

Big Brass Feud Unveils Secrets Of War Plotters

Having fought bitterly and incessantly among themselves, the Big Brass are now airing some of their disputes before the House Armed Services Committee. The American people have thus been afforded an intimate glimpse into the workings of the military-minded cliques who now hold the destiny of this country in their mailed fists. The American people are also being afforded an opportunity to gain some of the vital information which has been withheld from them all this while, and even kept secret from authoritative congressional bodies. Hardly a day has passed without assurances from Truman down that the government's aim is to "secure" global peace, "outlaw" atomic explosives, employ the A-Bomb only as a last resort, and the like. It suddenly turns out that blueprints have meanwhile been drafted for an atomic blitz and that this country is already virtually committed to this "grand strategy" in the projected world holocaust. This is the sworn testimony of one Admiral after another, and there is no reason to believe that they are perjuring themselves on this score.

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 Gecinec of the Toledo KCRC, Gosser wrote:

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

STRONG OPPOSITION HITS NEW FORD AGREEMENT

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

The sharp and sizeable opposition, representing more than a third of the voting strength, was a far cry from claims of Reuther's spokesmen before the council session that the settlement would be approved "overwhelmingly." Although Reuther had told the press there would be only "Communist" and otherwise "minor" opposition, among the leaders of the council fight against the agreement were Al Musilli, president of Highland Park Local 400; Art Valenti, president of Lincoln Local 900; and Archie Accia.

Next Week:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Steel Barons Forced Strike To Break Strength of Unions

Bureaucrat-Ruled AFL Convention Achieves Little

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT BOARDS

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

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

POLITICAL ACTION

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

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

Yugoslavs Use UN As Forum Against Kremlin

By George Breitman

Despite the increased diplomatic pressure by Stalin and his satellites and the dispatch of more Soviet troops to Yugoslavia's borders, Belgrade is gaining a hearing from an ever larger section of world public opinion. In addition to their general propaganda, the Yugoslavs are now making use of the United Nations as a forum for the presentation of their views.

At last year's session of the UN General Assembly, the Yugoslav delegation continued to vote with the Stalinist bloc even though the Tito-Stalin rift had already taken place. But this year the Yugoslavs are acting independently of the Stalinist as well as the imperialist blocs and, in fact, are openly challenging the Stalinists for their attacks on the independence of Yugoslavia.

Eager for a position from which to defend themselves against the Kremlin, the Yugoslavs have announced their candidacy in competition with the Soviet Union's candidate, Czechoslovakia, for a



'Titoism' in the Stalinist Party of West Germany

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

From the beginning it was evident that the steady decline of Stalinist influence would produce serious consequences within the German CP. Last year this crisis found its expression in the passivity and indifference of CP members. Since the disastrous results of the party's participation in the August Bundestag elections, it is expressed by open discontent and criticisms of the party's entire policy. It is now worthy that this revolt against the party line has been led by middle and even some higher cadre elements.

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

Titoist" campaign developed further.

In every CP paper there appeared an article by Kurt Mueller, one of the party leaders, under the following caption: "Is There a Titoist Danger in Our Party?" It is recommended as "an article every communist must read." This article, symptomatic of the serious crisis in the Stalinist party, contains detailed information so important that we will quote some passages from it. Mueller answers the question in the title by saying:

"This question has to be put because a number of local [CP] groups and leaderships in the Ruhr, Niedersachsen [Hamburg, etc.], South Baden, Hessen and other areas, commenting on the election results, are conveying the idea that these results were brought about not by the party's own mistakes and weaknesses, but by the policy of the Soviet Union. Such comments seem to have been written by Titoists. . . The example of Bad Hamburg [a town near Frankfurt] proves how deeply some comrades have sunk into the swamp of Titoism. There a writer poisoned by nationalism has misled the local group into declaring that the identification

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

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

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

(Continued on page 3)

'Business Week' Admits Real Aim of Arrogant Monopolists

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

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

Murray Promises No More Retreats In Ohio Speech

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE "LONGER VIEW"

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

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

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

THEIR REAL AIM

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

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

— Page 3 —

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

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

A TEST OF STRENGTH

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

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Labor Union Trends

Apologists for the Labor Bureaucracy

By Bert Cochran

The great dividing line in the American socialist movement between the right and the left — that is, between reformists and revolutionists — is and has been their attitude toward the conservative labor bureaucracy, whom De Leon aptly called "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

problems of the present-day movement is in order. It must be recalled that the old labor bureaucracy in America was not only very reactionary but also very corrupt. In an appreciation written after his death called "Reminiscences of De Leon," this very good description occurs: "The capitalist atmosphere in the United States, productive of rich pickings in politics and industry, breeds the labor faker as a swamp breeds mosquitoes."

The early Communist movement was constructed in this country on this same ground in the post-World War I period. The pioneer communists and the then militant labor leaders set up the Trade Union Educational League to which all real labor fighters soon adhered to wage unremitting war on the AFL bureaucracy and all that it stood for and to get the labor movement back on the rails of class militancy and independence.

The old pre-CIO craft unions were plagued by the "Skinny" Maddens, Simon O'Donnells, Mike Boyles, Sam Parks, Brindells, George L. Berys and the like — a rough buccanering crew, who rifled the union treasuries for all they could, shook down the employers, were in cahoots with the most venal political machines, ruled over their memberships with the aid of gangsters and sluggers and who died leaving estates running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. It was relatively easy to mobilize the left wing against this crowd of know-nothing reactionaries.

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 philosophy of contempt and unyielding 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 share the same platform with Gompers.

The new bureaucracy is an entirely different proposition. It is a European-type bureaucracy. It is socially alert. It is the surveyor of a definite reformist ideology and relies heavily on demagogic and pseudo-progressivism. It is becoming a power in politics. It stands at the head of a mass movement of sweeping proportions.

That was the great dividing line. The genuine left wing movement grew firm and strong and won the cream of the working 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 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 apologists and rationalizers for the status-quo.

This is such a new phenomenon in the American labor scene that it has dazzled even many radicals and ex-radicals and converted them into a new school of "left" apologists and court biographers of the labor bureaucracy. This adulation, which has given birth to a veritable "Reuther cult" — the man who stands as a symbol par excellence of the new bureaucracy and its far-reaching ambitions — is exemplified in the recently issued book, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick. (Random House, \$3.00.)

Our two authors, like so many countless other ex-left wingers, despair of the revolutionary socialist movement ever amounting to anything in this country, and on the other hand they stand bewitched by the power and

successes of the Walter Reuthers. And so, they have dumped, like worthless ballast, all the basic ideas that animate genuine socialists in the labor movement and have adopted, in all essentials and in their mode of thinking, the viewpoint of the trade union brass hats.

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 indescribable havoc wrought in labor ranks by Stalinism. All 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 it can inspire the new generation to renewed struggle for an old and just cause.

And what is particularly sickening about this particular book is that all of this is done under the pretense of arch-objective pseudo-criticism and disinterested sociology, written up in the style of two college professors who are keenly interested in and sympathetic to the "labor problem," with our authors climbing the heights of audacity when they announce untrifledly: "We take sides. We support unions, believe in their necessity."

A brief review of the makeup of the bureaucracy and the

I jotted down as I was reading the book instance after instance where Howe and Widick identify their thinking on the most divergent subjects with that of the bureaucracy. On page 79 we read that "CP-UAW locals called precipitous and ill-managed strikes . . . at Allis Chalmers . . . and North American Aircraft" during 1940. Our authors, as left apologists for Reuther, are under compulsion to make snide references to these strikes because Reuther opposed them. But pray tell, what was "precipitous" or "ill-managed" about these strikes beyond any other strike called by the UAW? It is true that both these strikes were Stalinist and that the Stalinists were, upon orders from the Kremlin, trying to take advantage of the workers' grievances during the Stalin-Hitler pact period.

Tito vs. Stalin



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

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

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 Yugo-

Fourth International calls attention to the ominous meaning of the recent frame-up trial of Rajk in Budapest. "Like the Moscow Trials in the Thirties" it is "designed to draw a line of blood between Stalin and his new opposition" and prepare the way for "assassination, guerrilla warfare and overt military aggression by GPU de-

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Picketing Steel Plant



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

Homestead Workers Lulled By Talk of "Early Victory"

By G. Mason

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

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

The Murray machine has worked overtime to create among the ranks the idea that the outcome of the strike depends exclusively on closed-door conferences between U. S. Steel and the union heads, with the government adding its pressure on the side of the union. Local leaders have warned the membership against any demonstrations, mass picketing, etc., on the theory that these would conflict with the plans of Philip Murray.

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

The ranks as a result seem somewhat apathetic. They are not inspired by the objectives of the strike. Most of the men want the security of an adequate pension system. But they are not impressed by the recommendations of the "fact-finding" board. They feel that U. S. Steel may yield, but will make up for the slight expense by raising steel prices, intensifying the speedup and cutting the labor force.

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 at this point the Murray negotiators castigated 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 of their leaders. They recall to each other that in other strikes they allowed no one through the lines.

The company representatives 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 expressed their understanding in his remark: "Why, they are trying to make the union look bad—trying to turn us against the union."

While the Murray men have deliberately played down the natural militancy of the membership, the workers retain their basic loyalty to the organization. They feel U. S. Steel would take quick advantage of any show of weakness, and would like to see the union destroyed.

committeemen at a four-hour meeting, but failed to swing a single one.

The pension come-on is proving less attractive than Reuther hoped, particularly as it is full of jokers. For instance, to qualify for the whole meager pension at the age of 65 a worker must have 30 full years of service — not less than 1,800 paid hours in each calendar year. Not many workers go along 30 years without some layoffs. As one production foundry worker in Local 600 put it: "The pension don't mean much to us, for the simple reason that no one seems to have survived 30 years of production foundry 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 or 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 681, UAW

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 Gosser."

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

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

Sidney Lens, director of AFL United Service Employees Local 329, who chaired the meeting, made a stirring appeal for aid to the legless veteran. "While I do not believe in the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party," he stated, "I do believe in the right of parties and individuals to freedom of political activity. The Kutcher case is like a hole in the dike holding back the floodwaters of reaction and thought-control. 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 international organizations 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 CIO Packinghouse Workers, said: "I view the Kutcher case as part of the overall battle to preserve our traditional civil liberties and to extend to every citizen the right to dissent from majority views. Mr. Kutcher who suffered a tragic injury in the service of this country points up most dramatically the whole problem of the attack on civil rights. He has the support of all people who are committed to the preservation of the democratic ideal."

ALL QUIET ON STRIKE FRONT AT THE LACKAWANNA WORKS

BUFFALO, Oct. 10 — Picketing is slow and eventless on the long Lackawanna strike front just at the moment. But that is hardly surprising. Bethlehem Steel is providing half the food for the line, has installed radios at the gates, placed chairs on the sidewalks, and built shanties for the pickets all wired for reading lamps!

The local newspapers, of course, make much of this, speaking of the excellent local labor relations, as though the Bethlehem plant here followed an independent labor policy, and Shonkwiler, the local plant mogul, were against the policies of his Wall Street superiors. Some of the organizers of the United Steelworkers have also joined in this incredible chorus with dulcet notes about the harmony prevailing here.

Nevertheless, the rank and file are not taken in. They are sore. They are sore and angry that they are losing money while the company balks at a couple of cents. And they have absolutely no faith that the company means them any good. That is why a 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 plant.)

WORLD MONEY CRISIS GROWS MORE INTENSE

By John G. Wright

The world monetary crisis continues to grow in scope and intensity. Last week the political crisis, which has already gripped Britain, spread to France, causing the downfall of the Queuille government. Three more countries — Spain, Argentina and Uruguay — joined the long list of those who have devaluated their currencies.

The political crisis in France matches in acuteness that of Britain. More than a week has passed since the resignation of the Queuille Cabinet and attempts to form a new one still remain in the stages of "negotiation." Socialist Julius Moch, who served as Minister of Interior under 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 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 the offing. The French workers are seething as new inflationary price rises drag their living standards further down. The Queuille government had solemnly promised an improvement in their living conditions by the fall of this year.

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 resorted to manipulating their devaluated currency exchanges in such a way as to facilitate their own exports while raising new barriers to imports by making prices 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 avert.

The moods among the Western European capitalists are expressed in the growing rift between the British and the French. The ERP Council is reported as split on policy.

Next to the French, the most pessimistic are the Dutch financial and industrial circles who predict that the current devaluations must eventually lead "to more devaluations, and ultimately to defense measures by America." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 10.)

What is cautiously implied here is an eventual devaluation of the dollar as the struggle for foreign markets grows more savage. Such a drastic measure is as yet merely a prospect.

U. S. TOO?

Nevertheless, there is talk of American devaluation not only in Europe but here at home. The

most sensational is a recent report by the "American World Intelligence Group," edited by Dr. C. S. Norberg. According to this report a top secret agreement was reached between British and American negotiators prior to the devaluation of the pound. This agreement reportedly includes a return by the U. S. to the gold standard; raising the price of gold to \$45 an ounce and devaluing the dollar "by 10 to 15 percent in the conversion process."

This issue was raised in Congress by A. L. Miller, Representative from Nebraska, who sent an official letter of inquiry on Sept. 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.

Big Turnout for Robeson Rallies Held in Detroit

DETROIT, Oct. 9 — In face of newspaper warnings to stay away, despite a barrage of red-baiting and a cordon of 1,000 police in the vicinity, more than 3,000 Negro and white workers of this city heard Paul Robeson speak here tonight. Twice as many were turned away as were able to get into the Forest Club hall at Forest and Hastings Streets. A second meeting was scheduled two hours later at the Shiloh 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 in one of the windows, with those in the streets listening intently. The cops then started herding the people away. Presently the loud speaker was removed. It took the police more than an hour to clear the area.

Among those forced to leave there was considerable discussion of fascism in America and a "reign of terror." There were no defense squads to protect the meeting.

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

THE MILITANT ARMY

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

The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party continues to set the pace for sales of single copies of The Militant. 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 building the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly would enjoy Comrade Deck's letter, so we have turned the balance of the column over to him:

Friday was the big day. Marj and Vivian spent the afternoon at the corner of Vernon and Central, which is in the heart of the Negro community. 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 checking but it is even possible that

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

We shouted the slogan of a united front of the labor movement for the defense of democratic rights against such fascist assaults as occurred at Peekskill, and the logic of it reduced the Stalinist hacks to frenzied sputters 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 half-dozen different street corners. It was in the nature of an experiment. 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 corner sales are the thing!

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Monday, October 17, 1949



TROTSKY

"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 further decay."

— Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.



LENIN

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 and diminish our gratitude for the aid he has given to so many progressive causes both at home and abroad.

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 activity) 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 they were.

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 reservation.

Even in his 90th year Dr. Dewey has shown an ability to resist reactionary pressures that have overcome many people who at one time stood to his left on political issues. Only last June 21, he reaffirmed his defense of academic freedom and his opposition to purging teachers 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 witch-hunts.

American intellectuals could benefit from the courageous example set for them by John Dewey. American workers owe him thanks and respect for his honesty and his contributions to the defense of civil liberties and justice for all the oppressed and exploited.

Beware of "Face-Saving" Formulas

Philip Murray has told the striking steel workers that there will be "no retreat" on the question of pensions financed exclusively by the companies, the immediate issue of the strike. That is reassuring. But what is not reassuring is the evident intent of Truman to intervene again in the steel situation. How much can the steel workers rely on Murray not to accept some slick government formula that will disguise a further concession to the steel corporations?

union into accepting a further "compromise" 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 soon.

Murray's whole strategy, prior to the strike, was based on dependence on Truman. It was a strategy of avoiding strike by getting a crumb of a concession as a government favor. But Truman's intervention did not prevent a strike. It merely 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 preparations to fight the union.

"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.

Company Pensions and Social Security

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 present federal benefits.

that will add to the tax-burden of the workers. The Ford-Reuther plan gives the loophole they want.

It is true that reactionary corporations, which previously had opposed social security, 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 and to increase the benefits.

For the Ford pension plan is not "non-contributory" and "company-financed" as Reuther contends. It is linked to federal social security, which is largely financed 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 there is method in their "madness." 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 on the workers.

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.

William Z. Foster's Deposition at Foley Sq.

By Farrell Dobbs

Ever since Earl Browder was dethroned 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 workers any more.

parties of workers, farmers . . . small business people . . . and so on.

Charging that the new Stalinist line means they advocate the overthrow 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 Jan. 17 under the Smith Act.

"The old line aimed at setting up a socialist government, whereas the new line aimed at setting up a coalition progressive democratic People's Front government.

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 Communist Party.

"The old line foresaw a situation in which the capitalists would meet the developing socialist movement with violent repressive measures," he added . . . whereas the new line is based upon the assumption that it will be possible for these coalesced democratic forces to maintain the institution of democracy substantially open. . . . He asserted that "it is possible in 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 government."

As their main rebuttal testimony the Stalinists presented a 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.

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," but for including among these so-called "progressives" the monopoly capitalists; not for adapting his policies to capitalist liberalism, but for adapting his policies to "right wing" capitalist liberalism.

FOSTER'S EXPLANATION

"The aim of the old line [before 1935], Foster said, "was the establishment of socialism, the direct transition from capitalism to socialism. The new line [after 1935] however . . . is a non-socialist program. "The old line," he continued, "foresaw a more or less general combination of workers and farmers . . . whereas the new line foreshadows a combination of

What then are Foster's "left-wing" policies? The trade unions, he said, "should break with their two old capitalist parties and launch a new, anti-fascist, people's party." That party would be a "political coalition of workers, farmers, the Negro people, professionals, small businessmen and others."

The "others" would include millionaires like Henry Wallace and

all capitalists, big or small, who will collaborate with the Stalinists.

This political coalition would "aim at winning an electoral victory upon the basis of a program of democratic demands," including "such elementary issues as defense of the trade unions . . . elementary economic security . . . fundamental political rights . . . a strong United Nations . . . outlawing of the atomic bomb."

In other words, a pseudo-militant domestic program to which liberal capitalists can agree and a fake peace program designed to attract pacifist support.

Once elected to office, Foster's coalition would "then proceed to introduce a People's Front administration . . . operating upon the 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 monopolies, but its political level would not yet present it with the task of breaking the rule of the monopolies and thereby effecting the transition to socialism."

The coalition government, he added, "would only place the question of socialism in a propaganda sense."

THEIR CENTRAL AIM

Describing the proposed foreign policy of the People's Front administration, Foster said, "We contend that the key to the winning of the peace for the peoples of the world and the preservation of democracy, and generally to establish a stable condition is precisely cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Contained in that statement is the central aim of Stalinist policy, to which everything else is subordinated — "cooperation

between the United States and the Soviet Union." The question is, what kind of a United States?

Today the Stalinists engage in radical double-talk about the grievances of the workers and the Negro people; they falsely pose as champions of civil rights; they exploit the people's fear of atomic slaughter; and they ask for mass 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 a socialist world.

Foster advocates, instead, a coalition government that would operate "upon the basis of the capitalist system" and would "only place the question of socialism in a propaganda sense." He is seeking collaboration between a capitalist United States and the Soviet Union, which means the Stalinists promise to help 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 the differences are between Browderism and Fosterism. Browder's line was adapted to a period of collaboration between Stalin and American capitalism.

Foster's line is adapted to the conditions of the present cold war and constitutes nothing more than a pressure campaign to 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 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 imposing a barbarous fascist regime upon the American people.

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 liberal-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 monopolies."

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 struggle will the middle classes be won over to the side of the workers and the monopolists isolated and defeated. Then, and only then, will the American people and the peoples of the world find lasting peace, freedom and security.

The Peddlers of "Disarmament"

By Art Preis

Right after Truman announced an "atomic explosion" in the Soviet Union, the Sept. 25 "Worker," Sunday paper of the Communist 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 is possible to maintain peace under capitalism through "international control" of atomic weapons and "disarmament."

of the pen of imperialism and the petty-bourgeois reactionaries, although they call themselves pacifists and socialists . . . who insisted that peace and reform were possible under imperialism." And he was especially scathing against those who used the slogan of "disarmament."

This slogan of "disarmament" — one of the most tarnished and shop-worn in the propaganda arsenal of imperialism — is now the main stock-in-trade of the Stalinists. The "fight for peace," says the Worker as an echo to Vishinsky in the UN, means "outlawing of all atomic warfare, partial disarmament and adoption of international inspection of all atomic energy production."

EFFECTS OF PACIFISM

He wrote in this famous article in the Dec. 1916 Sbornik Sotsial-demokrata, a Bolshevik journal published in Switzerland, that "the preaching of 'disarmament,' which is deliberately addressed to the 'present governments of the imperialist great powers, is the most hackneyed opportunism, bourgeois pacifism, which in reality serves only — in spite of the 'pious wishes' of the slushy Kautskyans — to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle. For such preachings inculcate the workers with the thought that the present bourgeois governments of the imperialist powers are not entangled in thousands of threads of finance capital and dozens or hundreds of corresponding (i.e., predatory, murderous, preparatory to imperialist wars) secret treaties between themselves."

These words, hurled at the "yellow socialists" of Lenin's day, might well have been written for the Stalinists now; for William Z. Foster, for instance, who wrote recently that the hope for peace lies in a "strong United Nations" — the United Nations dominated by American imperialism — and its "outlawing of the atomic bomb."

"DISARMAMENT"

Disarmament, said Lenin, is conceivable only under world socialism, because "in the socialist party there will be no wars, which means that disarmament will be realized."

SAME AIM PRESSED

In essence, this is the very aim professed by the spokesmen of American imperialism and all that seems to stand in the way of achieving it is a difference as to the methods and steps to be taken. But the White House and the Kremlin display a singular disharmony over details for those who claim similar basic aims.

These passages prove that the crisis in the CP is not limited to isolated cases. It is symptomatic that high-placed CP Land leaders are sympathetic to oppositional arguments. For the first time in many years a strong oppositional current has developed in the German Stalinist party. It is unorganized and indeed cannot be organized in a totalitarian party, but it is a tangible tendency.

That is because the question of war or peace is not a matter of the possession or lack of arms at any given time. If there were no great impelling cause for war under the dominant world system of monopoly capitalism, there would be no war preparations to begin with, no armies and arms, and therefore no basis for the slogan of "disarmament."

This position uses a good many Marxist arguments (against annexations and reparations) while its leaning toward Tito is superficial. The bureaucrats know only one method of fighting their critics: the old Stalinist smear method. They claim that the "Titoist" tendencies in the CP have been inspired by Trotskyist and imperialist agents and that every criticism of Soviet policies must inevitably lead into the imperialist camp.

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 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."

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 the arguments of the worst enemies of the Polish as well as the German people? . . . We communists are in favor of the Oder-Neisse border because it is the border of peace."

FATAL ILLUSIONS

But suppose, for tactical and propaganda reasons, the imperialists did agree to "disarmament"? Would that be a guarantee against war? Whenever the capitalist nations wanted to break the agreement, they'd simply accuse the Kremlin of "violations," and then they'd get their "international sanction" for war.

But do the Stalinists seriously believe that American capitalism can discontinue its arms program even if it wants to? These tens of billions which the American people are being forced to spend each year for war preparations —

billions for atomic weapons alone — are the greatest single prop of crisis-ridden American capitalism and, therefore, of world capitalism. For American imperialism to abandon the arms subsidies would be plunging a dagger into its own economic heart.

The Stalinists who call on the imperialists to disarm are like a man who asks a Bengal tiger to pluck its own fangs and claws. They merely spread the dangerous illusion that disarmament and peace are possible under the war-breeding system of capitalism, that peace is merely a matter of treaties and "good will," that the working people can leave the fate

of humanity up to the "good offices" of the imperialist gangsters who control and manipulate the UN.

The only way to assure that the ravaging beast of capitalism will not break loose once more and spread its bloody havoc, is to destroy it. As Lenin said, "Disarmament is the ideal of socialism" and "he is no socialist who expects the realization of socialism without the social revolution. . . . Those, like the Stalinists, and the Norman Thomas "Socialists," who preach a "disarmament" without a social revolution serve only to disarm the real struggle against imperialist war.

'TITOISM' IN WESTERN GERMANY

(Continued from page 1)

ships of the party, alien to Marxism-Leninism?"

A TANGIBLE TENDENCY

These passages prove that the crisis in the CP is not limited to isolated cases. It is symptomatic that high-placed CP Land leaders are sympathetic to oppositional arguments. For the first time in many years a strong oppositional current has developed in the German Stalinist party. It is unorganized and indeed cannot be organized in a totalitarian party, but it is a tangible tendency.

Revolution: "For a peace without annexation or reparations!" They are also based on the statements against the annexationists made by Marx to the General Council of the First International on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. It is noteworthy that up to now no Stalinist edition of Marx's Civil War in France, in which the above statements were made, has been published in Eastern Germany, although almost all of Marx's writings have been published.

The most important "argument" of the Stalinists is, of course, the alleged evolution of Tito. The bureaucrats try to silence the opposition by saying: Either you approve of every detail of Soviet policies or you place yourself in the enemy camp! But the bureaucrats will not succeed in silencing their critics in the CP with this intimidation.

We can expect a big purge in the CP, and the expulsion of the most critical elements. For our organization, the IKD (German section of the Fourth International), this will mean favorable opportunities for winning over new and valuable elements. We will do our best to take full advantage of these opportunities. [Ed. Note: On Oct. 7, several days after the receipt of the above article, the AP carried a dispatch from Frankfurt reporting that "dissension in the ranks over Russia's German policy has spurred 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 least seven high Communist Party officials have quit their posts. They said they had quit voluntarily in a dispute over Russian policies."]

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History has fully confirmed Lenin's analysis in two world wars and the preparation for a third, in the imperialist intervention in the Soviet Union during the civil war of 1918-23 and the imperialist invasion in 1941, in the innumerable colonial conquests and massacres perpetrated by the imperialist powers. Lenin lashed the "hired coolies

Mrs. Garcia Will Live

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, Oct. 9 — Eighteen-year-old Mrs. Mary Garcia lies in City Hospital on Welfare Island, a victim of the greed of landlords and the indifference of capitalist politicians. Last Wednesday, as she walked down from the sixth floor of the tenement at 112 East 111th St., the third floor landing collapsed. It crashed through the second landing and catapulted her to the ground 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 complaint 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 "Be careful!" and point to the new

landings of raw boards laid over the remnants of stone.

This rotting tenement is only one of 600,000 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 scrupulous enforcement of present laws. But even this, City Hall will not do.

Less than 300 inspectors are on the city pay-rolls, to "police" 2,300,000 apartments, plus all 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 building inspection department was always a month behind complaints; now it is 9½ 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 conditions.

"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 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 with everyone."

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 consistently for the interests of the working people, then the Socialist Workers Party candidates in this year's city elections should get a friendly reception.

MacArthur's Thought-Control

By Fred Hart

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 nationwide 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 Com-

mander, Allied Powers [MacArthur], regarding the purge, Japanese quarters say the purge is being carried out on verbal orders given by local occupation military government teams."

The purge results from a law passed on Sept. 19 "under occupation supervision [which] states that no government employee of any rank is hereafter permitted to indulge in any form of political activity either during or after working hours. As applied to government-paid schoolteachers, this means that any teacher who even goes so far as to 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 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 designed to introduce in the U. S.

Next Step in FEPC Fight

By J. Blake

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 are.

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 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.

There has been a long history of individual and group struggles by minorities and labor against discrimination. There is a wealth of experience and methods, other than reliance on capitalist politicians and "friends," from which to borrow.

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 with job discrimination.

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

"Germany, Year Zero"

By Ray Moore

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 collapse.

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 miseria. The ghastly existence of a mass of German children is pictured with terrible clarity.

Rossellini has succeeded 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.

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AFL Unions in Oakland Area Fight Beck's Strikebreaking

SWP Candidates 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 radio.

Manhattan's Lower East Side, traditional stronghold of the Stalinists and Social Democrats, was the scene of a colorful, hard-hitting Trotskyist election rally that surpassed anything achieved in the area by any of the other parties in the course of this campaign.

An audience that stopped traffic with 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 attempted vainly to pull their supporters out of the rally as they remained to hear militant anti-capitalist campaign speeches by Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor; Harry Ring, candidate for Controller; and Harold Robbins, candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan.

A highlight of the rally was an impassioned appeal for support of the SWP slate, made in Jewish, by Sylvia Blecker, veteran revolutionist and prominent leader of the early militant struggles of New York's millinery workers.

RADIO PROGRAMS

An effective beginning to the SWP radio campaign was made with the appearance this week by Bartell on WOR's nationally popular housewives' program, "Meet Martha Deane." During an unusually animated half-hour interview Bartell answered questions about the SWP platform as they were fired at him by women representing the League of Women Voters, and the Republican, Democratic and American Labor parties.

The principal planks in the SWP platform went over the air for the second time this week with the opening of the WNEW series, "The Peoples Choice." Future SWP broadcasts on this program is listed elsewhere in this issue of The Militant.

Further opportunities to broaden the campaign are now opening with beginning of a series of election forums sponsored by various organizations throughout the city. The SWP candidates have already accepted seven invitations to participate in such forums from organizations including the League of Women Voters, the Brooklyn NAACP Youth Council and the Government Club of New York University.

Hawaii Longshore Strike Victorious

The 159 day-old strike of Hawaiian CIO longshoremen ended on Oct. 6 in a clear-cut victory for the workers. The new contract gives them an immediate increase of 14 cents an hour plus 7 cents more in March 1950, or a total of 21 cents.

The old scale of \$1.40 an hour has thus been raised to \$1.61. When the strike started on May 1, the union demanded an hourly increase of 81 cents. The companies offered first 8 cents and then 12 cents. On June 30 a "fact-finding" board, appointed by Gov. Stainback, recommended 14 cents.

The employers made every effort not only to break the strike but to deal a crushing blow to the union. The strikers, in their resolute struggle, also defeated attempts at government strikebreaking which ranged from the appointment of a "fact-finding board" to the passage of a "territorial seizure law."

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THE MILITANT

Brass Hats Spill Beans



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 on Page 1).

Fight on NMU Dictatorship Led by Port of New York

By R. Bell

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 membership meeting voted by an overwhelming majority to reject and condemn the actions of the Curran machine at the recent national convention.

The Port of New York is the center of the opposition against the bureaucratic Curran clique. Approximately half the membership of the union sail out of this port. The Port Agent and a majority of the port officials are supporters of the opposition. To carry through his program of purging all critics and dissenters Curran must capture control of the Port of New York.

But there's the rub! The members in this port constitute the most advanced section of the union. Since Curran tipped his hand in the attempt to put over the yellow dog amendments last summer the New York membership has been in the forefront of the struggle to preserve the democratic rights of the rank and file. Lacking support in the ranks the Curran machine moved in typical bureaucratic fashion.

In a "memorandum" issued over the signature of Curran, all port officials and personnel were instructed that as of Oct. 3 they were to take orders from Vice-President Warner as administrator for the National Office. Coming on the heels of the convention, it was obvious the move was intended to behead the opposition. The Curran machine wanted to make sure the port apparatus was in their hands when the gag-rule and witch-hunt convention proposals were

STEIN'S LECTURES WELL RECEIVED

BUFFALO, Oct. 7—Last night a good turnout of Buffalo militants and their friends heard Morris Stein, National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, analyze the driving forces behind the Tito-Stalin conflict. Many workers from striking auto and steel plants took time out from their activities to consider an international question of momentous importance.

It was inspiring to see so many militants usually engaged in the practical trade union tasks, detach themselves from the pressing routine of their daily duties and from the clamor of the strike front, to become absorbed for a time in the broad political issues posed by the crisis of Stalinism as reflected in the Yugoslav situation.

The audience not only listened but participated in the discussion that followed Stein's presentation. This proved so interesting that two other gatherings were held where the speaker went into the subject more exhaustively, and presented many pertinent details regarding Yugoslavia as well as the present state of the European labor movement, and the perspective for its revolutionary development.

PITTSBURGH, Oct. 9 — At a meeting of 25 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party, Morris Stein, SWP Organization Secretary, delivered a stimulating address on the meaning of the Stalin-Tito dispute. He pointed out that Yugoslavia is merely the beginning; that Titoism is not a national phenomenon, but international, and that it will arise in other satellite countries and Communist Parties as the pressure of the masses against Stalinism increases.

Stein noted also that Tito's struggle with Stalin may lead to a re-examination of the real nature of Stalinism by large num-

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 4 — Official representatives of more than 200,000 AFL members in this area last night voted unanimously to declare war on the strikebreaking

by AFL Teamsters Vice-President Dave Beck against the AFL Retail Clerks here.

Some 800 delegates at an "extraordinary session" of the combined AFL Alameda County Central Labor Council and Alameda 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 jurisdiction.

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 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 union's jurisdiction and "re-establish their loyalty to the Company." The Retail Clerks, facing a powerful combination of all food store chains and milk, bakery, meat, sugar and wholesale vegetable companies, were forced to close down Safeway in Contra Costa County and all Lucky Stores and Hagstrom in the area.

The International office of the

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 meeting was sponsored by the Minnesota section of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Skoglund declared tonight that the Immigration Department is taking action against him, "not because of my political views, but because I have organized workers — because I have always followed a militant and progressive policy in the trade union movement." The 65-year-old labor leader, who has spent 38 years in the American labor movement,

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 told the story of a man who "fought the fight that all must fight who love man's right to live," and ended with the lines, "Away with darkness, welcome light. Carl Skoglund's here to stay!"

Chairman of the meeting was Vincent R. Dunne. Both he and Miles Dunne were also former organizers of Local 544. A beautiful 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 Skoglund Defense Fund.

READ

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