

# Big Brass Feud Unveils Secrets Of War Plotters

Having fought bitterly and incessantly among themselves, the Big Brass are now airing some of their disputes before the House Armed Services Committee. The American people have thus been afforded an intimate glimpse into the workings of the military-minded cliques who now hold the destiny of this country in their mailed fists. The American people are also being afforded an opportunity to gain some of the vital information which has been withheld from them all this while, and even kept secret from authoritative congressional bodies.

Hardly a day has passed without assurances from Truman down that the government's aim is to "secure" global peace, "outlaw" atomic explosives, employ the A-Bomb only as a last resort, and the like. It suddenly turns out that blueprints have meanwhile been drafted for an atomic blitz and that this country is already virtually committed to this "grand strategy" in the projected world holocaust. This is the sworn testimony of one Admiral after another, and there is no reason to believe that they are perjuring themselves on this score.

The proponents of all-out sea power now come to the fore in order to repudiate the A-Bomb as "militarily unsound," and "limited in its effects," and to characterize the concentration on long-range B-36 bombers as "a billion-dollar blunder."

At the same time the Navy spokesmen have suddenly discovered that the very use of the A-Bomb is wrong on moral grounds. It is, they say, "ruthless and barbaric," it is nothing more than "the random manslaughter of men, women and children in the enemy country."

There can be no question whatever about the ruthlessness and barbarism of "strategic bombings," atomic or otherwise. It is also true that cities and civilian populations provide the main targets of such attacks. But what is dubious is this highly moral posture so hastily assumed by the big-navy boosters.

This is too much to swallow even for such military experts as Hanson Baldwin, who points out in the Oct. 10 N. Y. Times that "it should be noted for the record that some of the Navy's interest in morality as applied to strategic bombing seems newfound."

At bottom of the dispute between the Navy, on the one side, and the Army and the Air Force, on the other, there are of course no moral or other "humanitarian" considerations. The militarists are hopelessly divided among themselves on the "grand strategy" of the projected war. Each side wants a "grand strategy" which assigns it a major role, enhances its own prestige, and, in particular, enables it to grab a bigger slice of the annual military appropriations.

The Navy chieftains have obviously decided to appeal to the public for support on its side of the dispute. This has created a rather awkward situation for the capitalist warmongers. A public discussion cannot now be avoided.

Many important revelations have already been made in the course of the House Committee hearings. There may be others. The mass of the people may at long last learn some of the things that have really been transpiring behind an impenetrable veil of secrecy.

But the most important revelation is already at hand. It is this, that however much the Big Brass may disagree, they have already committed this country to another war.

Thus the real issue that has been posed for public discussion is: Are the American people ready and willing to entrust the decision of peace or war to these military conspirators and their henchmen?

## Legless Vet Will Tell His Story in Toledo on Oct. 25

TOLEDO, Oct. 10 — Arrangements for James Kutcher's visit to this city were completed today. The high point will be a public meeting Tuesday evening, Oct. 25, at the Fort Meigs Hotel sponsored by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, the American Veterans Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In addition to Kutcher the speakers will include City Councilman J. B. Simmons, Jr.; Rev. Gordon M. Jones of the Trinity Episcopal Church; Walter Guntrup, editor of the AFL Toledo Union Leader and Prof. Willard A. Smith of Toledo University, who will act as chairman.

On Monday evening, Oct. 24, Kutcher will address the CIO Industrial Union Council. This was made possible by the strong endorsement of his fight by Richard Gosser, International Vice-President of the CIO United Auto Workers. In a letter to Milton Gencin of the Toledo KCRC, Gosser wrote:

"I would like to state that although I do not share the same views politically with Brother Kutcher, I want both of you to know that I believe in a free democratic society such as we live in America and that each of us are entitled to our beliefs and rights of free speech. It is the responsibility of all of us to defend these rights for each individual person in America. I feel this way and so expressed (Continued on page 2)

## STRONG OPPOSITION HITS NEW FORD AGREEMENT

DETROIT, Oct. 10 — At the end of a stormy two-day debate, the National Ford Council of the CIO United Auto Workers, representing 49 Ford locals throughout the country, on Oct. 6 voted 659 to 381 to accept UAW President Walter Reuther's contract settlement with the Ford Motor Company. But it still must be ratified by a membership vote.

The sharp and sizeable opposition, representing more than a third of the voting strength, was a far cry from claims of Reuther's spokesmen before the council session that the settlement would be approved "overwhelmingly."

Although Reuther had told the press there would be only "Communist" and otherwise "minor" opposition, among the leaders of the council fight against the agreement were Al Musilli, president of Highland Park Local 400; Art Valenti, president of Lincoln Local 900; and Archie Acacia,

president of the Press Steel Unit of River Rouge Local 600 — all Reuther supporters.

Had Thomas Thompson, president of Local 600, which contains over half of the 115,000 Ford workers, not urged ratification of the agreement, it would have been defeated. Thompson himself, although he represents no unit of Local 600, cast 52 votes for the contract. But he did not defend the contract. He admitted it was a bad contract, but argued that the workers had "no choice" at this time.

In the current Ford Facts, Local 600 paper, Thompson has praise only for John S. Bugas, chief Ford negotiator, whom he calls a "smart cookie" and the "top company labor relations man in this country." He says nothing good of Reuther as a negotiator and sharply criticizes the contract.

He points out that the unprecedented 2½-year contract would freeze wages not only up to Jan. 1, 1951, when one wage reopener would be permitted, but would likely be followed by an "additional sixteen-month freeze from Jan. 1, 1951, to April 1, 1952."

He says the proposed pension plan, by reducing Ford's payments as federal social security increases, would cut Ford's contributions by 50% "before the plan even goes into effect" if Congress passes the new social security bill. But this would up

(Continued on page 2)

Workers of the World, Unite!

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## Steel Barons Forced Strike To Break Strength of Unions

### Bureaucrat-Ruled AFL Convention Achieves Little

Outside of some routine lip-service to a few progressive ideas, the AFL hierarchy at the recent AFL national convention in St. Paul gave nothing of hope and inspiration to the American workers.

One proposal of positive merit made by the AFL Executive Council was on the shorter work day and work week. Their report stated that a cut in working time, with no reduction in take-home pay, "may very well be desirable" as a means of easing unemployment.

This is not a new idea, even in the AFL, which went on record for a similar proposal back ten years ago. But now, as then, no program of action to accomplish this worthy aim was suggested.

### GOVERNMENT BOARDS

AFL President William Green, in his opening speech, criticized the CIO leadership for accepting a wage freeze and submitting to a government board. Among the smug bureaucrats who applauded Green's remarks were officials of a number of railway affiliates which have accepted government boards as standard procedure in their negotiations for several decades.

Political action was a big point in the convention. It was announced that the AFL Labor's League for Political Education would seek \$2 from each of nearly eight million AFL members for "the greatest political campaign in history" to oust eight "unfriendly" Republicans from the Senate and to secure a "friendly" Congress.

### POLITICAL ACTION

For the millions it intends to spend, according to LLPE national director Joseph D. Keenan, the AFL "has no desire to dictate candidates," but will merely ask "that the parties select candidates worthy of support" — that is, the same kind of candidates the capitalist parties have always selected and which the AFL leaders have always endorsed.

Aside from this, the chief emphasis of the AFL leaders was on support of American imperialist war preparations, fighting "communism" and boasting of AFL internal "unity" — the unity of a powerful bureaucracy that has put the lid on any opposition from the ranks. Like mechanical dolls, the delegates intoned "aye" to every proposal of the Executive Council.



## 'Titoism' in the Stalinist Party of West Germany

U. S. ZONE, Germany, Sept. 25 — More than in any other country outside of the "Iron Curtain," the crisis of Stalinism has deepened in Western Germany.

From the beginning it was evident that the steady decline of Stalinist influence would produce serious consequences within the German CP. Last year this crisis found its expression in the passivity and indifference of CP members. Since the disastrous results of the party's participation in the August Bundestag elections, it is expressed by open discontent and criticisms of the party's entire policy. It is not worthy that this revolt against the party line has been led by middle and even some higher cadre elements.

The top bureaucrats loyal to the Kremlin are increasingly nervous. More and more the Stalinist press furiously condemns "Trotskyist, Brandlerist and Titoist agents, spies and provocateurs." In September this campaign reached its highest point when the CP leadership issued a special pamphlet entitled Trotskyism, an Agency of the Class Enemy. Two weeks later, this "anti-Trotskyist, anti-

Titoist" campaign developed further.

In every CP paper there appeared an article by Kurt Mueller, one of the party leaders, under the following caption: "Is There a Titoist Danger in Our Party?" It is recommended as "an article every communist must read." This article, symptomatic of the serious crisis in the Stalinist party, contains detailed information so important that we will quote some passages from it. Mueller answers the question in the title by saying: "This question has to be put because a number of local [CP] groups and leaderships in the Ruhr, Niedersachsen [Hamburg, etc.], South Baden, Hessen and other areas, commenting on the election results, are conveying the idea that these results were brought about not by the party's own mistakes and weaknesses, but by the policy of the Soviet Union. Such comments seem to have been written by Titoists. . . . The example of Bad Hamburg [a town near Frankfurt] proves how deeply some comrades have sunk into the swamp of Titoism. There a writer poisoned by nationalism has misled the local group into declaring that the identification

of SED and CP policies with the policy of the USSR has had an unfavorable influence on the election results. . . .

"Another report tells us that a member of the secretariat of one Land-party leadership, [Western Germany is divided into eleven Laender — states] is traveling from conference to conference in order to praise Yugoslavia as the ideal of a People's Democracy. Several other members of that secretariat know what he is doing. Yet they have tolerated it for some months already. . . . It has become necessary to point out that party leaderships shut their eyes to false views, deviations and arguments of enemy party elements, and that they tolerate them. . . .

"Especially significant is the attitude of the party leadership of South Baden toward the regional party leadership at Konstanz [a town on the Swiss border], which in its evaluation of the elections has sunk to the position of the CDU-SP leadership by calling for the revision of the Oder-Neisse border. Isn't such a tolerant liberal attitude, also to be found in other leader-

(Continued on page 3)

## 'Business Week' Admits Real Aim of Arrogant Monopolists

An open admission that the steel monopolists could have "easily ducked" the steel and coal strikes but deliberately forced a "showdown" with the aim of breaking the unions' power, is contained in the Oct. 8 Business Week, a leading Big Business mouthpiece.

The Business Week article, "A Longer View of the Myth of Union Invincibility," has been re-

## Murray Promises No More Retreats In Ohio Speech

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 11 — At a rally attended by 30,000 steel workers from this area, CIO President Philip Murray today promised that the steel union leadership will not make any further concessions to the corporations in its fight for employer-financed pensions and social insurance.

The meeting, organized by the steel union district office, was the occasion for a labor holiday for the steel industry in this area. All of the fabricating plants in the city were shut down for today, and the workers on strike marched to the meeting from the picket lines. Local 1330 also held a parade.

Murray's speech here was the first in a series of "grassroots" reports that he will make in the major steel centers. He spent considerable time in reviewing the details of Truman's "fact-finding" board recommendations. It was a dull speech but he got strong applause from the workers when he denounced the corporations and the local press, and declared that the steel barons would never break the union or starve it back to work on their own terms.

The CIO president also attacked AFL President William Green and the Communist Party for their criticism of his retreat on a fourth-round wage increase. But these remarks did not get much of a response from the assembled steelworkers, many of whom think that since the corporations forced the union to strike, it should return to its original demands including a wage increase.

Murray did not say anything about the most important problem of all — the danger that the government will intervene in the fight to force the union to accept some kind of "compromise" acceptable to the corporations. Plans for such intervention have already been announced by government mediation officials.

published in full-page newspaper ads by McGraw-Hill, largest publisher of business and trade publications in the country.

Not only does the article reveal that the corporations' purpose in provoking the steel strike was to cripple effective industry-wide collective bargaining, but it sounds a call to arms to the whole capitalist class to get behind the steel barons and help them put an end to the "potency" of the labor movement.

### THE "LONGER VIEW"

Even though prolonged strikes in steel and coal "will slow down the pace of all business to a disastrously low rate," that is only a "short-run worry," according to Business Week. It hails the "longer view" of the steel magnates who are seeking to turn the "1949 labor crisis" into an "important milestone on the long uphill road to a reinvigorated enterprise system in America."

The article urges the capitalists generally to "look at the situation this way: An influential group of employers have raised their sights beyond their immediate economic interest and have taken on a battle for a principle important to every business in the land." That principle is: ". . . to stop appealing labor leaders."

The steel industry could have yielded the pensions and a lot more demanded by the steel workers "and the business index would have continued zooming along at its high level," at least "for a while." But this, says Business Week, "would have bought peace by strengthening the myth of union invincibility."

### THEIR REAL AIM

So, no matter how just the steel and coal workers' demands and no matter how the general economy might be affected by strikes in these two basic industries, the

See Editorial on the Steel Situation "BEWARE OF 'FACE-SAVING' FORMULA"

— Page 3 —

steel bosses decided that any concessions "would only have deferred a little longer the inevitable showdown — the showdown which has to come when industry finally says 'No' to the unions' demands, "and means it."

The steel corporations are brazen liars when they claim that they forced the strike simply because they oppose the "principle" of non-contributory pensions. What they really had in mind, according to Business Week, is that granting even the meager recommendations of Truman's "fact-finding" board "would have fortified the union leaders with new success, new confidence, new ideas of employer supineness."

### A TEST OF STRENGTH

Thus, as The Militant stated last week, the corporations determined on a test of strength rather than see the unions strengthened by so much as one crumb of a concession. And Business Week hails this arrogant stand of the steel companies — "give the steel industry credit for taking on a fight it could have easily ducked. . . ."

The attitude of the steel corporations, as indicated by Business Week, makes it clear that they are striving to permanently cripple the steel and coal miners unions. That is the real issue in this crucial struggle.

### Next Week:

The coming CIO convention and the consequences of the threatening split will be analyzed by Art Preis.

Farrell Dobbs will contrast James P. Cannon's testimony at the Minneapolis trial with the Communist Party line at Foley Sq.

Also, a review of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Stalin, and articles on Yugoslavia, the strikes and the Ford contract.

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Labor Union Trends

Apologists for the Labor Bureaucracy

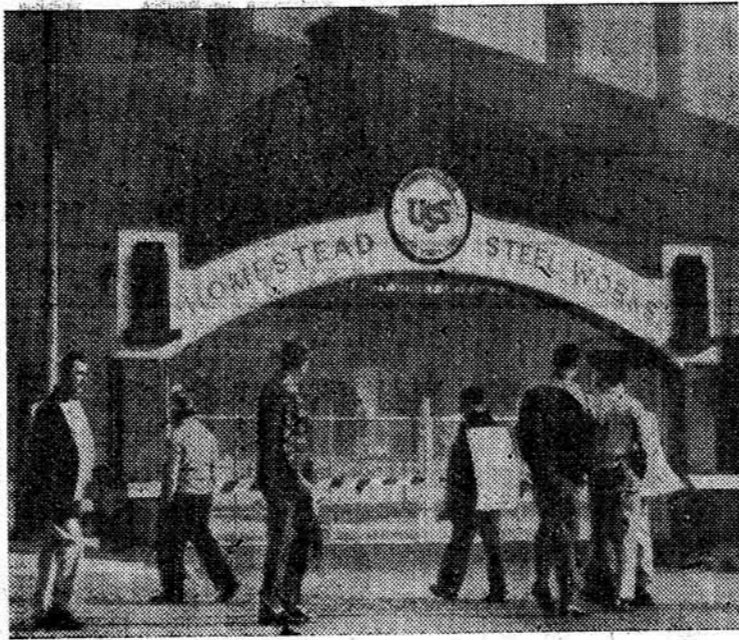
By Bert Cochran

The great dividing line in the American socialist movement between the right and the left — that is, between reformists and revolutionists — is and has been their attitude toward the conservative labor bureaucracy...

problems of the present-day movement is in order. It must be recalled that the old labor bureaucracy in America was not only very reactionary but also very corrupt.

successes of the Walter Reuthers. And so, they have dumped, like worthless ballast, all the basic ideas that animate genuine socialists in the labor movement...

Picketing Steel Plant



Members of the CIO United Steelworkers at the Homestead, Pa., works of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation are shown doing their share of picket duty in the nation-wide steel strike.

Homestead Workers Lulled By Talk of "Early Victory"

By G. Mason

HOMESTEAD, Pa., Oct. 10 — Members of CIO Steel Workers Local 1397, a union of 10,000 men and the largest local in this area, are counting on a quick end to the present steel strike.

There is a general conviction among the men that the government will intervene to end the strike soon in the "interest of the national economy and the critical situation in Europe."

While the really basic gains of labor were won with the fullest participation of the men, in this strike the very opposite methods are employed. Picket lines are maintained at a minimum; members are informed by mail of their picket assignments; Local 1397 leaders forbid any slogans other than those strictly limited to the meager strike demands.

Kutcher to Speak In Toledo Oct. 25

(Continued from page 1) myself to the delegates to the Toledo Industrial Union Council.

The latest union support to the Kutcher case in Toledo came last week from Local 500 of the AFL International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, which went on record to support the case and donated \$50 to the Kutcher Committee.

CHICAGO, Oct. 7 — James Kutcher climaxed his two-week stay in Chicago by telling the story of his fight for civil liberties to a responsive audience at the Midland Hotel tonight.

Sidney Lens, director of AFL United Service Employees Local 329, who chaired the meeting, made a stirring appeal for aid to the legless veteran.

The ranks as a result seem somewhat apathetic. They are not inspired by the objectives of the strike. Most of the men want the security of an adequate pension system.

Most of the pickets have drawn their last pay now. Yet as they trudge the line they witness hundreds of maintenance men entering the mill gates by permission of their leaders.

While the Murray men have deliberately played down the natural militancy of the membership, the workers retain their basic loyalty to the organization.

Buffalo, Oct. 10 — Picketing is slow and eventless on the long Lackawanna strike front just at the moment. But that is hardly surprising.

ALL QUIET ON STRIKE FRONT AT THE LACKAWANNA WORKS

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Henry Ford and Old Age Pensions

(Reprinted from Oct. 7 Flint Weekly Review)

It seems Henry died and applied at the Pearly Gates for admission to Heaven. He rang the bell. The Clerk opened the window and said, "Good Morning, what can I do for you?"

4th INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. Send me a copy of the October Fourth International. Enclosed is 25 cents.

WORLD MONEY CRISIS GROWS MORE INTENSE

By John G. Wright

The world monetary crisis continues to grow in scope and intensity. Last week the political crisis, which has already gripped Britain, spread to France, causing the downfall of the Queuille government.

The political crisis in France matches in acuteness that of Britain. More than a week has passed since the resignation of the Queuille Cabinet and attempts to form a new one still remain in the stages of "negotiation."

Sporadic strikes, notably in the northern coal fields, have already broken out, with the threat of nationwide strike struggles in the offing.

MANIPULATION The latest devaluations by Spain, Argentina and Uruguay have introduced a new factor into the tangled condition of the world market and the world fiscal system.

Next to the French, the most pessimistic are the Dutch financial and industrial circles who predict that the current devaluations must eventually lead "to more devaluations, and ultimately to a defense measure by America."

U. S. TOO? Nevertheless, there is talk of American devaluation not only in Europe but here at home. The SWP literature sold.

Big Turnout for Robeson Rallies Held in Detroit

DETROIT, Oct. 9 — In face of newspaper warnings to stay away, despite a barrage of red-baiting and a cordon of 1,000 police in the vicinity, more than 3,000 Negro and white workers of this city heard Paul Robeson speak here tonight.

Literature distributed outside the meeting included that of the Kutcher Defense Committee. The Socialist Workers Party issued a leaflet calling upon all tendencies in the labor movement to unite in forming workers' defense guards.

FORD CONTRACT MEETS OPPOSITION

(Continued from Page 1) employees' contributions. "Will the Ford pension plan be the Thompson-contributing type?"

The pension plan, however, was not the main point of attack by the opposition in the Council. The heavy guns were directed against the "company security" and production standards clauses.

Fourth International calls attention to the ominous meaning of the recent frame-up trial of Rajk in Budapest. "Like the Moscow Trials in the Thirties" it is "designed to draw a line of blood between Stalin and his new opposition"

But the final word on the contract remains with the Ford workers. It must be approved by a referendum vote. And there is evidence that the vote in the Council did not reflect the full extent of the opposition in the membership.

A Local 400 membership meeting on Oct. 9, with about 1,000 in attendance, discussed the settlement. For almost four hours the agreement was bitterly assailed.

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Tito vs. Stalin



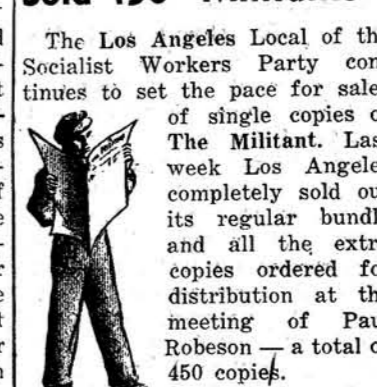
slav people constitutes a "mortal threat to its influence on a world scale" and can "undermine its totalitarian rule in the Soviet Union?"

Stalin's troops move menacingly at the borders of Yugoslavia. Will war flare up as the Kremlin tries to crush the freedom-loving fighters of this tiny Balkan country?

tachments of the Soviet army against the Tito régime. "The Tito-Stalin Conflict," featured in the October Fourth International, is a factual, authoritative summary of the issues and forces widening the chasm between Belgrade and Moscow.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Bert Deck Tells How Los Angeles SWP Sold 450 "Militants"



The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party continues to set the pace for sales of single copies of The Militant.

Friday was the big day. Marj and Vivian spent the afternoon at the corner of Vernon and Central, which is in the heart of the Negro community.

we outdid them at their own meeting. Also our sales force was much younger. I don't know if I have reported this before but we rarely any more see a young Stalinist selling their paper.

We shouted the slogan of a united front of the labor movement for the defense of democratic rights against such fascist assaults as occurred at Peekskill, and the logic of it reduced the Stalinist hacks to frenzied sputtering and curses.

The following people sold Militants at Wrigley Field: Elaine, Rosalie, Clara, Myra, Ruth, Marj, Vivian, Helen, Shirley, Sarah, Isadora, Al, Lou, Bob, Bessie and a group of others to handle any discussions that might arise from interest created by the sales.

Just Arrived: La Verite No. 237 — 10 Cents (coins or stamps) 4.a Internazionale (Italian) Aug.-Sept. issue 25 Cents Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl. New York 3



