American people have thus been? afforded an intimate glimpse into ing themselves on this score. the workings of the militaryminded cliques who now hold the destiny of this country in their order to repudiate the A-Bomb mailed fists. The American people are also being afforded an "limited in its effects," and to opportunity to gain some of the characterize the concentration on vital information which has been withheld from them all this while, billion-dollar blunder." and even kept secret from authoritative congressional bodies.

out assurances from Truman down the like. It suddenly turns out the enemy country." that blueprints have meanwhile and that this country is already barbarism of "strategic bomband that this country is already virtually committed to this ings," atomic or otherwise. It is Achieves Little testimony of one Admiral after another, and there is no reason to believe that they are perjur-

## **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 Genecin of the Toledo KCRC, Gosser wrote:

"I would like to state that although I do not share the same politically with Brother Kutcher, I want both of you to that however much the Big Brass know that I believe in a free may disagree, they have already democratic society such as we live in 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 in-

feel this way and so expressed (Continued on page 2)

as "militarily unsound," and

Hardly a day has passed with- covered that the very use of the that the government's aim is to grounds. It is, they say, "ruthless "secure" global peace, "outlaw" and barbaric;" it is nothing more atomic explosives, employ the than "the random manslaughter A-Bemb only as a last resort, and of men, women and children in

There can be no question whatbeen drafted for an atomic blitz ever about the ruthlessness and "grand strategy" in the projected also true that cities and civilian world holocaust. This is the sworn populations provide the main targets of such attacks. But what is dubious is this highly moral ideas, the AFL hierarchy at the 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 obpublic 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, in the convention. It was an-The mass of the people may at nounced that the AFL Labor's long last learn some of the things League for Political Education 25 — More than in any other further. that have really been transpiring would seek \$2 from each of nearly secrecy.

committed this country to another

war. decision of peace or war to these military conspirators and their henchmen?

# 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 president of the Press Steel Unit Walter Reuther's contract settle- of River Rouge Local 600 - all ment with the Ford Motor Com- Reuther supporters. pany. 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 the agreement, it would have been a far cry from claims of Reuther's spckesmen before the council though he represents no unit of session that the settlement would Local 600, cast 52 votes for the be approved "overwhelmingly."

press there would be only "Com- la bad contract, but argued that munist" and otherwise "minor" the workers had "no choice" at opposition, among the leaders of this time. the council fight against the agree Highland Park Local 400; Art Valenti, president of Lincoln Local 900; and Archie Acacia,

### 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.

Extra copies only 3c. in bundles of 5 or more.

Had Thomas Thompson, president of Local 600, which contains over half of the 115,000 Ford workers, not urged ratification of defeated. Thompson himself, alcontract. But he did not defend Although Reuther had told the the contract. He admitted it is

In the current Ford Facts, ment were Al Musilli, president of Local 600 paper, Thompson has praise only for John S. Bugas, chief Ford negotiator, whom he cails 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 con-

He points out that the unpre cedented 21/2-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 "addi-Jan. 1, 1951, to April 1, 1952."

He says the proposed pension increases, would cut Ford's con-

(Continued on page 2)

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# The proponents of all-out sea power now come to the fore in order to repudiate the A-Bomb as "militarily unsound," and sea (militarily unsound," and sea (mi 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

# **Bureaucrat-Ruled AFL Convention**

Outside of some routine linservice to a few progressive recent AFL national convention in St. Paul gave nothing of hope and inspiration to the American

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 unemploy-

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.

#### COVERNMENT BOARDS

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

> Political action was a big point friendly" Republicans from the Senate and to secure a "friendly'

### 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 selected and which the AFL enders 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 that has put the lid on any opmechanical dolls, the delegates of the Executive Council.



# Party of West Germany

country outside of the "Iron In every CP paper there ap-uriavorable influence on the elecbehind an impenetrable veil of eight million AFL members for Curtain," the crisis of Stalinism peared an article by Kurt Muel- tion results. . . "the greatest political campaign in history" to oust eight "unmany.

elections, it is expressed by open discontent and criticisms of the capitalist parties have always party's entire policy. It is note middle and even some higher cadre elements.

later, this "anti-Trotskyist, anti- declaring that the identification

U. S. ZONE, Germany, Sept. | Titoist" campaign developed of SED and CP policies with the reports that he will make in the

under the following caption: From the beginning it was There a Titoist Danger in Our evident that the steady decline Party?" It is recommended as of Stalinist influence would pro- "an article every communist duce serious consequences within must read." This article, sympthe German CP. Last year this tomatic of the serious crisis in crisis found its expression in the the Stalinist party, contains passivity and indifference of CP detailed information so important members. Since the disastrous that we will quote some passages results of the party's participa- from it. Mueller answers the tion in the August Bundestag question in the title by saying: "This question has to be put

because a number of local [CP] groups and leaderships in the worthy that this revolt against Ruhi. Niedersachsen [Hamburg. the party line has been led by etc.], South Baden, Hessen and other areas, commenting on the election results, are conveying the The top bureaucrats loyal to idea that these results were the Kremlin are increasingly brought about not by the party's nervous. More and more the own mistakes and weaknesses, but Stalinist press furiously con- by the policy of the Soviet Union. demns "Trotskyist, Brandlerist Such comments seem to have been and Titoist agents, spies and written by Titoists. . . The exunity of a powerful bureaucracy provocateurs." In September this ample of Bad Hamburg [a town of the elections has sunk to the ernment will intervene in the campaign reached its highest near Frankfort] proves how position from the ranks. Like point when the CP leadership deeply some comrades have sunk issued a special pamphlet en- into the swamp of Titoism. There of the Oder-Neisse border. Isn't titled Trotskyism, an Agency of a writer poisoned by nationalism such a tolerant liberal attitude, Plans for such intervention have

member of the secretariat of one Land-party leadership, [Western Germany is divided into eleven 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 dofor some months already. . . It

tions and arguments of enemy

of South Baden toward the wage increase. regional party leadership at (Continued on page 3)

Oct. 8 Business Week, a leading published in full-page newspaper Big Business mouthpiece. The Business Week article, "A lisher of business and trade pub-Longer View of the Myth of Un- lications in the country. ion Invincibility," has been re-Not only does the article re-

**Business Week'Admits Real** 

**Aim of Arrogant Monopolists** 

have "easily ducked" the steel and coal strikes but delib-

erately forced a "showdown" with the aim of breaking the

An open admission that the steel monopolists could

unions' power, is contained in the

## **Murray Promises No More Retreats** In Ohio Speech

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 11 - At rally attended by 30,000 steel orkers 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 prise system in America." the steel industry in this area. All of the fabricating plants in he city were shut down for today, and the workers on strike marched to the meeting from their sights beyond their immethe picket lines. Local 1330 also held a parade.

Murray's speech here was the first in a series of "grassroots" policy of the USSR has had an urfavorable influence on the class considerable. considerable time in reviewing ers when he denounced the Laender — states] is traveling and declared that the steel barons corporations and the local press. starve it back to work on their own terms.

The CIO president also attacked AFL President William Green ing. Yet they have tolerated it and the Communist Party for their criticism of his retreat on has become necessary to point a fourth-round wage increase. out that party leaderships shut But these remarks did not get their eyes to false views, devia-much of a response from the assembled steelworkers, many of party elements, and that they whom think that since the corporations forced the union to "Especially significant is the strike, it should return to its attitude of the party leadership original demands including a

Murray did not say anything Constanz [a town bn the Swiss about the most important problem border], which in its evaluation of all - the danger that the govposition of the CDU-SP leader- fight to force the union to accept ship by calling for the revision some kind of "compromise" acceptable to the corporations. intoned "aye" to every proposal the Class Enemy. Two weeks has misled the local group into also to be found in other leader- already been announced by gov

ads by McGraw-Hill, largest pub-

veal that the corporations' purpose in provoking the steel strike was to cripple effective industrywide 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 enter-

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

The steel industry could have the details of Truman's "fact- yielded the pensions and a lot finding" board recommendations. more demanded by the steel workstrong applause from the work- have continued zooming along at its high level," at least "for a while." But this, says Business Week, "would have bought peace would never break the union or by strengthening the myth of un-

## 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 conred 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

only look across their border and termined on a test of strength see what a shambles has been rather than see the unions strengthened by so much as one The best maneuvers and the crumb of a concession. And

The attitude of the steel coreffectively and in time, it must porations, as indicated by Busiabandon all remnants of Stalinist ness Week, makes it clear that method and ideology, including they are striving to permanently this crucial struggle.

# Yugoslavs Use UN As Forum Against Kremlin

By George Breitman Despite the increased diploma- Council.

world public opinion. In addition tee and introducing a 25-point ism. to their general propaganda, the resolution in the UN's Interna-Yugoslavs are now making use of tional Law Commission. The reso-

At last year's session of the aging or assisting civil wars and advantages accruing to them-UN General Assembly, the Yugo- disturbances, or acts of terrorism, selves from the widest possible slav delegation continued to vote within the territory of another airing of Stalin's crimes against It is understandable that Yuwith the Stalinist bloc even state. . . " Milovan Djilas of the Yugoslav independence. At the goslavia, being part of the UN, though the Tito-Stalin rift had Yugoslav delegation promised same time they clearly under- should seek to utilize it to publialready taken place. But this that in the discussion of this reso- stand that the Yugoslav rupture cize its grievances against the year the Yugoslavs are acting in- lution the Yugoslavs would direct with the other Eastern European Kremlin through the medium of tional sixteen-month freeze from dependently, of the Stalinist as their criticisms against imperial-countries in the UN does not such resolutions as the one it in-

tributions by 50% "before the to defend themselves against the tion is reported ready to back the N. Y. Times put it this way in the illusion that it can be relied plan even goes into effect" if Kremlin, the Yugoslavs have an- Yugoslav candidate for the Se- an editorial on Oct. 5:

NOT IN THEIR CAMP

"fomenting, organizing, encour- and London see eye to eye on the most tentative kind. well as the imperialist blocs and, ist as well as Stalinist practices, mean that Tito has come over troduced in the Law Commission. in fact, are openly challenging The imperialists are of course into their own camp. Sadly com- But it would be suicidal for the plan, by reducing Ford's pay- the Stalinists for their attacks on eager to make propaganda capi- plaining about the "unpleasant" Yugoslavs to harbor or to spread, ments as federal social security the independence of Yugoslavia. tal out of the Yugoslav split with choice that the imperialists must as they have done in the past, il-Eager for a position from which the Kremlin. The U. S. delega- make "between two evils," the lusions about the UN, especially

candidate, Czechoslovakia, for a resisting Stalin's pressure would clinging to his communism but tion.

## NO ILLUSIONS ON UN!

on to play a progressive role in in any respect.

seat on the strategic UN Security be weakened if his candidate is seeking economic blood injections | For the UN is a tool of the im- they really had in mind, accorddefeated. The British, on the from the bourgeois West and try- perialists, who are interested in ing to Business Week, is that tic pressure by Stalin and his sa- In another bold maneuver, other hand, are opposing the Yu- ing at the same time to under- Yugoslavia only to the extent granting even the meager rectellites and the dispatch of more they assured themselves of the goslav candidate on the ground mine the Soviet Union's position that they can use it to promote ommendations of Truman's "fact-Soviet troops to Yugoslavia's bor- use of the UN rostrum for an ex- that his election would strength- in the United Nations. His policy their own reactionary ends and finding" board "would have fortiders, Belgrade is gaining a hear- posure of Stalinist oppression by en the Stalinist claim that Tito is still to fight a civil war within who have no more sympathy for fied the union leaders with new ing from an ever larger section of by-passing the General Commit- has become a puppet of imperial- the Communist fold, rather than an independent Yugoslavia than success, new confidence, new ideas to step out from behind the Iron Stalin has. Yugoslavs who want of employer supineness." Curtain and join in the great conflict of the West against the country if they should stake their the United Nations as a forum lution calls for an international Despite these tactical differ- East." That is why imperialist hopes on the UN or tie their alfor the presentation of their declaration against any country ences, however, both Washington aid for Tito continues to be of the legiance to the imperialists need last week, the corporations demade of Greece.

Congress passes the new social nounced their candidacy in com- curity Council on the ground that "Tito on his part is trying to the struggles for independence of the pernicious notion that the UN cripple the steel and coal miners security bill. But this would up petition with the Soviet Union's Tito's prestige and ability to keep make the best of both worlds, Yugoslavia or any other small na- can serve as a progressive agency unions. That is the real issue in

cleverest propaganda in the world Business Week hails this arrocan have only limited value for gant stand of the steel companies a country faced with so many dangers on all sides as Yugoslavia. - "give the steel industry credit To survive as a free and independ- for taking on a fight it could have ent nation, it must appeal for and easily ducked. . . " win the support of the international working class. To do that

Picketing Steel Plant

Labor Union Trends

# Apologists for the Labor Bureaucracy

By Bert Cochran

The great dividing line in the problems of the present - day | successes of the Walter Reuth-American socialist movement be- movement is in order. It must be ers. And so, they have dumped, tween the right and the left - recalled that the old labor bureau- like worthless ballast, all the basic that is, between reformists and cracy in America was not only ideas that animate genuine socialrevolutionists — is and has been very reactionary but also very ists in the labor movement and their attitude toward the con- corrupt. In an appreciation have adopted, in all essentials written after his death called, and in their mode of thinking. servative labor bureaucracy, whom De Leon aptly called "Reminiscenses of De Leon," this the viewpoint of the trade union "labor lieutenants of the capital- very good description occurs: brass hats. ist class." That was the big line "The capitalist atmosphere in the of division between Hillquit and United States, productive of rich ing about this particular book Debs; not merely that Debs supported the IWW in its early days, but that inside the AFL and swamp breeds mosquitoes." Railroad Brotherhoods Debs was were plagued by the "Skinny" the inveterate foe of Gempers. Mitchell, Tobin, Stone, while Hillquit sought to play ball with

them and adapt the Socialist George L. Berrys and the like movement to their backwardness and treachery. The early Communist moveall they could, shook down the ment was constructed in this country on this same ground in the post-World War I period. the most venal political machines, ruled over their member-The pioneer communists and the then militant labor leaders set up the Trade Union Educationa! League to which all real labor fighters soon adhered to wage unwas relatively easy to mobilize remitting war on the AFL of know-nothing reactionaries. bareaucracy and all that it stood for and to get the labor movement back on the rails of class

proportions.

This is such a new phenomenon

apologists and court biographers

par excellence of the new bureau-

cracy and its far-reaching ambi-

tions - is exemplified in the

recently issued book, The UAW

and Walter Reuther by Irving

Howe and B. J. Widick. (Random

Our two authors, like so many

countless other ex-left wingers

despair of the revolutionary

socialist movement ever amount-

ing to anything in this country.

The pension plan, however, was

the opposition in the Council. The

has been retained in all essentials.

not the main point of attack by membership.

The universally-hated work contract provoked only boos. Not

standards clause, which led to the a single member spoke in favor

25-day strike last May against of the contract. Only the day be-

speedup, remains unchanged for fore, Reuther personally tried to

"You bet it will."

militancy and independence. The generation of young radical workers and intellectuals that made up the left wing movement of the Twenties and early Thirties was bred in this philo-Hostility to the labor fakers. Max Eastman, in his pathetic speech of renegacy at last year's AFL convention, recalled how 30 years ago when he was a Socialist he would not have even deigned to and ex-radicals and converted share the same platform with them into a new school of "left" Gompers.

That was the great dividing of the labor bureaucracy. This line. The genuine left wing move- adulation, which has given birth ment grew firm and strong and to a veritable "Reuther cult" won the cream of the working the man who stands as a symbol class and the best of the intellectuals to its banner by adherence to class principle, by hatred of the capitalist system and all those who attempted to conciliate with the system above all, the capitalist-minded House, \$3.00.) labor officials who misled the ranks. All those who attempted to make peace with the bureaucracy or find common ground with it became in time their applogists and rationalizers for the status-quo.

This was commonly - accepted ABC stuff in the American labor movement 15 and 20 years ago. movement 15 and 20 years ago. But something new has occurred FORD CONTRACT MEETS OPPOSITION in recent years. Millions of workers have been organized into modern industrial unions. The labor movement has become Europeanized. A new socially conscious bureaucracy has foisted itself upon the new unions and Thompson asks - and answers, evidence that the vote in the even the older AFL office holders have reformed themselves quite a bit in the same direction.

At the same time the Socialist movement has declined to small proportions due to the concessions that American capitalism has thrown the working class and The vicious "company security" the indescribable havoc wrought these things have conspired to so confuse the signals and jumble basic ideas that the new nascent left wing is in dire need of restating its concepts, so that if can inspire the new generation to renewed struggle for an old and just cause.

A brief review of the makeup of the bureaucracy and the all practical purposes.

And what is particularly sickenpickings in politics and industry, is that all of this is done under breeds the labor faker as a the pretense of arch-objectivity. pseudo-criticism and disinterested The old pre-CIO craft unions sociology, written up in the style of two college professors who are Maddens, Simon O'Donnells, Mike keenly interested in and sym-Boyles, Sam Parks, Brindells, pathetic to the "labor problem," with our authors climbing the a rough buccaneering crew, who heights of audacity when they rifled the union treasuries for announce unterrifiedly: "We take sides. We support unions, beemployers, were in cahoots with lieve in their necessity."

I jotted down as I was reading the book instance after ining estates running into the hun- most divergent subjects with dreds of thousands of dollars. It that of the bureaucracy.

On page 79 we read that "CPthe left wing against this crowd led UAW locals called precipitous and ill-managed strikes . . . at The new bureaucracy is an en- Allis Chalmers . . . and North tirely different proposition. It is American Aircraft" during 1940 a European-type bureaucracy. It Our authors, as left apologists is socially alert. It is the for Reuther, are under compurveyor of a definite reformist pulsion to make snide references ideology and relies heavily on to these strikes because Reuther demagogy and pseudo-progressiv- opposed them. But pray tell ism. It is becoming a power in what was "precipitous" or "illsophy of contempt and unyielding politics. It stands at the head of managed" about these strikes a mass movement of sweeping beyond any other strike called by the UAW? It is true that both these strikes were Stalinistin the American labor scene that led and that the Stalinists were, it has dazzled even many radicals trying to take advantage of the workers' grievances during the Stalin-Hitler Pact period.

But that does not gainsay the solutely legitimate and deserv-Reuther's shameful attack on the North American Aircraft strike at the Buffalo 1941 convention MASS ACTION DISCOURAGED proves, not that the strikes were to play ducks and drakes with are employed. Picket lines are factional interests.

discuss further the line of this 1397 leaders forbid any slogans and on the other hand they stand book in the light of conditions in other than those strictly limited bewitched by the power and the present-day labor movement. to the meager strike demands.

employees' contributions. "Will tract remains with the Ford meeting, but failed to swing a

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 ships with the aid of gangsters stance where Howe and Widick and sluggers and who died leaving estates running into the hungest divergent subjects with By Talk of "Early Victory"

HOMESTEAD, Pa., Oct. 10 - Members of CIO Steel Workers Local 1397, a union of 10,000 men and the largest the legless veteran. "While I do the offing. The French workers local in this area, are counting on a quick end to the present not believe in the ideas of the

There is a general conviction among the men that the governnational economy and the critical situation in Europe.'

closed-door conferences between with the government adding its cutting the labor force. pressure on the side of the union. Local leaders have warned the membership against any demonfact that both strikes were ab- strations, mass picketing, etc., on the theory that these would con- this point the Murray negotiators of unqualified support. flict with the plans of Philip Murray.

While the really basic gains of "precipitous" or even "ill-man- labor were won with the fullest book under discussion is ready strike the very opposite methods workers' strikes when it suits his maintained at a minimum; members are informed by mail of In next week's column I will their picket assignments; Local

the union destroyed.

The ranks as a result seem somewhat apathetic. They are not ment will intervene to end the inspired by the objectives of the strike soon in the "interest of the strike. Most of the men want the security of an adequate pension system. But they are not im-The Murray machine has work- pressed by the recommendations ed overtime to create among the of the "fact-finding" board. They ranks the idea that the outcome of feel that U. S. Steel may yield, the strike depends exclusively on but will make up for the slight expense by raising steel prices, upon orders from the Kremlin, U.S. Steel and the union heads, intensifying the speedup and

On the other hand the high cost of living is so general a problem that a wage increase is a burning need. There is a feeling that on capitulated miserably.

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 aged," but that the hero of the participation of the men, in this of their leaders. They recall to each other that in other strikes they allowed no one through the

are doing their bit to play down the role of picket lines. Here they are providing the lumber for picket shanties and coal for fires to keep the pickets warm. The men remain skeptical of these overtures. One worker ex-

# **Kutcher to Speak** In Toledo Oct. 25

(Continued from page 1) myself to the delegates to the Toledo Industrial Union Council. "Wishing Brother Kutcher every success in his fight, allow me to remain, Fraternally, Richard

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 Com-

CHICAGO, Oct. 7 - James stay in Chicago by telling the story of his fight for civil liberties to a responsive audience at the Midland Hotel tonight. The meeting, sponsored by the Chicago Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, was also addressed by Charles Chiakulas, international representative of the UAW; Herbert Hill, national field representative of the NAACP; and George Novack, national Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights

Sidney Lens, director of AFL United Service Employees Local 329, who chaired the meeting. made a stirring appeal for aid to of parties and individuals to freedom of political activity. The ised an improvement in their livdike holding back the flood- year. waters of reaction and thoughtcontrol. Unless we take action here and now to stop that leak, the witch-hunt can submerge all the rights of labor."

The audience contributed \$115 to aid Kutcher's case, and adopted a resolution calling upon Truman to restore Kutcher to his job with full back pay.

A heartening feature of the occasion were the telegrams of support read to the meeting from both the CIO and AFL packinghouse workers. These two internationals located in the packing center of America have joined forces not only to negotiate with the Big Four packing corporations but also in defense of Kutcher's civil rights. Patrick Gorman, secretary-

treasurer of the AFL Amalgamated Meat-Cutters and Butcher Workmen, said in his message: "The case of the legless veteran, James Kutcher, has shocked the entire labor movement. We believe his fight is entitled to support by everyone concerned with civil rights today." Ralph Helstein, president of the

pressed their understanding in CIO Packinghouse Workers, said: his remark: "Why, they are try- "I view the Kutcher case as part more devaluations, and ultimate- "reign of terror." There were no ing to make the union look bad— of the overall battle to preserve ly to defense measures by Amer- defense squads to protect the trying to turn us against the our traditional civil liberties and ica." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 10.) to extend to every citizen the . While the Murray men have right to dissent from majority here is an eventual devaluation deliberately played down the views. Mr. Kutcher who suffered of the dollar as the struggle for natural militancy of the mem- a tragic injury in the service of foreign markets grows more savbership, the workers retain their this country points up most basic levelty to the organization this country points up most age. Such a drastic measure is as basic loyalty to the organization. dramatically the whole problem yet merely a prospect. They feel U. S. Steel would take of the attack on civil rights. He U. S. TOO? quick advantage of any show of has the support of all people who weakness, and would like to see are committed to the preservation of the democratic ideal."

# WORLD MONEY CRISIS **GROWS MORE INTENSE**

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 govern-9ment. Three more countries - | most sensational is a recent re-Spain, Argentina and Uruguay - port by the "American World Injoined the long list of those who telligence Group," edited by Dr. have devaluated their currencies. C. S. Norborg. According to this

matches in acuteness that of Brit- reached between British and ain. More than a week has pass- American negotiators prior to the ed since the resignation of the devaluation of the pound. This Queuille Cabinet and attempts to agreement reportedly includes a Kutcher climaxed his two-week form a new one still remain in return by the U. S. to the gold the stages of "negotiation."

ed as Minister of Interior under ing the dollar "by 10 to 15 per-Queuille, has been entrusted with the job of trying to patch up another compromise with the middle-of-the-road capitalist parties. Dispatches from Paris speak official letter of inquiry on Sept. openly of the French Socialist Party's fear of losing the "remainder of its working class support" in the face of growing mass discontent. (Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 10.)

Sporadic strikes, notably in the northern coal fields, have already broken out, with the threat of nation-wide strike struggles in are seething as new inflationary Big Turnout for Socialist Workers Party," he price rises drag their living standards further down. The Queuille government had solemnly promstated, "I do believe in the right ards further down. The Queuille dom of political activity. The ised an improvement in their in-Kutcher case is like a hole in the ing conditions by the fall of this Held in Detroit

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. These three countries have of this city heard Paul Robeson resorted to manipulating their de- speak here tonight. Twice as valuated currency exchanges in such a way as to facilitate their able to get into the Forest Club own exports while raising new hall at Forest and Hastings barriers to imports by making pri- Streets. A second meeting was ces for many imported items virtually prohibitive.

If other countries, especially those in Latin America who have still to devaluate, resort to similar manipulations, a disruption of the world market, reproducing the chaotic conditions during the Thirties, may prove difficult to

The moods among the Western European capitalists are express- in one of the windows, with ed in the growing rift between those in the streets listening inthe British and the French. The tently. The cops then started herd-ERP Council is reported as split ing the people away. Presently on policy.

pessimistic are the Dutch finan- hour to clear the area. cial and industrial circles who predict that the current devalua- there was considerable discussion tions must eventually lead "to of fascism in America and a

What is cautiously implied

Europe but here at home. The SWP literature sold.

The political crisis in France report a top secret agreement was standard; raising the price of Socialist Julius Moch, who serv- gold to \$45 an ounce and devalucent in the conversion process."

This issue was raised in Congress by A. L. Miller, Representative from Nebraska, who sent an 30 to the Secretary of State. There has been as yet no formal reply from Acheson.

What is noteworthy is not so much these speculations themselves as the fact that they are rife at so early a stage in the unfolding world currency crisis.

DETROIT, Oct. 9 - In face of newspaper warnings to stay away, despite a barrage of redbaiting and a cordon of 1,000 police in the vicinity, more than 3,000 Negro and white workers many were turned away as were scheduled two hours later at the Shilow Baptist Church at Benton and St. Antoine Streets.

There was again an overflow crowd, hundreds milling outside unable to enter because the hall was jammed with 700 inside.

Those who could not get into the Forest Hall remained . outside. A loudspeaker was placed the loud speaker was removed. Next to the French, the most It took the police more than an

Among those forced to leave

Literature distributed outside the meeting included that of the Kutcher Defense Committee. The in the labor movement to unite in Nevertheless, there is talk of forming workers' defense guards. American devaluation not only in The Militant was distributed and

# THE MILITANT ARMY

#### Bert Deck Tells How we outsold them at their own BUFFALO, Oct. 10 - Picketing is slow and eventless on the long Lackawanna strike front just at the moment. Los Angeles SWP if I have reported this before But that is hardly surprising. Bethlehem Steel is providing Sold 450 "Militants" The Los Angeles Local of the

Socialist Workers Party conof single copies of The Militant. Last week Los Angeles completely sold out its regular bundle and all the extra copies ordered for distribution at the meeting of Paul Robeson - a total of 450 copies. How it was done

is reported by Literature Agent Bert Deck. We thought that all our readers interested in buildcolumn over to him: Friday was the big day. Marj

Negro community. 105 Militants were sold in less than four hours. With a full gathering of comrades and friends in the evening at Wrigley Field where Robeson appeared, another 300 papers were sold. The rest of the bundle of 450 was sold through the

branch meetings. Once more, the Stalinists at the Robeson meeting had that "surrounded" feeling. We had more people selling The Militant than they had selling their newspaper. I have no way of check-

but we rarely any more see a young Stalinist selling their We shouted the slogan of a united front of the labor movement for the defense of democratic rights against such fascistlike assaults as occurred at Peekskill, and the logic of it

meeting. Also our sales force

was much younger. I don't know

reduced the Stalinist hacks to frenzied sputterings and curses. The appeal of the slogan for a united defense guard for the Robeson meeting has been very great in the Negro community as only the Stalinists are under the illusion that the cops will

provide adequate defense against fascist attacks. 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. Last Monday, Ruth made a tour through the Mexican - American community selling Militants at a alf-dozen different street corners. It was in the nature of an ex-

periment. We found that one person could sell an average of ten Militants an hour in this large minority community.

The East Side Branch is now discussing the possibilities of stepping into this new activity. As soon as they get to work on this, we can expect another increase in our bundle. Street

# Tito vs. Stalin



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? What's at the bottom of the bitter conflict between Stalin and Tito?

Why does Moscow feel that the resistance of the Yugoslav people constitutes a "mortal threat to its influence on a world scale" and can "undermine its totalitarian rule in the Soviet Union"?

Read a fundamental Marxist analysis of the smoldering struggle that has captured the attention of the entire world. Fourth International. monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, cuts through the falsifications of both the capitalist and Stalinist press to get to the bottom of the dispute and explain why the differences between Tito and Stalin are of vital importance to you.

Fourth International calls attention to the ominous meaning of the recent frameup 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" and prepare the way for "assassination, guerrilla warfare and overt military aggression by GPU detachments of the Soviet army against the Tito regime."

line up the Local 400 officers and

"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. Prepared by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, it tells why the American Trotskyists advocate the defense of Yugoslavia against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

4th INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

tober Fourth International. Enclosed is 25 cents.

Send me a copy of the Oc-

the Ford pension plan be the workers. It must be approved by single one. employee - contributing type?" a referendum vote. And there is The pension come-on is proving less attractive than Reuther

But the final word on the con-committeemen at a four-hour

Council did not reflect the full hoped, particularly as it is full extent of the opposition in the of jokers. For instance, to qualify for the whole meager pension at A Local 400 membership meet. the age of 65 a worker must have heavy guns were directed against ing on Oct. 9, with about 1,000 30 full years of service - not the "company security" and in attendance, discussed the less than 1,800 paid hours in each production standards clauses, settlement. For almost four hours calendar year. Not many workers go along 30 years without some the agreement was bitterly asclause, which permits Ford to lay sailed. The sharper the criticism, layoffs. As one production in labor ranks by Stalinism. All off and fire union militants who the louder the applause. Reuther, foundry worker in Local 600 put engage in "unauthorized" strikes, who was originally scheduled to it: "The pension don't mean speak, did not appear, but sent much to us, for the simple reason despite the fact that the last Kenneth Bannon, National UAW that no one seems to have surviv-UAW convention banned such Ford Director, to carry the ball ed 30 years of production foundry clauses from all UAW contracts. for him. His attempts to sell the fumes."

### 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?" "Don't you know me? I'M HENRY FORD of the Great Ford Motor Company. Everybody on Earth knows me, I want to enter Heaven." The Clerk turned to St. Peter and said, "Henry Ford, of the Great Ford Motor Company, wants admission to Heaven." St. Peter says, "What have you on' the Books that he has done to want to enter here?" So the Clerk looks up the record and says to St. Peter, "He offered an old age pension to all his employees who have worked for him 25 years and live to be 68 years old at \$15.00 a week." "Did you say \$15.00 a week at 68 years?" asks St. Peter. "Yes," says the Clerk. Silence for a time and Henry Ford, becoming impatient says, "What did he say?" "Don't be surprised at the answer," says the Clerk, "but he says to tell you to take your plan and go to H-and on the way down, stop off at Washington and tell those Pensioned Congressmen and Senators what I told you, so they will know what to expect on JUDGMENT DAY!" Member of local 581, UAW

all wired for reading lamps! the wind.

ALL QUIET ON STRIKE FRONT

AT THE LACKAWANNA WORKS

the harmony prevailing here. Nonetheless, the rank and file They are sore and angry that they are losing money while the company balks at a couple of cents. And they have absolutely good deal more than a thousand of them have already shown up on the picket line for their two day stint of four hours a day.

For 24 hours a day, seven days a week, they have been guarding the big plant, despite the bland assurances of the company that this is not necessary between such good friends. They carefully check the maintenance men as they enter and leave the plant making sure these men are union members and that they are getting no more than two days in any one week. (The militants previously insisted on this as a condition to maintaining the

half the food for the line, has 9installed radios at the gates, This period of suspended placed chairs on the sidewalks, animation with its soft underand built shanties for the pickets tones of suspicion cannot last tinues to set the pace for sales forever. The nearby Hanna Fur-The local newspapers, of course, nace plant with pickets just across make much of this, speaking of the street from some of Beththe excellent local labor relations, lehem's, already has a series of as though the Bethlehem plant full page advertisements in the here followed an independent papers. These are the usual aplabor policy, and Shonkwiler, the peals to "public sympathy" for local plant mogul, were against the company with snipes at the the policies of his Wall Street union's demands. The local at superiors. Some of the organizers Hanna Furnace is much smaller of the United Steelworkers have and in other ways weaker than also joined in this incredible the Bethlehem locals. So these chorus with dulcet notes about ads may be an ominous straw in

More important still, is Bethare not taken in. They are sore. lehem's demand for the union to ing the circulation of America's allow 500 foremen to come and go leading socialist weekly would every day from the Lackawanna enjoy Comrade Deck's letter, so plant, in addition to the 200 we have turned the balance of the union maintenance men. The no faith that the company means majority of the local leaders will them any good. That is why a probably go along with this. But and Vivian spent the afternoon the ranks will never forgive them at the corner of Vernon and Cenfor it. And if the plan goes tral, which is in the heart of the through, the strike will most likely enter a new stage very

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\$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

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Bundle Orders (5 or more



"We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was politically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class. We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except fur-- Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.



But his greatest contribution in this

field was undoubtedly his chairmanship

(at the age of 78, when most people are

ready to call it quits in every public ac-

tivity) of the International Commission

of Inquiry into the Charges made against

Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. That

was in 1937, when liberals had to exhibit

real courage to resist the pressure of

Stalinism and when the capitalist press

was singing a different tune than it does

now about the Moscow Trials, which the

Dewey Commission's findings did so much

to discredit and expose as the frameups

Even in his 90th year Dr. Dewey has

shown an ability to resist reactionary

pressures that have overcome many peo-

ple who at one time stood to his left on

political issues. Only last June 21, he re-

affirmed his defense of academic free-

dom and his opposition to purging teach-

ers who belong to the Communist Party

in a letter to the N. Y. Times, which in

effect rebuked many of his self-avowed

disciples who have joined in the academic

from the courageous example set for

them by John Dewey. American work-

ers owe him thanks and respect for his

honesty and his contributions to the de-

fense of civil liberties and justice for all

the oppressed and exploited.

American intellectuals could benefit

they were.

witch-hunts.

Charging that the new Stalnist line means they advocate the everthrow of the government by force and violence, the capitalist government, for purposes of its cold - war strategy, brought the CP National Board to trial last

By Farrell Dobbs

Ever since Earl Browder was

lethroned in 1945 the Communist

Party leaders have spread the

myth that they have returned to

Marxism-Leninism, that they are

fighting for socialism, that they

aren't going to betray the work-

ers any more.

Jan. 17 under the Smith Act. The prosecutor relied not only on the testimony of Stalinist renegades and FBI stool pigeons; he also ripped quotations of Marx, Engels and Lenin from their context and presented them to the jury in a totally false light; his aim being to outlaw Marxism along with the Comnunist Party.

As their main rebuttal testi mony the Stalinists presented deposition by William Z. Foster. national chairman of the CP. In his deposition Foster protested that the prosecutor's quotation from the Marxist classics and from Stalinist literature fail to take into account the change to the People's Front line adopted at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935.

#### FOSTER'S EXPLANATION

"The aim of the old line [be fore 1935]," Foster said, "was the establishment of socialism, the direct transition from capital-[after 1935] however . . . is a non-socialist program.

"The old line," he continued, combination of workers and farm- others." ers . . . whereas the new line

parties of workers, farmers . . . | all capitalists, big or small, who | between the United States and | Foster's line is adapted to small business people . . . and so will collaborate with the Stalin-

"The old line aimed at setting democratic People's Front gov-

tion in which the capitalists ist movement with violent repressive measures," he added based upon the assumption that confesced democratic forces to attract pacifist support. maintain the institution of demo-

cracy substantially open. . ." He asserted that "it is possible n the United States in spite of the power of these great capitalists, in spite of their ruthless fascist-like tendencies, to elect a coalition democratic govern-

### CP's PRESENT POLICY

Foster criticized Browder not for advocating that the workers make political alliances with those capitalists whom the Stalinists designate as "progressives," so-called "progressives" t h e ganda sense." monopoly capitalists; not for adapting his policies to capitalist liberalism, but for adapting his policies to "right wing" capital- eign policy of the People's Front st liberalism.

wing" policies? The trade unions, he said, "should break with their of the world and the preservation two old capitalist parties and of democracy, and generally to ism to socialism. The new line launch a new, anti-fascist, peo- establish a stable condition is ple's party." That party would be precisely cooperation between the "political coalition of workers, farmers, the Negro people, proforesaw a more or less general fessionals, small businessmen and

The "others" would include mil- policy, to which everything else period of collaboration between

William Z. Foster's Deposition at Foley Sq.

This political coalition would up a socialist government, "aim at winning an electoral vicwhereas the new line aimed at tory upon the basis of a program setting up a coalition progressive of democratic demands," including "such elementary issues as defense of the trade unions . . "The old line foresaw a situa- elementary economic security . . fundamental political rights . . would meet the developing social- a strong United Nations . . . out-

lawing of the atomic bomb." In other words, a pseudo-mili-. . whereas the new line is tant domestic program to which liberal capitalists can agree and it will be possible for these a fake peace program designed to

Once elected to office, Foster's coalition would "then proceed to introduce a People's Front administration . . . operating upon he basis of the capitalist system."

"Such a government on the American scene," he said, "would set itself as the main immediate task the drastic curbing of the monopoltes, but its political level would not yet present it with the tween a capitalist United States task of breaking the rule of the and the Soviet Union, which monopolies and thereby effecting means the Stalinists promise to the transition to socialism."

The coalition government, he added, "would only place the but for including among these question of socialism in a propa-

#### THEIR CENTRAL AIM

Describing the proposed foradministration, Foster said, "We What then are Foster's "left- contend that the key to the winning of the peace for the peoples United States and the Soviet

> Contained in that statement is the central aim of Stalinist Browder's line was adapted to a

is, what kind of a United States?

grievances of the workers and the Negro people; they falsely pose as champions of civil rights; they exploit the people's fear of atomic support on the pretext that they are fighting for a fundamental solution of the grave crisis of our epoch.

Marxism teaches us that without socialism there can be no fundamental solution. Yet the Stalinists do not propose to fight for a socialist United States that would take the lead in creating

Foster advocates, instead, a capitalist system" and would "only place the question of sccialism in a propaganda sense.' He is seeking collaboration behelp preserve world capitalism in return for a capitalist deal with Stalin.

In fact, Foster went out of his way to remind the capitalists that while Roosevelt and Stalin were collaborating, "Our policy was the enforcement of labor's no-strike pledge insofar as we had any influence in the situation. I may say," he added, "that we enforced this pledge more rigidly and more firmly than any organization in the United States."

#### NARROW DIFFERENCES

Thus it is apparent how narrow he differences are between Browderism and Fosterism. foreshadows a combination of libnaires like Henry Wallace and is subordinated - "cooperation Stalin and American capitalism.

the Soviet Union." The question conditions of the present cold war and constitutes nothing more Today the Stalinists engage in than a pressure campaign to radical double - talk about the restore the capitalist - Stalinist

collaboration of the Browder era. While it is not excluded that the capitalists might make a deal with Stalin, not a single one of slaughter; and they ask for mass the workers' problems would be solved thereby. Moreover, the deal would be only temporary, only an interlude in the capitalists' preparations to plunge this country into an atomic war for

world domination. Consequently, Foster's line can only place the workers in double jeopardy, because it would also divert them from the effective use of their class power to prevent the monopoly capitalists from coalition government that would imposing a barbarous fascist operate "upon the basis of the regime upon the American peo-

There are only two decisive powers in America, the monopoly capitalist class and the working class. The middle classes have no independent power; they follow either the monopoly capitalists or the workers, depending upon which of these major classes is exercising its full strength to assert leadership.

#### WHO WILL RULE

Today the monopoly capitalists are on the offensive all up and down the line, and the middle classes are drawn into their orbit, sometimes unwillingly but drawn nevertheless. Foster would have the workers meet this offensive by limiting themselves to a iberal-pacifist middle class program of "curbing" the monopolies. He would place the workers under middle-class leadership in a coalition whose "political level would not yet present it with the task of breaking the rule of the

Such a policy would betray the workers into the hands of the monopolists, for the middle classes can never lead a fight to break their rule. Nobody is going to rule this country but the monopoly capitalists, until the workers break with all capitalist politicians, form their own independent political party, based on a socialist program, and take the reins of government into their own hands.

Only in the course of such an uncompromising revolutionary workers and the monopolists isolated and defeated. Then, and only then, will the American people and the peoples of the world

# John Dewey's 90th Birthday

The Militant takes great pleasure in extending greetings and best wishes to John Dewey on the occasion of his 90th birthday, which will be commemorated on Oct. 20 by scores of meetings and celebrations throughout the country. As is well known, we Trotskyists have basic political and theoretical differences with the eminent educator and philosopher. But these in no way alter our estimation of Dr. Dewey as a liberal of integrity and a genuine fighter for democratic rights or diminish our gratitude for the aid he has given to so many progressive causes both at home and abroad.

For a man whose major activity is in intellectual fields, John Dewey, unlike most of the other prominent educators in this country, has an enviable record of participation in some of the most important public struggles of this century -. particularly on behalf of civil liberties and in opposition to the persecution of working class fighters for a better world.

Thus he became a member of the Tom Mooney Defense Committee, the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the Civil Rights Defense Committee (which aided the 18 Socialist Workers Party defendants in the Minneapolis Trial of 1941) and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee - just to mention a few of many fights against injustice which he joined without

Philip Murray has told the striking

steel workers that there will be "no re-

treat" on the question of pensions fin-

anced exclusively by the companies, the

immediate issue of the strike. That is re-

assuring. But what is not reassuring is

the evident intent of Truman to inter-

vene again in the steel situation. How

much can the steel workers rely on Mur-

ray not to accept some slick government

formula that will disguise a further con-

strike, was based on dependence on Tru-

man. It was a strategy of avoiding strike

by getting a crumb of a concession as a

government favor. But Truman's inter-

vention did not prevent a strike. It mere-

ly reduced the stakes in the strike to the

minimum, with the workers foregoing in

advance any hope of immediate gain.

And it delayed the strike for three

months while the corporations made full

the union is that Murray continues to

encourage the belief that Truman will

save the day for the steel workers, that

he will somehow pressure the companies

into an acceptance of the union's irredu-

cible terms. But the great likelihood is

that Truman will seek to pressure the

Walter Reuther, through an editorial

in the United Automobile Worker, claims

that the pension agreement he made

with Ford gave a big push to the move to

increase federal social security benefits.

He even tells how a Ford vice-president

made a speech in favor of raising the

It is true that reactionary corporations,

which previously had opposed social se-

curity, have suddenly "reformed" and

are finding merit in higher government-

paid pensions. Even the Republicans in

the House two weeks ago voted for the

bill to extend old-age pension coverage

But there is method in their "mad-

present federal benefits.

and to increase the benefits.

Company Pensions and Social Security

What is dangerous in the situation for

preparations to fight the union.

Murray's whole strategy, prior to the

cession to the steel corporations?

Beware of "Face-Saving" Formulas union into accepting a further "compro-

mise" on demands that have already been

75% "compromised" away. There has been more than one hint of this in White House-inspired stories in the capitalist press. Louis Stark, N. Y. Times Washington correspondent, reporting on government plans to intervene, writes of "several face-saving formulas" the government may have ready

"Face-saving" for whom? Certainly not for the companies, which have nothing to lose and everything to gain by any little "compromise" Truman cooks up. Obviously, it means "face-saving" for Murray — a formula that the steel companies could readily accept, but so couched as to seem something more than what they had previously offered.

What is needed from Murray is his explicit assurance that he will place no more dependence on the government and accept no "face-saving formulas." What the steel workers have said they will accept is little enough and plain enough. It is pensions financed by the companies - not linked to federal social security, not disguised as a "wage raise" allocated to pensions, not anything but pensions paid by the companies with no strings attached.

# The Peddlers of

By Art Preis

Right after Truman announced Party, proclaimed editorially that "the fight for peace has received a new impetus." But what really has received a new impetus is the deceptive propaganda that it EFFECTS OF PACIFISM is possible to maintain peace under capitalism through "international control" of atomic weapons and "disarmament."

atomic energy production."

### SAME AIM PROFESSED

In essence, this is the very aim that seems to stand in the way of achieving it is a difference taken. But the White House and themselves." the Kremlin display a singular disharmony over details for those who claim similar basic aims.

That is because the question of would no be no war preparations to begin with, no armies and arms, and therefore no basis for the slogan of "disarmament."

### LENIN'S ANALYSIS

The cause for war-the cause which the Stalinist "disarmament" slogan ignores-is modern capitalism itself. That was demonstrated by the great Marxist teacher Lenin, whom the Stalinists falsely profess to follow. His monumental work, Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, irrefutably proves that the capitalist profit system, decades before the first world war, had developed into a system of gigantic monopolies and "financial oligarchies," that their struggle for profitable outlets for accumulated capital, for control of world markets and sources of cheap labor and raw materials, for domination FATAL ILLUSIONS of the globe were the breeding ground for continuous warfare. He showed that "imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable under such an economic system, as long as private property in the means of production exists."

History has fully confirmed Lenin's analysis in two world wars and the preparation for a third, in the imperialist intervention in tional sanction" for war. the Soviet Union during the civil war of 1918-23 and the imperialist able colonial conquests and mas-

of the pen of imperialism and the billions for atomic weapons alone of humanity up to the "good of petty-bourgeois reactionaries, alan "atomic explosion" in the Sovfists and socialists . . . who inand, therefore, of world capitalThe or though they call themselves paci- crisis-ridden American capitalism sters who control and manipulate Sunday paper of the Communist sisted that peace and reform were ism. For American imperialism The only way to assure that the possible under imperialism." And to abandon the arms subsidies ravening beast of capitalism will he was especially scathing against would be plunging a dagger into not break loose once more and those who used the slogan of its own economic heart. "disarmament."

He wrote in this famous article in the Dec. 1916 Sbornik Sotsial-demokrata, a Bolshevik journal published in Switzerland, This slogan of "disarmament" that "the preaching of 'disarmasenal of imperialism—is now the ments of the imperialist great working people can leave the fate imperialist war. main stock-in-trade of the Stal- powers, is the most hackneyed mists. The "light for peace," says opportunism, bourgeois pacifism the Worker as an echo to Vishin- which in reality serves only-in sky in the UN, means "outlaw- spite of the 'pious wishes' of the ing of all atomic warfare, par- slushy Kautskyans-to divert the tial disarmament and adoption of workers from the revolutionary international inspection of all struggle. For such preachings inoculate the workers with the thought that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are not entangled in thousprofessed by the spokesmen of ands of threads of finance capital American imperialism and all and dozens or hundreds of corresponding (i.e., predatory, murderous, preparatory to imperialist as to the methods and steps to be wars) secret treaties between are sympathetic to oppositional

These words, hurled at the "yellow socialists" of Lenin's day, current has developed in the Germight well have been written for man Stalinist party. It is unorthe Stalinists now; for William ganized and indeed cannot be lished. war or peace is not a matter of Z. Foster, for instance, who wrote the possession or lack of arms at recently that the hope for peace party, but it is a tangible any given time. If there were no lies in a "strong United Nations" great impelling cause for war -the United Nations dominated under the dominant world system by American imperialism—and many Marxist arguments (against silence the opposition by say-

"DISARMAMENT"

Disarmament, said Lenin, is conceivable only under world socialism, because "in the socialist parmeans that disarmament will be

The Stalinists, however, tell the masses we don't fieed socialism to do away with imperialist war. Now that Stalin also has the atom bomb, says the Worker, "the insane theory that the capitalist and Socialist states cannot live side by side has been struck another blow." But all it really means is that the imperialist powers will seek to outstrip Russia in overwhelming atomic force and maneuver for better positions from which to launch their war.

tee against war? Whenever the Oder-Neisse border because it is capitalist nations wanted to break the border of peace." the agreement, they'd simply accuse the Kremlin of "violations," tear up any agreement and get their UN to give them "interna-

invasion in 1941, in the innumer- can discontinue its arms program ists who wish to prepare World able colonial conquests and massex even if it wants to? These tens sacres perpetrated by the impersorbed by sacres perpetrated by the imper- of billions which the American oppositional CP members are

-are the greatest single prop of fices" of the imperialist gangspread its bloody havoc, is to de-

The Stalinists who call on the breeding system of capitalism,

# stroy it. As Lenin said, "Disar-

imperialists to disarm are like a mament is the ideal of socialism" man who asks a Bengal tiger to and "he is no socialist who ex-struggle will the middle classes pluck its own fangs and claws. pects the realization of socialism be won over to the side of the They merely spread the danger- without the social revolution . . ." ous illusion that disarmament and Those, like the Stalinists, and the peace are possible under the war- Norman Thomas "Socialists", who preach a "disarmament" without one of the most tarnished and ment, which is deliberately ad- that peace is merely a matter of a social revolution serve only to shop-worn in the propaganda ar- dressed to the present govern- treaties and "good will," that the disarm the real struggle against find lasting peace, freedom and

(Continued from page 1) ism-Leninism?

### TANGIBLE TENDENCY

that high-placed CP Land leaders arguments. For the first time in openly organized in a totalitarian

This opposition uses a good of monopoly capitalism, there its "outlawing of the atomic annexations and reparations) ing: Either you approve of every while its leaning toward Tito is superficial. The bureaucrats know place yourself in the enemy camp! smear method. They claim that the "Titoist" tendencies in the ty there will be no wars, which of have been inspired by Trotskyist and imperialist agents and that every criticism of Soviet policies must inevitably lead into

the imperialist camp. Here, for instance, is the answer that the author of the article quoted above gives to those who criticize the annexation of Eastern Germany: "How can we ask for a strengthening or the ties between ourselves and the [Stalinist] Polish Workers Party if we tolerate in our party hostile views about the Polish Workers Party's policy and if in our party it is possible to voice without challenge arguments which are But suppose, for tactical and the orguments of the worst propaganda reasons, the impe-enemies of the Polish as well as rialists did agree to "disarma- the German people? . . . We ment?" Would that be a guaran- communists are in favor of the

### THEIR CRITICISMS

The truth is that the criticisms of dissatisfied CP members have nothing in common with the But do the Stalinists seriously chauvinist agifation about the believe that American capitalism eastern borders by the imperialeven if it wants to? These tens War III. The arguments of the

Revolution: "For a peace without most critical elements. For our ships of the party, alien to Marx- annexation or reparations!" They organization, the IKD (German are also based on the statements section of the Fourth Internaagainst the annexationists made These passages prove that the of the First International on the new and valuable elements. We crisis in the CP is not limited to Franco-Prussian War of 1870. It will do our best to take full adsolated cases. It is symptomatic is noteworthy that up to now no Stalinist edition of Marx's Civil War in France, in which the days after the receipt of the above statements were made, has above article, the AP carried a many years a strong oppositional been published in Eastern Germany, although almost all of ing that "dissension in the ranks Marx's writings have been pub- over Russia's German policy has

The most important "arguof the Stalinists is, of ment" course, the alleged evolution of Tite. The bureaucrats try to detail of Soviet policies or you the CP, and the expulsion of the Russian policies."]

tional), this will mean favorable by Marx to the General Council opportunities for winning over

| Ed. Note: On Oct. 7, several dispatch from Frankfort reportspurred a sweeping purge of the West German Communist Party." According to British and U. S. officials, the trouble "stems from Moscow's insistence that Germany's Eastern boundaries stay where they are on the Oder-Neisse River line, 65 miles east of Berlin. . . In the past week at only one method of fighting But the bureaucrats will not least seven high Communist their critics: the old Stalinist succeed in silencing their critics Party officials have quit their in the CP with this intimidation. posts. They said they had quit We can expect a big purge in voluntarily in a dispute over

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ness." Confronted by the demand of the CIO unions and others for company-financed pensions, the corporations see in the Ford plan a way to get out of paying a cent to their worn-out and aged employees and to foist the costs of pensions

The corporations figure that if they cannot stem the demand for old-age security, then they might as well get the government to pay through a scheme that will add to the tax-burden of the workers. The Ford-Reuther plan gives the loophole they want.

For the Ford pension plan is not "noncontributory" and "company-financed" as Reuther contends. It is linked to federal social security, which is largely fine anced by pay-roll deductions. The bill now before Congress would increase social security taxes on the workers. If it passes, Ford will reduce the amount he will have to pay in company pensions.

But the pensions which the workers demand from the corporations are really part of the wages the companies have withheld over the years - a tiny bit of the profits taken out of the workers' hides in the past. This is a matter distinctly separate from federal social security which the workers themselves pay for directly.

The unions should not let the federal social security bill be used as a pretext for denying company-financed pensions. On the contrary, labor should fight to make the government finance federal social security through a tax exclusively on the corporations and the rich.

floor, ripping gashes in her head, arms and legs. Mrs. Garcia is five months pregnant. Her mother, Mrs. Carmen Gas, told me at their apartment today that finally the doctors believe they can save the unborn child. Mary's own torn flesh must be repaired by skin grafts, and she will be in pain a long time, but her escape from death seems miraculous.

"Did you ever complain to the city about those stairs?" I asked Mrs. Gas.

"Many times. I think the last time was two

weeks ago," she told me. Mary's accident was not the first at 112 East 111th Street. "A few months ago a woman was

killed in the street when part of the roof fell and hit her on the head," recalled Mrs. Gas. I asked who owned the building. "We don't even know his name," she said. "He is a new

one who bought the house a couple of months ago.

We only see him when he comes for money." For the only time in my visit, Mrs. Gas laughed aloud when I asked if any repair work or painting had been done while she lived there. "Look, you can see! We have been here three and a half years, and nothing gets done but some painting we ourselves did."

I saw the roof, with not even a railing to replace the missing section. I brushed my hand against the broken columns of the chimneys, and mortar became powdery sand on my fingers. A child could unstack the bricks.

No one moved out when the stairs gave way: where could the people find another place to live? They call out "De careful!" and point to the new

landings of raw boards laid over the remnants VOLUME XIII

of stone. could be eliminated by scrupulous enforcement of

hotels and restaurants. The crew is deliberately kept small, so that no apartment can be investigated except on complaint, and very few even then. When O'Dwyer became Mayor, the buildgated except on complaint, and very few even ing inspection department was always a month behind complaints; now it is 91/2 months behind schedule. How many more Mrs. Garcias must fall victims while their complaints remain filed away?

The Puerto Rican people, like the Negro people, know perfectly well that O'Dwyer does nothing for them. I asked whether Marcantonio, the American Labor Party candidate who helped elect O'-Dwyer had taken any steps to improve their con-

"Done anything!" exclaimed a cousin of Mrs. Gas, who was with us. "He has been in Congress from this district so many years, and you see how we live! Every election he talks about Puerto Rico, but that, I think, is to get us to vote for radio. him. Nobody even can know what that man is. He says American Labor Party, he has the Communist Councilman with him, he is with the Republicans and he is with the Democrats. He is

I don't know how many of their neighbors share that view, but if many do, if they understand that what they need is a party that works con- in the area by any of the other sistently for the interests of the working people, then the Socialist Workers Party candidates in paign. this year's city elections should get a friendly re-

# **MacArthur's Thought-Control**

Thought-control was one of the worst features of Japanese life, they used to tell us during the war. As a result many people assumed that after Japan was defeated and the American authorities took over, thought-control would be eliminated for sure. This assumption was ill-founded because thought-control is back with a vengeance in Japan. The only difference seems to be that the current variety is labeled "Ordered by MacArthur" instead of "Ordered by Hirohito."

The evidence is provided by Gordon Walker, correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, who reported on Oct. 5 that in the previous two weeks "an occupation-supervised nation-wide purge" has led to the dismissal of more than 1,000 teachers and professors. By the end of the year the victims are expected to number several thousand educators, including "liberals who have no connection with the Japanese Communist Party."

"The exact criterion for the purge is far from clear," says Walker, citing reports from a number of prefectures, of which the following is typical: In Ishikawa 400 teachers were fired in September, but only 280 of these were "said to be Communists or ranking officials of the All-

Japan Schoolteachers Union.' Walker continues: "Although no official announcement has been made by the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers [MacArthur], regarding the purge, Japanese quarters say the purge is being carried out on verbal orders given by local attempted vainly to pull their occupation military government teams."

The purge results from a law passed on Sept. 19 "under occupation supervision [which] states capitalist campaign speeches by activity either during or after working hours. As express political views during classes or in his home is subject to three years' imprisonment and/or 100,000 yen fine."

Under these regulations, Walker notes, "professors of political science, for instance, are not eran revolutionist and prominent permitted to reach by process of objective analysis any conclusion which might even imply criticism of the existing government. . . it is not even clear whether the teacher is permitted to vote at the polls, inasmuch as this violates the curb on any type of support of a particular political organization or party."

That's the kind of "democracy" U. S. imperialism has exported to Japan. And that's the kind of thought-control the Truman federal purge is popular housewives' program, designed to introduce in the U.S.

# **Next Step in FEPC Fight**

The recent refusal of the Los Angeles City Council to establish a fair employment practices commission makes clear what the next step in the fight against job discrimination must be: Labor and minority groups must set up their own Fair Employment Practices Commission.

This does not mean giving up the fight for an ordinance making it illegal to discriminate in employment because of race, color, religion or national origin. Not for a moment.

Unlike the "liberal" Councilman Kenneth Hahn. who backed down even before the vote was taken and proposed a commission "to study the question and bring back a report six months or a year from now," we don't concede anything to the opponents of the measure. We don't agree to their hypocritical formula that "You can't legislate tolerance. You have to educate."

Nor do we think, at this late stage of the game, that it is necessary for the movement for equal job opportunities to wait for the backward "City Fathers" to catch up with the facts of life, to conduct "an impartial survey" to determine whether or not discrimination actually exists.

A very good way to teach politicians is at the polls. Oust the representatives of the thin upper crust who run the city in the interest of Big Business, and replace them with independent representatives of labor and the minorities, with people who don't have to make an academic study of questions affecting working people because they know, from daily contact, what the needs

But the workers who suffer from job discrimination need some way of fighting now, not just at election time. They need an FEPC now.

Such an agency, set up by the labor and minority organizations, could co-ordinate the activities of union FEPC committees, the local chapter of series, "The Peoples Choice." the NAACP, the Community Service Organizations, the Japanese-American Citizens League, the Jewish and other minority groups.

It could investigate all complaints, expose discriminatory conditions, educate backward workers, and fight specific cases of discrimination. How could it fight without a city ordinance, a

law against discrimination? Through union grievance procedures. Through boycotts. Through mass demonstrations, picket lines, leaflets. Through legal suits. Through whatever tactics may be most effective in each case.

and group struggles by minorities and labor against discrimination. There is a wealth of experience and methods, other than reliance on capi- ment Club of New York Univer- Vice - President Warner as ad- over," their report affirmed, talist politicians and "friends," from which to sity.

If the very forces that packed the City Council chambers to demonstrate for the ordinance will organize a functioning, fighting FEPC, the City Council will soon consider ways and means of establishing a "safer and saner" legal body to deal Strike Victorious Council will soon consider ways and means of eswith job discrimination.

The main thing that's needed is solidarity and militancy in the struggle by labor and minority

# "Germany, Year Zero"

Roberto Rossellini, director of the Italian films Open City and Paisan, attempts to show in Germany, Year Zero what war and its aftermath do to a defeated nation. Despite some shortcomings, he succeeds surprisingly well. There is no denying the authenticity of scenes which show Germany completely smashed, its inhabitants abject and devoid of hope

I was last in Germany in 1947, so the film did not surprise me with the sight of children living by their wits, or people corroded by cynicism and despair, or even the ever present physical destruction. Once seen, these things are not easily forgotten; only the edge is dulled with time. The film revived the nightmarish experience of riding a German street car down the endless city blocks of neatly stacked rubble; no building left untouched and very few standing; wisps of smoke from gutted and charred ruins, for people still live in the cellars despite an imminent danger of

The title of the movie denotes the extent to which the industrial and cultural centers of Germany have been gutted (" . . . . it is as though the past two thousand years had never existed. . . it is necessary to start from the very beginning,

it is Germany, year zero").

The story concerns a Berlin family; the father, sick and bedridden; the son, an ex-soldier unreported and in hiding; the daughter, struggling against dropping into prostitution; and, in particular, the 12-year old son engulfed in this miasma. The ghastly existence of a mass of German children is pictured with terrible clarity.

Rossellini has succeded in conveying to the audience the despair, hunger and, occasionally, the glaring contrasts of today's Germany - for example, a wretched apartment with five families jammed festeringly together is set off against a swanky cabaret gay and glittering with black marketeers, foreigners and pretty young women. One grotesque scene shows a pedestrian slicing chunks from a horse immediately after the animal

dies in the street. The dialogue is German, with adequate English subtitles. The acting has a stark realism that has become the Rossellini hallmark. The photography has none of the high gloss of Hollywood. It continually shifts, searches, and tries to remain unflinching in the face of capitalist-made horror.

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1949

# Condemned nearly 40 years ago as sub-standard. These death-traps ought to be torn down. But landlords have power in the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the conditions of the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the very least conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the city government and the city government are conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government. At the city government are conditions endangering life itself could be eliminated by account to the city government and the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to the city government are conditions and could be eliminated by account to t present laws. But even this, City Hall will not do. Less than 300 inspectors are on the city payrolls, to "police" 2,300,000 apartments, plus all hotels and restaurants. The crew is deliberately. Fight Beck's Strikebreaking

# Speak Over Radio, **At Street Meetings**

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 - The campaign for the Socialist Workers ticket in the New York elections moved into higher gear last week with the holding of a mass outdoor rally for the party's candidates and with the opening of the Party's campaign over the

Manhattan's Lower East Side, traditional stronghold of the Stalinists and Social Democrats, was the scene of a colorful, hardhitting Trotskvist election rally that surpassed anything achieved parties in the course of this cam-

An audience that stopped traffic vith a peak attendance of more than 500 listened with extreme attentiveness to slashing attacks on the two major parties and strong condemnation of .the Liberal and American Labor parties for their support of major party candidates.

In a state bordering on frenzied desperation, local Stalinist hacks upporters out of the rally as they remained to hear militant antifor Controller; and Harold Rob-

A highlight of the rally was an impassioned appeal for support of the SWP slate, made in Jewish, by Sylvia Blecker, vetleader of the early militant struggles of New York's millinery

### RADIO PROGRAMS

Bartell on WOR's nationally al convention. representing the League of Labor parties.

The principal planks in the SWP platform went over the air the Port of New York. for the second time this week with the opening of the WNEW bers in this port constitute the Future SWP broadcasts on this ion. Since Curran tipped his hand program is listed elsewhere in in the attempt to put over the vention," the opposition delegates this issue of The Militant.

have already accepted seven in- typical bureaucratic fashion. vitations to participate in such In a "memorandum" issued There has been a long history of individual cluding the League of Women all port officials and personnel

The 159 day-old strike of Hawaiian CIO longshoremen ended hunt convention proposals were and aboard every ship." on Oct. 6 in a clear-cut victory for the workers. The new concents more in March 1950, or a total of 21 cents.

fort not only to break the strike of momentous importance. ritorial seizure law.'

LOS ANGELES

Buy your copy of THE MILITANT at Carlisle Perry's Newsstand,

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Navy Secretary Francis Matthews (second from left) tried to keep the admirals from testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, headed by Rep. Vinson (D, Ga., left) but he failed. The naval brass hats succeeded in publicly revealing the atomic war plans to which the administration is committed. The two on the left are Admirals Denfield and Radford. (See story

# that no government employee of any rank is hereafter permitted to indulge in any form of political for Mayor; Harry Ring, candidate for Mayor; Harry Ring, candidat activity either during of after working hours. As applied to government-paid schoolteachers, this means that any teacher who even goes so far as to the Borough of Manhattan. Led by Port of New York

NEW YORK, Oct. 12 - In a special meeting last week the membership of the CIO National Maritime Union in the Port of New York fought off an attempt by President

Joseph Curran to take over the? port and then at a regular mem- submitted to referendum vote on bership meeting voted by an over- Nov. 1. An effective beginning to the whelming majority to reject and

But there's the rub! The mem- tionary role at the convention. most advanced section of the unyellow dog amendments last declared, the Curran-Stone-Duffi Further opportunities to broaden summer the New York member- machine "exposed themselves as the campaign are now opening ship has been in the forefront of enemies of our union, enemies of with beginning of a series of the struggle to preserve the dem- the membership, enemies of the clection forums sponsored by ocratic rights of the rank and fundamental principles upon various organizations throughout file. Lacking support in the ranks which our union was established the city. The SWP candidates the Curran machine moved in and grew strong."

fice. Coming on the heels of the

A special membership meeting SWP radio campaign was made condemn the actions of the Cur- of approximately 600 rejected the with the appearance this week by ran machine at the recent nation- proposed port dictatorship with only 5 votes in favor. The meet-The Port of New York is the ing also instructed the Port 'Meet Martha Deane." During an center of the opposition against Agent to use any and all means unusually animated half-hour in- the bureaucratic Curran clique. to protect the democratic rights terview Bartell answered ques- Approximately half the member- of the membership against the jority of the port officials are ing upheld the action of the Women Voters, and the Repu- supporters of the opposition. To special meeting and went on to blican, Democratic and American carry through his program of adopt by a vote of 1,128 to 154 purging all critics and dissenters the convention report of the op-Curran must capture control of position delegates which blistered the Curran group for its reac-

"By their every act at this con-

The opposition delegates called upon members of the NMU to forums from organizations in- over the signature of Curran, join the Independent Caucus which led the fight against the Voters, the Brooklyn NAACP were instructed that as of Oct. 3 Curran machine at the conven-Youth Council and the Govern- they were to take orders from tion. "The convention is now ministrator for the National Of- having accomplished nothing of the Immigration Department is real benefit to the rank and file. taking action against him, "not convention, it was obvious the But the battle begun at the con- because of my political views, move was intended to behead the vention between the machine of but because I have organized opposition. The Curran machine ficials striving for dictatorial workers - because I have always wanted to make sure the port power and the members fighting followed a militant and profor rank and file control, is not gressive policy in the trade union apparatus was in their hands ended. This battle will continue movement." The 65-year-old labor when the gag-rule and witch- in the days ahead, in every port leader, who has spent 38 years

The International office of the strikebreakers.

of more than 200,000 AFL members in this area last night voted unanimously to declare war on the strikebreaking

by AFL Teamsters Vice-Presi-Retail Clerks here.

traordinary session" of the combined AFL Alameda County Central Labor Council and Alameda representative sent from Seattle Building Trades Council, together with representatives of the Contra Costa Central Labor and Building Trades councils, adopted the following resolutions:

1. To evict the Teamsters from the AFL Oakland Labor Temple on the grounds that it was built for labor organizations, not for scab headquarters.

2. To offer any Teamsters member who loses his job for refusing to cross a picket line a free work permit in any AFL union under the Council's jurisdic-

3. To initiate, starting Oct 15, a boycott of all goods carried by the Teamsters, unless the Teamsters leaders cease their attempts to break the retail clerks strike and to invade that union's jurisdiction.

4. For each local union to immediately urge its international officials at the AFL convention, now being held in St. Paul, to take an official stand on the issue.

These unprecedented actions reflect tremendous hostility in labor's ranks here to the treacherous strikebreaking and raiding by Beck, who is called the "crown prince" of AFL Czar-President Daniel J. Tobin. His assault on the retail clerks | DEFYING BECK climaxes a series of strikebreaking acts, including breaking the Machinists' strike at Boeing Aircraft in Seattle.

### THE STRIKE ISSUES

The conflict began a few weeks ago when the contracts between Retail Clerks Local 870 of Alameda County and Local 1179 of Contra Costa County and the Chain Stores Association, including Safeway, Lucky Stores and Hagstrom, came up for renewal. The employers demanded that the local store managers, who have belonged to the union for seven years, be withdrawn from the breaking came as negotiations union's jurisdiction and "re- were under way for reaffiliation tions about the SWP platform as ship of the union sail out of this would-be dictators. A few days establish their loyalty to the of the local Teamsters with the they were fired at him by women port. The Port Agent and a ma- later a general membership meetfacing a powerful combination of all food store chains and milk, by the Alameda and Contra Costa

dent Dave Beck against the AFL | Teamsters wired the local Teamst-

NUMBER 42

ers and ordered them to cross the Some 800 delegates at an "ex- picket lines. The Butchers union officials followed suit. Einar O. Mchn, Teamsters international by Beck, stated to the press that "employees [of the struck stores] now out of work will be urged to return to their jobs under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and any vacancies in jobs under the Teamsters' jurisdiction will be manned by the local AFL Warehousemen Union and the local Retail Service Union.

#### SCAB MOVES

Claiming that all food handling employees came under the jurisdiction of a dummy paper organization, the "AFL Teamsters Retail Service Union," Teamsters rganizers, under the direct orders of Beck, went out to sign up strikers in the "Retail Service Union," which claims to hold a contract with the struck employers with a pay scale from 20 to 30 cents lower than that of the

Beck's orders to the local Ceamsters unions, a majority of them under dictator + receivers appointed by Tobin, were termed by Retail Clerks officials a "strikebreaking and union breaking move, degrading a grand organization built by real union

Some local Teamsters officials have indicated their opposition to Beck's strikebreaking policy. One Teamsters local in Contra Costa County has defied Beck's and Tobin's threats and voted support to the strikers.

Last night's "extraordinary session" was the first since the one that issued the call for the 1946 Oakland General Strike when local Teamsters members were ordered to cross picket lines. At that time, the Teamsters withdrew from the Central Labor Council. Beck's latest strike-

bakery, meat, sugar and whole- central labor bodies, are being sale vegetable companies, were issued to the Teamsters rank and forced to close down Safeway in file, appealing to them not to Contra Costa County and all cross picket lines and to demand-Lucky Stores and Hagstrom in a democratic vote on whether or not they will play the role of

## SUPPORT FOR CARL SKOGLUND URGED AT MINNEAPOLIS RALLY

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 8 - Carl Skoglund, former leader of this city's Teamsters Local 544 who faces deportation to Sweden, addressed a meeting of nearly 100 persons here tonight. The meet-9-

Defense Committee. Skoglund declared tonight that

ing was sponsored by the Min- is charged with having been a member of the Socialist Workers Party. The Immigration Department has recently issued an order for a rehearing in his case.

Many of Skoglund's former friends and associates in the teamsters movement came to the meeting tonight to express their solidarity with his fight to remain in this country. They nodded agreement as he said, "If I hadn't been one of the leaders of 544, I would not be up for deportation today."

At the conclusion of the union leader's talk, a poem written by Miles B. Dunne, chairman of the Minnesota CRDC, was read. Entitled "The Saga of a Swede," it The old scale of \$1.40 an hour a good turnout of Buffalo mili- the subject more exhaustively, inside of Yugoslavia. An example told the story of a man who

"Away with darkness, welcome

Carl Skoglund's here to stay!" Chairman of the meeting was Vincent R. Dunne. Both he and

organizers of Local 544. A bountiful Smorgasbord, featuring Swedish sausage and beans, meat balls and rice pudding, was served by the committee after the meeting and a

social hour was held. Tonight's

affair raised \$160 for the Skog-

lund Defense Fund.

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# tract gives them an immediate increase of 14 cents an hour plus 7

12 cents. On June 30 a "fact-find- flict. Many workers from strik- development. ing" board, appointed by Gov. ing auto and steel plants took Stainback, recommended 14 cents. time out from their activities to The employers made every ef- consider an international question

tempts at government strike- tach themselves from the press- ing of the Stalin-Tito dispute. breaking which ranged from the ing routine of their daily duties

> The audience not only listened against Stalinism increases. but participated in the discussion! Stein noted also that Tito's that followed Stein's presenta- struggle with Stalin may lead to tion. This proved so interesting a re-examination of the real nathat two other gatherings were ture of Stalinism by large num-

meeting of 25 members and for Youngstown today Stein met friends of the Socialist Workers with Pittsburgh party members Miles Dunne were also former but to deal a crushing blow to the It was inspiring to see so many Party, Morris Stein, SWP Organ- for a discussion of their probunion. The strikers, in their reso- militants usually engaged in their ization Secretary, delivered a lems. lute struggle, also defeated at- practical trade union tasks, de- stimulating address on the mean-

He pointed out that Yugoslavia appointment of a "fact-finding and from the clamor of the strike is merely the beginning; that board" to the passage of a "ter- front, to become absorbed for a Titoism is not a national phenotime in the broad political issues menon, but international, and posed ty the crisis of Stalinism that it will arise in other satellite as reflected in the Yugoslav sit- countries and Communist Parties as the pressure of the masses

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 9 - At a lowed the talk. Before leaving

BUFFALO, Oct. 7-Last night | held where the speaker went into | bers of people outside as well as has thus been raised to \$1.61. tants and their friends heard Mor- and presented many pertinent de- he cited of this possible trend is "fought the fight that all must When the strike started on May ris Stein, National Organization tails regarding Yugoslavia as well the Yugoslav CP statement that fight who love man's right to 1, the union demanded an hourly Secretary of the Socialist Work- as the present state of the Euro- the Budapest trial could only be live," and ended with the lines, increase of 31 cents. The compa- ers Party, analyze the driving pean labor movement, and the conceived by those who staged nies offered first 8 cents and then forces behind the Tito-Stalin con- perspective for its revolutionary the Moscow Trials, and its criticism of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. A lively discussion period fol-

The schedule of Stein's lecture tour follows: Los Angeles Oct. 15-19

San Francisco

Newark

Oct. 21-23

Nov. 18

Oct. 25-27 Seattle St. Paul-Minneapolis Oct. 29-Nov. 1 Milwaukee Nov. 2 Chicago Nov. 3-5 Detroit-Flint Nov. 6-10 Nov. 11 Toledo Philadelphia Nov. 13