BUFFALO, Sept. 13 - Ten leaders and participants in the bitterly-fought Bell strike here today surrendered to the police who have been hunting them for several days on frameup charges resulting from clashes on the Bell picket line last week. The unionists were released on \$5,000 bail each, after which their bargaining committee went to the first meeting held with the company in two months. The negotiations, resumed under state and federal mediation agency sponsorship, were attended by UAW Vice-President John Livingston.

their leaders on a scale unheard? of on the Niagara Frontier. The radio attack on the undaunted arrests were carried out with the strikers and their union. consent and connivance of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and were heralded by a concerted press and

Kutcher to Tour Midwest Centers Starting Sept. 24

Following his successful visit to the West Coast, James Kutthe key cities of the Middle West strike could be taken care of. during October and November. Kutcher will remain in the Chicago area for two weeks. During that period he will make a visit to Milwaukee.

The Detroit Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is developing extensive plans for Kutcher's visit. He will speak before many important CIO unions, to university and other audiences. On Oct. 24 Kutcher will go to Toledo for his first stop in Ohio. The remainder of his tour will take him to Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, Pittsburgh and Buffalo

NEXT LEGAL STEPS

Kutcher will be accompanied by George Novack, national secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, while he is in Chicago. They will hold consultations with M. J. Myer, attorney in charge of Kutcher's appeal, on the next legal steps to be

constitutionality of the whole "loyalty purge" and calling upon Kutcher's discharge because of plant halted some distance from the CIO National Maritime Union his political beliefs and restore the plant to await a police escort. convention in this city last Monhis job in the Veterans Ad- They approached the plant with day. Loyalty to the capitalist ministration will shortly be filed intent to crash the picket lines. government was the issue on

BUFFALO, Sept. 12 — Niagara County authorities working in collusion with the Bell Aircraft Corporation began a series of mass arrests of striking Bell workers and

Vol. XIII - No. 38

As these lines are being written, deputy sheriffs are still continuing the hunt for unionists in all of Niagara and Erie County. More than 35 unionists have been arrested. Almost all of them were pulled in late last week and held incommunicado, some without bail and some without any charges. The Niagara County District Attorney in a public statement issued to the press openly boasted that he would seek to set the bail so high that the union wouldn't be able to get them out. cher will fly to Chicago Sept. 24, Once the leaders and activists where he will begin a tour of were in jail he asserted than the

UNITED LABOR SUPPORT

The action of the District Attorney and Sheriff Becker followed upon the heels of two mass demonstrations carried out on be-On Oct. 9 the legless veteran half of Local 501 at the Bell gates will travel to Flint, Mich., where last Wednesday and Thursday folarrangements are being made lowing a call by the United Lafor him to address several of the bor Defense Committee composed largest UAW locals. He will of the CIO, AFL and IAM. This proceed to Detroit the following committee, set up by organized day where he will stay for two labor in Buffalo, moved into action when it became apparent that Bell's union-busting drive endangered the entire local labor movement.

The two demonstrations had been eagerly awaited by the Bell strikers as the only answer to the company's provocative scab-herding efforts to break the backbone of the 14-week old strike. The company had been organizing vigilante groups to terrorize the strikers and coerce them to scab.

In addition, it armed hundreds of office and technical employees as well as strikebreakers with blackjacks and other weapons. The long expected showdown between the company and the union came early Wednesday morning when hundreds of unionists from all over the Niagara Frontier massed at the Bell gates in a challenge to the scabs to run the A complaint challenging the gauntlet of the massed picket

Twelve busloads of office em- was the keynote struck by Presifederal courts to rescind ployees and scabs bound for the dent Joseph Curran in opening

(Continued on Page 4)

ed," thundered Curran. Pledge U.S. YUGOSLAVS PROTEST cards were circulated among the delegates binding them to sup-CAMPAIGN AGAINST TITO

A number of organizations composed of Americans of Yugoslav origin have issued strong condemnations of the Cominform campaign against Yugoslavia, according to an Aug. 26 dispatch from

In Chicago, the dispatch re-

ports, several groups have joined the Creat Fraternal Community. together in adopting a resolution It said in part: which states in part:

"We salute the struggle now being carried on by the peoples of Yugoslavia, as well as the efforts they are making in the building of socialism. We are firmly convinced that the peowhich is just and profitable to from the side of imperialism.

The resolution also condemns all whose who "directly or ining of socialism in Yugoslavia"

Croat Union of South Chicago; new Yugoslavia.' Vladislay Charitch, president of the "Matija Goubetz," section of bers of the social club Chibenik the Croat Fraternity of South adopted a resolution saying: Chicago; Ivan Beyo, president of "Fourteen months have passed the "Jadranska Straja" Club; S. since the publication of the reso-Barechitch, treasurer of the Croat Jution of the Information Bureau, Union; Marian Goutch, president and having taken into account of the "Imotski" Club of South everything that it contains and Chicago; Znaver, president of Section 275 of the Croat Frater- after its appearance, we come to break up. nal Community of South Chicago; and 58 other Yugoslav- hood, consisting of accusations

by the delegates of eight Croat of the new Yugoslavia."

ers Order and four sections of

THE SAME METHODS

"The hostile campaign carried on against the peoples of the new Yugoslavia is reminiscent of the counter-revolution which the international imperialists organized as their mentor. We are similarly Today the same method and the convinced that the peoples of same slogans are being used Yugoslavia and their leaders against Yugoslavia by all those desire full collaboration with all who were themselves at one time their neighbors, collaboration exposed to a similar pressure

"We appeal to all democratic Americans of Yugoslav origin to oppose the incitement of hate directly are sabotaging the build- against the heroic people of Yugoslavia, to condemn the and the papers Narodni Glasnik, splitting role of the organizers Slobodna Retch and the Canadian of the anti-Yugoslav campaign, Jedinstvo for printing inaccurate to unfold a defense of [Yugoand false reports about Yugo- slavia's] just cause. . . We appeal slavia. The resolution was signed to our peoples in the USA to! furnish, today more than ever, Gouditch, secretary of the moral aid to the peoples of the

> In New York City the memthe conclusion that it is a falsein bad faith and brutal inter-

including the International Work-

everything that has been written

Tanjug, the Yugoslav news organizations in South Chicago,

'loyal" union.

The most important aftermaths

1. Governor Dewey ordered a of the concert sponsors. grand jury investigation, whose blame for the assault on the outlaw their attempts to defend

"plague on both your houses" equally the victims and perpe-

3. Reactionaries began prevent repetitions of Peeskill and impartially." is by banning meetings which fascist elements might want to

and punished. He replied by com- admitted, "were exercising the r stitutional rights. The blood that want no Pittsburgh incidents to

What Dewey Wants to Whitewash

Shown above is an example of the kind of "protection" provided by Governor Dewey's cops

at the Sept. 4 Robeson concert near Peekskill. A witness of this scene, James L. Hicks, reporter

for the Afro-American, said: "I saw Jean Bullard, first colored aviator in World War I and

holder of the French Croix de Guerre, knocked down at my feet and brutally kicked and beaten

by State troopers as he lay on the ground because he spat back at an anti-Robeson veteran who

had spit in his face." The cops later forced the concert-goers into an ambush where hundreds

resolution was held in abevance.

There is not another labor

contents of the resolution, the country.

were injured by rock-throwing hoodlums.

NEW YORK, Sept. 14-Witch-

which the delegates would bé

called to "stand up and be count-

port the officials in expelling all

With the stage thus set for a

ed-baiting "blitzkrieg" intended bureaucrat in the country who

to stampede the convention, Cur- has attempted to go as far as

His resolution, he declared, was Stalinist fellow-traveller sup-

designed to establish the fact porting every twist and turn in

communists" from the union.

A grand jury will be set up to main aim is obviously to fix study whether the concert was York City . . . carried clubs and that the government should take sponsors of the concert and to deliberately incitings disorder"; precision by their leader, a former situations as prevailed at Peek-"whether it was part of the Army officer." themselves against such violence | Communist strategy to foment 2. Some of the liberals adopted whether the defense guard at the the rocks at Peekskill must share reputation for liberalism and attitude, denouncing more or less force." Dewey himself said that hoodlums who threw those rocks. trators of the fascist attack and, did provoke" the violence, and ments must be made in reply to ary apologists for the hoodlums trying to throttle free speech by like Dewey, condemning the he compared the defense guard reactionary conspirators who as Dewey, who can boast that he victims for seeking to defend to the Bund and the Ku Klux openly announce their intention is only proceeding in accord with to in charge because he promised right to assemble peacefully."

Even before Dewey acted, a

and be counted," the so-called Stalinism he has executed a 180 resolution was obviously nothing degree turn to become one of the more than a replica of the most outspoken of the "loyal"

Without knowing the exact | the most Stalinized union in the

opposition was immediately aware During that period, Curran

hunt, "loyalty" pledge and purge, of its intent. Taken together with over and over again demonstrated his "loyalty" to the pelling each delegate to "stand the Kremlin. Since his break with "loyalty oath" which the mem- supporters of the reactionary bership had rejected recently by clique who head the American referendum vote. With the opposi- State Department. In his new tion alert to the maneuver, the role Curran is frantically con-Curran forces were unable to cerned with proving his "new" muster the necesary two-third loyalty and erasing the stigma vote to suspend the rules and the of past association.

In all this mumbo-jumbo about rules to permit the introduction and witch-hunt measures devised and diplomatic maneuvering of NMU had been known as a though he is driven by a deep- struggle for wages, hours and when such benefits will go into cents an hour." "disloyal" union, sometimes seated "guilt" complex. For alconditions for seamen aboard effect, etc. justly and sometimes unjustly. most ten years, Curran was a American vessels.

The first loyalty of a labor

NOT ONE CENT GRANTED Strike Still BY "FACT-FINDERS"

Truman's steel "fact-finding" board has done a hatchet job on the demands of the CIO United Steel Workers. The board's report, issued Sept. 10, gives the steel workers exactly nothing during the cur-

April 30, 1950. Accepting the phony get not one red cent.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1949

Truman's Steel Board Deals

Blow at CIO 'Fourth Round'

The board also rejected the union's demand for a uniform pension of \$125 per month at retirement age of 65, financed by the companies at a rate of 11.23 cents an hour per worker. It likewise denied the union's demand for health and welfare insurance financed by the companies to the amount of 6.27 cents per hour per worker.

MAXIMUM RECOMMENDED

Instead, the board recommended contpany - paid pension and insurance benefits not to exceed a combined total cost of 10 cents an hour per employee, including such benefits as are already being paid by the companies. The estimated actual cost, based on the maximum "general" recommendation, would be between seven and eight cents per hour

Thus, the board's recommenda tions boil down to a wage freeze and a complete rejection of a "fourth round" increase, plus an endorsement of the principle of social insurance and pensions question arises: Loyal to whom? But the union must still fight out Loyalty to the Kremlin means in separate negotiations with ran opened the afternoon session Curran in introducing into the subordinating the interests of every company the exact amount - which the companies will acintroductory remarks, Curran mine and destroy the organized ty" to the capitalist government sions, the amount and kind of asserted that in the past the labor movement. It seems as at home means abandoning the benefits the workers will get,

rent contract term which expires dividual companies to make

nomics" arguments of the steel has been ballyhooed as a "ten the "fourth round" wage drive monopolists, the board denied the cent package," including a fourunion's demand for a 121/2-cent cent an hour insurance plan and rejects any wage increase for fourly general wage increase. It six cent an hour pension plan. The recommended that the workers report itself states, however, that a wage freeze for all industry.

However, these recommendations "are not intended to apply automatically to individual companies," states the report. It places a top ceiling of 10 cents total on what the union may now seek in individual negotiations with each company. But it leaves the companies free to whittle the minimum. Whatever the companies finally agree to, the report does not even suggest that they pay any benefits until after March 1, 1950.

obligation on the union not to may not go, but gives no recom- the steel workers. leader should be to the men he press for more than the most mended figure around which that the NMU was now a the Communist Party line. Under represents, that is, to the union meager concessions. But it fixes negotiations can take place. It turned down Murray's offer to ng clear obligations on the in-

Looms; Bosses **Yield Nothing** Through his steel "fact-

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

finding" board, Truman has

of the CIO. The board's report

the CIO steel workers and urges

The board coupled its ban on

wage increases with a statement

of economic doctrine that has

disastrous implications for all

future wage demands of labor.

The board denied that higher

That the report as a whole is a

major setback for the unions is

indicated, in part, by the uncon-

cealed jubilation voiced by the

steel barons and the capitalist

press. The N. Y. Times, organ

of the Morgan financial interests

which control U. S. Steel Corp.,

greeted the Truman steel report

as a "statesmanlike and intel-

ligent document," a sentiment

echoed by the entire Big Business

press and reflected in the im-

med ate response of the Stock

Philip Murray, president of both the CIO and the United

Steel Workers, had committed

the union in advance to accept

anything the board proposed, no

matter how meager. He promptly

accepted the board's report be-

cause it contained a sop by way

of a recommendation for com-

pany - financed health insurance

and pensions at a miserably low

But in spite of the steel union

MURRAY ACCEPTS

higher wages.

specific concessions.

The board's recommendation leveled a crippling blow at our rough estimate is that the net result would be about 8 cents an hour."

Where pension or insurance plans are already in effect, the report specifically proposes an increase sufficient only to bring profits and productivity justify the total up to the board's recom-



UAW President Walter Reuther (standing) discusses the steel report with CIO President Philip Murray in Pittsburgh.

mendation. "The recommended

leadership's eagerness to settle even for this sop rather than lead a militant fight for the union's full justified demands, the possibility of a steel strike still

level.

U. S. Steel, Republic Steel and other big corporations which net cost is meant to be the total dominate the industry have cost, not a cost in addition to what refused to concede even this "loyalty" and "disloyalty" the financed solely by the companies. any company is now incurring. . " mite. They have termed the Moreover, the report explicitly proposal for insurance and penstates that the 10-cent figure is sions financed solely by the coma maximum. Any insurance plan, panies a "revolutionary docwith a request to suspend the union the vicious "loyalty" oath the workers to the foreign policy - not to exceed the 10-cent total it states, "should be limited in trine" and "socialistic," although net costs to a maximum of these same companies are payof a "special" resolution. In his by the employers to split, under- the Moscow bureaucrats. "Loyal- tually pay for insurance and pen- about . . . 4 cents an hour," and ing 20 cents a ton royalty on coal pensions "should be limited . . . from their captive mines to to a maximum of about . . . 6 provide the United Mine Workers members a retirement pension The report thus establishes a of \$125 a month - double what In short, the report places an low ceiling above which benefits Truman's board recommends for

> indefinitely postpone the strike scheduled for Sept. 25 if the corporations agree to accept the There appears not the slightest disposition on the part of the companies, now that Truman's cessions proposed by the board to avoid a strike. The steel bosses have reminded Truman that at the start of the steel hearings he assured them that they were in no way bound to accept the poard's recommendations.

If the steel workers are noworced to strike, they enter the (Continued on Page 4)

SWP Petitions Filed In New York City

NEW YORK, Sept. 15 -Nominating petitions for the four Socialist Workers Party candidates in the municipal elections were filed this week. Over 10,000 signatures were submitted, far exceeding the required minimum of 7,500. The SWP candidates are Michael Bartell for Mayor, Harry Ring for Controller, Gladys Barker for President of City Council, and Harold Robbins for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

ples of Yugoslavia know Yugosl

LIBERALS AID REACTION

motives and protective measures came close to incitement to riot, benefits only the fascist hoodand many of the men who came lums. Implied also in the New in chartered buses from New

In other words, according to racial and religious hatred"; and the New Republic, the targets of the New Republic, which has a in the name of preventing concert was "a quasi-military some of the blame with the reflects the opinions of the ADA the hoodlums would be relieved "Communist groups obviously Moreover, no "provocative" state- are helpful only to such reaction-Klan. He said Fanelli was put to violate the "constitutional the vishes of the liberals. peddle the idea that the way to to proceed "promptly, vigorously And above all, there can be no toleration for workers who organize to defend themselves and further, suppression of free other hall could be rented because that constitutional right.

The evident logic of this posi-Dewey had been flooded with similar position was taken by tion is that the workers should protests against the aid given such liberals as the New Re- turn the other cheek to the hoodthe hoodlums by state and county public, one of the chief sup- lums and place all their reliance Legion leaders demanded that realistic position that "police Another declaration was issued ference in the internal affairs officials and police, and with porters of the Fair Deal. The on the "law-enforcement" agen- city and school officials ban the protection" was no guarantee demands that they be investigated concert-goers, its Sept. 12 issue cies for the defense of their con- rally on the ground that: "We against such "disturbances.")

Republic viewpoint is the concept Utterances of this kind from

wing of the Democratic Party,

pletely exonerating the guilty of- constitutional right to assemble was spilled at Peekskill — with be added to the Peekskill in- to yield even the picayune conficials and by appointing one of peacefully. On the other hand, the aid of those same "law-cident." The officials, reported to to the mob attack on the second them, District Attorney Fanelli, their advance statements had enforcement" agencies — testi- be impressed by this argument, Robeson concert near Peekskill them, District Attorney Fanein, then advance statements they fies to the fact that this position promised to consider the applications "carefully." The acceptance of the Legion

in Pittsburgh and elsewhere sponsored for the "purpose of were deployed with military steps against both sides in such would constitute a genuine triumph for the pro-fascist forces. Under such a precedent, free speech would be outlawed violence against free speech, and - by the "democratic" government - of the risks involved in

Another variation danger was illustrated in Cin-Meanwhile, opponents of free cinnati, where a civil rights rally speech were using the Peekskill had to be called off when a hotel assaults as ammunition for cancelled its reservation and no speech. In Pittsburgh, where their owners feared "distursponsors of an Oct. 15 Robeson bances" would take place. (Inrally had applied for permits to cidentally, the hall owners, after meet in a high school, American reading about Peekskill, took the

"Fact-Finders" Grant Not One Cent World Events

- Labor Union Trends -

The Mohawk-Valley Formula in 1948-49

By Bert Cochran

Business towards bringing back labor statesmen. "the good old days." The young generation of unionists who join- people who own the industries next day. ed up during or since the war and the banks don't take seriously

prostitute press and the minions situation is ripe, they move in "law and order," The record for the kill. of labor defeats is written in the bloody encounters of Homestead in 1892, the Pullman strike of lost again in America today; self-defeating course. We are 1894, the Ludlow Massacre in 1914, the steel strike of 1919, the railroad shopmen's strike of 1923 evidence; that self-confidence has lished locals losing strikes, work- them from its "presumption" and and hundreds of others too numerous to mention.

The CIO ushered in a new day. The massive picket lines, the readiness of the workers to fight Mohawk-Valley formula, d a r e strikes don't pay. In late June what deviations, if any, should it out, the magnificent solidarity that put into practice the old strikes in head-on assault. slogan that "an injury to one is an injury to all," the modern strike techniques and will to victory brought the barons of industry to terms. Gone was the day when the rich could divide the workers and push them, whipped and scared, back into the

COCKEYED NOTIONS

The epochal victories of the early CIO days and the solid union organizations that were established in the major industries as a result of them gave birth to a lot of cockeyed notions about the possibilities of harmony between labor and capital. The leadership of the new CIO unions hardened into a bureaucratic crust that held down militancy in the ranks and began thinking in terms of love feasts with the employers. Picket lines and militant actions were supposed to be "outdated." Labor was now going

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THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY O

The desperate fight of the Bell match statistics and arrive at is in a bad way it needs some-Aircraft strikers at Buffalo to equitable settlements. So dreamed thing more than just "moral and ing companies "as a group" and save their union gives the score the well-heeled knaves and fools financial" backing. It was dis- "do not necessarily reflect the on the distance traveled by Big who now fancied themselves covered that you cannot witch- circumstances of any individual

doesn't remember how hard it the propaganda swill they hand used to be to win strikes in the the workers. They use reactionary or stupid labor leaders, or both, In truth, the history of the to soften up the ground for effect on the labor leaders, cer-American labor movement is a them, get the workers balled up tainly in the CIO, and make them history of bitterly fought battles and divided, throw out the miliagainst superior odds; where the tants and radicals and weaken But it didn't work out that way. workers, without adequate leader- the unions. But after all this has The ties that bind them to the bargaining in order to provide ship, without the large - scale been accomplished, they don't sit capitalist status-quo are obviously an opportunity to each company solidarity that alone could have down and offer wage increases made of strong materials. The ensured their success, were scat- and improved working conditions labor bureaucrats cannot and will tered time and again like chaff to the "labor statesmen." No. before the remorseless combinat They start taking things back. and periods when an embattled tion of the capitalists, their They push their offensive a step rank and file forces them to go private armies of thugs, the further. And where they think the along.

> come about that strikes are being a decade ago is often not in given way to pessimism and fear. dare again to practice the again to try to smash unions and

ANTI-UNION PATTERN

The bosses first tasted blood in the Allis-Chalmers strike of 1946 n Milwaukee. They figured that the red-baiting had isolated the local Stalinist leadership to the point where it could not get the help of its union opponents for the strike. The company was not mistaken. The local Reuther-Murray crew, in their factional blindness and irresponsibility, actually played ball with the employers and the Hearst press and made possible the shattering of a once powerful union.

By 1948 the employers unionpattern. Every place where they thought a union had been sufficiently undermined so it couldn't take the gaff, they moved in to break it. The 1948 roll includes busted strikes of the cable workers in New York, the Boeing chine operators. Aircraft strike in Seattle, the ferences where well-dressed Bucyrus - Erie strike in Evan-Manufacturing Company of Eliz- or amount of income, or shall The Nathan report attempted an references with a result of the gentlemen on both sides of the gentlemen on both sides of the gentlemen on both sides of the stelled and the s gentlemen on both sides of the Barty, the Di Georgio farm almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have the Party, that benefits almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have almost five months fighting to the Party, that "our people have almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fighting to the pensions be at a flat amount; almost five months fl Instrument strike in Long Island, system that their Stalinist leadthe Standard Oil strike on the ers introduced during the war. least, the national packinghouse after 14 weeks continue to battle haggle.

from discussing here the rail and company baloney that if they coal strikes of late 1946 where the unions retreated under the full array of federal government strikebreaking. I am talking here of more or less ordinary trade the labor-management front. union strikes and the employers' renewed' ability to "treat 'em

TWO ASPECTS

latest strategy of the industrialsts. First is the financial their attainment of a large measure of inter-company teamwork during strikes which enables Allis-Chalmers strike lasted over a year. The Boeing strike 144 over a year. The oil strike four months. The packinghouse strike

CI() days and to trot out again Green, nor their lieutenants can to the steel workers, the board their old union busting practices. hurl labor back to the conditions argues that any steel wage inthe strikers the works without consciousness of the workers is and this, the board claims, would other sections of the labor move- still high. Even the packinghouse have an "adverse effect on the ment rushing in to the aid of workers, after having to take on whole economy." "In general it

cerned about the strike defeats at in a big way and rebuilt their _ that is, freeze all wages. first because they occurred in organization to original strength. The wage demand of the steel

the labor leaders now? tually voted a sum of money out gather strength and ready the of its treasury. But when a strike ranks for big battles once again. possibly amaze the steel barons in steel workers produce and now rather Agent Organ Patters, as national is a classic. Both publication workers are pulling their purse tions are an indispensable anti-

HAVEN'T LEARNED YET You would think that these experiences would have a sobering adopt a more aggressive policy. spite of this presumption, there not change except in those cases

1949 unfortunately didn't see the labor leadership mending its And that is the way it has ways but rather continuing and deepening its narrow-minded and that the unbeatable solidarity of witnessing again the discouraging spectacle of old, well-estabers trooping back to work on The capitalists have softened up the company's terms demoralized resist the "maximum." These the ground sufficiently that they and cowed, and thousands of in South Bend, belonging to one of the oldest locals of the UAW, called off a 71-day strike with- ROOM FOR STALLING out any gains.

local union president and four recommendation. others who had been arrested on busting had been perfected into a street. An AFL union ended a 5- shall the accrued liability for

strike in California, the Fairchild abolish the very piece work be in the light of the with their backs to the wall after It will be noted that I refrain foolishly having fallen for the only ousted their militant local

BATTLES COMING

making the plutocrats more cocky Two things stand out in the and with a few more lost strikes to see if "public interest" does strength of the corporations and Girdler's tactics on the rubber, bargaining. auto or steel workers. Certainly

days. The Di Georgio farm strike proves that the official labor policy laid down by the basic of Labor Statistics. leaders have dragged the workmonths. The Fairchild strike five ers' movement back a considerable distance. But don't let's lose a wage increase was clearly our perspective because of this. Second, their ability to recreate The defeats are still mainly local CIO "fourth round" wage drive. the anti-labor atmosphere of pre- in character. Neither Murray nor In denying any wage increase And what is most serious of all of 1933. The basic structure of crease would set "a pattern to - the bosses were able to give the unions still remains. The union be followed in other industries" their beleaguered comrades. by themselves the full fury of the seems desirable at this time to The CIO big shots were uncon- capitalists' attack, have come back stabilize the level of wage rates"

Stalinist-led unions. As a matter | We may and probably will see workers themselves is dismissed The board does concede, how- more difficult there than for- enclosed a dollar "to defray the of fact, the local Murrayites were more setbacks and defeats. But with a sweeping generalization ever, that the break-even point inclined to sabotage these strikes. these experiences are again that "there are no inequities of before the war, when production time to time to send in subscription cost, of course, is much less than They swallowed the boss propa-changing the thinking of work- steel workers at present which ganda that management would ers, knocking out of their heads require redress through a general low as 45% and cites the fact with Militant subscribers in the the dollar as The Militant depends never treat unions under "legiti- a lot of sappy ideas that have been wage increase. . ." mate" leadership in the same spread about labor-management way. But then came the Boeing partnership and putting the iron SEE "NO INEQUITY" strike led by the conservative in the souls of the most in- The board slashes at the wage IAM leadership and the packing- telligent and independent. I am demand from every angle. The house and oil strikes. Where were convinced that we are going to steel workers not only are not the question of productivity and would like to call to the atten- summer, and I have had little see many of the local "office suffering from an inequity "as Sure, Murray wrote a letter administrator" union leaders re- compared with other industrial the board believes, that "wage branches. Raising the slogan. But we always find time to peruse asking the CIO affiliates to give placed in the next period by workers," but they are not suf- rates in a particular industry "Let's Pay Up Our Militant Bill," The Militant and Fourth Inter-"moral and financial aid" to the fighters. We are going to see the fering any inequity even "as com- should not be tied directly to they set out to devise ways and national and thus to keep abreast oil strikers, and in the case of prestige of the international pared with the corporations them- productivity in that industry. . " means of clearing up the slate. of current developments. The the packinghouse strike, if I am heads go down. We are going to selves, their stockholders and the not mistaken, the steel union ac- see new militant groupings arise, consumers of steel."

merely urges the union and the individual companies to NEGO-TIATE the exact amount of benefits, if any, below the ceil-

THE MILITANT

FREE HAND FOR BOSSES

In addition, the report gives the companies a free license to tear the board's "maximum" down to a minimum. Its recommendations, says the board, are based on evidence relating to 19 leadhunt one day and expect to get company" and "are not intended Unfortunately for them the enthusiastic strike support the to apply automatically to individual companies."

While the board slaps a sharply defined maximum on what the union may ask, it states only "a presumption" that the recommendations should apply to the 19 leading companies. And "in should be a return to collective to prove that the considerations, conclusions and recommendations herein discussed are in fact not applicable to it."

Note that the negotiations are based on the "presumption" that only the companies, but not the union, are to have the further chance to prove a case differing with the recommendations.

Insofar as companies other than the 19 are concerned, the report by implication exempts gives them an open invitation to companies are urged to negoothers drawing the lesson that tiate with the union "to ascertain of this year the Bendix workers be made from the general recom-

About the only matter relating At the same time Local 108 of to insurance and pensions the the CIO rubber union called off board would not make negotiable 43-day strike at the Dryden is the maximum the companies Rubber Company of Chicago on should pay. Every other vital the company's terms, which in- aspect of the question is thrown cluded the dismissal of their back into negotiations without

"Among the matters which will the picket lines. The CIO chemical have to be resolved in collective outfit called off on July 25 a 77- bargaining," says the report, day strike against three plants "are these: Should the plan be of the National Carbon Company handled through an insurance at Niagara Falls, N. Y., without company or through a trust fund any gains and with 28 of its and how may the parties parfired workers still out on the ticipate in the supervision; how week strike in August against the past service be treated; shall Eagle-Pitcher Mining and Smelt- there be provision for employees ing Company in Miami, Okla- retired through permanent disahoma, by accepting pay cuts of bility below the age of 65; what 16 cents an hour for miners and shall be the minimum length of up to 30 cents an hour for ma- service to be eligible for pencost stipulated?"

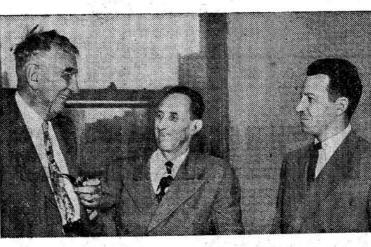
Here alone is endless room for

In a final section of its report, the board steps completely out of ing, although the industry is dominated by U. S. Steel and a only in steel but other industries,

This gratuituous proposal, ions, while the industry as a steel monopolies.

The board's recommendation on designed as a blow to the whole

Longshore Talks Fail



Federal Mediator Cyrus S. Ching (left) announced complete failure of conferences in New York City to end 19-week Hawaiian dock strike. Ching is shown early in negotiations with Harry Bridges, president of the CIO Longshoremen's union, and Dwight C. Steel, representative of stevedoring companies.

even more than it does the steel- any decisive bearing on wages workers - is made in the face according to this truly fantastic of profits figures cited in the report. report itself which prove the opposite. The report points out that increased production? According the admitted net profits of the to the board, the increased value industry in 1948 were 89% higher of the products should go entirely than the 1940-41 lush period and to the useless and parasitic steel in the first half of this year rose monopolists. And the same printo 124% above the 1940-41 aver- ciple would apply to all other

It admits as "not controverted" the union's testimony that the tion the increasing factor of industry's pre-war "break-even speedup, because Philip Murray point" - that is, the lowest point himself did not raise this crucial of production at which it con- question in his desire to comtinues to make profits - was "at pletely evade any struggle over 45% of capacity." It tells how it. Nevertheless, the speedup the industry by increasing its worries the workers even more operations from 90% in 1948 to than other factors related to injust 91% in the first half of 1949 creased productivity because it netted a profits increase of 35%.

When the board finds that the cutting of working forces. steel workers suffer no "inequity" compared to what the corporaions are raking in, it is no man's board rather than on its wonder that the steel industry own independent militant strug- in wages, in line with rising livspokesmen and leading industry- gle is a 100% defeat on wages, ing costs.) dominated newspapers in steel cities have hailed the report with crumbs so far as insurance and brought the Stalinists into conjubilation.

ssues in dispute. It lays down far-reaching propositions on the be. economic factors involved in the wage duestion. These propositions are intended to demolish the basic premises upon which the CIO has built its "fourth round" demands and all subsequent wage

The report dismisses out-ofhand the carefully documented sions; shall the payments be facts of the Nathan report, on The employees of the Singer proportioned to length of service which the CIO case was built. economy. The companies correctly felt that through the West Coast, and last but not And the Bell Aircraft workers the companies to stall and Nathan report their whole topheavy and bloated profit structure was being called into ques-HIT INDUSTRY BARGAINING tion. This was of especially grave

concern to the steel monopolists. The Truman board, aside from leaders and elected a more con- its original jurisdiction to strike some mild criticism of the inservative bunch to office good a blow at the union's fundamental dustry's case in order to preserve relations could be established on policy of industry-wide bargain- the appearance of "impartiality," concentrates a point - by - point attack on the Nathan report. It that the comrades "feel very few other big corporations. The issues a sweeping and arbitrary It needs no prophet to foretell board proposes that "the field denial of the specific facts on that these company victories are ought to be re-examined," not production and profits cited in the Nathan report.

under their belt they will feel not require a "modification" in that the Nathan report "has not work. The remainder are either that the time is ripe to try out the method of industry - wide succeeded in proving its contention" that steel productivity has from sympathizers whom we increased 49.5% since 1939, althe packinghouse strike gave made in response to the direct though the Nathan report used fore." warning of this. The clouds pressure of the companies during for its authority the weighted them to starve out the workers gathering on the horizon augur the hearings, aims at dividing index of production divided by for long periods of time. The not class peace in America but the union's strength in negotia- man hours for Blast Furnaces, Steel Works and Rolling Mills as This sorry record of defeats whole follows a predetermined determined by the U. S. Bureau

PROFITS IGNORED

The board is forced to concede that steel profits are the highest on record, but it brushes over this fact with the bogus claim to pay should be judged over a the steel industry has shown a consistent vast increase in annual Similarly, the board dismisses,

without contrary evidence, the union's figures showing the Louis tells us that unemployment "break-even" point to be 32%. has made sub-getting somewhat us of a change in his address and was at a far lower rate, was as tions." D. C. keeps in close touch that, but we gratefully accepted that in 1949 a mere increase of St. Louis area, a practice that on voluntary contributions from 1% in operations over 1948 in- helps maintain a stable circle of its readers to meet the cost of creased the annual rate of profits | readers. by 35%.

Who is to get the benefit of industries. The report does not even men-

is being accomplished through

Thus, the end product of the steel union's dependence on Trua recommendation for mere

tion of a doctrine that denies the But the board, in its report, relation of wages to the profits union leader could not persuade goes far beyond the immediate and productivity of the steel industry, however high these may

French Stalinists Fear Revolutionary Union Opposition

As we reported recently, the recognized. French Stalinists have been forcst bureaucrats quickly forget of the Verite-Michelin. their new turn to trade union 'democracy."

al. Bloch describes a conflict which has arisen between the Left Wing of Labor Stalinist leadership and a number of CGT shop units of the great Party in Britain Michelin rubber works at Clermont-Ferrand, over their shop steward, Delange, who is a Trotskyist and a member of the revolutionary minority in the trade union federation.

Delange had been elected by his CGT fellow workers as a delegate to the Central Michelin Trade Union Council. But the Stalinists bureaucratically barred him after he wrote a signed article in the Verite-Michelin, the PCI factory paper in that plant.

In this article Delange had sharply criticized the CGT leadership for not taking action to form committees against the war in Indo-China, and for its wage policy. (The Stalinists call for increases on a graduated system, according to skills, while the minority demands a general increase

This bureaucratic a c t i o n pensions go and, decisive for the flict with the rank and file workfuture, the government's enuncia- ers in the shops who had elected Delange. When the local CP trade membership meetings to budge from their support of Delange, he cried out that the CGT leaders

would prefer to have the shop locals leave the federation and go independent rather than yield to the workers' demand that their democratically elected delegate be

Delange appealed against this ed to loosen up somewhat on outrage to R. Marchadier, secretheir anti-democratic control of tary of the regional CGT federthe General Confederation of La- ation and a member of the Cenbor. This is due to the rank and tral Committee of the CP. In an file workers' great dissatisfac- interview between the two, the tion with their leadership and is Stalinist leader offered Delange meant as a safety valve. When a "deal," He would see to it that the functioning of democratic the conflict was resolved and Deprocedure in the French unions lange seated as a delegate, he leads to organized revolutionary said, if the latter would persuade opposition, however, the Stalin- his comrades to cease publication

Naturally, the Verite reports, such a deal was inacceptable. But, An illustration with consider- it points out, the offer itself is able detail is dealt with by Ger- revealing of what the Stalinists ard Bloch in a recent issue of La fear more than anything else -Verite, paper of the Parti Com- the formation of a revolutionary muniste Internationaliste, French trade union opposition that can section of the Fourth Internation- organize their eventual defeat.

Readers of The Militant have inquired for more information on Socialist Outlook and the Socialist Fellowship, representing the new left wing in the British Labor Party.

Socialist Outlook began publication last December. It is put out by the Labor Publishing Society Ltd., 6 Station Road, New Southgate, London N. 11, England. The Chairman of its Managing Committee is Jack Stanley, General Secretary of the Constructional Engineering Union. Associated with him have been a number of prominent Labor Members of Parliament, including Tom Braddock, Ronald Chamberlain, Mrs. E. Braddock, Stephen Swingler, as well as local Labor Councilors.

The paper, appearing monthly, takes a clearcut anticapitalist line in opposition to the "balanced economy" policy of the Labor Party leadership in the government, calling for complete nationalization of industry under workers' control. At the same time it is clearly anti-Stalinist. One of the features in its pages has been a running controversy between the well-known fellowtraveler Konni Zilliacus and regular contributors of Socialist Out-

The paper also minces no words about the character of the socalled "official left wing" in the and tighter. We finally decided Labor Government, represented to conduct a local fund drive and by the Minister of Health, Aneuthe check enclosed represents the rin Bevan. An article by its editor, John Lawrence, in the July The New Britain branch is like- issue takes Bevan to task for saywise making a determined effort ing at a Labor demonstration durscriptions in his to help put New Britain in the achieved a material prosperity in

"And he was not referring to Our apologies to the Milwaukee Belcher [a Minister who recently branch. Last week Milwaukee was resigned because of shady dealinadvertently left out of the ings in the notorious Sidney we exceeded scoreboard for August subscrip- Stanley case or to Lord Milverour quota of 30 by tions. The four subs they sent ton [the "Labor" chairman of the six." This is an ex- in brought the total for all Board of the Nationalized Docks, cellent record for a branches to 217 for August in who demanded the suppression branch the size of stead of the 213 that was re- of the recent dock strike. He was talking about our people. About Mrs. A. L. of Minnesota on the 'prosperity' of railwaymen renewing her subscription wrote on 92 shillings (\$19) a week, etc.... We have had to take this kind of insult from the idle wasters of continues, "15 were obtained by of my magazines, among them the ruling class in the past, but the ruling class in the past, but World, Capper's Weekly, Coronet, when it comes from one of our Household and Newsweek; but I own people it is sickening and am sending \$2 to keep The Milidisgusting. And especially so when it comes from a man like Aneurin Bevan, who was at one time a working miner and who, thanks to the workers, has attained the real material prosperity of a Cabinet post with 5,000 pounds (\$20,000) a year. What kind of moral stature can a man possess who can accuse those who lifted him into power, of having no moral stature?"

At the annual Labor conference in June, Socialist Outlook organized a public meeting which was attended by 160 people, most of whom were delegates to the conference. The meeting dealt mainly with the proposal of Ellis Smith, M.P., who had previously not been associated with this paper, to form a Socialist Fellowship for the organization of all the "genuine Socialists" within the party on a clearly defined socialist and anti-capitalist pro-

The proposal was received with paign to form Socialist Fellowship has been going on ever since, with organizational meetings being held throughout the country, addressed by various MP's and associates of Socialist Outlook.

SEND FOR FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

September issue: WAS KARL MARX RIGHT? Only 25c. FOURTH INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Seattle Sub-getters Encouraged by Successful Campaign

Dan Roberts, reporting for the

months subscription drive ended Labor Day," he writes;

Seattle and Dan says ported. good" about the results.

"Of the 36 subscriptions," he door-to-door soliciting. That re-For instance, the board claims presents about 35 man-hours of renewals or new ones obtained just never asked to subscribe be-

The Seattle sub-getters report that the "interest in our ideas Bonanza" and an extra copy of is greater than the actual number the Aug. 22 issue with the item

Frank L., Sarah, Art B., Art S., eating them." She was pleased and Al, one each.

that "the prosperity of a volatile started a subscription campaign, man administration. industry like steel and its ability according to H. B. "We aim to concentrate on trade unionists longer range." But for ten years and friends in an effort to build of any issue containing articles up subscriptions and widen the maximum."

Literature Agent D. C. of St. your order five or more: merly; "however, I expect from cost" of making the change. The great enthusiasm, and a cam-

But any way, says the board, initiated a campaign which we have been extremely busy this profits doesn't matter, because tion of some of the other time to do any heavy reading steel workers produce and how rature Agent Olga Daniels, "as national is a classic. Both publica-

first week's receipts."

letter, the final category of those model branches excess of their moral batch in Seattle's that don't permit their literature The editor comments: campaign. "Our two- bills to accumulate.

us: "I am compelled to drop some of my magazines, among them tant coming to my address." She asked us to send three extra copies of the Aug. 15 issue confaining the article by Henry Johnson on "Egg and Butter of subscriptions would indicate."

The high scorers are George "Here in the egg basket state," F., 8; Dan R., 8; Marianne, 6; she says, "eggs are 60c. or more John, 5; Frank K., 2; Clara, 2; a dozen; even farmers are not to find in The Militant an expose The Youngstown branch of the of the egg and butter shortage Socialist Workers Party has artificially created by the Tru-

We might remind other readers of The Militant that extra copies of special interest for distribuinfluence of The Militant. We tion to friends and shopmates intend to work hard and get the can be obtained by simply writing in. The cost is only 3c. a copy if

H. S. of Minneapolis notified

The Flint comrades recently H. S. writes: "My wife and I

\$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar

each in foreign countries Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) These are expressed in its Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN editorials. Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XIII - No. 38

Saturday, September 17, 1949



"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.



Truman Unmasks Himself

The government's steel "fact-finding" board, which did the bidding of the steel corporations by rejecting any "fourth round" wage increases for the steel workers and proposing a wage freeze for all industry, was Truman's baby.

He conceived the idea of the board, he set it up and he handpicked its members. Undoubtedly he guided its deliberations and decisions from behind the scenes. And unquestionably he indicated the formula, issued by his board, designed to pare the steel union's demands almost to nothing and put a road-block before the whole CIO wage drive.

Truman, therefore, must take direct personal responsibility for this latest governmental blow at labor - one of the most damaging that the organized workers have suffered in years.

Since Truman's re-election last November, the labor movement has taken one blow after another. The Taft-Hartley Law remains unrepealed and in full force. The bill for upward revision of the minimum wage has been converted into a measure to deprive millions of even the protection they now have. The rent ceilings have been broken through. Civil

rights legislation has been scuttled. In the witch-hunt atmosphere fostered by the government, the corporations and police have been emboldened to ride herd with force and violence over picketlines.

Up to now, the Trumanite labor leaders have been able to cover up Truman's responsibility for the reactionary trend. They blamed the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition in Congress. By pointing the finger at his political opponents, they diverted attention from Truman's willing compromises with the anti-labor forces in Congress and his failure to put up any kind of real fight for progressive legisla-

But they can't blame the "Republican-Dixiecrat Bloc" for the steel "fact-finding" board and its recommendations. They can't deny that Truman created this board, named its members and directed its decisions. Nor can they deny that these decisions are a knife in the very vitals of the "fourth round" wage cam-

Truman stands exposed for what he is a conscious agent of Big Business who has masked himself as a "friend of labor" the better to deceive and betray

would only diffuse our strength from the

important major objective of winning

Someone might believe this fairy story

only if he did not know that ALP boss

Marcantonio and the Stalinists tried for

months to persuade Henry Wallace to run

for the Senate on the ALP ticket. It was

only after Wallace resisted their press-

ure, turned down the bid and let it be

known that he favored the election of

Lehman, that the Stalinist "concentra-

This pretext is all the more hollow be-

cause the ALP has a regular place on

the New York ballot, and had only to

name a candidate instead of collecting

petitions to qualify him for the ballot.

Instead of "detracting" from the ALP's

municipal campaign, the running of a

Senatorial candidate would have provid-

ed a wider arena for the party's propa-

The unprincipled opportunism that led

the Stalinists to bow to pro-Lehman sen-

in the municipal campaign."

tion" alibi blossomed forth.

Lehman Gets Stalinist Aid

Left-handed support by the Stalinists for Herbert H. Lehman, the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, was assured on Sept. 13 when the State Committee of the American Labor Party formally decided not to name any candidate for that post in this year's elec-

The ALP State Committee issued a statement admitting that Lehman "supinely endorses" the Truman-Dulles "tripartisan policy of war and empire." But by refusing to run a candidate of its own, the ALP in effect endorses Lehman as the "lesser evil" to Dulles.

Once again the Stalinists have demonstrated how little they can be depended on to oppose the politicians of Big Business. For the ALP State Committee is firmly controlled by the Communist Party and obeys its dictates on all important

The alibi offered by the ALP leadership has an especially phony ring. Victory for the ALP municipal campaign, it said, "can be achieved only by following a policy of concentration. . . For the ALP to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate for the short term of only one year. . . would only detract from the policy of concentration and

in effect aiding the Truman-Tammany candidate for U.S. Senator. Made-to-Order "Recovery"

Truman's official campaign of "optimism" has gone into high gear. The administration's statistics factories in Washington have turned out a new batch of figures to conform with Truman's recent orders to the various departments to "talk business up."

The report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, issued last week, had the capitalist newspapers singing "Bye, Bye Blues" in headlines fike, "Jobs at 1949 Peak" and "Rise in Production First in 10 Months."

Much ado is made about the figures on unemployment and employment issued by the U.S. Census Bureau. According to the Bureau, employment in August rose to 59,947,000, or 227,000 above the July figure. At the same time, the Bureau claims, the number of jobless fell in one month by 406,000.

The best the Bureau could do to explain how employment could increase by/ only 227,000 while unemployment declined 406,000 was to claim that a lot of jobless youth had "left the labor market." Just where these young workers went when they suddenly "left the labor market" the Bureau chooses to leave a profound mystery.

Similarly, a reported slight rise in production during August fails, on close examination, to be the great "turn in the tide" that the headlines try to make it. The Council of Economic Advisers claimed industrial production "recovered" the 4% decline in July. This "recovery" we learn was mainly due to reopening of plants shut in July as part of "the spreading practice of plant-wide vacations."

But, as the Sept. 11 N. Y. Times admits in small type under its glowing headline about a rise in production, other indices, "however, presented a less favorable picture." For instance, if it was true that more people were employed in August than in July, the average number of hours worked per week was less. The average worker drew one hour less pay in August than in July.

The labor movement would be foolish to fall for Truman's trick of blowing up each slight and temporary rise either in production or employment as "recovery." There is no change in the fundamental factors of declining domestic mass purchasing power and world-wide capitalist economic instability, as reflected, for instance, in the British "dollar" crisis. To date, American capitalism and its government have offered nothing to remove these underlying factors of economic breakdown.

The unions should press more vigorously than ever for a broad program against unemployment. This program should include the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay; full-scale public works financed out of the present huge war appropriations; and a federal unemployment compensation system providing benefits equal to union wages for all jobless for the duration of their unemployment.

What Peekskill Signifies for Anti-Fascists

Why the Smiles?



Sir Stafford Cripps and Ernest Bevin try to put on a cheery front during their negotiations in Washington with Dean Acheson and John W. Snyder over the British "dollar" crisis. Mild optimism was also expressed as the negotiations ended, but the British left under greater pressure than ever before from their American "allies" to devalue the pound.

Peekskill 'Star' Insults Memory Of Revolutionary Patriots of '76

Two days after the second Peekskill hoodlum outrage against civil rights, the Peekskill Evening Star defended the bloody assaults on the Robeson concerts by likening the fascistlike rock-throwers to the American revolutionists who fought King George III.

"It may be that more good than harm will come from the two unpleasant incidents," says the paper which was loudest in inciting the two Peekskill assaults. "The Boston Tea Party was not in accordance with the then existing law, but historians agree that these patriots who participated focused attention on a great injustice and it could not have been done in any other manner."

What a foul insult to the memory of the heroes of the struggle for American independence. The patriots of the Boston Tea Party were dissenters and rebels, revolutionists hounded as "disloyal agitators" just as the "reds" are hounded

These revolutionists fought against tyranny and for democratic rights, for freedom of speech, press and assembly which they incorporated in the Bill of Rights of the American Con-

The Peekskill hoodlums were seeking to destroy the very

Bill of Rights that the American revolutionists fought and The patriots of the Boston Tea Party risked their liberty and lives to make their demonstration for freedom. The "patriots" of Peekskill made their cowardly assault on de-

fenseless people with the aid of the police and the moral sanction of the authorities, if not their active support. The Peekskill "patriots" are more to be likened to the traitor tories who aided the British monarchy against the American revolutionists and who, when the British troops occupied an American city or town, denounced the patriots, set

fire to their homes and even lynched them in the streets. The editorial in the Peekskill Evening Star is enough to make old Sam Adams, revolutionary agitator and organizer of the Boston Tea Party, turn over in his grave.

There is still no strong, distinctively fascist movement with a mass following in this country. resisted." But that has not prevented the capitalist class, through its gov ernment apparatus, from proceed-

By George Breitman

ing with the construction of a military-police state. By such devices as "loyalty" purges, "subversive" blacklists, persecution of the Stalinist leaders, etc., it has already taken long steps toward the regimentation American political life.

The American Legion and other veteran groups that spearheaded the Peekskill assaults are not fascist organizations in the sense of the Italian and German storm troops; they can more precisely be described as traditionally reactionary groups, from which classic their recruits. Nevertheless, at fulfill essentially the same ter- throwing rocks and boulders. rorist function as storm troops, and demonstrated beyond dispute that it is possible to have fascist action even in the absence of a distinctively fascist movement.

What does all this signify? That it would be wrong to expect the campaign to install an American police state to follow exactly the same lines as in Italy during the 20's and Germany during the 30's. That in the struggle over civil liberties it is considerably later than is realized by those people, including radicals, who console themselves on the ground that fascism has attracted only "crackpots" in this country. And that the main threat to democratic rights emanates from the "democratic" government, whose restrictive measures serve as model, inspiration and moral cover for Peekskill assaults.

STRIKING SIMILARITIES

Thus, although there are undoubtedly important differences between the development of American and European reaction, the similarities are even more striking. And none of these similarities is more alarming than the relationship between the 'law-enforcement" agencies and the hoodlums.

Scores of historic parallels with Peekskill can be found in the brilliant book, Fascism and Big Business, by the French Marxist, Daniel Guerin. Describing how the fascist bands operated in Italy before Mussolini came to power, he notes that they had at their disposal "the material and moral support of the repressive forces of the state: police, carabinieri, and army. . . The guardians of 'law and order' had

and to intervene only if the latter

the concert-goers turned out by graceful.") the thousands and were accompanied by a large defense guard and willing to resist. The cops' the defense guard and of holding fascist movements make many of it back while the other concertgoers were forced to helplessly Peekskill they were mobilized to run a gauntlet of hoodlums

ROLE OF COURTS

"The courts on their side," Guerin continues, "handed down centuries in prison for the antifascists and centuries of absolution for the guilty fascists.' In 1921, the 'Minister of Justice, lessly for their irresponsible Fera, 'sent a communication to the magistrates asking them to forget about the cases involving at the second concert - the fascist criminal acts."

communication from the New York State or U. S. Attorney Generals — but only because the iudges, district attorneys and sheriffs in and around Peekskill did not require that kind of advice any more than a capitalist has to be reminded about his need to make a profit. The "law-enforcement" agencies were too busy

'CIO News' Hits Concert Violence

The Peekskill assaults are strongly condemned in an article by Editor Allan L. Swim in the Sept. 12 CIO News. "Two things we must not attempt are to punish persons for what they think and try to beat ideas to death with legalistic clubs and mob action," the article concludes.

But beyond this article, no teps have been taken by any of the national CIO or AFL leaders to protest the Peekskill outrage, to denounce the complicity of the state and county officials in the mob assault, or to initiate measures to prevent similar fascist

the fascists attacked the 'reds' ing for the hoodlums to even think about anything else.

That is the kind of atmosphere Those were exactly the same in which full-blown fascism orders the state police and deputy breeds and thrives. Nor is this sheriffs had at Peekskill. They atmosphere at all dispelled by remained "idle" - that is, absent | President Truman's statement at - during the breaking up of the his Sept. 8 press conference that first Robeson concert on Aug. 27, he thought Eleanor Roosevelt had when the concert-goers were covered the situation "perfectly greatly outnumbered by the hood- and thoroughly" in her newspaper column. (Mrs. Roosevelt And they intervened at the had written of the "mob lawecond concert on Sept. 4 when lessness" at Peekskill as "dis-

But fasciste least of all are likely to be impressed by pious of unionists and veterans able presidential censures of "mob lawlessness" when they can see intervention, as is well known, that no branch of the federal consisted of forcibly disarming government intends to make the slightest effort to do anything about it. On the contrary, the fascist scum in all parts of the country have drawn new hope and confidence from Peekskill and new ideas about how to get away with murder of the Bill of Rights.

IRRESPONSIBLE VIEW

That is why it is necessary to denounce the Stalinists mercistatements about the "tremendous victory for free speech" won 'victory" being that Robeson We are not aware of any similar was able to sing then, unlike the previous week. (Sept. 11 Work-

And the Sept. 12 Daily Worker quotes approvingly from a statement by Leon Straus, a CIO Fur Workers official and leader of he Peekskill defense guard: 'Despite the violence of the noodlums at the end of the concert, the peaceful holding of the concert itself was a tremendous victory for American democracy...

"Sure there were casualties in this battle, and all those responsible must be made to pay for them. But the most important thing for union people all over is this - it was a battle which we won. They said no concert would be held in Peekskill. It was held. It was a success, a defeat for the fascists. . ."

Maybe the Stalinist leaders actually believe this ballyhoo; or maybe it represents an attempt to "inspire" and "pep up" their members and sympathizers. In any case, it is a thoroughly false estimate of what happened at Peekskill and can do only disservice to the struggle to mobilize united action against the threats of fascism and the 'democratic" police state.

THEIR MAJOR AIM

What was really "the important thing" about Peekskill? Not that Robeson was able to sing, but that the hoodlums were able to stage their wave of terror - and get away with it. Everything else is incidental. There is not more free speech in Peekskill today as a result of Robeson's managing to sing; but there is less free speech because the terrorists demonstrated that they who exercise the right of free speech.

Fascism showed its face at Peekskill, and it was successful, not defeated, in its major aim. Any other interpretation - no matter what the motive for it may be - minimizes the urgency of the danger and weakens the campaign to overcome it. Neither phony optimism nor hand-wringing despair can be of help in the life-and-death struggle to preserve democratic rights in the United States.

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Science. Freedom and the Bomb machine to serve and not destroy | end of freedom can be served by | atomic rockets fly in both direc-By George Tobin "CLEANLINESS IS A DUTY us? If you are a revolutionary such means as mass murder. tions - and that total war and

HERE. THEREFORE DO NOT socialist you would say: FORGET TO WASH YOUR

timent among the Wallaceites and in their own ranks thus places them in the and abiding faith in human beridiculous position of opposing the Truings, which is a faith in the man-Tammany candidate for Mayor while E. Lilienthal in the Aug. 6 Sat-

arday Review of Literature.) While you read this, Mr. Lilienthal's assembly lines are running at top speed, preparing the biggest mass murder the world has ever seen.

You are a working man or woman - all you want is some happiness, peace and security. You want decent homes, not bomb-craters. You are troubled. You know the scientists' warning: There is no secret to the technology is defined and directed basic principle of the A-Bomb. by those who believe in people Everytime Truman, Lilinthal & Co and in democratic and ethical inviolable process" of putting announce a new improved stream- ends and means, it could be that "facts in the hands of the peolined model in production at Oak the more research money we ple." Mumford calls his bluff: Ridge, you shudder to think that, spend the further we miss the in a few years or maybe months, the same or a better model will be rolling off the lines in Atomscientists all say no military defense is possible. You ask, "Is fies the means." Yet what justithis the fruit of science?"

HARNESSING MACHINE

In his article, titled "Machines With and Without Freedom," Lilienthal tries to answer this question. He denies that modern science is a curse. Neither, says he, is it an unmixed blessing. "The machine and technology are neither good nor evil in themselves. . . It is the purpose for which the machine is used, and particularly the methods pursued in carrying out that purpose that determine whether technology is likely to further human wellbeing or to threaten it."

indeed be used either for or against the people's welfare. But of life to the heathen. . . the troublesome point is this: Just how can we harness the protesting. They deny that the survive, you will know that

HANDS." (Sign posted by Nazi controls the machine. The work- July 3 N. Y. Herald Tribune: bosses on crematorium wall at ers have built all this wonderful Dachau Death-Factory, reported technology — but it has been been committed . . . to a doctrine by Max Lerner in the N. Y. Post.) taken from them, and is being of war that is utterly repulsive. . . "We cannot master the machine used against them by a mad in the interest of the human ruling class. When the workers of attack is genocide: a crime spirit unless we have a . . . deep wake up and take control of this against humanity which, in the machinery, then we shall use it United Nations, we piously profor the good of mankind. We fess to abhor. . . supreme worth of life." (David shall then produce food and homes, not famine and death. The workers want a decent life not greater profits and conquest." deal with the bomb. Can human genocide as practiced in Nazi welfare be advanced by mass extermination camps. murder? Here you get from him - silence, disguised by a few glittering generalities. He writes:

"Unless the applications of research and technology are con- their talk about "the supreme sciously related to a central purpose of human welfare, unless mark." Have you ever seen greater

hypocrisy? He and others like priations for unspecified weapons barbaric form?

man in Camden, N. J., kills 13 people, everyone is horrified. That is homicide, a sin against state - for which the killer, if sane, will be put to death. But when a QUARTER MILLION innocent men, women and babes, are atomized by one bomb -Perhaps you have thought that, you see, is the ethical demoabout this problem. And con- cratic American way of bringing cluded that the machine can culture, civilization, Christianity double-talk serves to cover up and a faith in the supreme worth

A few courageous men are

Lewis Mumford, well-known occupation of continents mean "That depends on which class author, writes in a letter in the starvation levels and totalitarian

"The American people have as abroad. The exact term for this method Mumford then reports the

opinions of some U.S. Air Force pilots who served in Germany, to the effect that strategic bomb-One would expect Lilienthal to ing differs in no essential from By his position as boss in the Industry of Death, Lilienthal and

the rest of the ruling class stand

branded as war criminals, despite

worth of life." This man, operating behind the greatest curtain of secrecy in istory, writes of the "sacred and

SINISTER CONSEQUENCES

"Congress blindly votes appro

grad, USSR! Your city is in line him have viewed with horror in unspecified amounts to be used to be a super-Hiroshima, and the acts by other governments based for unspecified purposes. . . We on the rule that "the end justi- have produced a contagion of hate, fear and suspicion in our fication do these moral citizens own country that threatens to give for atomic mass killing - paralyze our social life. . . This but this same idea, "the end justi- policy would leave us, not with fies the means," in its most a world saved for peace and democracy and world cooperation, The Trumans, Lilienthals and but with a world filled with Hickenloopers are church-going paranoids, criminals, and corpses. men. They read in the Bible, This policy has already had "Thou shalt not kill." When this sinister consequences on our national life, turning our own government progressively into the very image of the ruthless dic-God and a crime against the tatorship we properly despise and fear."

These are the fruits of modern technology controlled by the capitalist class, a class driven by its hunger for profits and worldrule to concentrate all efforts on killing. Their "democratic" their intended atrocities, directed as much against the American people as any other. If you

regimentation at home as well We Marxists give the workers'

answer to Mr. Lilienthal. Yes, can with impunity assault those science can create a paradise on earth. This will happen only when the workers take control of the machine they created. When that day comes, industry will be managed by the workers, through their elected representatives not by the capitalists and their appointed Lilienthals. The production plans will be drawn up by the workers through democratic discussion - not handed down by bureaucrats.

The workers will produce abundance, not famine. With atomic power they will water the deserts, and warm the arctic wastes. We shall have satisfying work, not agonizing toil. Security, not fear. Freedom, instead of slavery.

THE MILITANT

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, (Continued from Page 1)

some of the scabs were hurt.

resistance of the pickets.

But on Thursday, the company

organized vigilante groups and

armed them in an obvious at-

tempt to provoke the pickets at

the Bell gates. They were, how-

ever, met by flying squads of

union pickets. About 50 such

armed scabs were spotted by

strikers who saw them assemble

at a restaurant 11/2 miles away

from the plant. Union flying

squads intercepted the scabs.

a nearby housing project and into

upon columns of "bloody violence

by the strikers." To this they

added the usual dose of red-bait-

vile business they were joined

Bishop O'Hara went so far as

to send out a special pastoral

letter denouncing the strikers,

which was read at all masses in

refused to attend unless the war-

rants were withdrawn, which was

later by the Catholic hierarchy.

BISHOP REVIEW

You won't find any mention of it in the daily papers, but there is a piece of dirty work going on down in Puerto Rico that makes the devil look like an amateur. It is a fair sample of the so-called "democratic way of life" American imperialism seeks to impose upon the whole world under the threat of atomic destruction. To get the full picture a few background facts will be

The working people of Puerto Rico toil long hours on the sugar, coffee and tobacco plantations, in the fruit orchards and in the processing plants. Golden profits from their labor pour into the tills of the American monopoly capitalists who own the island lock, stock and barrel. But for the Puerto Rican workers there is no accumulation of wealth. They know only the ugly face of poverty, only the bitter taste of economic degradation, only the grim struggle for existence.

Standing as the guardian of imperialist privilege in Puerto Rico, as the perpetuator of poverty among its inhabitants, is the government of the United States; that is, the capitalist politicians at Washington - the Trumans and the Tafts alike - who make holiday speeches about "democracy," only to act during working hours as cynical policemen of the capitalist system.

The capitalist politicians didn't ask the people of Puerto Rico if they wanted the American banks and corporations to take over their island back in 1898. That matter was settled by U. S. warships and marines. The Puerto Ricans, their right to independence having been thus brutally violated, are denied the right to vote in the election of the United States government. Yet they are compelled to submit to the laws enacted at Washington. And that brings us to the latest act of injustice against them.

When the peacetime draft law was enacted last year, the brass hats in the Pentagon cast their hungry eyes over the youth of Puerto Rico and earmarked around 212,000 of them for compulsory military service. But the Puerto Ricans, themselves plundered and impoverished by the American capitalists, bitterly resent conscription

into an army that will be used to extend capitalist exploitation throughout the world and to tighten its strangle-hold on Puerto Rico. Conse-Attempt to Smash quently, some 60,000 Puerto Rican youth refused to register for the draft.

The capitalist politicians know they cannot jail 60,000 Puerto Ricans without causing a world-wide scandal. So they decided instead to single out a few victims and deal with them so cruelly that it would frighten others into submission. Mass Arrests Eight draft resisters were arrested by Truman's Department of Justice. Federal Judge David Chavez, from the state of New Mexico, presided over their trial in Puerto Rico.

All were found guilty. Five got one year prison sentences; two were sentenced to two years in prison. The eighth defendant, who served three years in the U.S. Army during World War II, is lying in jail awaiting sentence.

They have appealed their case to the higher courts. A panel of federal judges from Boston will go to Puerto Rico to hear their appeal in February 1950. Meantime they have been denied bail and will have been in jail almost a year before they can take the first step in the long, drawn-out appeal process. Nor is that all. The seven already sentenced have been taken to the United States and incarcerated in federal prisons

at Atlanta and Jacksonville. Here is an outrage against every principle of plain human decency. A people who have been mercilessly exploited, whose rights have been ruthlessly violated by the American capitalists, are now ordered - by a Congress in which they have no representation - to provide troops for an army that will be used to tighten the oppressor's grip on their own island. When they refuse, a, President from Missouri causes their arrest, a judge from New Mexico presides over their trial and some more judges from Boston will hear, their appeal, when they get good and ready. The victimized Puerto Ricans are denied bail and immediately imprisoned in a foreign land.

Here is an act of cruelty that deserves scath ing condemnation. Here are eight victims of capitalist injustice who merit universal support

Deputies Herd Bell Scabs



line of cars and buses carrying strikebreakers into the Bell Aircraft plant in Buffalo is well protected by sheriff's deputies. Meanwhile the police were hunting strike leaders to arrest them because they had tried to keep the scabs out.

of the state Riot Act. Almost all, nates against the Bell strikers who were arrested on Thursday was dramatically illustrated when night and Friday were kept in Buffalo's police commissioner anjail incommunicado, without bail, nounced that he had been "bomand when bail was finally set, it barded with circulars from man-Some of them were chased into was the most exorbitant on rec- ufacturers offering the latest ord in similar cases in this area. equipment for policemen to cope

the fields. Some ten minutes after er rounded up more than 100 hoo- peace." shots at a detachment of ten ligans and made them deputy In spite of the unprecedented sheriffs, armed to the teeth to display of governmental terror, herd the scabs entering the plant. the strikers are remaining firm, nesday and Thursday events that In addition to this, Dewey order- although practically all the union the capitalist press opened up a ed the counties neighboring the leaders and activists are forced are opposed to the doubled fare. Niagara Frontier to pool all their to operate underground. It is The Socialist Workers Party is fits by letting equipment deteresources when and if necessary. known that there are many "John on their side: We call for im- riorate, keeping down the wages virulent assault on the union. Both the Courier Express and Such procedure rarely, if ever, Doe" warrants out for the arrest the Buffalo Evening News began has been employed in the State of of other strikers whom the auto shriek for the blood of the New York. strikers. They poured out columns

der is to mobilize in an indirect tions. manner as large a repressive Today's array of more than 100

raised by the local industrial mag- union.

In the meantime Sheriff Beck- with strikers who disturb the

THE MILITANT

Dewey's aim in issuing this or- cipating in the union demonstra-

force as could be obtained by deputized hooligans at the plant the subways run at a deficit. calling out the state militia - and the armed convoys of scabs Morris doesn't want to bring up fits went down because the suba step which has not been taken into the plant did not dampen the that embarrassing point any ways were in terrible condition. in any labor dispute by any New spirit of the strikers, who have more than O'Dwyer does. That York governor in at least three held up magnificently for 14 reason is the loot given to Wall LaGuardia administration, in weeks against a corporation hell- Street bankers, who drain mil- which Morris held the office of The scope of the mass hysteria bent on destruction of their lions of dollars every year as President of the City Council,

Newbold Morris, Like O'Dwyer, Serves Wall St.

SWP Candidate for Mayor of N. Y. NEW YORK, Sept. 14 — The first campaign speech of Newbold Morris exposes completely his loyalty to the Wall Street gang that runs City Hall under the O'Dwyer

administration. Every worker's family in this We, the SWP, say: Declare a city has been soaked \$75 to \$100 moratorium on the subway year in added transportation bonds! Not another cent to costs because O'Dwyer doubled speculators who double the cost the subway fare. What does his of our transportation. Why should we pay the bankfriendly opponent, the Repuers another penny? They have blican-Fusion candidate Morris have to say about this? Only raked in billions of dollars althat we New Yorkers "want service and we are ready to pay

collected at the turnstiles. Morris, who is supported by the Social Democratic Liberal 1894. But the politicians invited Party, doesn't even bother to their banking cronies to manage make promises to ease the work- the subways, under a system ers' hardships. No, what he wants | called "Dual Contracts." is just a "return to the great puts it.

Yorkers - the vast millions who 000,000 for the franchises, and have to work hard for those with a guarantee of at least dimes that clink in the slots - \$10,000,000 profit every year. mediate restoration of the nickel of the subway workers, and fare, modernization of the subway keeping service at a minimum. thorities deem "guilty" of parti- facilities, and their operation The only thing they couldn't do under the control of the subway was raise the fare, because the

workers. There is only one reason why nickel.

ready, under the deals made with them by every capitalist stooge for it," that he could be a better in municipal office. The Brookmanager of the tons of coins lyn-Manhattan Transit and Interborough Rapid Transit were owned by the city way back in

This set-up gave private comtradition of LaGuardia," as he panies the right to operate the city-owned lines for 75 years, at We know that most New an investment cost of only \$287,-

The bankers swelled their pro-Dual Contracts set the fare at a

After World War I their pro-It was the Republican - Fusion interest on their subway bonds. which rescued the bankers by another deal in 1940. The poor bankers who had only taken in \$450,000,000 profit on their \$287,000,000 investment, were paid another \$326,248,167 for the

unexpired term of the franchise! To make it worse, they were paid off in bonds bearing in-terest at three per cent, instead of in cash. This huge interest

Curran has indicated he will | nucleus. The solid core of the debt has kept the subway in the After 1940 the subway showed

, | for the bankers was eight times ion leadership knew that this was Truman threatened to use the reactionary gangs must be remarkably well under the uncounterposed the independent ceasing barrage of red-baiting began to scheme for the dime

class on both the economic and atmosphere created is one of in- by Marcantonio's American Labor political field. The first loyalty timidation against independent Party, which pretended that of all union militants must be delegates who interpret Cur- O'Dwyer would fight to the finish that the meeting would not be for pressing through the courts a suit to the great and powerful work- ran's "stand up and be counted" for the nickel ride. He finished it. Republican Governor Dewey The lower courts have upheld the vance human society to a higher against those delegates who vote gave Democratic Mayor O'Dwyer the right to raise subway fares The failure of the independent last year, without a referendum. caucus, thus far, to come out The blame belongs to all the clearly and sharply against both capitalist politicians and their Curranism and Stalinism, has fellow-conspirators in the ALP. weakened the opposition by per- Only the Socialist Workers Party

This program will mean a What followed later was the government moves against the up after the first days of the rected, it can result in the serious return of the nickel ride and imseries of mass arrests on charges NMU hiring hall, again we ask: convention and now comprises loss of support from genuine proved service, with only the Wall Street tycoons the losers.

Riesel and Goodrich

By Joseph Andrews

In his nationally syndicated column the venomous Victor Riesel has hurled the slanderous charge that the corporation-wide strike of Goodrich workers is nothing but a political maneuver by George R. Bass to win support for the presidency of the United Rubber Workers at that union's convention in Toronto Sept. 19.

A more vicious attack against striking workers and their leaders could not be conceived. It implies that the company was completely innocent of provoking the strike; moreover, Riesel's column states the strike is a "wildcat" pulled without notice, without giving the company a chance to extend the old agreement for a period. The facts give the lie to all of Riesel's accusa-

The union had negotiated with the company over a four month period. All of the many burdensome provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law were observed. A strike vote was conducted in which Goodrich workers in seven cities voted 15-to-1 to authorize a strike. The required notice of intent to strike was given. The international officers authorized the strike.

URW President H. R. Lloyd called CIO President Murray prior to the strike, according to Lloyd, and the national CIO was not only informed, but has backed the strike.

The company was warned during the last few weeks of negotiations that the expiration date of the contract was drawing near. But the company still insisted upon a whole series of contract changes which, in the words of Goodrich Local 5 Vice-President W. R. Childers, "would have turned back the pages of history and restored the conditions in the days before the CIO."

The union determined not to give up its hardwon working conditions. On Aug. 27 it had no contract; it had no alternative but to strike.

The company at no time offered to extend the old contract. George R. Bass stated publicly that ing and Trotsky-baiting. In this had such an offer been made before the strike deadline, the union "would have been duty bound to give it serious consideration." But the company never gave the negotiators a chance to consider such a proposition.

The company moreover did not propose to delay discussion of wages and pensions until the steel or auto negotiations were concluded. The company, according to the reports of negotiations in the union paper, flatly insisted that it would not agree to any wage increase or better pensions under any conditions.

Faced with such a brick wall what could the union do but strike? Was it union politics to strike to defend the Goodrich workers from a contract which would have thrown conditions back to those of the 30's? Only a paid mercenary of the company or a corrupt hack like Victor Riesel could call this strike unjustified.

Reisel's filth was eagerly picked up by the Goodrich company, which reprinted his Aug. 29 column and mailed it to every Goodrich worker. Thus this peddler of lies serves his Wall Street

As for Bass being a Trotskyist, as Riesell implies, it is well known in Akron that he is a out where they could be served be no different in the future. In member of the State Central Committee of the with warrants for arrest. They that event, to whom will Curran Democratic Party, a fact which automatically excludes Bass from affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party.

Thugs in Silk Hats

By Joseph Keller

Whatever the immediate outcome of Truman's "fact-finding" procedure in steel, the hearings made plain one crucial fact: the steel monopolists haven't changed since the days when the open shop reigned and every attempt of the workers to organize was crushed by bloody violence.

The steel barons remain the mortal enemies of unionism. They want nothing less than the complete submission of labor and the right to rule the industry without restraint upon their greed and power. They dream and plan for the day when they can turn on the union with club and gun and wipe it out utterly.

This was implicit in the completely arrogant and contemptuous attitude of the industry spokesmen at the hearing. It was explicit in the statement of Charles White, president of Republic Steel corporation — a statement which received the open approbation of the rest of the industry. "And if they [the workers] think we are wrong, they strike us, see," White told the hearing. "That is the way this thing should work. It is a helluva good way to work it. . . there are worse things than a strike. Everybody gets a lot of things off their chests, and they say a lot of dirty things and they seem to feel awfully good after it is all over and they are back to work."

Some sections of the press were shocked by White's seeming endorsement of strikes as a method of settling disputes between capital and labor. But that's not what White had in mind. He was thinking of a particular strike that happened, in 1937 and the way it was "settled" so that his company, Republic Steel, certainly felt "awfully good."

White was thinking of the Little Steel Strike 12 years ago which was climaxed by the Memorial Day massacre outside the Republic Steel plant in Chicago. He was thinking back to that scene of the peaceful paraders - men, women and children - fleeing before the revolver and shot-gun volleys of the Chicago police, of the sadistic blood-lust unloosed by club-swinging cops on defenseless people, of 10 workers lying dying or dead in a sunny field, of a strike lost and a

union smashed. Charles White was Republic Steel's vice-president in charge of "operations" at the time of the Memorial Day Massacre. He handled the financial transactions involved in building a private police army, stockpiling munitions and tear gas, running an industrial espionage system. This was the basis of White's "labor policy" in 1937. It is what he and the other steel bosses want to return

Sooner or later, the steel corporations hope to come to grips with the union as they did in Chi-

cago on May 30, 1937. They hope to beat it down and crush it - and they anticipate the willing aid of the forces of "law and order." These put down "lawlessness." Dewey position that it will not com- by an independent caucus which "captains of industry" like White are just thugs had earlier advised Niagara promise on the issue which in- has been able to muster a little mitting the Curranites to create has consistently opposed the steal in silk hats whose whole social consciousness is County Sheriff Becker that he volves its very existence. If the over one-third of the votes on a the impression that the caucus of the workers' money, and deconcentrated in the tip of a blackjack.

And the ultimate goal of the Charles Whites is - fascism. That is the essence of their dream the fascist dictatorship in which unionism itself is illegal, strikes are outlawed and the capitalist state rules with naked force as the guardian of profits. Behind Hitler, Mussolini and Franco have stood the capitalists. Behind an American Hitler, will stand the Charles Whites.

The words and attitude of the steel moguls before the hearings at Foley Square reflected the mentality and outlook of fascism. They have given due warning to American labor that they regard the class struggle as an issue of power which, in the end, will not be resolved across

Pope Assails "Misuse Of Power" by Labor

Pope Pius XII, authoritarian ruler of the Vatican State and the world-wide Roman Catholic Church, recently delivered two speeches on labor unions.

In a radio address from Rome on Sept. 4 to a German Catholic conference, the Pope said that the conflict between the capitalists and the workers is merely "apparent" and that he looks forward to the day when unions won't be "necessary" because the workers will be transformed into a "superior unity" with the capitalists.

On Sept. 11, the Pope issued a blast against "the temptation to misuse the power of organization" by labor - a statement designed to strengthen the hand of the Italian government in pushing a bill to limit the right to strike.

He said the Catholic hierarchy recommends "the immediate drafting of a statute of public law and economic life of the whole of social life in general, according to the professional organization."

These words may be translated as the "corporative state." The "superior unity" that the Pope advocates to do away with unions has been realized already in the clerical-fascist states of Spain and Portugal.

all diocesan churches in the Buffalo area. In a similar vein, the Rt. Rev. Scaife, Bishop of Western New York, took the unprecedented step of issuing a special statement on the Bell strike in which he deplored the violence on the industrial front and branded the violence on the ind the industrial front and branded it "alien to the American tradi-(Continued from Page 1) tion." This attack was directed exclusively at the Bell strikers. in particular and the working Dewey acted swiftly after class in general. In every major or Washington; either the Moscow ports whose virulent "anti-com- an operating profit each year with Thursday's events. He summoned strike in the maritime industry bureaucrats or the Wall Street munism" is a thin veneer covering a nickel fare. In 1946, the profit to Albany the District Attorneys the capitalist government has bureaucrats or the Wall Street munism is a time venetic covernment of Niagara and Eric County as lived up on the side of the ship capitalists. As we have pointed anti-Negro as well as anti-Semitic was \$7,000,000. But the interest

of Niagara and Erie County as lined up on the side of the ship-out previously, either choice prejudices. well as the union leaders. The un-owners. In the last NMU strike would be fatal. Against both these just another ruse to entice them Navy to break the strike. It will be loyal? Right now the government is

the purpose of negotiation or me-At Albany on Friday Dewey government's contention that the level of civilization. It is in this "wrong." gave the local authorities carte NMU hiring hall is illegal under third alternative that the future blanche to use their combined the Taft-Hartley Act and the of the union rests. forces and equipment and use case is now before the Supreme any means within their power to Court. The union has taken the had "unlimited power to uphold Supreme Court upholds the deci- number of test questions. The was a Communist Party front. manded a moratorium on the debt.

major industries.

the Ford workers.

position of the Ford, Chrysler,

Goodrich Rubber, General Elec-

tric and hundreds of thousands

of other workers. The Goodrich

wage demands but offers a con-

Ford offered in 1947 and which

The opposition to the Curran machine at the convention is led ranging from assault to violation To whom will Curran be loyal? little more than a hardened independents.

confront the convention with the Curran machine is composed of red ever since. alternative: Either the Kremlin delegates from the Southern The opposition has held up as much, \$57,000,000.

action of the American working from the Curran machine. The fare, he was helped immeasurably to outlaw the union hiring hall, ing class in its struggle to ad-edict as a threat of reprisal

sion, as is most likely, and the Stalinist caucus just about folded Unless this impression is cor-

Barons Unyielding; Strike

(Continued from page 1)

the law."

struggle under the tremendous handicap of the Truman board's report which would limit their aims to insurance and pensions that would cost the companies not more than 8 cents an hour average per worker and would not add a penny to their immediate incomes. How much better off the workers would have been if Murray had not saddled them with Truman's board and its recommendations. higher wages, face a far tougher But they may be forced to fight in spite of all handicaps for the defense of their union and living standards.

The effort of Philip Murray and the other Steel Workers leaders to palm off the board's recommendations on health insurance and pensions as "a major victory" and "the most constructive thing the effect of the steel board's of its kind in the history of our industry" is an obvious attempt to hoax the workers and salvage the CIO leadership's badly shattered prestige.

What Truman's board did was the board's recommendations for tion in negotiations with the individual companies.

wind up with a few pennies an fifth round of contract gains in the increase in productivity. hour gain by way of pensions its new agreement. Some oband insurance, this in no way servers felt the industry might profits are inviolable; that wage government machinery, to take organized labor.

alters the damaging effect of 'buy' two years of labor peace | demands which make an inroad | the issue of wages and other acceptance of it on the wage aspirations of millions of work- now. ers and the negotiations in the The far-sighted steel monopol-

auto, electrical, rubber and other The pattern agreed to by the steel union leaders weakens the next attack on the union.

enunciated by the Truman ad- costs. ministration through its board. workers, now on strike for As the head of one large steel struggle. The Ford workers are company, quoted by the N. Y. have a profound effect on the Times, expressed it: "It [the forced to fight against a pattern that not only knocks out all their | board] threw out the cockeyed economics presented in behalf of cession on pensions far less than the union by Robert Nathan. This is most gratifying, and it is also surprising as hell."

was overwhelmingly rejected by The "surprise" is due to the It will be many months before fact that the capitalist government board which the steel comreport, if accepted by the companies had charged was a "tool panies, will be fully felt. The of the union" turned out to be Sept. 14 N. Y. Times gives a hint the instrument of the corporaas to what this report paves the tions and cut the union demands way for: "By going along with to the bone. The "gratification" comes from the fact that by to recommend the absolute rock- a joint study of pensions and denying the arguments and facts ing as a "political" instrument profits are at an all-time high. bottom minimum of concessions. thus deferring introduction of of the Nathan report, the board And even this crumb, according the six-cents-an-hour charge until officially endorsed the proposi- labor supporters. But it was in wages and safeguarding the proto the board, is subject to reduct the present contracts expired next tions that higher wages will lead fact a "political" instrument fits of the monopolies. An effec-April, the industry might provide to depression and that wages aimed against the workers. itself with a substantial defense have nothing to do with the But even if the steelworkers against union pressure for a amount of corporation profits and boards in the past, the function ducted not through capitalist gov-

along with the panel's report that the only time workers are justified in demanding general down to a tooth-pick. wage increases is when prices ists have already figured out are rising - and not always He gambled the fate of the CIO's how to use the "fact-finders" then. The board dismisses the whole "fourth round" demands on report as a springboard for their question of raising the standard the hope that this Truman-apof living. The question of higher pointed board would relieve him That springboard is substan- wages is reduced to a rat-race of the necessity for conducting tially strengthened by the eco- by the workers in an effort to a militant fight by granting some nomic philosophy now officially catch up with soaring living substantial concession for poli-

> This 100% reactionary thinking of the Truman board will government's attitude toward union demands in the future.

PAYOFF ON 1948

ment's latest intervention in the those votes. But when it comes struggle between capital and to delivering the goods, he serves labor throws into glaring relief the capitalist class. the total bankruptcy of the CIO leadership's policy of dependence "fact-finding" intervention in the on the Truman administration to steel wage conflict has provided win gains for the workers.

panies' spokesmen howled against wages have not caught up with Truman's board during the hear- the high cost of living and that of the administration and its Truman is committed to freezing

the Board's report and Murray's for the price of one if it went on profits are not permissible; benefits out of the hands of the workers, to whittle their demands

Murray asked for such a board. tical services rendered the Truman administration by the CIO.

But Truman is first and foremost a guardian of capitalist interests. His political alliance with the labor leaders is a one-way affair. He will take all the votes labor will give him. He will The outcome of the govern- promise labor everything to get The outcome of Truman's

a striking lesson for the work-It is true that the steel com- ers. In spite of the fact that tive struggle to improve labor's Like all such government living standards can be conof this board was to prevent a ernment boards but only through Thus, the board declared that strike, to tangle the union in the the independent militant action of