

# Miners Menaced By Intervention Of Government

BULLETIN, Nov. 9 — The United Mine Workers Policy Committee, meeting in Chicago today, passed a resolution instructing the soft-coal miners to return to work until Nov. 30, on the basis of the old contract that expired last July. This is believed to be a move to forestall government intervention that was being prepared against the mine strike.

Nov. 8 — The mine strike has become the main center of union struggle now that settlements have been made with the tough Little Steel corporations, headed by Bethlehem, Republic and Jones and Laughlin. U.S. Steel remains the major steel holdout.

The Supreme Court has in effect set the seal of approval on government strikebreaking by means of injunctions with a decision on Nov. 7 upholding the 1948 "contempt" fine of \$1,420,000 levied against the United Mine Workers. Asked by reporters to comment on this ruling, John L. Lewis replied: "What can one say about a Supreme Court decision?"

There is plenty to be said about it. Coming at a time when the miners are out on strike, this decision has deliberately dealt them a blow. Far from being an impartial body administering justice on the basis of lofty principles, the Supreme Court has again unmasked itself as nothing but

## Sickness Forces Postponement of Cochran Tour

NEW YORK, Nov. 9 — The national tour on current labor problems by Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, has been postponed because of illness, the national office of the SWP announced today. The Cochran tour, which was supposed to begin next week, will be held next January instead.

Meanwhile, arrangements have been made for another coast-to-coast tour under SWP auspices by Vincent R. Dunne, nationally noted party and trade union leader. Comrade Dunne has already consented to begin this tour immediately after The Thanksgiving holidays.

His subject will be the state of civil liberties in the United States today and the program for combating the witch-hunt. Comrade Dunne, one of the chief defendants in the famous Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists under the Smith Gag Act, is eminently qualified to discuss this vital question.

Further details on the Dunne tour will appear in next week's Militant.

## HARLEMITES SHOW HATE OF POLICE BRUTALITY

The people of Harlem are ready to fight actively against police brutality whenever they get a chance. They showed this once again on Nov. 3, when the police broke

up a parade for Benjamin Davis, the Stalinist candidate for City Council, a few hours after he was released from jail on bail.

Participants in an outdoor Davis election rally at 116th St. and Lenox Ave., learning that Davis himself would speak at a meeting at 125th St. and 7th Ave., started marching north behind three sound trucks. When the procession reached 114th St. and Lenox Ave., it was stopped by radio cars and cops, who began to push the people off the street. Some of the spectators pushed back. That set it off.

The cops then charged the crowd, not only the paraders but everyone on the sidewalks, "night sticks flailing indiscriminately," according to Ted Poston, N. Y. Post reporter who was himself struck twice by police clubs because he happened to be in the vicinity.

### POSTON'S REPORT

"A mounted policeman drove his horse on the northeast sidewalk where I had backed up," Poston continued. "He leaned over to strike at fleeing pedestrians. I fled to a doorway near the curb, narrowly escaping the feet of the rearing police horse. A policeman seized me around the neck, however, hurling me toward the middle of the sidewalk. As I spun around, another struck me across the back with his nightstick, yelling, 'Break it up! Get the hell outa that doorway!'"

"I pawed frantically at my hat, trying to show my press card there, but I was too late to escape his second blow—a numbing lick across the calf of my left leg. Seeing the card belatedly, he

another agency serving the interests of the capitalists.

Like the other arms of the government, the Supreme Court is not concerned with safeguarding the interests of the mass of the people, and least of all the interests of labor. It safeguards the sanctity of profits and the perpetuation of the capitalist order.

Moreover, the Supreme Court decision adds fuel to the reactionary campaign for application of the Taft-Hartley Law to break the coal strike. The daily newspapers have been increasing their clamor for such a course and now that the elections are over they will really start shrieking their heads off.

Lewis' attempts to reach a settlement with individual coal companies, particularly those in Indiana and Illinois, have proved unavailing. The coal owners are content to wait for the next step, that is, for the government to intervene. They know in advance that this intervention will work in their favor and not for the miners.

Truman has been hiding his time. He can choose either to apply the Taft-Hartley procedure or resort to appointing a "fact-finding" board as he did in the case of steel. There is not much difference between the two. In either case, the "fact-finders" whittle down the workers' demands to the bare bone and, what is just as important, tend to establish government "arbitration" as a fixed procedure in settling the issues of wages, hours, working conditions, etc.

Lewis, in his appeal several weeks ago to the CIO and AFL for joint action in support of the coal and steel strikes, correctly warned against "fact-finders" and called for a struggle against this sinister procedure. Nothing could be more short-sighted than the inability or refusal of organized labor to come to the aid of the embattled coal miners. We repeat again that the most effective course for the unions to follow is to convene a National Congress of Labor in Washington.

So far as the Little Steel settlements are concerned, they follow the pattern set by the "fact-finding" board, but with slightly better terms.

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## Labor Vote Secures Victory For Democrats in Elections

The over-all political trend in this country, as last week's election results disclosed, continues to flow in the same direction as during the 1948 presidential elections.

The Republican Party is resolutely opposed by the workers. The Democrats are retaining their support and in some instances adding to it. The Truman strategy—to place the blame for the non-fulfillment of its demagogic "Fair Deal" program on the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition in Congress—appears to have been widely accepted. Even more decisive in swaying the workers has been the all-out support of administration candidates by the official labor leaders.

This was most marked in the special New York state election for U.S. Senator where Lehman's victory by more than 200,000 votes over Dulles has swung this previously Republican-held seat into the Democratic column. In places like New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut where the Republican machines succeeded in maintaining themselves, the Democrats made inroads into GOP majorities and in some instances scored upsets.

In the New York municipal elections the Democratic machine obtained sizable majorities, enabling it to move into several upstate cities hitherto strongly Republican.

The decisive role of labor was unmistakable in the New York elections, where both the CIO and AFL threw their support to Lehman for Senator and the Tammany candidate for City Hall. That labor assured their victory was openly conceded by such authoritative capitalist newspapers as the N. Y. Times, which along with virtually all other major dailies, supported the Republican ticket.

Mayor O'Dwyer gave organized

labor credit for the victory, boasting that 'the people had confidence in any one in whom labor had confidence.' This completely misplaced confidence enabled the Tammany machine, for the first time in many years, not only to elect its candidate for Mayor and other city posts without the aid of minority parties (the ALP and the Liberal Party) but also to regain its stranglehold on the City Council and other local bodies.

The vote for Marcantonio, mayoral candidate of the Stalinist-dominated ALP, fell short of 360,000, running slightly behind the number of votes cast last year for Wallace.

The Stalinist Benjamin Davis was badly defeated in the race to retain his seat on the City Council. He received less than 22,000 votes as against almost three times as many for his opponent Brown who had the backing of Democrats, Republicans and the Liberal Party.

The Liberal Party, headed by the Social Democrats whose efforts were concentrated on electing Democrat Lehman for Senator and Republican Morris for Mayor shaded the ALP vote, obtaining 372,000 in the state and close to 400,000 in the city.

Opening the way for the revival of Tammany power and the shacking of the labor vote to capitalist politicians—that has been the sum and substance of the accomplishments of the Stalinists and the Social Democrats in New York.

The vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, unavailable as we go to press, will be reported in a subsequent issue.

## Kutcher Speaks To 25 Meetings In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, Nov. 8 — James Kutcher spoke before 25 different union, fraternal and student groups and had a radio broadcast over UAW station WCUC in his second visit to this city. He was last here a year ago to speak as an invited guest of the national AVC convention, which voted to support the legless victim of the "loyalty" purge.

Kutcher was also an invited guest at the week-long CIO convention just concluded here. Arrangements were made by the local committee through Irving Abramson, CIO Eastern Regional Director, for a display of literature on the case as a convention exhibit. Kutcher himself spent a great deal of time at the display and interested large numbers of delegates in his case. It was encouraging to find how many of the delegates knew of the case and had met Kutcher in some other section of the country during his tour. Many have already placed their organizations on record in support of his case.

### BUSY SCHEDULE

On Monday, Oct. 31, besides three press interviews and a radio recording, Kutcher addressed a group of professors at Cleveland College. Tuesday, he spoke to about 80 students at Penn College. Wednesday, he spoke before UAW Local 625 and AFL Moulders Union No. 430. Thursday, he spoke before two shifts at UAW Local 337.

Friday, he spoke again before a class of students at Penn College and also before the Liberal Club and faculty at the same college. That evening he spoke before the Cleveland Federation

(Continued on page 4)

## SIU Officials Attack Trotskyists As Smokescreen for Own Crimes

By R. Bell

Members of the AFL Seafarers International Union of North America were more than a little bewildered when they opened the Nov. 4 issue of their union paper, the Seafarers Log, to find six full pages devoted to an hysterical tirade against the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) and the Militant. "Trotskyism," a screaming headline asserts, is an "Enemy of Democratic Unionism." On the other hand, the authors of the tirade in an editorial note are described, with becoming modesty, as "veterans" in the fight for trade union democracy.

Both authors, Paul Hall and Morris Weisberger, are vice-presidents of the SIU. Hall is also Secretary-Treasurer of the Atlantic and Gulf District and Weisberger is New York Port Agent of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific and personal representative of SIU President Harry Lundeberg on the east coast.

The question that must arise in the minds of SIU members is: Why all the fireworks? What terrible crimes have the Trotskyists committed to merit the personal attention of two SIU vice-presidents and six pages in the Log? Well, for one thing, the Trotskyists are accused of fighting the illegal expulsion of John Mahoney, which led the Seattle Branch of the SUP into open opposition to the bureaucratic Lundeberg machine in San Francisco. What's so undemocratic about that? Let us see!

John Mahoney, according to Hall and Weisberger, "rose at the May 23 meeting in Seattle on a point of information, 'wanting to know who gave the picards the authority to engage in strike-breaking activities, and how come the membership of the organization were not kept advised of this.'" For this "crime" Mahoney was brought on charges by the officials of the SUP in San Francisco.

Mahoney insisted on his constitutional right to be tried in Seattle according to Article XIX, Section I, of the SUP constitution which states that a trial committee "shall be elected in a port most convenient to both accused, accusers and witnesses." An identical provision is contained in the SIU constitution. We shall see later how this provision is trampled on by our "veteran" fighters for democracy at the head of the SIU!

This provision of the union constitution was framed to safeguard the elementary democratic rights of members to a fair trial with witnesses available to testify in behalf of the accused. It was conceived as a result of bitter experience in the fight against the old International Seamen's Union fakers who framed-up and railroaded militant union men through packed trial committees. Although John Mahoney committed his alleged "crime" at a regular membership meeting of

the Seattle branch, the Lundeberg faction, in violation of the constitution, demanded that Mahoney stand trial in San Francisco.

The Seattle Branch upheld Mahoney's right to a trial in that port, elected a trial committee which examined the charges, heard witnesses who were present at the time Mahoney asked his "point of information" and on the basis of the evidence returned a verdict of: Not Guilty! This did not deter Lundeberg from staging a mock trial in San Francisco before a kangaroo court and illegally expelling Mahoney from the Sailors' Union.

The same procedure was employed in expelling the Mahoney Defense Committee, Frank Lovell, pictured in the Seafarers Log as a Trotskyist demon, and several others who spoke up in support of Mahoney. And all this in the name of "trade union democracy?" No, thank you!

The debate raging around the (Continued on page 3)

# CIO Workers' Needs Slighted At Convention

## Real Problems Pushed Aside In Atmosphere of Witch-Hunt

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, Nov. 4 — The CIO's Eleventh Constitutional Convention, which this afternoon ended its five-day session in the Public Auditorium here, formally struck out of its constitution those principles of trade union democracy on which this mighty industrial union movement was founded and grew strong.

These principles were trampled underfoot as the climax of the three-year "cold war" between two bureaucratic factions. CIO President Philip Murray's machine — aided by the U. S. State Department, Big Business press and Catholic hierarchy — ruthlessly crushed the Stalinist minority, who were easy victims by virtue of their known subservience to the Kremlin and their record of betrayals of American labor.

But in the process of purging the Stalinists, the Murrayite top officials departed from CIO traditions and took for themselves exceptional bureaucratic powers

which not even the AFL Executive Council dares to usurp.

Under new constitutional amendments whipped through a convention steamed up on "communism," Murray's Executive Board now has authority previously reserved only for the delegated conventions. It can arbitrarily remove from Board membership anyone alleged to belong to the Communist Party or "other totalitarian movement," or who even "consistently pursues policies and activities" alleged to aid the aims of these movements. It can expel any affiliated international union on similar charges.

For the first time, the national CIO has set down political requirements for full CIO membership rights, through a politically discriminatory constitutional amendment barring alleged members or supporters of the Communist Party "or other totalitarian movement" from holding national CIO office. The reactionary, priest-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, however, will continue to bore from within the CIO with Murray's blessings.

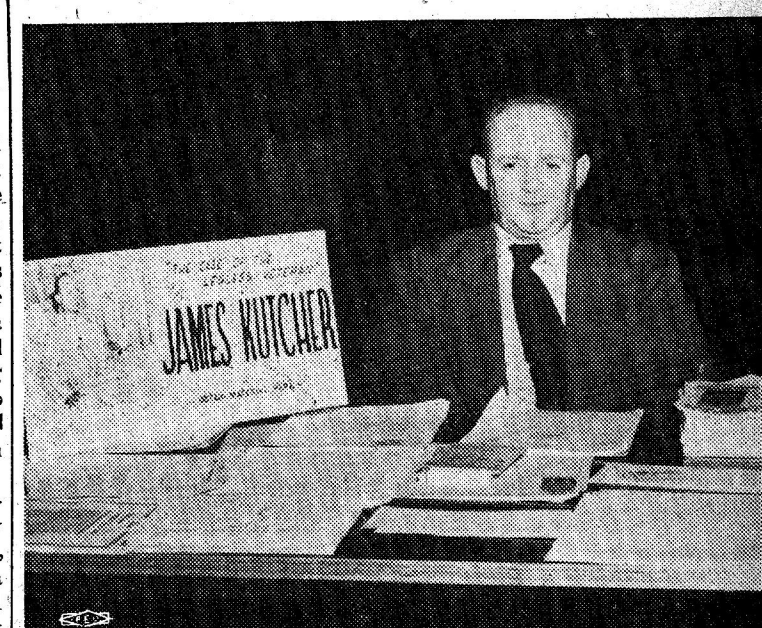
This really means that the Murray machine now has unrestricted authority to expel from the Executive Board anyone who dares to voice opinions on foreign and domestic political policies that differ from "CIO national policy," as dictated by Murray; and to disaffiliate or reorganize unions that oppose Murray's policies.

"CIO national policy" as spelled out at this convention is exclusively limited to abject support of American imperialism in every major phase of its foreign policy and to complete political subservience to the capitalist two-party system, above all, to the Truman administration.

But these anti-democratic decisions do not mean, as one Stalinist delegate inferred, that the CIO is now a totally different organization, no longer fit to serve labor. The CIO remains the main stream of industrial unionism. Its millions of members retain in their hearts and minds the principles of union democracy and militancy that the Murrays and Reuther backed out at this convention. The genuine union

It has confirmed the worst fears of the active and union-conscious strikers who bitterly opposed the Reutherite settlement and fought a last-ditch battle to reject that portion of the agreement which called for arbitrating the cases of the six unionists as well as 14 other local leaders (Continued on page 2)

### Kutcher at CIO Convention



James Kutcher, legless veteran victimized by the "loyalty" purge, is shown above at an information and literature table at the Cleveland CIO convention, where he talked with many of the delegates about his fight for reinstatement.



# SWP Party-Building Fund Drive Picks Up Speed

By Reba Aubrey  
Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign of the SWP for a \$12,000 Party Building Fund began to pick up speed during the past week. Receipts of \$1,460 brought the total received through Nov. 9 up to \$4,009. This is 33% of the goal which must be reached by Dec. 31 — three percentage points better than last week's report, but still nine points behind schedule.

Flint Branch still holds first place as the pace-setter in the campaign with 73% of its \$200 quota.

New Britain retained its hold on second place with 70% of its \$30 quota.

St. Paul - Minneapolis, after rousing meetings on the Stein tour, added 20 percentage points to their standing on the scoreboard with payments of \$192 to remain in third place against crowding pressure from six other ahead of schedule branches.

New York jumped from twelfth to fourth place. Payments of \$870 hiked New York's standing to 54%.

Other on-schedule or better branches are Allentown, Seattle, Worcester, Toledo, Buffalo.

Inspired by the visit of Morris Stein on his national tour, Seattle increased its quota from \$100 to \$200 and paid half of the revised quota on the line. The secretary, Dan Roberts, writes:

"The motivation for the increase of our branch quota is that the branch has recovered from the extreme hardships we faced right after the Boeing strike, and it is our turn now to help out where other branches are showing signs of financial distress."

H. C. Cincinnati, sends \$5 as a personal donation to the fund, and we are promised several substantial contributions from friends to boost the percentage position of the quota assigned to "general."

We are all confident that the campaign for the \$12,000 Party Building Fund will wind up with a smashing success, but it makes everybody a little nervous when weekly payments lag behind schedule. Remember the slogan of the campaign: IN FULL AND ON TIME.

## SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 145	73
New Britain	30	21	70
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	527	59
New York	3,000	1,605	54
Allentown	50	25	50
Seattle	200	100	50
Worcester	40	19	48
Toledo	75	33	44
Buffalo	500	217	43
Boston	200	72	36
St. Louis	75	27	36
Newark	350	121	35
Pittsburgh	150	50	33
Cleveland	250	67	27
San Francisco-Oakland	800	207	26
Detroit	1,000	264	24
New Haven	25	6	24
Philadelphia	600	115	19
Los Angeles	1,500	275	18
Youngstown	400	46	16
Lynn	75	10	13
Chicago	400	45	11
Akron	100	0	0
Milwaukee	250	0	0
Morgantown	25	0	0
General	705	12	2
<b>TOTAL through Nov. 9</b>	<b>\$12,000</b>	<b>4,009</b>	<b>33</b>

## Successful Meetings for M. Stein In Detroit, Chicago, Twin Cities

DETROIT, Nov. 7 — A well-attended meeting of workers and students heard Morris Stein, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on the Stalin-Tito conflict at the SWP hall here.

Stein gave a vivid outline of the friction which had existed between the Kremlin and the Titoists since the early part of World War II. The basis of this hostility was explained by Stein as stemming from the existence of an independent revolutionary mass movement in Yugoslavia.

"In the sixteen months since the open break, the Stalinists have telescoped all the methods and practices of repression and slander which they first unleashed against Trotsky and his supporters many years ago. Stalin has no interest in the needs of the Yugoslav masses, but wishes only to keep it in backwardness in order better to plunder and dominate the country for the benefit of the totalitarian Kremlin caste. In the struggle between Stalin and Tito, we defend the Tito regime unconditionally," Stein said.

In keeping with the democratic practices of the Trotskyists, the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion. Among the questions were some by a reporter from the Stalinist Michigan Worker. He presented as good coin a statement by Blair Moody, Washington columnist of the reactionary Detroit News, that the U. S. had established military bases in Yugoslavia. Stein pointed out that this was a capitalist propaganda lie which the CP was willing to pay for its own purposes.

The Stalinist was given a chance to ask additional questions, which he did. He was also invited to take the floor in discussion, but declined, stating he was merely carrying out an assignment for his paper. Stein closed by summarizing events in Yugoslavia and contrasting them with the other Balkan countries.

The audience contributed \$33 in the collection for party building activities and adjourned to informal discussion and refreshments. Tonight Stein will address the Student League for Industrial Democracy on the Wayne University Campus.

CHICAGO, Nov. 5 — Morris Stein, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was enthusiastically received here on his national tour. At a well-attended meeting in the Midland Hotel, he gave a splendid talk on the Stalin-Tito conflict, after which a large part of the audience

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(Cont. from page 1)

militants will continue to fight inside the CIO to restore its founding principles.

No small part of the Murray machine's success in subverting these principles lay in the abysmal and indefensible record of the Stalinists. The Stalinist crimes were the most potent weapon in the hands of the Murrays and Reuthers at this convention.

The CIO leaders diverted attention from their own miserable record by directing a tremendous barrage at the Stalinist record, particularly during the war when the Stalinists surpassed even the old-line union bureaucrats in their collaboration with the employers and the capitalist government to break strikes and beat down the workers.

But Murray and the other top leaders also attacked the Stalinists for valid criticisms that genuine militants and loyal CIO members, far more than the Stalinists, have raised—collaboration with the government "fact-finding" machinery to whittle down union demands; acceptance of a wage freeze; covering-up for the Truman administration's reactionary policies; failure to wage an uncompromising, all-out fight for Taft-Hartley repeal, etc.

## "CRIME OF CRIMES"

Above all, Murray revealed he was able to tolerate and work with the Stalinists, despite all their rotten sell-outs and methods, until the Stalinists stopped their open support of Washington's foreign policy. That, in the eyes of the labor lieutenants of American imperialism, is the "crime of crimes."

The first three days of the convention were devoted largely to the issue of "communism" and the purge of the Stalinists. Even the guest speakers — including Secretary of State Acheson, Chief of Staff Bradley, Secretary of Labor Tobin and Archbishop Hoban — were part of the build-up and propaganda for the purge.

The only real debates occurred on the purge amendments and the resolution to expel the United Electrical Workers, whose leaders had already crawled out of the convention without a fight. The convention just wasn't geared for a discussion of the workers' problems; its atmosphere was that of a witch-hunt. There certainly was no attempt by the Murrayite leaders to make an honest appraisal of the weaknesses and shortcomings of their policies.

## CP ARGUMENTS

In opening the fight Tuesday morning against the amendment to bar members of the Communist Party from national CIO office, John Stanley of the Office and Professional Workers cited Murray's assurances at the 1946 convention that he was opposed to any witch-hunts. Stanley charged that the purge amendments "dictate to individual international unions whom they shall choose to represent, and what by-laws they shall or shall not adopt, under the pain of punitive action."

Ben Gold, head of the Fur and Leather Workers, also quoted Murray's statements against witch-hunts at the 1946 convention — the convention that passed the anti-Communist "Declaration of Principles" that Gold and the other Stalinist delegates had abjectly voted for. But he drew laughter when he claimed that "there is not another union that can challenge our [fur workers] union so far as democracy is concerned."

Longshoremen's President Harry Bridges, who was the principal Stalinist spokesman, also boasted of the "democracy" in his union. He put on an air of defiance, shouting that "to get rid of us you are going to have to throw us out" and "I am not afraid of the ILWU's ability to stand alone if need be. We'll get by. We'll get by!"

Joseph P. Selly, American Communications Association president, argued that the amendment violated "the democratic rights of the rank and file." He asked, "Why have we spent more time debating the question of enacting a little Taft-Hartley law into the CIO constitution than on the bread and butter, life and death questions?"

Murrayite Replies

But the Stalinist forces had come to the convention with clean hands. The top guns of the Murray brigade — mainly ex-radicals, ex-socialists and ex-Stalinists — were able to blast the Stalinists on their known union record in this country and on Stalinist totalitarianism abroad.

Textile Workers President Emil Rieve, who led off for the Murrayites, was able to exclaim: "Unity, democracy! What crimes are committed in this name! They have unity in Czechoslovakia."



CIO President Philip Murray hands James B. Carey charter for International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, signalling a civil war with the expelled UE.

They have unity in Russia, but I don't want any part of that type of unity." Of course, he didn't say how he liked the unity of the American-armed Greek monarcho-militarist dictatorship.

The next defender of the amendment was National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran, who served Stalinism so well for ten years, especially during the war when he tied the CIO seamen to the vicious government and opposed strikes. He now recalled sarcastically how the Communist Party in 1944 "decided that it need no longer carry on the policy of all-out struggle against the employers; that it need not continue the all-out struggle for a revolution of the proletariat, but . . . the time had come for a program of collaboration with the boss and that Socialism could be reached through collaboration with the boss."

REUTHER "FORGETS"

United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther, who had the self-protective instinct to keep silent throughout the convention on his recent Ford contract, went the furthest in attacking the Stalinists from the "left." He told how the Stalinists "were willing to lay our union on the altar of sacrifice and they tried to initiate piece-work and speed-up in every plant." Reuther "forgot" to mention his own support of the no-strike pledge and "equality of sacrifice."

He answered Bridges by pointing to the latter's strikebreaking against the Montgomery Ward workers — which Bridges didn't attempt to deny.

Transport Workers Union President Michael Quill, who deserted Stalinism for the Murray bandwagon less than a year ago, suddenly discovered that "as far back as 1940" he had "warned the Party" to change its tactics. He was able to rub it into the UE leaders: "They have walked out, they have deserted the fight. They didn't come in here with the Bridges and the others and stand up and be counted."

As for Murray, he scornfully pointed out that Bridges in 1945 proposed that the CIO "agree not to have any strikes in our unions for five years after the war. I wonder if Mr. Bridges submitted that proposition to his rank and file before he made it to the CIO Executive Board." Murray added he didn't know where Bridges got that "screw" idea, maybe he thought it up himself, maybe he got it from Moscow, but "I'm damned sure he didn't get it from his rank and file."

Murray conceded, however, that he found the Stalinists tolerable "from Dec. 7, 1941, until Aug. 7, 1945" and didn't really get the notion to expel them until they refused to go along with Truman's foreign policy or to back him in the last elections.

The discussion on the purge continued on Wednesday around the resolution to expel the United Electrical Workers, whose leaders had supplied the legal pretext by walking out of the convention and announcing they would no longer pay the CIO per capita tax.

Bridges again took the lead for the opposition, stating that the UE was not accused of not doing "a job for its members" on wages, hours and working conditions, but of opposing the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact and of disagreeing with Murray on political matters. He charged that "you are asked to expel an organization without trial." But he ruefully admitted that "I regret the UE delegates are not here today. I

bring down the line on every major step of American imperialist foreign policy, with a few complaints that in no wise negated its complete acquiescence in the basic Wall Street-Washington program.

Bridges, speaking for the Stalinist opposition, claimed that it "is not the so-called aims and objectives" of the ERP "that are in question so much, but the techniques and tactics used to achieve these aims." He complained that the resolution blamed everything on Russia, but said nothing about British and French imperialism. But he noticeably evaded a discussion of American imperialism and did not attempt to give a real analysis of the nature of imperialist war, flowing from the capitalist monopoly profit system and its struggles for markets, raw materials and fields for profitable capital investments.

Bridges was answered by Harry Martin, of the Newspaper Guild, and Baldanzi, who painted the atomic diplomacy and war preparations of Wall Street as pure "humanitarianism" and demanded to know why Bridges didn't ever find any fault with the Kremlin's foreign policy.

There was neither time nor inclination to devote any real discussion to the important resolutions on Taft-Hartley, political action, wage policy, etc. No attempt was made to give critical examination to CIO policies in these vital matters affecting the workers.

Two resolutions were adopted which concluded that the CIO "must vigorously pursue" the fight for higher wages; but neither mentioned the fact that Murray in steel and Reuther in auto had set the "pattern" for long-term, wage-freeze contracts.

The resolution to "re-dedicate" the CIO to fight for Taft-Hartley repeal offered no real program of action, made no criticism of the compromises and retreats of the Truman Democrats and was silent about the lobbying of CIO representatives for the Sims "compromise" bill that included the use of injunctions. The resolution complained about the NLRB being "biased against labor" and securing 54 Taft-Hartley injunctions. But it did not note that

these are all Truman appointees or that Truman himself had used T-H injunctions against the coal miners and railroad workers.

The resolution on "Political Action" conceals the failures of the Truman administration; glosses over the reactionary character of the Democratic-controlled 81st Congress; and proposes to continue the bankrupt policy of supporting candidates of both major capitalist parties provided they "are pledged to an aggressive, liberal democratic purpose" — that is, provided they are good at making election promises.

## THE CIO MEMBERSHIP

Scarcely a half dozen delegates, other than International Board members, got the floor at this convention. Guest speakers consumed a third of the time, and Murray consumed another third with long-winded orations at the drop of a hat. This convention didn't represent the rank and file; it didn't speak for them; it didn't act for them.

The only opposition, unfortunately, was the Stalinists, a discredited, bureaucratic clique. They reaped the harvest of their many crimes against labor and wound up their 13-year career in the CIO without friends or influence. They made a few pitiful gestures and then folded.

But the Murray leadership need not think it has solved its problems merely by purging the Stalinists. Murray and Reuther must still answer to the CIO membership, who want action on their vital economic and social problems. They will not be satisfied with talk and lip service.

They are going to demand a real CIO national policy against wage freezes, long-term contracts, dirty deals with and dependence on capitalist politicians. They are going to demand fundamental solutions to economic crises, unemployment, war. And when they speak up — as they will, as they have in the past — the Murray machine won't find it so easy to silence them as it did the Stalinists.

And if Murray and his lieutenants don't produce, there will be a day of reckoning and a new leadership in the CIO — purge amendments notwithstanding.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### New Haven, Cleveland First to Top Quotas In Sub Campaign

First branch of the Socialist Workers Party to go over the top in the campaign for subscriptions to The Militant was New Haven. With a goal of 15, the New Haven comrades chalked up 20 points the first week, giving them 133%. On one excursion to the campus at Yale, the branch sold out all copies of recent issues of the paper, writes Literature Agent N. S. "Now we are in a predicament. We have a mobilization scheduled to whop up new subscriptions. The branch is raring to go. And no papers on hand. Never a dull moment!"

New Haven ordered extras and increased their bundle order during the campaign so as not to get caught short again.

Cleveland shares the spotlight for fulfilling their quota early in the campaign. A total of 16 points gave them 107% of their goal of 15. Literature Agent Bob Kingsley reports that the branch is conducting a two-pronged drive: soliciting subs house-to-house and from "individuals in the labor movement who, we believe, would benefit by reading America's leading socialist weekly." Among the sub-getters, "Sally C. has once again demonstrated her talent in door-to-door sales of The Militant. She sold two 6-months subs in only one half hour."

Bob commends The Militant for its "ability to hit the bull's-eye. It seems to improve every week." Boston began its work in the campaign with calls on former subscribers. Literature Agent Rena Breshi reports that renewals were obtained from readers who had permitted their subscriptions to lapse as long ago as 1945. With 66% of their goal completed, the Boston comrades seem to have struck pay dirt.

Winifred Nelson, Militant Agent for the St. Paul branch sent in a batch of subs obtained by E. B. M. S., P. C., D. S. and herself to ring the bell for a resounding 63% in the first week of the campaign.

Reporting for Philadelphia, Literature Agent G. L. C. writes that subs came slowly in the first efforts but that a number of

single copies of the paper were sold. In addition, the comrades took advantage of the neighborhood visiting to invite people to a meeting and a social. "More contacts were made than subs sold." The leading sub-getters so far "are Sol with six 6-months renewals to his credit and Goldie with three 3-months special introductory subs."

Literature Agent D. Woods of San Francisco reports that the campaign was launched there with distributions of sample copies of The Militant in selected areas. A leaflet telling about the paper mentions that a personal call will be made later for a subscription. Each subscriber is given a free copy of The Voice of Socialism. Besides the subs, the comrades have "sold quite a few pamphlets."

A number of branches have not yet written us about the progress of their local campaign work. Don't hoard the subs! Send them in promptly so that the new subscribers can get their Militant as soon as possible.

All readers of The Militant are invited to participate in this campaign. Tell your friends and acquaintances about America's leading socialist weekly. Tell them about the articles you have found of unusual value. Ask them to subscribe. A three-months introductory subscription is only 50c. Credit for subs you send in will go to the nearest Socialist Workers Party branch in your area.

Branch	Goal	Points	%
New Haven	15	20	133
Cleveland	15	16	107
Boston	15	10	66
St. Paul	35	22	63
Worcester	20	8	40
Flint	50	17	34
Philadelphia	75	25	33
San Francisco	35	11	31
Pittsburgh	25	6	24
Toledo	25	6	24
Milwaukee	25	4	16
Newark	50	8	16
St. Louis	10	1	10
Youngstown	20	2	10
Detroit	50	4	8
Los Angeles	250	19	8
New York	300	17	6
Minneapolis	75	4	5
Buffalo	100	2	2
Akron	25	0	0
Allentown	10	0	0
Chicago	60	0	0
Morgantown	10	0	0
New Britain	10	0	0
Oakland	30	0	0
Seattle	15	0	0
General		4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,350</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>15</b>

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Monday, November 14, 1949



TROTSKY

"The life of monopolistic capitalism in our time is a chain of crises. Each crisis is a catastrophe. The need of salvation from these partial catastrophes by means of tariff walls, inflation, increase of government spending, and debts lays the ground for additional, deeper and more widespread crises. The struggle for markets, for raw materials, for colonies makes military catastrophes unavoidable. All in all, they prepare revolutionary catastrophes. Truly, it is not easy to agree with Sombart that aging capitalism becomes increasingly 'calm, sedate and reasonable.' It would be more apt to say that it is losing its last vestige of reason."

—Leon Trotsky, Living Thoughts of Marx, 1939



LENIN

## The Policy for UE Members

The United Electrical Workers Union is in turmoil and chaos now as the split extends in one form or another into virtually every local and as the leaders of the two groups maneuver and fight — through expulsion of their opponents, by application for court injunctions — for control of the locals' members, finances and contracts.

The responsibility for this criminal split rests on the leaders of both groups — the Murray-Carey bureaucracy which has instituted a witch-hunt in the unions in the interests of the State Department's foreign policy, and the Stalinist bureaucracy which has embarked on a third labor federation adventure in the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. Both sides violate union democracy, neither side is concerned with the real interests of the workers in the electrical industry.

But the split is taking place despite the wishes of a majority of the UE members, and the question facing them now is whether or not to remain in the CIO. We think there can be only one answer for the militants. And that is to take their place on the side of the CIO — to fight on the one hand, in cooperation with all other forces having the same objective, to keep the electrical workers within the mainstream of the industrial union movement; and to fight on the other hand to preserve and extend democracy within that movement.

## Will You Contribute?

Have you been following the progress of the \$12,000 Party-Building Fund campaign being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party? Have you observed the determination of each local branch to fulfill its quota before the campaign closes on Jan. 1?

The SWP members have shouldered a tremendous task and they need — and deserve — help from every reader of *The Militant*. For they are working in your interests and striving to bring about the kind of America you want to live in.

The capitalist political machines are financed by patronage and the sale of public office, by subsidies from the rich and the corporations. They exploit the hopes and illusions of the working people but they neither serve the masses nor depend upon them.

The Socialist Workers Party is an entirely different kind of party and operates on entirely different principles. It has no ties whatsoever with Big Business or anyone who upholds the capitalist system.

There is no future for a third labor federation led by the Stalinists, even if they are able to patch one together temporarily, because they have discredited themselves badly among union-conscious workers by their anti-labor record in the unions and by their subservience to the reactionary policies of Moscow. To follow them out of the industrial union movement would isolate the electrical workers from their chief allies in the mass production industries and further weaken the labor movement as a whole.

Working energetically to keep the electrical workers within the CIO does not mean endorsement of the Murray leadership's red-baiting and pro-imperialist policies, nor does it imply any lessening in opposition to those ruinous policies. On the contrary, the UE militants will be able to fight against those policies more effectively by remaining within the CIO than by following the suicidal path of the Stalinists.

The split was a crime against the working class whose pernicious effects will be felt for some time to come. The way to prevent this crime from being transformed into a disaster for the electrical workers is by their repudiation of Stalinist adventurism and isolationism, their collaboration with pro-CIO forces in the re-unification of their union, and their continuation of the struggle within the CIO for democracy and against political discrimination.

The Socialist Workers Party stands firmly on the side of the labor movement and participates to the maximum of its forces and resources in every one of its struggles. Thereby it earns the hostility of every enemy of the workers.

The Socialist Workers Party draws no color lines, wholeheartedly believes in full equality, and fights for the brotherhood of man. It cannot expect anything but hatred from the real estate interests, banks and Dixiecrats who enforce discrimination and profit from it.

The Socialist Workers Party has only one main source of support. That is those working people who want to put an end to wars, depressions, poverty, segregation, anti-labor laws.

As a reader of *The Militant*, you have become acquainted with the aims, activities and program of the SWP. Now do your share in speeding a Socialist America by giving to its \$12,000 Fund. Mail your contribution today to Fund Campaign Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

# The Yugoslavs and a 'Fifth International'

By George Clarke

In an interview with the press on Nov. 3, Milovan Djilas, member of the Politburo of the Yugoslav Communist Party, flatly denied the many rumors that the Titoites are organizing a "Fifth International." Djilas is one of Marshal Tito's most intimate aides.

"Yugoslavia," he stated, "is firmly opposed to the formation of any new Communist or similar international. This stand emanates from our general viewpoint that the workers' and democratic movement should develop independently, on the basis of conditions prevailing in, and the situation of, their countries."

This policy statement is a highly significant indication of the direction and quality of political thinking in the Yugoslav upper circles.

Tito's main strategy in the past several months has been to exploit the "cold war" for Yugoslavia's advantage without capitulating to American imperialism. His most important achievement, besides certain economic concessions, was to prevent a deal between Moscow and Washington at Yugoslavia's expense. By this strategy the Yugoslavs have been successful in winning a temporary respite in their struggle with the Kremlin. Stalin has delayed his assault but has by no means given it up. Washington is merely awaiting the opportunity to convert Yugoslavia into another Greece.

Yet the statements of the Yugoslav UN delegation give the impression that they believe the present unstable relationships can last indefinitely. How else can one interpret their absurd and misleading declarations which proclaim that the thieves' den, the UN, is an instrument for peace and that antagonistic social systems can live together peacefully?

The activities of the Titoites in the international workers' movement lend weight to this interpretation. Delegations of dissident Stalinist workers and intellectuals from France, Italy and other countries have been flocking to Belgrade at the invitation of the government. These visits are helping to expose the lies and slanders of the Kremlin. They are building a circle of support for Yugoslavia in the working class of other countries which alone is capable of providing genuine support both against the Russian bureaucrats and against world imperialism.

Yet without a revolutionary and anti-Stalinist program of struggle against capitalism in their own countries, the effectiveness of such movements is strictly limited. They become border guards for Yugoslavia which are useful only so long as the present relationship of forces in the world continues and no longer. In creating such border guards the Titoites are following the example of Stalin, not of Lenin. The Soviet Republic was saved from intervention in its early years by the revolutionary assistance of the workers of the world who identified their own struggle for socialism with support to the Soviet Union. It was Stalin's perversion of this internationalist program which led to the degeneration of the world communist movement and to the present attack against Yugoslavia.

Djilas opposes the formation of an international organization because he says the workers' movements "would only be retarded by a centralized world leadership." This statement flies in the face of the experience of the international movement, and of the practical needs of the workers movement today.

The Second International collapsed in the first world war not because of centralism but because of its reformist and social patriotic tendencies, which developed into full-fledged treachery on August 4, 1914. The "independence" of the national Social Democratic parties facilitated this betrayal.

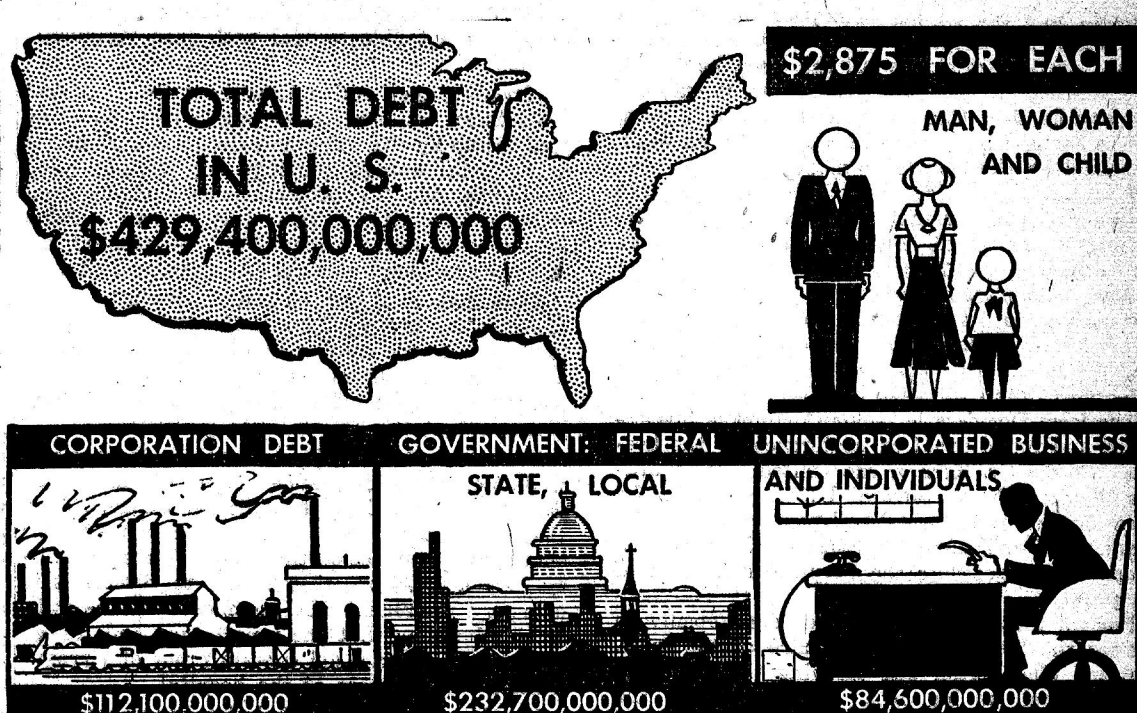
The Third International under Lenin and Trotsky corrected this political and organizational defect by building a world movement based on a revolutionary program. Its centralism was the centralism of equals. All parties had the democratic right to decide the policies of the Communist International — whose Congresses were held every year until Lenin's death — and were expected to carry them out after the world movement had made its decisions. The influence of the Russian Bolsheviks was indeed great but it was exercised by persuasion and superior argument, not by organizational manipulation.

The Comintern degenerated under Stalin because its centralized authority was exercised by bureaucratic means. Order by command replaced democratic decision, bribery and intimidation replaced persuasion until finally in the midst of World War II it was completely dissolved. But the bureaucratic perversion of centralism in the Third International was not a cause but an effect — the result of placing the interests of the Russian bureaucracy over those of the world revolution.

In essence therefore the betrayals and collapse of the centralized Stalinist International was brought on by the same nationalist causes and policies that wrecked the un-centralized Social Democratic Second International. The Titoites cannot escape the degeneration that overcame the Social Democracy and the Stalinists without taking the road of Lenin's Third International, represented in the world today by the Trotskyist Fourth International. There is no middle road.

Moreover, it is impossible to effectively combat the bureaucratic world power of the Kremlin on the one side and American imperialism on the other without an international organization. No national movement can long maintain its political and organizational independence against this overwhelming pressure. The strongest international organization is the best guarantee of the revolutionary survival and effectiveness of the workers movement in the various countries.

The Titoites are now intervening in the world workers' movement under a delusion that it can be used as a supplement to their diplomatic maneuvers. Events — and the momentum given to the split in the Stalinist parties — will force them to confront the real program of Marxist Internationalism, i.e., Trotskyism.



The total U. S. debt, including government, business and individuals, is higher than at any previous time, according to the Commerce Department's compilation for the beginning of 1949. This chart breaks it down for groups.

## Washington's Formula For "Unifying" Europe

By John G. Wright

The Western European countries have been warned by Washington that they must take immediate steps to "integrate" their economies or face the suspension of further Marshall Plan payments. This was the gist of the speech delivered on Oct. 31 by Paul G. Hoffman, ECA Administrator, before the Council of Economic Cooperation in Paris.

Hoffman's threat was immediately backed up semi-officially by a "high authority" in Washington who was quoted in the press as declaring that Congress will not be asked for "a third Marshall Plan appropriation unless Western European governments can agree by January [1950] on a plan of economic integration that cuts across present state boundaries." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 1.)

What the American imperialists are demanding is the restoration of free trade in Europe, or as Hoffman put it, "the formation of a single large market within which quantitative restrictions on the movement of goods, monetary barriers to the flow of payments, and, eventually, all tariffs are permanently swept away."

### A NEW DEMAND

There was no such provision made in the original agreements with the Western European countries who are recipients of Marshall aid. This is obviously a new and emergency measure suddenly decided upon by Washington. It will figure prominently in the discussions scheduled last week between the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and the United States.

After hearing Hoffman's speech, the OEEC directors, that is, the assembled foreign and financial ministers of the member nations, drafted a resolution formally approving the "goal" of

European unification, without taking a single significant practical step in that direction.

The primary source of Europe's instability and weakness is unquestionably its economic dismemberment, with its crazy patchwork of national frontiers, tariff and customs barriers, conflicting national interests, and the like. The economic pulverization and splitting up of Germany has brought the chronic crisis of European capitalism to the point of explosion.

Two years of Marshall aid, while temporarily stabilizing the capitalist regimes politically, have solved none of the basic economic problems. The eruption of the devaluation crisis was at the same time striking proof of the utter inadequacy of the Marshall Plan. American imperialism is thus compelled to grapple with the historic task of "organizing," that is, unifying Europe economically.

### PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS

It is not the first time that the forces of capitalist reaction have sought to solve the task which springs not from any schemes of diplomacy or from political maneuvering but from the overriding economic needs of Europe itself.

Europe's jumbled economy was one of the major causes for the outbreak of the first imperialist war. German capitalism chased the will-o'-the-wisp of "organizing" Europe under the scepter of the Kaiser. The old continent emerged from the war still further dismembered under the Treaty of Versailles.

This did not prevent the old League of Nations from convening economic conferences, pursuing exactly the same aim as that avowed by Hoffman in Paris, namely, the restoration of free trade in Europe. The result then was an actual multiplication of

tariffs, and other trade barriers. In 1929 Premier Briand of France engaged in a series of intricate diplomatic maneuvers to "unify" Europe economically. Exactly nothing came of it.

It was the German Nazis who next took up where the Kaiser and his generals left off — they contemplated "organizing" Europe under the swastika and failed even more miserably than did their predecessors.

### COMPLETELY BANKRUPT

Out of the second world war, Europe has emerged as a completely bankrupt capitalist enterprise, unable to subsist without alms from the American colossus. But the ECA billions are simply swallowed up by the bottomless drain that European capitalism represents. It is the belated recognition of the futility of the ECA that has impelled Washington to embark on its new course.

Under the pressure of Washington the European states will no doubt endeavor to coordinate their forces and resources. But national boundaries and the conflicting interests of the native capitalists set very narrow limits to the scope of this coordination. Even assuming that European capitalist economies can move toward ever increasing rationalization, they must run up — as they already have — against the need and determination of American capitalism to leave their European junior partners an ever smaller section of the world market.

The economic unification and advancement of Europe is a task beyond the powers of American capitalism. For Europe unification and progress are possible only on socialist foundations, through the abolition of capitalist property relations and of outworn national boundaries and the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe.

## 'Fact-Finders' to the Rescue

Reports persist that the White House is considering compulsory arbitration in the coal strike, either through the Taft-Hartley Law or the naming of a "fact-finding" board. Such an order would be a strikebreaking move against the miners who have already sacrificed so much to wrest a satisfactory settlement from the coal barons.

The function of government "fact-finding" boards is to remove the center of struggle from the pits and picket lines to the closed chambers of a conference room. There, behind a screen of fake "impartiality," the government accomplices of the bosses connive to whittle down the workers' demands and issue decisions which can be wielded as a club to force a settlement cheating the strikers of their just demands.

In the steel negotiations, for example, Truman's "fact-finding" board held that, although the steel magnates had made record profits, they could not be expected to grant any wage raise to the workers who had produced the greatest tonnage of steel in peacetime history. The purpose of this decision was not only to deny a wage increase in steel but to fix the official pattern for a wage-freeze in the fourth-round negotiations throughout basic industry.

The corporations however comply with government recommendations only as it suits their interests. Despite the steel

board's wage-freeze and meager recommendations on pensions and social insurance, the steel companies refused to accept the steel board's terms. It has taken a prolonged strike to compel Bethlehem Steel and others to yield on these recommendations. As owners of the major coal companies, however, these same steel corporations are clamoring for "fact-finding" intervention in the mine strike.

Another instance of the dangers of relying upon arbitration through government boards has just been provided at the Buffalo Bell Aircraft local of the United Auto Workers which waged a fierce four-month battle against union-busting assaults by the company, police and strikebreakers. The strike ended Oct. 17 when international union officials agreed to abide by the decisions of a state arbitration board on the disputed issues.

Last week this board decided against rehiring six prominent militants and strike leaders on the pretext that they were "poor security risks." Here we also see how the Truman administration's political blacklist is used as a union-crippling device.

Unionists must be on guard against the intervention of these government agencies. As one union leader remarked: "I know why they're called fact-finding boards. Because in fact they find against the workers every time!"

## SIU Officials Issue Smokescreen Attack

(Continued from page 1)

issue of democratic rights for Mahoney and his supporters tends to obscure the underlying conflict over questions of trade union policy and principle. How else explain the violent reaction of the union leadership to a "point of information" asked by a member at a regular membership meeting? How explain the ferocious assault, the savage reprisals, visited on Mahoney and his supporters? The question must have winged its way to a very tender spot. It did!

The two vice-presidents writing in the Seafarers Log explain: "The Seattle beef had its beginning during the time the Seafarers International Union (and its component parts, the SUP, A.G., etc.) was putting its entire organizational efforts into beating back the commie Canadian Seamen's Union, when that outfit called a phony strike against ships contracted to the Canadian District of the SIU."

The one thing wrong with that statement is the failure to point out that the signing of the SIU "contract" was announced only AFTER the CSU pulled its men out on strike against the Canadian shipowners. When negotiations between the Canadian Seamen's Union and the shipowners became deadlocked the men struck to enforce their demands. It was at this point that the shipowners announced they

had signed a "sweetheart" agreement with the SIU on terms previously rejected by the CSU, thus attempting to transform the dispute into a jurisdictional fight.

It later leaked out that representatives of the SIU were in contact with the Canadian shipowners during the progress of negotiations with the CSU. This would explain the unyielding attitude of the operators who arrogantly refused to grant any of the demands of the CSU and forced the strike.

The "veteran" fighters for trade union democracy in the leadership of the SIU-SUP never bothered to consult the seamen involved. They were determined, you see, to "liberate" the Canadian seamen from the "totalitarian" bonds of "communism," whether they liked it or not.

Never did seamen put up a more determined and heroic struggle against their would-be "liberators." They walked off ships in ports around the world. Hundreds were jailed, beaten and several strikers murdered in a magnificent struggle against the capitalist police, court injunctions, troops and professional strikebreakers in half a dozen countries.

Longshoremen in Great Britain, France, Italy, Australia, New Zealand, etc., refused to work cargo on ships with fink crews. Scabs flown to Australia to man ships struck by CSU men had to

be flown back again to Canada. Deckers in Great Britain refused to work struck Canadian ships and were locked out by the British employers. This impressive demonstration of solidarity with their Canadian brothers persisted despite tremendous pressure from the Labor Government and in defiance of their own officials.

Never, we repeat, have seamen fought so tenaciously on a world scale in defense of their own union. Yet, we are asked to believe, all this was nothing but a "phony strike against ships contracted to the Canadian District of the SIU." If the CSU strike was a "phony" we have never seen the real thing. But the odds against the Canadian seamen were too great. After months of resistance they were starved and beaten back to the ships and forced to join the Canadian SIU to keep their jobs.

The payoff was not long in coming. In a brief item published in the Oct. 26 N. Y. Times under a Montreal dateline we read: "Canadian deep-sea shipowners said today they had ordered ships' crews reduced by six as an economy measure to place Canadian shipping on an equal footing with that of other maritime nations."

"The move was approved by Hal C. Banks, Canadian director of the Seafarers International Union (AFL), which holds con-

tracts with the deep-sea operators."

Neither the Seafarers Log nor the West Coast Sailors, nor any of the top officials of the SIU in this country breathed a word of this to their membership. And if any member was foolish enough to ask a "point of information" on this matter you can rest assured he would be given the "Mahoney treatment."

To appreciate the significance of the Canadian deal it should be pointed out that if an official of any seafaring union in this country dared "approve," or even propose, a reduction in the manning scale of six men per ship in this period of acute industry-wide unemployment, he would be faced immediately with a full-scale rank and file revolt. Today in Canada it can pass with scarcely a ripple. And this is just the first instalment. How can it be otherwise? Upon whom can SIU director, Hal C. Banks, depend in a struggle with the Canadian shipowners? The men forced to crawl back to the ships are consumed with burning hatred for those who broke their strike. The others, the dupes who were misled into finking, are as yet only good for breaking strikes, not for winning fights against the shipowners. The dockers, who struck in solidarity with the Canadian seamen, have only the most profound scorn and contempt for those they consider strikebreak-

ers. Under the circumstances, to "approve" whatever the Canadian shipowners propose, is the better part of wisdom.

Is it any wonder that the Lundberg-Hall-Weisberger machine is extremely touchy about any "points of information" dealing with their unsavory role in the Canadian Seamen's strike? A full and free discussion of the entire affair in which all facts would be placed before the membership for their judgment would be fatal to the policy of "canibal" unionism practiced by the SIU-SUP leadership.

Therefore, members who ask questions are expelled so that others will be intimidated into keeping quiet. Only one side, the official side, is presented in the Seafarers Log and West Coast Sailors, with all dissenting opinion suppressed under a rigid censorship. Members are warned not to read The Defender published by the Mahoney Defense Committee. And to top it all, a bogeyman is trotted out, garbed in a fabric woven of fantasy and falsehood labelled "Trotskyism," to frighten the seamen into believing that this apparition is the real threat to democratic unionism.

We shall return to this subject in a subsequent article in which other of our alleged "crimes" are taken apart to see what they look like.



# The Euman-Washington Case

By John Rossi

Several months ago two Negro miners engaged in a fight at Osage, W. Va. One of them, Bill Euman, was cut on the artery of his left arm and rushed to a hospital. There he waited an hour or so, bleeding profusely all the time, before he was treated. When finally cared for, it was too late and he died. The other, Howard Washington, was arrested and, because Bill Euman was dead, was held on the charge of murder.

Two things are clear from this: A good part of the cause of Euman's death was due to the hospital's negligence. Furthermore, such a case of negligence is of paramount interest to the miners, who have raised the question of health and safety to its present importance in their struggles. Wouldn't it be a mockery to fight so well for safety provisions but ignore the common safeguard of an efficient hospital?

The local Democratic Labor Committee investigated and found proof of negligence by the hospital. So did Dr. Kerr of the United Mine Workers Welfare Fund. Several UMW locals in the area also felt the hospital had been guilty of misconduct. Mrs. Euman, the wife of the deceased, prepared to prosecute the hospital, convinced of its guilt.

For all that, nothing has been done openly to charge the hospital with its share of the guilt. Howard Washington was carrying the hospital's load as well as his own. Why? Because the miners' own District, the central headquarters of the UMW locals in the region, stifled the story. Briefly, this is what happened:

After the DLC unearthed some of the incriminating facts, Dr. Kerr proposed they submit their report to the District before doing anything else. This was done. Weeks passed, but nothing happened. And then when Washington's local union

was going to take steps to help him, the all-mighty District intervened and decreed that it could do nothing to help him; its lawyers, you see, were not able to deal with such "criminal" cases.

However, they reckoned without the rank and file miners and the Negro people. A committee was set up by the white and Negro miners in the area, with women participating. They called themselves the "Bill Euman-Howard Washington Defense Committee." Their purpose was to raise money to help Mrs. Euman fight the hospital and to clear Washington of the unjust murder charge.

Their efforts to get the story straight bore unexpected fruit: the DLC and the District, hoping to forestall any further investigation, published a belated "report" in the press. By giving only one part of their total report, they left the impression that the hospital was guiltless.

But the rank and filers persisted. They ran a well-attended performance of professional spiritual singers and further publicized the case. Then they charged the DLC with "kowtowing to big shots" by its silence on the hospital's responsibility. At a DLC meeting called to discuss this charge, a prominent DLC member made the awkward admission that the report they had turned over to the District did contain proof of "irregularities" on the part of the hospital.

Needless to say, this admission has stirred new interest in the case, and led to the request by various UMW locals for the publication of the full report. The miners, suffering from the highest of casualty rates, endangered by the inefficiency of the hospital, don't see why they should be checked from correcting the situation by their own organization.

# The Indonesian Agreement

By Charles Hanley

Exhausted by their long and costly military effort in Indonesia and confronted with their inability to crush the Indonesian struggle for independence, the Dutch imperialists have finally arrived at a deal with the representatives of the Indonesian bourgeoisie.

They recognize the "United States of Indonesia," a patchwork of 16 "states" and autonomous areas, with the status of New Guinea left "undetermined." This includes the Indonesian Republic (with authority over Sumatra and part of Java) and a conglomeration of 15 other states and areas, formerly known as "Federalist Indonesia." The Dutch have also promised to withdraw all their troops, and have already released a number of Indonesian prisoners.

This solution follows in many respects the pattern of the British-Indian agreement: an enfeebled imperialism, no longer able to dominate its richest colony militarily and politically, slices up the territory and transfers the government authority to various segments of the native bourgeoisie; at the same time, being careful to save the "main things," namely, its investments, its markets, its privileged economic position. From direct domination and exploitation under the age-long colonial system, it switches over to indirect rule and economic domination of a "self-governing dominion," i.e., a semi-colony where the rule of foreign imperialism is camouflaged as "a partnership with equal rights in one commonwealth of nations."

The Indonesians emerge saddled with a huge debt to the Dutch; special clauses circumscribe the Republican regime in dealing with foreign affairs, defense, and fiscal and trade policies; they are left in dire need of loans and credits, etc.

The basic problems are left unsettled; Dutch imperialism retains a stranglehold on the economic life of the country; the agrarian problem

remains untouched; the prospect of the country's industrialization is left as remote as before, and with it the prospect of any substantial improvement in the mass living standards.

This "solution" suits the native bourgeoisie quite well; the Indonesian capitalists are weaker even than the Indians and are not really interested in genuine and complete independence. For this would leave them face to face with the insurgent peasant and worker masses who are increasingly hostile to their own native exploiters and are bound to become even more so after the withdrawal of the imperialists. They therefore prefer becoming integrated in the imperialist system as junior partners instead of, as previously, mere office boys. Moreover they hope to play off the mighty American imperialists against the Dutch, and in this way gain bigger concessions and shares in profits for themselves.

It is openly acknowledged by both sides that the compromise reached at the Hague is not very solid, and will probably prove neither stable nor lasting. The mass of the people will hardly accept the retention of the former degraded conditions under a label of fake independence. Their indignation and resistance to the betrayal of their vital interests is bound to grow as they see their road to progress blocked by this partnership of the native bourgeoisie and feudalists with the Dutch exploiters.

The "United States of Indonesia" possesses no real independence; but its very coming into being is an expression of the profound historic changes that have taken place in the Far East since the termination of World War II. It is an episode in the struggle of the Asiatic peoples for their complete emancipation from the yoke of western imperialism. The decisive and titanic battles still lie ahead both for the Indonesian peoples and the other downtrodden millions.

# BOARD FIRES SIX BELL UNIONISTS

(Continued from Page 1)

whose cases have not been fully acted upon by the board.

For more than 18 weeks the Bell Aircraft workers fought the corporation in a truly historic battle. It became obvious in the last days of the strike that victory was in the hands of the strikers and that it remained only for the union officials to stick to their guns, and an agreement satisfactory to the union could be achieved. This was foreshadowed by the fact that the company, which had steadfastly refused to arbitrate the basic union issues, reversed its position. All the union officials had to do was to remain loyal to their pledge to the strikers that "everybody goes back to work or nobody goes back."

This pledge was renewed by none other than Reuther himself at a rally held at Buffalo where he promised that "the civil rights of every union member would be fully protected with the help of the entire international." Had the top union officials rejected the company's demand that the cases of the 22 Bell strikers be arbitrated, the membership of the local would have unanimously upheld the union's position as they had done on previous occasions, when the going was really tough for the strikers.

But the Reutherite bureaucrats chose to enter into this corrupt agreement and presented it to the membership as an accomplished fact. They relied heavily on the most backward element in the union (particularly those who didn't even picket during the strike) and on the general weariness of the majority of the workers who were reluctant, after 18 weeks of bitter strife, to take on both the company and the Reutherite pork-choppers in a renewed struggle.

Nevertheless, the fact that 40% of the membership voted to reject that portion of the agreement which called for arbitrating the cases of the 20 unionists shows that the most active and advanced workers knew what to expect from the phony "fact-finding" board and were willing to

continue the struggle until final victory was achieved.

The board's decision to fire the six unionists was coupled with a directive to reinstate five of the local's officials but only "provisionally, pending final consideration of their cases." Nine other unionists are still out. This was obviously an attempt to offset the adverse effect on the labor movement that the discharge of the six surely would have. But the gleeful manner in which the rebaiting Buffalo Evening News carried the news of the discharge in double banner front-page headlines made it all too plain that the board had perpetrated one of the grossest anti-labor crimes on the Niagara Frontier.

Even the manner in which the so-called hearing on the six was conducted made it obvious that the cases were prejudged and disposed of long before they were heard. Of the five board members, only three heard the testimony on the six. One of the arbitrators was not even in town. This, however, did not prevent this venerable body of judicial fakers from rendering a UNANIMOUS decision — barely two hours after the completion of the testimony.

Aside from the farcical procedure pursued at the hearing, the composition of the board was such that no honest trade union leader could have possibly surrendered the fate of the unionists to its tender mercies. Heading the list of the board members was none other than Elinor M. Herriek, former director of personnel and labor relations for Todd Shipyard Corporation. Her former role as New York NLRB Regional Director was considered so odious that she was denounced for her conduct at one of the New York State CIO conventions.

Along with Mrs. Herriek is Colonel Charles Garside, chief counsel and a director of the Harrisburg Steel Corporation. The chairman is Ezra Day, formerly a director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. The only Buffalo member is Dr. Samuel P. Capen, head of the University of

Buffalo. His chief qualification for membership on the board is his notorious anti-labor stand in the Buffalo teachers' strike of 1947. The last board member, Paul Shipman Andrews, is dean of Syracuse Law School, who has nothing in his record to indicate the slightest sympathy towards the labor movement.

It may perhaps be argued by those who are unfamiliar with the Bell strike that the arbitration board was imposed upon the union and that the leadership had no other alternative but to make the best of a bad situation. This is decidedly not the case. The union leadership was under no obligation whatever to submit the case of the 20 unionists or any other issue to the board for decision. The board came into the strike picture as a mere investigating body, pursuant to a state law that has never been employed in any labor dispute in the state. The union did not under that law have to submit its case to the board nor did it have to abide by any of its recommendations.

However, it was soon learned upon reliable authority that the top union officials were participating in the selection of the board's personnel. The rank and file of the union knew nothing about this behind-the-scenes activity and from the very beginning took a healthy, skeptical attitude toward the whole affair.

The strikers' morale was highest at that moment and scabs entering the plant were at a minimum. Production was at a virtual standstill and whatever little work was done was of such a poor quality that almost all of it is now being re-worked. The plant is literally littered with scrap, all the result of the "efficiency" of the scabs.

There was absolutely no excuse for the shameless capitulation by the union leaders and their treacherous action in handing over to the board's mercies some of the best, most militant and most active union leaders — exactly those who had done the very best work in the strike and who in the past had been responsible for achiev-

VOLUME XIII

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## Kutcher Speaks To 25 Meetings In Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

of Labor, UAW Local 756 and AFL Moulders Local 218.

Saturday, he spoke before a Jones and Laughlin IWW local where he was presented a check for \$50 plus an additional collection of \$22 made by the members after the meeting. Sunday Kutcher went to Akron to speak before a membership meeting of Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers, then returned here to cover two meetings before UAW Locals 1005 and 65.

Yesterday he spoke before the Student Bar Assembly, a meeting of some 200 or more law students at Western Reserve University arranged by Prof. Oliver Schroeder Jr., a member of the local committee. Kutcher's talk provoked a great deal of discussion among the students and a very interesting meeting ensued.

It is noteworthy that at all these meetings the students, regardless how they might disagree with Kutcher on his political views, always supported him on the civil rights issue. Later in the day he spoke before the Cleveland UAW Auto Council, which endorsed his case by contributing \$30 toward his defense; finally, AFL Painters Local 867 heard the case.

Today, he spoke before the executive committee of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council and obtained their permission to speak before the Council itself tomorrow.

In addition Kutcher today had a personal interview with Dr. F. E. Townsend. The leader of the Townsend Old Age Insurance Plan expressed agreement with what the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was trying to do and promised to cooperate to the extent of publishing the facts of the case in the Townsend National Weekly. Dr. Townsend also agreed to let his name be added to the roster of the national Kutcher Committee.

The climax of Kutcher's stay in Cleveland will be a forum sponsored by the local chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, at which a representative of "the Hollywood Ten" will share the platform with James Kutcher in a discussion of civil rights. This will be followed in the evening by a public meeting at the Hotel Hollenden.

Speakers will be: Professor Henry Miller Busch, Cleveland College; Dr. D. R. Sharpe, executive secretary of the Baptist Ministers Association; Charles P. Lucas, secretary of the local NAACP; and AFL and CIO representatives. Dr. George H. Faust of Penn College will act as chairman.

## Toledo AFL Body, Oakland Pastor Back Kutcher

Reverend Linwood G. Fauntleroy, one of the foremost Negro pastors of Oakland, California, last week gave vigorous endorsement to James Kutcher's fight for civil rights. "Any man who gives his life for the defense of this country to the extent that he is handicapped for the rest of his life, and then is denied the privilege of making an honest livelihood — that so-called democracy isn't worth a tinker's dam," he declared.

Rev. Fauntleroy has been an active participant in civil rights struggles in the Bay area. He was chairman of the recent Anti-Thought Control Conference held in San Francisco where the Stalinists tried to block support to the legless veteran.

After hearing Kutcher present his case, the Toledo AFL Building & Construction Trade Council voted \$25 to his defense fund.

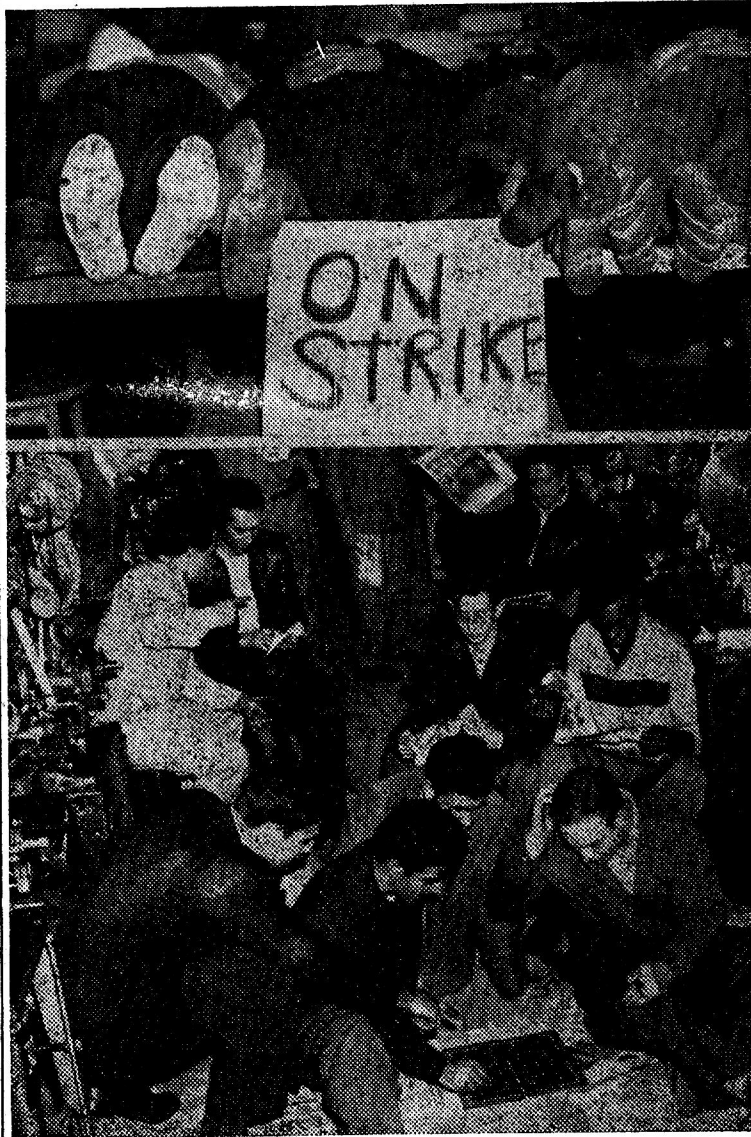
"The delegates who passed this motion," wrote Oliver Myers, secretary of the Council, "represent all the crafts pertaining to the building industry in the Toledo area. The unanimous support given this motion is significant in that it conveys to the Kutcher cause the support of laboring people to whom the rights denied Mr. Kutcher are so sacred. We pray that Mr. Kutcher will soon benefit by those rights for which he paid the inestimable price of two legs."

ing the best union contract in the entire airplane industry.

At the present moment, the board is still holding the axe over 14 of the 20 unionists. In addition, civil and criminal cases against more than 60 union members are proceeding in extreme haste in Niagara County where practically all the county officials are under the thumb of the Bell Aircraft Corporation.

# THE MILITANT

## UE Sitdown in Brooklyn



More than 100 members of UE Local 475, employed at the National Fastener Corp. in Brooklyn, decided to stay inside after management rejected their demands for new contract. While some play checkers (bottom), others nap (top). Later they were ejected by a court order.

## TOLEDO UAW IN BITTER BATTLE OVER PENSIONS

TOLEDO, Nov. 5 — The campaign launched by this city's millionaire banking and business interests against the labor movement continued unabated last week. Con-

demning the area-wide pension demand of the CIO United Auto Workers as "radical" and "wrecking," the wealthy owners of industry are utilizing the newspapers, radio and churches to whip up anti-union sentiment. The spearhead of the anti-labor drive is the so-called Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls which has as its sponsors a group of banking and industrial millionaires plus a handful of professional people for window-dressing.

The millionaires' committee has announced that 1,100 people have already joined its ranks. Its avowed aim is to defeat the pension demands of the union and to destroy a non-existent "labor dictatorship" in this city.

### PRESS PROPAGANDA

One of the committee's sponsors, Paul Block Jr., owner of the city's only two daily papers, has placed these publications at the service of the anti-union elements. The Toledo Blade carries a daily front page cut-out advertising the committee and asking people to join. This is provided free of charge. In addition numerous editorials, slanted news articles and full page ads continue to hammer away at the unions. Spot announcements on the radio urge people to join the committee which has taken two floors in a downtown office building and retained the services of a noisy, high-powered firm of public relations experts.

An oblique blow was dealt to the pension struggle when Catholic Bishop Alter, ranking church official, stated, at a ceremony adding a wing to a parochial high school, that labor leaders should not abuse their powers like the capitalists used to do in the old days. He was not reported as being concerned about the present abuses of power by the capitalists. The Protestant Episcopal Church has also been dragged into the anti-union crusade through the rector of the Trinity Episcopal Church, Arthur W. Hargate, who was one of the first to join the millionaires' committee.

The union has replied with a full page ad in the Blade setting forth its determination to fight for the pension with any and all means at its command. Many units have already voted their backing to this demand. The large Wills-Overland unit last night unanimously voted a sum of money to finance another full

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## New York SWP Stages Rousing Election Wind-up

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — The Socialist Workers Party election campaign came to a dramatic conclusion this week with a rousing windup election rally, three radio broad-

casts, a television symposium, and a round of speaking engagements by the candidates. The most notable of these was a meeting of the National Maritime Union attended by 4,000 members, which was addressed by Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor.

The wind-up election rally, which was combined with the celebration of the 32nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution on Nov. 4, was addressed by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the SWP, Michael Bartell and Gladys Barker, candidate for President of the City Council.

Speaking to a capacity crowd in the main ballroom of the Cornish Arms Hotel, Cannon traced the broad outlines of the evolution of the class struggles of the twentieth century. With a clear Marxist analysis, he demonstrated that the cataclysmic events of the first half of the 20th century, with its world wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings, conclusively vindicated the fundamental theses of Marx and Engels: that the inherent laws of capitalist development drove inexorably to the socialist transformation of society through the proletarian revolution.

Summarizing, he said, "The first half of the 20th century saw the beginning of the necessary social transformation of the world. The second half will see it carried through to a triumphant conclusion. Socialism will win the world and emancipate the world."

The election forum held the previous night at the meeting of the NMU was addressed by Bartell and Marcantonio, ALP candidate for Mayor. Marcantonio pointed to his "pro-labor" record in Congress, attacked O'Dwyer's strikebreaking record, and promised that his police would "respect" pickets instead of clubbing them if he were elected Mayor. He left immediately upon concluding his speech.

Speaking for the SWP, Bartell said: "We will put an end to strikebreaking, slums and ghettos only when the workers take over City Hall and clean out all capitalist politicians. Marcantonio has recounted O'Dwyer's strikebreaking activities, and his crimes against the Negro people. I have nothing to add to that indictment except to say 'amen.' However, Marcantonio forgot to tell you one thing — THAT HE, MARCANTONIO BACKED O'DWYER, HELPED PUT HIM IN OFFICE, AND THEREFORE SHARES IN EVERY ONE OF THOSE CRIMES. He sold the workers of this city a phony bill of goods. We charged then, and we charge now, that the ALP made a dirty deal with Tammany and sold the workers of this city down the river."

Infuriated at this expose of the treacherous role of Marcantonio and the Communist Party, the Stalinists in the audience attempted to prevent Bartell from continuing, by wild outbursts of whistling, shrieking and booing. The chairman was compelled to appeal for order, as Bartell continued the attack. "Today, they sound very

other election activities of the SWP in the final week of the campaign included four speeches at election forums by Harold Robbins, candidate for Manhattan Borough President, one by Bartell before 500 students of Bronx Hunter College, an open air rally in the garment district, two radio broadcasts over station WNEW, an interview with Bartell by Tex McCrary over station WNBC, and an election dance in Harlem.

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## Randolph Pledges Allegiance in Next War

OAKLAND, Oct. 31 — A. Philip Randolph pledged an oath of allegiance to the American ruling class in its war against Communism at a meeting in Zion Baptist Church in Oakland. A Negro audience of over 700, who had come to hear Randolph present a program of struggle against Jim Crow in this period, heard instead that the Negro people should support America in the present cold war and in a future shooting war. This speech was to be an "initiation of a discussion about communism" among the Negro people, according to Randolph.

It proved to be nothing of the kind. Randolph blandly identified Stalinism with the Russian Revolution of 1917, which it has consistently undermined. Playing on the obvious record of betrayal and manipulation which earmarks Stalinism in the Negro struggle, Randolph sought to hide the complete subservience of the majority of Negro leaders to the American capitalist class. He tried to give the impression that he need only threaten the American rulers with

some militant action and Jim Crow would take a beating. He claimed that Roosevelt's executive order for FEPC, resulting from the threat of a march on Washington, had provided Negroes with jobs during wartime. This is absolutely false. As every Negro worker knows, the capitalists hired him only because they needed him to win the imperialist war, and not because of Roosevelt's piece of paper marked FEPC.

Randolph claimed that his threat that the Negro would not serve in a Jim Crow army has brought results. This is false also. It has brought delay and "investigating committees" which have been stalling for more than a year—but Jim Crow segregation is still rampant in the army. By calling defeats victories, by pinning these victories on his own lapel, by pretending that the crimes of Stalinism are worse than the crimes of American Jim Crow capitalism — thus does Randolph hope to save his own dwindling reputation for Negro militancy.

Had Randolph at this meeting proposed some new direct mass action to smash Jim Crow, the response would have been overwhelming from the audience which applauded him more for his past reputation than for his attack on Communism. But Randolph could only repeat, "We may yet have to march on Washington for an FEPC" — which, in the context of his speech, meant any such action would have to be subordinated to the "war against Communism."

The hundreds of thousands of Negro unemployed cannot be kept alive by Randolph's rainchecks for a march on Washington while Randolph the pacifist turns to support an atomic war, and Randolph the "socialist" drowns himself in the promises of capitalist liberalism. His behavior is another signal to the Negro masses that they need now to develop new leadership, new militancy, new perspectives for the approaching crisis which may well decide the fate of the Negro people in America.