed toward the shops with unionist supporters of The Militant contacting all the old subscribers in 18 various plants. Detroit sent in 18

subscriptions to The Militant this week.

Literature Agent G. L. C. of Philadelphia writes to tell us that 11 pamphlets and about fifty Militants were distributed at their third street corner meeting of the year. Philadelphia has organized a committee of comrades headed by G. L. C. and Comrade E. B. to concentrate on getting renewal subscriptions.

Toledo Literature Agent A. W. reports the "beginning of a campaign to get renewals on all expired subs. We are having a mobilization of the whole branch shortly and hope to get a lot of renewals and new subscribers." "I am enclosing one dollar for a six months sub to The Militant," writes Grace Carlson of Minneapolis. "This sub was obtained at an outing held last Sunday at the farm of some comrades in Renville County — 120 miles from the Twin Cities. A number of Farmers Union members from the surrounding counties attended. Aside from all of the good food, fresh air, etc., we had a fine talk by V. R. Dunne, followed by questions and the sale of party literature. We expect that other subs will follow from that section of Minnesota."

F. K. of Los Angeles sent in a dollar donation when she renewed her sub to The Militant and Fourth International this week.

And to windup this column here is a letter from L. B. of California. "Gentlemen: Enclosed find one dollar for which please send me The Militant. I am what you call a Stalinist, but I want to read your sheet the better to answer your arguments."

Your Paper

THE MILITANT is your paper. It has no big-time backers like the capitalist press. It's financed through the nickels, dimes and dollars of working people who understand the priceless value of a paper that dares to tell the truth without compromise.

THE MILITANT has but one aim — to do everything it can to advance the long-range interests of the poor.

Here are some typical comments from readers grateful to find one honest paper in America:

"I certainly appreciate your stand for truth and honesty." — F. S. of Minnesota.

"I am a lover of democratic principles, freedom of speech, of the press and freedom from want and fear. I am happy to know that there is a newspaper in America that had enough backbone to make known to the public the death of a Jehovah's Witness in Greece when all other papers were practically mum on the subject." — V. L. of Allentown, Pa.

"Never before has your fighting paper of the working class been more needed. May the ranks of your subscribers continue to swell and with them the ranks of socialism." — George S. of Bayport, N. Y.

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TROTSKY

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly paid experience of the past."

—Leon Trotsky, Stalinism and Bolshevism, 1937.



LENIN

We Can't Rely on the Courts

Defenders of civil rights are heartened by the action of Circuit Court Judge Joseph Sherbow of Maryland in declaring unconstitutional the state's Ober "thought control" law. But it would be a grave mistake to assume that this ruling in a state lower court reflects the general attitude of the American judiciary to witch-hunt laws.

In fact, what is remarkable about the Maryland case is that a judge could be found honest and courageous enough to defend the Bill of Rights against the all-out assault being waged by capitalist interests and their political henchmen. Judge Sherbow's ruling stands forth with such brilliance only amid the darkness of judicial reaction. As Shakespeare said: "How far that little candle throws its beams! So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

Only four days before Judge Sherbow's ruling on the Maryland law, two out of three judges of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington drove another judicial nail in the coffin of civil rights by upholding Truman's "loyalty" purge procedure and the political blacklist of "subversive" organizations issued under Truman's executive order by former Attorney General and now U. S. Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark. This means that the second highest court in the land has approved the victimization of individuals and groups without charges or hearings or the right to confront their accusers.

Organizing the Unemployed

The CIO auto workers union has taken a far-reaching step by initiating organization of the unemployed in Michigan auto centers, starting with Muskegon. This is recognition not only of the fact that the unemployed can defend their interests only through organized action, but that the unions have a direct responsibility to their unemployed members.

During the last depression most of the union leaders, particularly the AFL craft moguls, either ignored the unemployed or were actively hostile to the militant independent unemployed organizations whose methods of mass action inspired the employed workers to struggle. The average union bureaucrat was interested only in those workers who could pay full union dues regularly.

Notable exceptions were the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Drivers Local 544, which organized an effective fighting unemployed section under the Local 544 charter, and the auto union which in 1938 set up a WPA division.

Generally speaking, however, unionists who had sacrificed to build the unions were accorded very shabby treatment by the union officials when they could no longer keep up their dues payments. In

Many liberals point to Judge Sherbow's ruling to support their contention that we can depend on the federal courts, particularly the Supreme Court, to uproot the laws against civil rights now sprouting like weeds in local, state and federal legislatures. This is utter blindness to the record of the federal courts and their nature and function.

We need look no further than the Supreme Court's attitude on the Smith Act of 1940, the first federal law since the infamous Alien and Sedition Act of 1798 to make mere advocacy of ideas a felony. It is well to recall that in 1943 the Supreme Court refused three times even to review the first case under the Smith Act, the conviction before Pearl Harbor of 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO leaders who were railroaded to prison during the war.

The Supreme Court is the most carefully-selected and inviolable judicial agency of the capitalist state, composed overwhelmingly of ex-corporation lawyers. In recent years particularly, it has shown an unbroken record of vengeful bias against labor. We would be naive indeed to put any trust in it to safeguard civil rights in its future decisions.

That safeguard rests exclusively in the hands of the people themselves, especially the labor movement. It is the organized action of an awakened and determined people that alone will halt the brutal offensive of the totalitarians, thought-controllers and witch-hunters.

most cases, they were dropped from the union rolls and left without organized protection at the time when they needed it most.

The employers are fully aware that the unemployed, when unorganized and demoralized, can be used as a threat to the organized employed workers. Desperate jobless workers, with no ties to the labor movement, are a source of cheap scab labor. The employers have no more powerful weapon to speed up workers and beat down wages than an army of jobless in such misery and despair they will take jobs at any pay.

Hitler and Mussolini both used demoralized unemployed in their offensives against the trade unions, which had failed to organize and fight for the jobless. This is a lesson the American trade unions dare not ignore as economic crisis grips this country once more.

What the UAW has begun in Muskegon must be extended and its example must be followed by all other unions. We must prevent any division between the employed and unemployed workers. It is the duty of the unions to keep the unemployed within their ranks and to organize them for action.

The Union Leaders and Tom Clark

Tom Clark as Attorney General three times invoked strikebreaking injunctions, once against the railroad workers and twice against the coal miners. He issued the notorious political blacklist of "subversive" organizations under which federal employees like James Kutcher, the legless veteran, have been fired as "disloyal." He impeded FBI investigation of the scandalous Kansas City vote fraud in 1946 until after the impounded ballots — the only evidence — were stolen. He caused the detention without bail of non-citizens and called for concentration camps for "deportable" aliens. He failed to carry out a single effective prosecution of the trusts.

This is but a small part of the infamous anti-labor, anti-civil liberties and pro-corporation record of the man whom the Senate last week, by a vote of 73 to 8, confirmed as a U. S. Supreme Court justice by appointment of Truman.

It is noteworthy that Clark was endorsed overwhelmingly by Republicans as well as Democrats. This is the clearest indication that he had the nod from the biggest financial and corporate interests.

There was one force which could have blocked this appointment and confirmation of Clark. That is organized labor. But with the notable exception of the

United Mine Workers leadership, the top leaders of the union movement, both AFL and CIO, supported Clark's appointment.

These union leaders were motivated partly by a desire to express their opposition to "reds." But mostly they acted out of cowardly opportunism, unwillingness to oppose and expose the Truman gang with whom they have a dirty political alliance.

The same is true for those self-avowed liberals in the Senate like Douglas, Humphrey, Pepper, Kefauver, Kilgore and Magnusson, who talk about defending civil liberties — and voted to put into the Supreme Court the outstanding symbol of the witch-hunt.

These union leaders and liberals are going to rue the day that a man like Tom Clark began to sit on the Supreme Court through their cowardice and political opportunism. Many decisive labor and civil rights cases will come before Tom Clark. In most instances, he will cast the deciding vote. Can there be any doubt where he will stand?

The labor movement and the cause of civil liberties have been dealt a treacherous blow by the union leaders and so-called liberals who helped grease Clark's way to the highest and most powerful judicial body in the land.

Marcantonio Tries to Keep the Door Open

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, Aug. 22 — Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York, is trying to find a future berth in the Democratic Party even in the midst of his campaign as a self-

styled "labor" representative. This political scandal became public last week, to the delight of the capitalist press, when the Board of Elections disqualified Camio Lagala, personal friend of Marcantonio, who was trying to get the nomination as Tammany District Leader in East Harlem.

"The whole incident shows that Marcantonio is not interested in building a really independent party of labor," I was told by Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor. "For years his policy has been to swing the American Labor Party to the support of one or another capitalist candidate, sometimes Democrat and sometimes Republican."

"Whether Marcantonio openly supports a capitalist candidate, or tries to get a 'sleeper' inside the Democratic Party to pull strings for him later on, he is committing the same crime of selling capitalist politics to the workers."

"In this case, the evidence showed that one-third of the men and women who went out to get petitions signed for Lagala were members of the American Labor Party who were also circulating petitions for the ALP ticket headed by Marcantonio. No one has denied this part of the report."

"Lagala tries to wriggle out of the situation by saying he is a loyal Democrat, not an ALP member. That is not as important as the fact that Marcantonio has proved himself a disloyal ALP leader. He has ordered the ALP members to spend their time and energies working for the avowed candidate of an enemy party. That is an outrageous crime against the membership of the ALP. It can only damage the party's prestige, discourage and confuse its members, and make them the laughing-stock of the working class."

Marcantonio must bear full personal responsibility for the attempted maneuver, Bartell pointed out. He rules the ALP with an iron hand, on behalf of the Stalinists and against the democratically expressed wishes of the members.

"When rank and file members of the ALP signed designating petitions for Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, who is fighting Marcantonio's hand-picked candidate, Ewart Guinier, for the ALP nomination as candidate for Manhattan Borough President, Marcantonio tried to beat them down. He sent personal letters to every signer, ordering them to repudiate their signatures on the petitions, and viciously slandering Connolly."

"When that failed, Guinier challenged the Connolly petitions at the Board of Elections hearing. He charged that Connolly had an insufficient number of valid signatures, and should not be allowed on the primary ballot. Guinier lost the challenge."

"It will be interesting to see the results of the ALP primary. The Connolly group is putting up a stiff fight for democracy within the ALP."

"But the sad truth is that the ALP is not in any sense what its name implies. It is not a labor party, it is not based on the labor movement, and it does not have a program that meets the needs of labor."

"Those who want to see a real labor party emerge on the scene, should study the program of the Socialist Workers Party and vote for its candidates."

"We of the Socialist Workers Party call for the formation of a party based on the labor movement, running its own candidates independent of and in opposition to all capitalist parties, and founded on the bedrock of working class principles."

The Socialist Workers Party slate is headed by Michael Bartell, New York organizer of the party and its choice for Mayor. Other SWP candidates are Gladys Barker for President of City Council; Harry Ring for Controller; and Harold Robbins for Borough President of Manhattan.

A rousing mobilization of members and friends on Aug. 20, brought the total number of petition signatures secured to the 6,700 mark. The legally required minimum is 7,500, but the party expects with another mobilization on Sat., Aug. 27, to go well over that figure.

SWP URGES DEFEAT OF WITCH-HUNT AMENDMENT

(Continued from Page 1) the curt answer was given that there would be no public hearing on the amendment, but only on the ordinance to implement it after it was passed.

The bait being used to lure votes for the amendment is "anti-communism." This is an obvious fraud because the influence of the Communist Party among Detroit workers doesn't amount to a tinker's dam. Many years of company-minded practices have lost the Communist Party its once significant following. The immediate target of the red-baiters is the wage drive of the CIO United Public Workers. An additional objective is to cut off many applicants and recipients from the welfare rolls and patients from the city hospitals.

The Aug. 18 Detroit News reported a dispute between Councilman Charles G. Oakman, who spearheaded the employers' drive to break the garmenters' strike last year, and Yale Stuart, leader of the UPW-CIO which represents 10,000 municipal employees. It quoted Oakman as saying he would not deal with Stuart on wage matters concerning city employees until Stuart answered an inquiry on communism. Instead of badly need wage raises, the city administration has offered wage cuts and a union-busting drive.

But this campaign against the political rights of 30,000 city workers is only the opening gun in a much broader campaign. Its aims are to persecute not only political minorities in the working class but all minorities, particularly Negroes and Jews. Already the Police Department has understood the action of the City Council as a signal to step up its campaign of terror and brutality, against workers, minorities and even disabled veterans.

The aim is to set the pattern of persecution on city employees and to extend it to all workers, including the UAW. The method used is to divide the workers, fire their more aggressive members, intimidate the rest and so house-break the unions. Experience with the Truman-Clark "loyalty" purge shows how these things work out. First, they fired James Kutcher, legless veteran and SWP member. Then they fired a flock of postal employees, the majority of them Negroes and Jews. Last week Washington ordered the suspension of more Detroit postal employees, including James

Neenan, president of the local chapter of the AFL National Association of Letter Carriers, in the postal service for 26 years.

What is the attitude of the CIO officials to this question? To begin with, all their political "friends of labor," such as George Edwards, CIO-endorsed candidate for Mayor, Governor Williams and Councilman Edward P. Connor, said they favored a "loyalty" board. Edwards and Connor voted in the City Council to put the amendment on the ballot. Williams, seconded by Edwards and Connor, raised some two-bit legal objections to the wording of this particular amendment; but when the heat was turned on, they just forgot about it. The CIO-endorsed councilman candidate, former Mayor Jeffries, is a notorious opponent of civil rights. He was Mayor during the 1943 anti-Negro riots when the police played such a brutal role.

OFFICIAL CIO STAND

On paper, the Wayne County CIO Council has expressed itself against the amendment. The paper statement means very little. The CIO officials treat it as a tenth-rate question, claiming the important campaign issues are housing, transportation, taxes, schools, sanitation, health facilities, etc. But the question they have to answer is this:

How can labor fight effectively to improve living standards and social services if it is deprived of its civil rights? How can the workers win better conditions if their rights to speak, write and meet without penalty are restricted? Conditions in the South prove that where the workers are deprived of civil rights, the organization of unions suffers and living standards are low.

Workers of Detroit: The Socialist Workers Party warns that this amendment is a most serious threat to your rights and living standards. That is why the daily press and the capitalist politicians are urging you to support it. Do not be tricked by the so-called subversive bait. Every independent and militant union man and woman is regarded as a "subversive" by the bosses. An injury to one is an injury to all! Defend your civil rights, defend your unions, defend your living standards. On Sept. 13 turn out and vote NO on the charter amendment.

18,000 IN FIVE-DAY WALKOUT AT DETROIT CHRYSLER WORKS

DETROIT, Aug. 22 — The largest and longest unauthorized strike to hit the auto plants here in a long time ended this morning with the return to work of 18,000 Chrysler workers at the Kercheval and Jefferson plants after a five-day walkout. The order to return to work came without any apparent settlement of the discharge dispute which had precipitated the walkout.

The incident which precipitated the strike climaxed many months of increasingly bitter relations between the company and the union. A week ago Saturday a probationary worker on the night shift was fired for "refusing to do work assigned."

The worker in question was a torch-solderer who, because of lack of work in his regular classification, had been ordered by the foreman to "push bodies," a far less desirable operation. The probationary torch-solderer asked for the chief steward in order to determine whether under the contract he was compelled to take the assigned work or whether he had the right to refuse and go home as the work involved was overtime work.

The foreman not only refused to call the chief steward but immediately fired the worker. When the line steward left the operation in search of the chief steward, the foreman had two plant protection men forcibly eject the probationary worker from the plant. The worker was manhandled in the process.

The torch-solderer group informed the chief steward that if the fired worker was not reinstated by 6:30 P.M. they would refuse to work. At 6:30 P.M., with no progress reported, they quit work. Immediately the line steward was fired for "instigating the work stoppage." As the workers could not be prevailed upon to resume work the entire shift was sent home.

On Tuesday morning several thousand day-shift workers voted unanimously to remain home indefinitely until the fired men were back on the job. Sharp warnings to the local leadership not to capitulate to the pressure of the

international union were voiced at the meeting. The general mood seemed to prevail that "we have been pushed around by the company long enough. It is time we make a stand."

The strike expressed the pent-up anger and discontent provoked in recent months by increasing company attacks — firings, "disciplinary" layoffs, indiscriminate firing of probationary employees, tougher enforcement of company rules with constant interference of the plant protection men. Failure of the local leadership and shop committee to organize a serious struggle against these company moves had resulted in a virtual "concentration camp" atmosphere.

The aggressive action by the membership did not immediately meet resistance from the local union officials. This can be traced to a division within the local Reutherite administration. No doubt, this was largely responsible for the failure of the international to immediately issue its usual order to return to work.

After several days of meeting with the company, the local officers ordered the membership to return to work this morning. This was interpreted by the ranks as meaning that the fired men had been reinstated. When word spread that the discharge cases had not been settled, resentment and bitterness were widely expressed.

Involved here was a test of strength between the Chrysler Corporation and the union which every active UAW member in Detroit was watching with great interest. A clear-cut victory would have been a source of great encouragement to the whole union in the current national negotiations. The failure of the UAW leadership to carry the fight through to the end underlines the need for a new leadership — one that will match the rank and file's willingness to fight.



VITO MARCANTONIO

Detroit Labor Misses Political Boat

DETROIT, Aug. 23 — The CIO leaders here are again turning their backs on independent labor political action. Instead, they are campaigning for George Edwards, an ex-auto union leader and now a big-wig in ADA and Democratic Party circles, for Mayor and backing a slate for City Council dominated by capitalist career politicians plus two unionists.

With over 300,000 CIO members plus their families in the Detroit area, the CIO had an unexcelled opportunity to run a full labor slate and elect a city administration responsible to the working people.

Edwards and his labor supporters are playing down his labor background and seeking votes on the basis of his alleged personal merits. Reducing the issues to personal merits plays into the hands of the leading boss-sponsored mayoralty candidates: the incumbent Mayor Eugene W. Anwerp; Albert Cobo, ambitious City Treasurer; and Richard Frankenstein, former UAW vice-president and now an employer and labor relations man.

The AFL has endorsed Cobo, Dodge Local 3 paper is campaigning for Frankenstein and the Stalinist-influenced unions are running their own little campaign for Mort Furay, United Public Workers vice-president.

Strike Parade Inspects Bell Plant, Finds Only Few Scabs

(Continued from page 1) the injunction, recognized that Bell Aircraft was following the same pattern when it obtained its injunction which drastically limited the picketing at the Bell plant to a mere 15 at each gate, and imposed other severe restraints on the union.

The passage of a resolution at the CIO Council meeting to fight the injunction menace on an area-wide basis and to alert the labor movement on the Niagara Frontier to its imminent danger was due to the initiative of the militants, who sponsored the resolution and after its passage consistently pushed to implement it with further action.

At this writing, Anthony Tauriello, Democratic Congressman from Buffalo, and several others, are seeking on behalf of the union the intervention of Secretary of Air Symington in the strike. The latter, thus far, has declined to intervene. Demands that the Air Force cancel Bell's contracts unless it negotiates with the union are certainly in order, but it would be the worst of illusions to rely on that government agency to win the strike for the workers.

The path of mass action, upon which the union leadership has embarked only recently — after the strike had been in progress for eight long weeks — is the only guarantee for victory. In the meantime, there are growing signs that the contest between Bell Aircraft and Local 501 is gradually assuming the proportions of a class battle, the like of which has not been seen on the Niagara Frontier.

In the meantime, the union organized a rousing mass meeting last Sunday at which strong pledges of all-out support were received from the local CIO. The growing concern of the local labor movement over Bell's strike-breaking was evidenced by the resolution passed last week by the Buffalo CIO, which recommended an area-wide general walkout in support of the Bell strikers. It was this resolution, introduced and supported by the militants of the Buffalo area, which hastened the union's steps in the direction of mass action and mass support from the labor movement as the best method of bringing victory to the Bell strikers.

The Sunday mass meeting showed growing recognition by the Buffalo CIO leaders and the UAW that this was no mere isolated struggle but part and parcel of a general union-busting drive by the employers on the Niagara Frontier. This was indicated by Congressman Tauriello's remarks at the union rally, "If you lose here," he said, "you will lose throughout the country. Management throughout the U. S. is watching this strike."

In a similar vein, Hugh Thompson, CIO Regional Director and Council President, said: "Your fight will go down in history as the fight that stopped employers throughout the U. S. from breaking unions."

The local leadership of the union as well as the regional heads of the UAW are at last aware that only a militant policy of mass action can bring victory to the Bell workers. This was shown by the remarks of at least two of the leaders who said that there would be "no further retreat" by the union.

MASS ACTION URGED

Militants throughout the local CIO, and especially from Local 501, have consistently proposed various forms of mass action and an involvement of the Buffalo labor movement. It was the militants who, immediately after the defeat of the CIO National Carbon strikers by the use of

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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BOSTON — Workers' Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p. m. social Sat. of month.
BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone 2410000. Every Thursday except Sun.
CHICAGO — 168 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30 p. m. phone for an appointment.
CLEVELAND — Techs Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p. m.
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HARLEM — 108 W. 110 St., Rm. 28. Phone MO 2-1898. Open discussion. Friday, 8 p. m.
BRONX — Hunts Point Palace, 963 Southern Blvd., Room 25. Every Fri. night at 8:30 p. m.
BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 345 Pennsylvania Ave., off B'way, meetings every Tues., 8 p. m.
CHELSEA — 130 W. 28th St. Phone AL 5-2488.
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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.
PITTSBURGH — 1415 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p. m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p. m.
SAN FRANCISCO — 1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.
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SEATTLE — Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 2975. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meetings Tues., 7:30 p. m. Library, bookstore.
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By Fred Hart

Morris Hillquit, who was Norman Thomas' predecessor as head of the American Socialist Party, was once described by Leon Trotsky as "a Babbitt of Babbitts, the ideal Socialist leader for successful dentists."

Last week Thomas again exhibited his total lack of working class principles and value to the warmongers in his appearance at the congressional hearings on the foreign military aid bill.

The administration is asking for about a billion and a half dollars from Congress to arm the Atlantic Pact countries, Greece and Turkey, Iran, Korea and the Philippines.

However, the Democratic administration has struck a slight snag. The Republicans are becoming critical of the administration's specific proposals for implementing the program of world conquest.

The Democrats and Republicans can not disagree on the need for arming their allies in the struggle against "communism."

Norman Thomas intervened in the dispute to help iron out differences and see if a satisfactory compromise could be negotiated.

Thomas aligned himself with the Republican foreign policy leaders, Senators Vandenberg and Dulles, by approving their proposal to halt arms shipments in case Congress was dissatisfied with the defense plans of the European countries.

Thomas participated in the pressure campaign against the Marshall Plan powers was of course properly decorated with pacifist shrubbery.

He likewise counseled delay until the United States had issued a "dramatic appeal" for world disarmament through the United Nations.

In the days of Eugene Debs a Socialist leader was supposed to oppose militarism, imperialism, and the parties of Wall Street.

Thomas has long since cast aside the memory of this tradition. He is put on parade whenever the capitalist politicians can use a "socialist" stamp on their imperialist projects.

Today the ILG members here, in the second largest garment center in the country, are beginning to feel the full weight of the Dubinsky bureaucracy's crackdown on the Los Angeles Division of the ILGWU.

The climax of this assault on union democracy came in April when a committee of the ILG general executive board "investigated charges of communism" in the Los Angeles locals and joint boards and ordered four business agents and officers who had not signed Taft-Hartley "non-communist" affidavits to resign.

About 100 local executive board members on trial were found "guilty" of following political tendencies contrary to those decreed by Dubinsky's international machine.

In addition, to be sure that local officials don't deviate from "international policy," two "supervisors" from New York were imposed on the local organizations, Morris Bagnio as head of the local Cloak Joint Board and Margaret DiMaggio as head of the Dress Joint Board.

For several years the ILG international office tried in devious ways to bring under its complete domination the locals and leaders comprising the Cloak and Dress Joint Boards here.

The Taft-Hartley Law gave a weapon to the Dubinsky bureaucracy which, after the 1947 convention, issued orders that all officers, paid and unpaid, were to sign yellow-dog T-H affidavits.

When the few officers resigned over the issue of the T-H affidavits, the International's man Levy directed that no elections be held to fill the vacancies.

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help iron out differences and see if a satisfactory compromise could be negotiated. In testifying he offered his credentials as honest broker by recalling that he had favored ratification of the North Atlantic Pact with which the military assistance program is linked.

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NUMBER 35

Union Democracy Struggles Waged in CIO, AFL Bodies

Dubinsky Machine Exposes Itself in L. A. Crackdown

LOS ANGELES — David Dubinsky's machine, which boasts of its liberalism and democracy, is being exposed by its iron-fisted tactics against the local opposition here as a hide-bound bureaucracy that tolerates no democratic expression in the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Today the ILG members here, in the second largest garment center in the country, are beginning to feel the full weight of the Dubinsky bureaucracy's crackdown on the Los Angeles Division of the ILGWU.

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DAVID DUBINSKY

The Cutters, which had previously sent a committee to New York to discuss Levy's authority with Dubinsky, raised a voluntary fund and continued to pay the business agent for 14 weeks.

Last April, the GEB committee arrived and conducted a mass trial. The accusers retained attorney Abe Levy, son of the local ILG dictator, to represent them.

BUREAUCRATS IN ACTION The local officers who failed to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits were dictatorially removed and the rest of the local leadership placed on "parole" by the GEB committee.

Bagno promptly asserted his authority at his first Cloak Joint Board meeting by declaring he would scrutinize all incoming communications to determine which warranted consideration.

To emphasize that Bagno and DiMaggio are carrying out a dictatorial role assigned them by the Dubinsky machine, the International GEB has passed a specific resolution stating, in part: "Any and all decisions, orders and directives issued by the General Supervisor on any matter within the supervisory powers... shall and must be obeyed until reversed by the President [Dubinsky], or the GEB."

That is Dubinsky's "democracy."

NMU Convention Faces Fight Against Bureaucratic Policy

By R. Bell

The Seventh Biennial Convention of the CIO National Maritime Union to convene in New York City on Sept. 12 will mark a continuation of the struggle for internal union democracy begun by the Rank & File Caucus prior to the last convention.

Until the period prior to the 1947 convention the Stalinists ruled the NMU with an iron hand. The union was known as one of the most Stalinized in the country.

One example will suffice to indicate the kind of regime the Stalinists imposed on the membership when they were in power. At the 1945 convention, the last held under complete Stalinist domination, a resolution was introduced "to reaffirm" the no-strike pledge.

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SPLIT IN APPARATUS It must be remembered that all this time the leadership was united in support of the Communist Party's "win-the-war" policy of class collaboration — labor-management cooperation, national unity, no-strike pledge, etc. But with the end of the war, the honeymoon between the Kremlin and Washington drew to a close.

For a time the struggle was confined to the top circles of the leadership. But this state of affairs could not last. The Stalinists had virtual control of the union apparatus and occupied over 80% of the posts. They had a large and disciplined fraction in the ranks. They set out to pick off those officials considered "unreliable" and began to build up one of their hacks as a possible contender against Curran for the office of president.

It became apparent that if the struggle was confined to the leadership the Curran group was doomed. Against the Stalinist machine there was only one power, one force, capable of waging a winning fight — the rank and file membership of the union. To enlist the aid of the membership the Curran group was compelled to elaborate a program of democratic reform and initiate a struggle for internal union democracy.

CAUCUS COMPOSITION The Rank & File Caucus was composed of divergent elements ranging from far right to extreme left. Because of its composition no attempt was made to bind the caucus on any of the controversial political issues of the day.

The Rank & File Caucus actually took form at the 1947 convention. It initiated a series of constitutional amendments designed to curb the power of the National Council and vest greater control of the union's affairs in the ranks.

The Rank & File Caucus was "officially" dissolved. Although the decision to dissolve was taken at the beginning it later would have been impossible, as later events proved, to hold the conflicting tendencies together under the new conditions.

POSITIONS REVERSED Bureaucrats in power always frown upon factional groupings in the union. The Stalinists had for years propagandized against all factional groups. That is — all except their own. They had achieved a large measure of success until the Curran group was compelled to break down the prejudice against caucus formations to save their own necks.

But the Curran faction soon discovered that rank and file movements are not turned on and off like a water faucet. With the so-called "peace" blossoming into a "cold war" between the Kremlin and Washington, the conflict between the respective labor lieutenants of Stalin and the American State Department grew hotter. Curran swung sharply to the right.

A realignment was taking place in the ranks as a result of the failure of the Curran faction to correct the conditions brought about under Stalinist misleadership. When the Curran group attempted to put over a constitutional amendment calling for the expulsion of so-called "subversives," a revolt took place, led by former adherents of the Rank & File Caucus now holding official positions in the union.

The struggle over the yellow dog amendment split the former Rank & File Caucus down the middle. The members had, through their experience in the fight against the Stalinists, grown jealous of their democratic rights. They had learned that red-baiting and purges are a poor substitute for a progressive leadership.

The opposition forces, although divided into distinct groups, are all mobilizing to prevent the administration from "tightening" any bureaucratic noose on the necks of the members. The issue of preserving and extending internal union democracy will again be one of the most important issues to be dealt with at the NMU convention in September.

(This is the first of a series of three articles.)

Mountain Spring Camp

By George Breitman

Most people have returned from their vacations by this time, and the first season of Mountain Spring Camp is drawing to a close.

Physically, the camp is very attractive. Located in the foothills of the Pocono Mountains near Washington, N. J., and about two hours from New York City, the camp site is covered with hills, valleys, brooks, ponds, wooded areas and shaded trails.

But the feature of the camp that impressed me most was the easy-going, informal, friendly atmosphere that you find so seldom in an institution that is efficiently operated.

Although the season is almost over, there is still a chance for people in the metropolitan area to visit the camp this year — either during the big Labor Day weekend or in the few weeks after that.

During my two weeks there was an excellent educational program in the mornings — one week on the French Revolution of 1789-94 and the other on the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Earlier in the convention, Mr. Thomas E. Henry Jr., representing the Union Employers Section of the Printers Industry of America, deplored the attitude taken by the ITU toward the Taft-Hartley Act.

He stated further that so far as the employers are concerned, "we intend to abide by the law of the land."

Among other things, the convention rejected a proposal to sign the non-communist affidavits and passed a pension measure granting half pay to employees of the union when they retire.

The regular season at Mountain Spring Camp will close on Sept. 12, but arrangements have been made to provide facilities for vacationers after that date at the reduced rate of \$3.50 per day.

There will be a dance and social on Sat. night, Sept. 3. The next evening, the movie, "39 Steps," will be shown together with short subjects.

On Sun., Sept. 4, C. Thomas will deliver a lecture on The Maritime Picture Today, a report on the struggle for union democracy in the East and West Coast maritime unions.

On Mon., Sept. 5, William F. Ward will talk on The Destiny of American Labor, a survey of the historical development and future of the working class.

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the instructor was so competent and the lectures so exciting that attendance was high and on some occasions the discussion lasted longer than the lectures.

My stay happened to coincide with the special two-week period set aside for a children's camp, and although their area was separated from that of the adults I could not help observing how competently it was managed.

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Opponents of Goon Rule In SUP Gain Support

SEATTLE — The battle here for union democracy shows no signs of abatement this week as the Seattle branch of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific stands firm in its defense of John A. Mahoney, one of the best known union militants in this area, whose expulsion was rigged by SUP President Harry Lundberg and his machine.

Mahoney had aroused the fierce hatred of Lundberg's machine because of his criticism of the SUP's strikebreaking role in the Canadian Seamen's strike.

Through The Defender, published by the SUP branch here, the issues involved in this crucial struggle are being brought to the Sailors Union members aboard ship and in all ports.

The second issue of The Defender has now appeared and it reports growing support for its battle to preserve union democracy. News of this significant battle is spreading along the waterfront on all coasts and is evoking wide sympathy and admiration among other seamen for the courageous stand of the Seattle sailors.

The Marine Fireman, official organ of the independent Marine Firemen's Union of the West Coast, has reprinted the key editorial from the first issue of The Defender and introduces it with these editorial words.

"You will agree that every word in it is true, and bless the fact that there are some members in the Sailors Union that have the guts and the courage to speak up for their democratic rights."

Seattle membership of the SUP backed Mahoney. They, too, resent the goon squad tactics and the wholesale scabbardry that has dragged the SUP reputation in the mire.

The Firemen's Union itself has been the victim of continuous hostility and harassment by the Lundberg machine. Many jobs that rightfully would be manned by Marine Firemen's Union men have been snatched off by the SUP in line with its "cannibal" raiding program.

The Marine Fireman goes on to say in its lead article that "the Seattle Sailors' continually have been critical and outspoken about the Lundberg policies of raiding and of crashing other unions' picket lines; they were critical of the recruitment of goons at twenty dollars per day to break the Sears Roebuck strike; they were equally critical of the tactics in the ROLANDO beef; they didn't like the role of the SUP in scabbing on the Union Oil deal in which SUP men crashed NMU picket lines to man the struck tankers."

"Mahoney is a fighting Irishman and he long has been especially critical of that other obnoxious situation in the Sailors Union which has long smelled in the nostrils of all decent sailors — the use of goon squads to intimidate the membership."

"Mahoney is a fighter and several goons that were sent out to get him, found they had met their match. More than that, the

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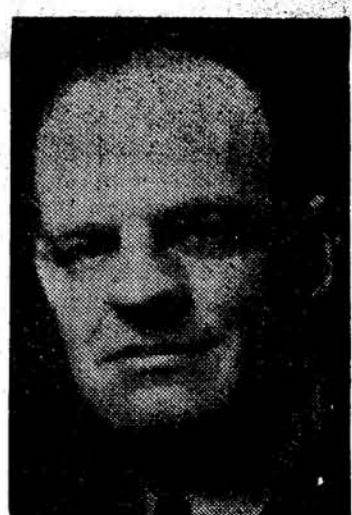
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JOSEPH CURRAN