

COURT YIELDS TO SOUTH ON SCHOOLS

SWP Tells Khrushchev: "Free Frame-up Victims!"

JUNE 1 — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today sent the following cable to Nikita S. Khrushchev, Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who has been holding a series of conferences in Yugoslavia with President Tito:

"You admitted May 26 charges levelled against Yugoslav officials of being 'fascists' etc., were frame-ups. 'The facts,' you say, 'show' that 'materials' backing charges were 'fabricated.'"

"In interest of USSR and world working class we demand your release from prisons and slave-labor camps all victims of this frame-up."

"In addition, to clear names, we demand:

"1. You invite international civil-liberties commission to examine facts of frame-up you admit."

"2. You use your influence in East European countries to open court records to same commission to determine extent charges fabricated against Yugoslav officials. You permit all convictions in USSR of political dissenters under Beria, Yezhov, Yagoda to be reviewed by same commission to determine extent similar materials were used in framing-up innocent victims."

CABLE TO TITO

A copy of the above cable was sent to President Tito of Yugoslavia for his information, and the following request was made of the head of the Yugoslav government:

"Khrushchev stated he is 'ready to do everything necessary to eliminate all obstacles standing in the way of complete normalization of relations between our

states, of the consolidation of friendly relations between our peoples.'"

"Thus you are in excellent position to call matter his attention. Please bring weight Yugoslav government in securing release, clearing names, victims Stalinist frame-up system."

ASK DENNIS TO ACT

Copies of the cables to Khrushchev and Tito were also sent to Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Dennis was urged to take the following action:

"In view of the fact that your organization was victimized in a certain sense by the Beria frame-up charges, in that you supported the fabrications without the slightest criticism or whisper of doubt as to their validity, we urge you to indicate your solidarity with these demands, particularly that Khrushchev proceed at once to release all the victims of the frame-up who are still held in the prisons and slave-labor camps of the Soviet Union."

Khrushchev made his damning admission upon arriving in Belgrade. He ascribed the frame-up of the Yugoslav officials to 'Beria, Abakumov and others' who were 'recently exposed enemies of the people.' Khrushchev said, 'We studied assiduously the materials' on which the accusations were based. 'The facts show that these materials were fabricated by the enemies of the people, detestable agents of imperialism...'

(See editorial page 3)

Ford Stock Scheme--An Attempt To Undermine CIO Auto Union

JUNE 2 — As we go to press, the Ford Motor Co. strike deadline, originally set by the CIO United Automobile Workers for 12:01 this morning, has been put off four days to Monday, June 6. CIO and UAW President Walter Reuther and Ken Bannon, director of the union's Ford Department, announced the postponement yesterday, stating they wished to give the UAW negotiators time to "explore" a new but undisclosed company offer. They said if agreement is not reached by June 6, "a strike will begin."

This morning the 1,450-man day shift at Ford's Mercury assembly plant in Metuchen, N. J., began what the company called a "wildcat walkout." Local UAW officials said "the rank and file is fed up with the stalling tactics used by Ford" in the Detroit negotiations.

THE STOCK SCHEME

Under the stock proposal, Ford employees would be permitted to buy company stock, when available, up to 10% of their gross annual pay. If a worker put \$500 in the fund for Ford stock, \$250 of it would be invested in U.S. savings bonds, and the company would match the other \$250, making the amount in the worker's stock account \$500. To obtain full benefits he would have to remain in the program five years.

The UAW negotiating committee correctly rejected this proposal as "an obvious smoke screen behind which the company offers crumbs to Ford workers while setting the stage for Ford executives to divide up a huge stock melon when the Ford Motor Co. makes its stock available to the public."

Ford Facts, paper of Local 600, added: "The workers didn't ask for the right to buy Ford stock. Those who want to, and who can afford to, will be able to do that on their own when the stock goes on the market—as a matter of individual decision... The workers with low wages and large families cannot afford to save 10% of their wages. They barely get along on their full wages... That's why the Ford workers say to the company, 'We don't want' (Continued on page 3)

At around 4:30 P.M. on May 26 hundreds of Ford foremen went rushing through the Rouge plant distributing copies of the Ford Employee Information Bulletin, containing gilded summaries of the company's "prosperity partnership package" contract offer.

This was before the UAW had had a chance to comment on Ford's counter-proposal and before the press had had a chance to print details. It was an obvious attempt to dazzle the workers and to re-establish a "paternal" relation with them. But it failed.

The rejection of the Ford scheme by the UAW top negotiating committee met with the general support of the Ford workers, although the workers laid their greatest stress on the company's demand for a five-year contract while the negotiating committee emphasized the lack of a guaranteed annual wage proposal as the main reason for rejection.

5-YEAR PACT OPPOSED

If there is one thing that UAW members agree on today, it is the five-year provision of the contract expiring this week. Under it they have seen their union handcuffed and helpless while working conditions in the plants deteriorate, speed up mounts and management turns a deaf ear to grievances or lets them drag on interminably.

Opposition to the five-year contract has grown steadily since 1950. It has become solidified during the last two years when the changes resulting from the introduction of automation made it clear to everyone that it would be suicidal for the union to accept another long-term shackles. At the recent UAW convention even the Reuther leadership, which started out defending the five-year contract, promised to sign nothing longer than a two-year provision.

GM and Ford never had it so good as under the five-year contract, and it is apparently the thing they want most of all. It is also the thing the workers want least of all, even though the UAW leadership makes GAW the main issue.

Beside the five-year provision, explanations of the Kremlin clique's about face. The New York Times, May 15, says in a dispatch from Belgrade: "U.S. officials viewed the Khrushchev-Bulgarian mission to Belgrade as a Soviet effort to make Yugoslavia the southern anchor of a neutral belt running north to Finland and Sweden." This is the Times' explanation from the point of view of the power struggle between the Soviet Union and the Western powers.

The second explanation depicts the move as "an effort by the present rulers of the Soviet Union to demonstrate that they are flexible men, willing to admit past errors and to seek peaceful accommodation, not at all the rigid dogmatists of Stalin's time."

To the extent that this second explanation is an attempt to point out that the Kremlin is seeking all sorts of avenues to approach imperialism for a deal, even via Yugoslavia, it's certainly true. But the assertion that there is a "new flexibility," "willingness to admit past errors," and abandonment of Stalinist dogma, is a dangerous falsehood which can only rebound to the benefit of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Most dangerous of all is this propaganda when it is dressed (Continued on page 4)

Fifth Amendment Upheld



Use of the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities witch-hunt committee was upheld in a Supreme Court decision by Chief Justice Earl Warren (r.), reversing contempt conviction of Sec.-Treas. Julius Emspak (l.) of the United Electrical Workers and two others.

DEMOCRATS ALSO MIXED IN POLIO VACCINE MESS

Three facts stand out from the mass of confusion in the polio vaccination foul-up: (1) Supplies of the vaccine will not meet the need. (2) There is question of the safety of vaccine produced by the manufacturers. (3) The vaccine will be far more costly to American families than is necessary — certainly more costly than in Canada.

The Democrats who now speak with such indignation of Eisenhower's responsibility for the fiasco, have all along been in control of Congress. They were in as good a position as Eisenhower to foresee the crisis. They could have prevented it. They are the country's law makers. But the Democrats are just as reluctant as Eisenhower to interfere with the "free enterprise" set-up. "Profits first" is a Democratic as well as Republican policy. The current legislative moves of the Democrats prove this.

Senator Lester Hill, Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, called a meeting of his group for May 31 to consider a showdown fight with the Republicans on his proposed bill for distribution "controls." The bill proposed by Senator Hill would provide Eisenhower with "standby" power to inter-

White Supremacists Hail "Reprieve" for Jim-Crow in Education

The Supreme Court's long-awaited enforcement ruling on school desegregation went about as far as it could go in appeasing the white-supremacist Deep South without reversing the original decision completely. While the court reaffirmed what it said a year ago — that Jim Crow schools are unconstitutional, it failed to declare such schools illegal as of now or any specific time in the future. It asked school boards and federal judges in the South to apply the decision themselves and figure out how and when to go about it. While it said these officials should not delay, on the other hand, it said, they needn't hasten any more than was practicable and reasonable. Moreover, it said, the decision should be applied in "good faith."

In short the court backed down completely from putting teeth into its May 17, 1954 decision. Southern racist officials may be subject, years from now, to the inconvenience of being gunned by the court's desegregation ruling but they'll never get bit by it.

Seattle -- A City Cowed by The Witch-Hunt

National Secretary Socialist Workers Party SEATTLE — Fear rules this city today, fear created by one of the worst witch hunt attacks the country has seen. The whole capitalist propaganda machine is turned against the people under attack. They are branded social outcasts. Association with them is made a pretext for new victimizations. And to hit where it is sure to hurt, people accused as "subversives" are punished by loss of employment.

In nine cases out of ten a Seattle worker seeking a job can expect to run into some form of "security" screening. Plants handling war orders, the waterfront, civil service jobs and similar categories are heavily screened at government instigation. Employers acting entirely on their own often screen employees, even in small retail stores.

Union officials cooperate with the witch hunters in most cases. In fact, the AFL Teamsters officials are alleged to screen the union membership in collaboration with the FBI. Political blacklists are passed back and forth between union officials and the employers; these lists are based on reports from FBI informers, company stooge-punks and stooges of the union bureaucrats.

Armed by the government with a catch-all definition of "subversion," the employers and class-collaborationist union officials can use the screening weapon to grind their own special axe. In this way they act in concert to weed out militant workers on the job and in the unions. The employer profits by stiffening the speedup, the (Continued on page 2)



TITO

KHRUSHCHEV

Kremlin's Turnabout On Tito -- Its Meaning

By Sam Marcy

Why did the Kremlin make a sudden about face towards Tito's regime in Yugoslavia? The advanced workers throughout the world cannot but ask themselves: what is at the root of this change?

More than five years ago the Communist Party of Yugoslavia issued a May Day Manifesto, which was broadcast throughout the world, calling for a return to the "principles of Lenin." On the fifth anniversary of this manifesto the Titoists are pondering the question of a return, not to Lenin, but to Bulganin and Khrushchev.

"JUDAS TITO"

But was it not Bulganin who was most virulent in his attacks on Tito? Was it really Beria who forced Bulganin to say in a speech in Prague, several days after the May Day celebration:

"Judas Tito and his abettors—malevolent deserters to the camp of imperialism and fascism — have transformed Yugoslavia into a Gestapo prison. The whole of progressive mankind looks with loathing upon those despised traitors and accomplices of imperialism. They will have to account for their sanguinary crimes, for their repulsive betrayal of the Yugoslav people and of the whole democratic camp."

How is it now possible for Bulganin and Khrushchev to go to Belgrade with open arms saying, "We sincerely regret what has happened?"

The capitalist press gives two

Strikes Follow British Tory Victory in Election

By John Thayer
Tory rejoicing diminished noticeably as full election returns disclosed not a landslide but a moderate victory — and as the class struggle flared up in major strikes on the railroads and docks.

The Tory or Conservative Party now has a majority of 59 in the 630-member House of Commons. It took 20 seats away from the Labor Party but lost four to Labor. In popular vote, the Tories polled 13,336,000 (49.8%) against Labor's 12,405,000 (46.4%). Thus the margin of victory was 3.4% or less than a million votes.

Did Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, and others in the Tory cabinet wearing old school ties from Eton and other snob schools, imagine that they had vanquished the working class?

If so, they must have been sadly disappointed after the election to find that British industry and commerce were being brought to a standstill as the result of

militant strikes by longshoremen, who demand recognition of their union, and by pitifully underpaid locomotive engineers and firemen, who demand 21 cents to 77 cents more a week (not an hour, mind you!).

APATHY

This turn of the British workers, in what may become a strike wave, to economic struggle was the other side of the coin of their apathy to the political program (or lack of program) of the right-wing dominated Labor Party.

The lack of enthusiasm of the British workers in the recent elections was commented on by all observers. Thus the Christian Science Monitor correspondent in London wrote on May 20: "While relaxed campaigns limited by law to three weeks are the rule here, this one is meeting an indifference on the part of the working Briton — the people somewhat more inclined to vote Labor — that is unusual... As far as the Laborites are concerned,

indifference of the masses. Surveys showed that the most important TV speeches were being viewed by only half the anticipated audiences. When the votes were in, it was seen that 6% less people had voted than in the previous election in 1951. This favored the Tories who always do best when the vote is small. Although the Tory vote dropped half a million, Labor's vote dropped 1 1/2 million.

What prevented a Tory landslide was the dogged class loyalty of the basic layers of the working class to the Labor Party. Without apparent enthusiasm but with a strong sense of duty, they went to the polls and voted Labor.

Each succeeding year has seen a drop in the workers' enthusiasm for the Labor Party's program. The current program doesn't differ basically from the "liberalized" Tory program. It has a few more reforms and more sugar coating but there's nothing in it for a worker to get enthusiastic about.

The petering out of Labor's program is the result of the domination of the party by the right wing. The right wing wants no basic changes in British capitalism or in the British Empire. It instituted a press censorship in the party, and shortly before the dissolution of Parliament it tried to purge Bevan and the whole left wing.

BUREAUCRATS CONTROL
The right wing, led by Attlee and Co., is not based on rank-and-file support. It controls the Labor Party through the bloc votes of the trade union bureaucrats. For example, the head of the Transport and General Workers Union casts 1,500,000 votes at Labor Party conferences.

This is the number of members in his union. These members may be 50% or 80% for Bevan and against Attlee, but that doesn't matter. The top union official casts his votes for Attlee. Thus a combination of trade union bureaucrats controls the Labor Party and its program.

In its weekly analysis of the news, the New York Times (May 29) gives various reasons for Labor's defeat. "First, Britain (Continued on page 3)

20 YEARS OF THE CIO - V

The Battle of Industrial vs. Craft Unionism

By Art Preis

A great part of the strength of the Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco strikes of 1934 flowed from success in spreading the strikes and involving large sectors of the working class. They broke the bonds of craft and grasped the weapon of class struggle. These unifying struggles showed the need for a broader, all-embracing organizational structure to organize the unorganized and defend labor against the united assaults of the employing class.

During this same period, however, the need for industrial organization was being proved in a negative way. The workers in the great mass production industries like auto, steel, rubber and textiles suffered terrible debacles because of the policies of the craft-minded AFL leaders.

In March 1934, some 200,000 auto workers were waiting for a strike call against the infamous NRA auto code with its "merit" and open-shop clauses. A call actually did go to 44,000 GM workers to strike on March 21. But Roosevelt personally intervened and got the AFL leaders to agree to a postponement. On March 25, AFL President Green and his personal representative in auto, William Collins, accepted Roosevelt's establishment of an Auto Labor Board, headed by Dr. Leo Wolman, and the "proportional representation" proposition. This latter denied exclusive collective bargaining rights to the majority union and per-

mitted recognition of company unions on the basis of their proportional strength in Auto Labor Board elections. The strike was called off indefinitely.

By July, Collins was complaining in the American Federationist that the "President's agreement" was not working out. "This settlement was by no means satisfactory to the unions," Collins wrote. "Nevertheless, union representatives looked upon it as their patriotic duty to accept the settlement, since it was the direct request of President Roosevelt that they should do so..." It was their "patriotic duty," in short, to accept a program for strangling the auto unions. After the March, 1934, agreement, Roosevelt extended the auto code four times despite official AFL protest.

By February, 1935, the membership of the AFL federal auto locals had dwindled from 100,000 to 20,000. When the Wolman board took a poll in April 1935 to determine "proportional representation" in a number of plants in Michigan, of the 163,150 votes cast, 88.7% were for unaffiliated representatives; 8.6% for leaders of AFL federal locals. This was not a vote against unionism. It was a vote of non-confidence in the AFL. "The AFL campaign had been a complete failure, except in the Toledo sector, where the rank and file ignored both the Wolman Board and the AFL, struck against the Electric Auto-Lite Company," noted Levinson in Labor on the March.

the plant onto a mass picket line. A March of Labor, combining the workers of five other strikes, was set up to give aid wherever required on any picket line. After the Auto-Lite strike, there was no attempt to operate with scabs. Even the top GM officials from Detroit had to have written permits from the strike committee to enter the plant.

The strike was a bottleneck, halting production of transmissions for the whole Chevrolet system. Within a week, some 35,000 Chevrolet workers were out all over the country, with strikes in Cleveland, Norwood and Cincinnati, Ohio, and Atlanta, Georgia. The strike committee, made up entirely of rank and file from the plant, moved to spread the strike to all GM plants, starting with the Buick plant in Flint, Mich. Delegations were sent to Flint and Detroit, but Green intervened to block further walkouts.

Green had sent his personal representative Francis J. Dillon into the strike area to try to halt it. The Toledo workers knew what his game was — the main source of their information being their own strike paper, Strike Truth, edited by Art Preis. This was the first strike paper in the industry and was modeled after The Organizer of Minneapolis Drivers Local 574.

After three weeks, Dillon was able to ram a compromise settlement down the strikers' throats at a dramatic mass meeting, where the strikers at first refused him the floor. They weakened when he left the hall screaming, "Muste's men," and issued a statement threatening to withdraw the Local 18384 charter, covering 19 plants.

Submitting under the pressure of this threat, the newly-organized workers nevertheless were able to squeeze from General Motors a small wage increase and a published stipulation that management would meet with the union committee, although there was no signed contract. This was the first time GM had failed to smash a strike. The workers marched back into the plant as an organized body, more solidly unionized than before. From that time on, every GM worker was able to say: "If the Toledo workers could do it,



JOHN L. LEWIS

we can do it." Two years later they were to prove it.

In March, 1935, pressure from the federal auto locals had forced the AFL Executive Council to agree to establishment of an auto workers international union. The Toledo local, aroused by Dillon's treachery in the Chevrolet strike, demanded his removal and the immediate convening of a constitutional convention for the auto workers.

Fearful that the auto workers would move without his approval, Green finally called an auto convention for August 29, 1935. He sought, however, to keep the international union that was then set up strictly under the thumb of the AFL Executive Council. The constitution proposed by Green for the United Automobile Workers called for appointment of the new union's president by Green himself. Led by the Toledo delegation, which was the largest single contingent in the convention, and the most influential, the delegates passed a motion to elect their own president by a vote of 164.2 to 112.8. After a three-day floor fight, Green personally took over and declared either he would appoint the top officers or there would be no charter. He then appointed Dillon president, and Homer Martin, of Kansas City, a one-time preacher, as the vice president.

The Conflict Develops in AFL

Learning from the auto workers' experiences, the rubber workers held a convention the next month and refused to back down before Green's threats. They voted 44 to 9 against appointment of officers and then proceeded to elect their own officers, selecting Sherman Dalrymple as their first president.

The example of the auto and rubber workers, who had pushed through all obstacles to win their own industrial unions, gave a tremendous impulsion to the whole movement for industrial unionism. It hardened the minority of AFL leaders, particularly John L. Lewis, who had been pushing for industrial union organization since 1933.

At the October 1933 AFL convention, Elizabeth Christman of the Women's Trade Union League had offered an industrial union resolution. But it was not voted on after a test vote was taken on a resolution to ratify the AFL council decision which ordered the Brewery Workers, an industrial organization, to turn over its truck driver members to the AFL Teamsters. The vote was 13,877 to 5,859.

Lewis did not press the Christman resolution but agreed to submit the matter to a special

conference of 75 unions in Washington on January 24, 1934. This conference adopted a resolution which declared organization of the unorganized to be "imperative" but "bearing in mind that in the pursuit of organization the present structure, rights and interests of affiliated national and international unions must be followed, observed, and safeguarded." Craft "jurisdictional rights" could not be touched.

But the issue would not down. At the AFL convention in San Francisco in October 1934, the Executive Council itself proposed an organizing "campaign" to accept the membership applications of workers seeking unionism. The Council reported: "There was a virtual uprising of workers for union membership. Workers held mass meetings and sent word they wanted to be organized." But a compromise resolution that appeared to grant the principle of industrial organization contained a rider limiting the scope of such industrial unions — commanding them "to protect the rights of existing craft unions."

The real test, once more, was on the brewers-teamsters issue, which the convention decided by a vote of 15,558 to 9,306, in favor of the teamsters.

The Birth of the CIO

It was Teamsters President Tobin who voiced the contemptuous attitude of the craft union leaders — the "aristocrats of labor" — to the mass production workers. Describing how he ran his own union, Tobin said: "We have to use force in our organizations. If we didn't use force and enforce decisions, we would not have an international union of 135,000 members — and they are not the rubbish that have lately come into other organizations."

Tobin had previously written: "The scramble for admittance to the union is on... We do not want to charter the riffraff or good-for-nothings, or those for whom we cannot make wages or conditions, unless we are compelled to do so by other organizations offering to charter them under any condition... We do not want the men today if they are going on strike tomorrow. Riffraff, rubbish and — strikers, that was the AFL craft moguls' opinion of the industrial workers."

It is hard to believe, in view of the above-cited facts of history, that the present AFL Presi-

dent George Meany, addressing the CIO auto workers convention March 29, 1955, on the AFL-CIO merger plans, could still claim: "There never was a trade union reason for disunity."

But there was a group within the AFL leadership — no less pro-capitalist, no less bureaucratic, no less conservative in their political outlook than the opponents of industrial unionism — who nevertheless could see "the revolutionary handwriting on the wall" and understood that the moment must be grasped if the old union leadership was to retain its dominant position over organized labor.

Thus, at the October 1935 AFL Convention in Atlantic City, International Typographical Union President Charles P. Howard, although himself head of a craft union, tried to make Green, Tobin, John Frey, Matthew Wolf, "Big Bill" (Hutcherson) and others opposed to industrial unionism see the light. He argued their own self-interest.

"Now, let me say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not permitted to organize

under the banner of the American Federation of Labor they are going to organize under some other leadership... I submit to you that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

John L. Lewis's role at this convention is most vividly remembered for his "punch heard round the world," when he symbolized the coming split with a solid haymaker to the jaw of Carpenters' president Hutcherson. But his speech at the convention was a masterly, eloquent, fighting summation of the arguments for industrial unionism.

"At San Francisco they seduced me with fair words," Lewis apologized for his compromise of 1934. "Now, of course, having learned that I was seduced, I am enraged and I am ready to rend my seducers limb from limb..."

He pointed out how the organization of the coal miners had reached an impasse because of the failure to organize the steel corporations which owned the "captive" mines.

"Great combinations of capital have assembled great industrial plants, and they are striding across the borders of our several states from the north to the south and from the west in such a manner that they have assembled to themselves tremen-

ously power and influence, and they are almost 100 per cent effective in opposing organization of the workers under the policies of the American Federation of Labor..."

"... If you go in there with your craft union they will mow you down like the Italian machine guns mow down the Ethiopians in the war now going on in that country..."

"The strength of a strong man is a prideful thing, but the unfortunate thing in life is that strong men do not remain strong. And that is just as true of unions and labor organizations as it is true of men and individuals."

"And, whereas today the craft unions of this country may be able to stand upon their own feet and like mighty oaks stand before the gale, defying the lightning, yet the day may come when this changed scheme of things — and things are changing rapidly now — the day may come when those organizations will not be able to withstand the lightning and the gale. Now, prepare yourselves by making a contribution to your less fortunate brethren, heed this cry from Macedonia that comes from the hearts of men. Organize the unorganized..."

But they did not heed. The convention voted down the minority's industrial union resolution by 18,024 votes to 10,993. On Oct. 19, 1935, came the symbolic blow that sent Hutcherson toppling.

The next morning, after the convention adjourned, Lewis sat at a breakfast table of the

President Hotel with Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy and John Brophy of his own union, and ITU President Howard, David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers, Max Zaritsky, head of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, McMahon of the Textile Workers, and Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They had all supported the industrial union resolution. Lewis outlined to them his bold plan for industrial organization.

Three weeks later, on November 9, the same union officials, with the addition of Harvey Fremming of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers, and Thomas Brown of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, met in Washington. That day they issued their historic announcement. They had constituted themselves as a committee within the AFL to encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries. They called themselves the Committee for Industrial Organization and their main activity would be "educational and advisory." Lewis was elected chairman; Howard, secretary; and Brophy, executive director.

It is true that in his oratory Lewis spoke of organizing 25 million workers. The CIO was never to surpass six million. But it is doubtful if the men who launched the CIO envisaged the powerful impact it would make or the road it would travel. They were not imbued with far-reaching social ideas. They took their step as a practical proposition,

primarily for what they considered the interests of their own international unions.

In later years they were to picture themselves as the creators of a mighty movement, who built the CIO solely out of their own powers. This is the way it may have seemed. They were, however, merely like surf-board riders on the crest of a wave; the power and motion was in the wave and they had learned to ride it. Vast social forces and intense class struggle had been set loose by the crisis of capitalism. They adapted themselves to the circumstances.

It is doubtful if the CIO would have been formed, or if the industrial union movement would have arrived as quickly as it did, if not for the exceptional qualities of Lewis. There has been a vile campaign to denigrate and discredit Lewis, to low-rate his real role. Lewis has many weaknesses — political conservatism, blind belief in capitalism, contempt for union democracy — which he shares with virtually all other top union officials. But it was Lewis, with his boldness, his self-reliance, his aggressiveness and courage, stamping him as a man of superior character and moral fiber, who pushed through the CIO's formation. When his detractors are long dead and forgotten, the American working class will remember and honor Lewis as the founder of the CIO.

(Next Week: The Formation of the Political Coalition of the CIO and the Democratic Party.)

Betrays in Steel and Rubber

The auto fiasco was duplicated in steel. Organized in the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, headed by the crusty bureaucrat Mike Tighe, the new members had brushed aside Tighe's objections, drafted demands and set up a committee to present them to the steel barons. A month later, in mid-June 1934, Green submitted a "plan" for a settlement without a strike to a special Amalgamated convention. It was the same "plan" as in auto — an "impartial" board appointed by Roosevelt. The steel strike was called off indefinitely.

The first fruit of the steel "plan" was a series of wage cuts in August and September. In December, Roosevelt proclaimed a three-point "true" plan which agreed in every major particular with the program of Myron C. Taylor, then head of U.S. Steel. Point 1, in effect, recognized company unions. By this time, Tighe was able to report to the AFL Executive Council that of the 100,000 members who had poured into his union, only 5,300 remained as dues-paying members.

The rubber workers, centered mainly in Akron, went through

an almost identical betrayal. A tremendous strike sentiment spread through the rubber plants in early 1935 and reached a high pitch in April. Some 30,000 rubber workers in Akron were poised for strike. At the last moment, Green's representative Coleman Claherty put over a deal calling off the strike in return for another Roosevelt settlement withholding a union contract and recognizing company unions along with real ones.

A special feature of this betrayal was the role of the Stalinists. The Communist Party, which had considerable influence at that time among the rubber workers, celebrated its recent turn to the "People's Front" — collaboration of "progressive" capitalists and workers — by going along with the rubber sell-out. An official AFL representative spoke from the same platform as Earl Browder, then CP national secretary, at a CP meeting where Browder remained demonstratively silent on the pending deal between the AFL leaders and Roosevelt. The CP was to perform hundreds of similar labor officialdom in the next 20 years.

Textile Tragedy and Auto Victory

The most tragic and despicable betrayal of the period came in the great national textile strike which began on Sept. 1, 1934. This strike climaxed a tremendous upsurge of unionization during which the AFL United Textile Workers climbed from 50,000 members in June 1933 to more than 300,000 in June 1934. The heart of this upsurge was in the deep South, where the most abused and exploited industrial wage slaves in America thronged to the union as to a mighty crusade.

No more heroic record of labor struggle has been written than in the battle put up by the more than 500,000 textile strikers. Sixteen strikers were killed, hundreds wounded. They confronted, in addition to scores of thousands of police, deputies and armed strikebreakers, the largest military display of troops in this country since World War I. More than 40,000 National Guardsmen in 16 states were sent against the strikers. Roosevelt at one point alerted federal troops and was preparing to order them into Rhode Island when the Democratic-controlled Rhode Island legislature hastily voted a resolution urging Roosevelt to withhold his order for fear of the political consequences.

In the South, the strikers organized flying squadrons, modeled on the Minneapolis pattern, and went from town to town and mill to mill calling on the workers. The response was overwhelming. This was to remain the high-tide of Southern labor struggle for more than two decades. To this day, the Southern workers have not recovered from the crushing blow delivered them by their own traitorous leaders, headed by Thomas F. McMahon, an old-time labor

government "survey" of conditions in the industry, where wages as low as \$3 to \$4 a week prevailed in some Southern plants. The mill owners never assented to this settlement even verbally. "For the strikers it was the peace of defeat," Edward Levinson correctly wrote in Labor on the March. He reveals there were "indications that the Federation leaders had asked the President to provide a plausible pretext for ending the walk-out which had developed into a battle far more serious than the old Federation leaders had bargained for." More than 15,000 of the best union militants were barred from the plants after the strike ended.

Even northern manufacturers are still profiting from the 1934 sellout of the southern textile workers. The South still provides the most inviting haven for runaway plants seeking cheap, non-union labor.

But the drive of the industrial workers toward organization was irrepressible in spite of all treachery and defeats. American labor absorbed terrible blows and then came back swinging. In May 1935, it again scored a solid punch — once more in Toledo.

The workers at the Toledo Chevrolet transmissions plant, reversing the Detroit pattern, voted for the AFL union in April 1935. They gave mighty General Motors three weeks to recognize and deal with their union and then struck. The same leadership who had saved the Auto-Lite strike added and guided these newly unionized workers. Members of the Workers Party, just formed from a merger of the Communist League of America (Trotskyists) and the American Workers Party, advised the rank and file.

Such precision, organization and power was displayed by the strikers that the plant was shut down tight in a few minutes. All the workers marched from

... Seattle -- A City Cowed by the Witch Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

bureaucrat by preserving his rule over the union.

The capitalist government also gains by granting these witch-hunting privileges to private interests. Broad forces are thereby mobilized behind the government's own plot to brand "subversive" all opposition to the capitalist war program. It was for that basic reason that the Truman administration set in motion eight years ago the original "subversive" list, thereby providing the pretext, the impetus and the key technique for the witch hunt that followed.

CANWELL COMMITTEE

Seattle's witch hunt began with the 1947-48 invasion by the Canwell Committee of the Washington legislature, used to sow terror at the University of Washington in this city. This followed enactment of the state Kimball law which made it a crime to belong to any organization held "subversive" or to render aid to such an organization. A new peak was reached two years ago when the Federal government moved in for a thought-control prosecution of the Stalinists under the Smith Act.

Under the pressure of this sustained attack Communist Party strength in the state shrank to a few hundred, in contrast to a force of around 5,000 during the heyday of its former alliance with the Democratic Party in the now-extinct Washington Commonwealth Federation. The Democrats, meanwhile, have lived in terror of exposure for their earlier collaboration with the Stalinists.

Leaders of the Negro community have been intimidated to the point where they either stand mute before the witch hunt, as in the case of the NAACP, or seek to ingratiate themselves with the witch hunters, as in the case of the more conservative Urban League. Great harm is thus done to the struggle of the Negro people for equality, all the more so when militant unionists are abandoned to the witch hunters without Negro support. These militants are usually among the best fighters for Negro rights on the job and in the union, as against the conservative elements who tend to lean on the Negro-haters for support.

The city generally has been cowed to the point where people are usually cautious about expressing opinions and careful about what they select for reading matter. Yet the whole terror campaign up to last year had been unable to break the back of militancy among unionists in lumber, steel, maritime, the skilled machinist trade and some other sectors.

VELDE

Last summer the House Un-American Committee, then headed by Congressman Velde, a former FBI agent, came to Seattle for the express purpose of attacking these unions where militancy was still manifested. Informers were used by the committee to finger intended victims, some of whom were hailed before the Velde gang and labeled

"Fifth Amendment communists" when they invoked their constitutional rights in self defense.

The capitalist press, radio and TV unleashed upon the victims a slanted, twisted, framed-up smear campaign. Right-wing elements, apparently by arrangement in advance, hailed Velde's arrival and launched a drive to extend their control over the unions. In general those accused as "subversive" were fired if they would not accept the alternative of turning informer. Within the unions directly under attack the right wing was more or less successful in gaining control.

Again this spring the Un-American Committee descended on Seattle to renew the witch hunt pressures on the city. This time, however, it was under the management of the Democrats who won a majority in Congress last November with the help of the labor movement. Once more came the obscene display of the informer. The publicity smear of the victims thus fingered was intended to hit at union militancy and strengthen the hand of right wing elements.

FEAR LONGSHOREMEN

It is instructive to note that the Un-American Committee carefully refrained from making a direct attack on the longshoremen's union. Obviously they feared a repetition of the rough treatment they received 18 months ago in San Francisco. Union leaders called before the Committee in that city denounced it as a union-busting agency and the longshoremen backed them up with a 24-hour protest strike and a mass demonstration at the scene of the Committee sessions.

Emboldened by the longshoremen's action, strong elements of the CIO, student and civil liberties groups joined in denouncing the Velde gang. The Un-Americans suddenly found they had "urgent Congressional duties" back in Washington and they left town never to return.

For the San Francisco unionists to understand the value of their counter-attack on the witch hunters, it is only necessary for them to see the shambles created by treachery in the Seattle labor movement. Seattle unionists in turn can well afford to study the lessons of the San Francisco action for their future guidance.

Militants among the Seattle longshoremen did in their own way try to follow the example of their San Francisco brothers but they were stymied by the all-out, right-wing offensive in support of the Velde Committee. Despite loss of that round their will to continue fighting is shown by the fact that the union can and does compel the hiring of blacklisted longshoremen on non-military docks.

OPPOSITION FORCES

Also fighting back against the witch hunters here are the radical parties, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Church of the People and, in some instances, the Americans for Democratic Action and the Young Democrats. Although refraining from denunciation of the witch hunt

itself, the American Civil Liberties Union helps provide legal aid to those victimized.

Other forces locally are today biding their time, waiting for an opening to hit back in defense of their democratic rights. Evidence to this effect came to light when the University of Washington recently barred from the campus Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the atomic scientist who has been labeled a "security risk." In retaliation several leading scientists of the country forced cancellation of scientific conferences scheduled to be held at the university. These events triggered a big protest movement among students and faculty in denunciation of the Oppenheimer ban as a blow at academic freedom.

Just as it violates academic freedom, everything about the witch hunt runs directly counter to the needs and interests of the people at large. At its base lies the "subversive" list, actually a political blacklist, intended to prevent the working class from launching a mass labor party, based on the powerful union movement. In modern terms the "subversive" list is an anti-labor instrument similar to the corporation blacklist used against union agitators when the CIO was fighting to organize the basic industries.

History proved that the blacklist couldn't stop the CIO because labor, once aroused to action, has the power to smash every obstacle put in its way. Today labor needs its own party, a dynamic mass force entering the national political arena in its own name and with its own class program to combat capitalist war and depression. The time is approaching when the workers will understand that need and bring their great power to bear toward that end.

BADGE OF HONOR

When that time comes the pioneer fighters for class struggle political action, who are today called "subversive," will wear that designation in honor's own party as a badge of honor, just as the men and women who bore the brunt of the open-shop blacklist were highly esteemed by the growing ranks of the victorious CIO.

[Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, recently completed a national tour during which we published his on-the-spot reports and analyses of the economic and political situation in some of the main industrial centers of the country. Comrade Dobbs is now completing these reports in a number of articles.]

THE MILITANT ARMY

It's now four weeks since the spring sub-crop began to sprout, and each day brings forth fresh shoots. The rows marked "Chicago," "Buffalo" and "New York" show greenest of all, but the sunshine of campaign enthusiasm works miraculously everywhere, and only a little more warmth is needed to produce a bumper crop for 1955.

Chicago's report this week is the kind we dream about getting. "With our two slogans, 'Chicago workers need this week's Militant' and 'Militant Sub Helps Sink Capitalism' we have sailed forth... We have divided the branch into teams, and are visiting old Militant subscribers and people who have never heard of the Militant. The response is wonderful. All's team is leading in the race with Ken and Mary's teams close behind. Ken is the leading individual seller. The winner gets a set of Little Lenin Library Books."

St. Paul just sent in four more subs, and with them the following appreciation: "We think the work done in some of the other cities, particularly New York and Philly in the campaign is wonderful! Philadelphia's neighborhood mobilization and route system is really the most valuable way of getting new readers, and we were happy to see them doing it. New York's sale of 100 Militants before a union meeting is exceptionally good! Hats off to New York!" Helen Sherman from Minneapolis sent a hasty but welcome

message. "We started out the Sub Campaign here in Minneapolis with the objective of getting new Militant readers. As a result, during the first two weeks a new sub was turned in for every renewal. How's that for the record!"

Johnnie Tabor, whose name is certainly familiar to readers of this column, as our live-wire agent in New York, reports, "The New York crew obtained eight subs since the last report. Five were call-backs and we are having good results on our call-backs. Three subs were new. Ray turned in two new 6-monthers. Ann, Pete and Janet obtained one from house-to-house call-back work. Julie and Howard turned in four for Brooklyn. We have promises for at least four subs on call-back work."

Lack of space prevents full quotes from our other agents. We can only say that in the past week we have received letters (and better still almost more subs than we can easily handle) from Akron, Allentown, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Seattle.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

- The American Labor Leaders Friday, June 10, at 8 P. M.
- New Trends in the South Friday, June 17, at 8 P. M.
- At 3000 Grand River, Rm. 207 Donation 25c. Free for Unemployed

Subscription \$3 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

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Monday, June 6, 1955

The Stalinist Frame-up System

When Nikita S. Khrushchev, head of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, admits that the Kremlin's attacks on the Yugoslav leaders since 1948 have been based on "fabricated" charges, he is confessing more than a single and incidental frame-up. He has unintentionally bared before the world the whole frame-up system which has destroyed millions from the very rise of Stalinism.

Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of political prisoners still languish in the Stalinist prisons and hard labor camps, both in the Soviet Union and the eastern European satellite countries. Thousands of these prisoners are survivors of the murderous purges that raged in eastern Europe during the drive against "Titoism."

The freedom of these political prisoners, as well as the destruction of the frame-up system itself, is the major demand of the cables sent by the Socialist Workers Party to Khrushchev and Tito. The SWP is proposing that a new inquiry be initiated into all the political trials. Such trials have featured the bloody purges that have been the hallmark of the bureaucracy's rule since it usurped power in the Soviet Union under Stalin in the Twenties.

In the case of the Titoists — and Tito himself — Khrushchev now ascribes the admittedly false charges to the "provocative role that Beria, Abakumov and others — recently exposed enemies of the people — played in the relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR."

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that Khrushchev himself and his hard-boiled, cunning, fellow-bureaucrats were the naive, trusting fools and impressionable idiots they pretend to be in this case. Let us accept the incredible claim that Beria, the late unlamented head of the Kremlin's secret political police, deceived Khrushchev and Co. into becoming unintentional participants in a frame-up.

Still, there was one who stood above them all, whose nod was necessary before the frame-up campaign against the Titoists could be set in motion. There was Stalin — the all-wise, the all-knowing, the infallible. Was he taken in too? If so, then it must have been an instance of credulity bordering on profound stupidity. For this was the third time in a row Stalin was deceived in his choice of GPU chiefs and chief executioners.

Let us recall, first of all, H. G. Yagoda, Stalin's handpicked chief of the dread GPU, who staged the first two of the infamous Moscow show trials. At these trials, the broken wrecks of some of the greatest leaders of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the closest colleagues of Lenin, drooled out their pitiful "confessions" of fantastic plots to "murder" Stalin and overthrow the Soviet Union at the behest of "foreign powers."

Desegregation: Principle vs. Practice

Those who had hoped that the Supreme Court's implementation ruling on school segregation would begin the dismantling of the Deep South's Jim-Crow educational system must have been sadly disillusioned by the recent decision. For there is no question that the high court has virtually sanctioned what the lawyers for the Negro school children argued against as a policy of "indefinite delay and local option."

What it boils down to now is that the Negro people have won from the Supreme Court the "principle" that school segregation is unconstitutional, but the white supremacists have won continuation of the "practice" of Jim Crow education for the indefinite future with, at worst, a little chiding from time to time by the courts.

Having a principle without the practice is not very satisfying. It is the "satisfaction" that the victim of a traffic accident has when he murmurs from his hospital bed, "I had the right of way." Indeed, the Negro people have had the "principle" of educational equality since 1868 when the 14th Amendment went into "force." However, the practice under the "separate but equal" implementation negated the "principle."

Similarly with the constitutional principle that Negro people have the right to vote. This principle has been in the Constitution since 1870. The practice has never yet been established throughout the South as the bullet-riddled corpse of Rev. George

responsibility" for the Kirov assassination of 1934 and summarily shot. He likewise arranged the Pyatakov-Radek trial of January 1937, when 13 were sentenced to death for alleged conspiracy with Hitler and the Japanese Mikado to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

This same Yagoda, who sent hundreds of thousands to their deaths and organized the first Moscow show trials, was suddenly arrested in the middle of 1937, charged with being an "enemy of the people" and an "agent of imperialism."

Yagoda's successor in charge of the secret police and the continuing purge was a sinister unknown named Yezhov. It was Yezhov who staged the trial that condemned Yagoda. Yezhov was almost maniacal in his blood lust during this trial and in the executions without trial of more hundreds of thousands at the height of the purge.

Thus the two GPU chiefs who had contrived all the political trials and "confessions" that wiped out the old Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union were themselves found to be "enemies of the people" and "agents of imperialism." Did Stalin look into the cases handled by such elements for possible frame-ups and injustices? Not on your life.

Not everyone then was as soft-headed and childishly trusting as Stalin when he appointed Beria — another "enemy of the people", as we now know — as his purger-in-chief. Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, foresaw the role and final destiny of Beria, who in 1940 successfully organized the pickaxe murder of Trotsky.

Trotsky was chief defendant in all the Moscow trials, although tried and sentenced in absentia. He wrote in the June 1939 New Internationalist magazine about Stalin's "resort to an all-powerful, universal and totalitarian intelligence service."

Indeed it has. But Khrushchev has done what Stalin never did — he has admitted the fact Beria was a frame-up artist. Can we doubt that Yezhov and Yagoda — "enemies of the people" and "agents of imperialism" — were likewise frame-up artists and that all their victims were murdered through processes and evidence "fabricated by enemies of the people?"

One thread of the whole frame-up system — the Tito case — has been unraveled by the criminals themselves. We must keep tugging away at that loose thread. More and more will become undone until nothing will remain of the lies and fabricated evidence out of which the millions of Stalinist frame-ups have been woven.

W. Lee in Belzoni, Mississippi, the first Negro in his county to register, tragically attests.

In its May 1954 decision the Supreme Court said: "To separate them [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Fine sentiments! A principled statement! But it doesn't do the Negro children in the South a bit of good. White-supremacist educational practices will continue to press down on their hearts and minds.

The Supreme Court has failed the Negro people. That should be no surprise to students of history. Equality isn't handed down to people as a gift from above when, as in the case of the Negro school children, they have a clear legal title to it. Equality is won by struggle.

The beginning of FEPC was won through struggle — the movement for the wartime March on Washington. Putting into practice the principle of school integration will also come only through the struggle of the Negro people and their allies. All real gains on this earth are won by fighting for them.

Ford Stock Scheme Anti-Union Device

(Continued from page 1)

your 5% of payroll in stock. Give us 4% in a guaranteed wage fund. We'll take 4% for those who need it most, rather than 5% for those who need it least."

But both the top UAW leadership and Ford Facts were silent on the most objectional and dangerous aspect of the Ford stock scheme. They were either unwilling or afraid to tell the whole truth — namely, that such stock plans always have been and always will be devices for undermining, housebreaking and even destroying unions.

The capitalist press wasn't afraid to speak about this feature of the Ford scheme. In an editorial warning Walter Reuther to reconsider the Ford offer, the Detroit Free Press wrote: "It is the traditional view of union leadership that union militancy suffers when union members share in their employers' profits" through stock schemes.

Yes, that has been the traditional view of the unions, even though the conservative Reuther leadership is reluctant to state it today. And it has been the traditional view because it is based on fact. Capitalists have always counted on the conservatizing effect of getting workers to buy a share or two of stock and getting them to think that thereby their interests and those

of the capitalists are made identical, rather than opposite.

On May 29 the Free Press quoted Lawrence H. Dilworth, president of the Detroit Stock Exchange: "If they can buy it at half price when it comes out, I think everybody at Ford's will work closer together. If employees have a stock interest in their company, they're going to do a better job. You may remember that when Chrysler Corp. was tooling up for its new models last fall, employees went from house to house to sell Chrysler cars. This is the sort of interest it develops."

It also quoted Dean Russell Stevenson of the University of Michigan's School of Business Administration: "Sears, Roebuck employees have accumulated almost a majority interest in the company. . . . And it makes employees more reasonable in their (labor) negotiations. You will notice that Sears, Roebuck seems to be getting along pretty well with its employees."

The Free Press editorial sneers at the traditional union view as "outworn shibboleths of ancient labor wars." But if the UAW is to counteract the conservatizing effect of the Ford stock offer and educate the workers to its real meaning, it must end its silence on this point, expose the really deadly objective behind the stock offer, and reject it on the ground that

it is a scheme to wreck the union through the promotion of class-collaboration tendencies among the workers.

INSULTING PROPOSAL

The so-called "income stabilization plan," Ford's substitute for the union's GAW demand, is one of the most insulting proposals offered to any big union in recent years. The union has asked the company to set up a fund to supplement the income of laid-off workers up to 52 weeks.

Ford's answer is to offer laid-off workers with one year's seniority the right to borrow money from the company, without interest, up to the difference between regular earnings for a 32-hour week and unemployment compensation. When the workers returned to the job, these loans would be taken out of their pay at the rate of one-half of their pay for four hours worked above a 32-hour week.

As the UAW negotiating committee said, this is a proposal that "Ford workers mortgage their future wages in order to provide their families with the minimum necessities of life during periods of unemployment. . . . (It) is a program for equalizing scarcity by having a worker spend wages that he may earn in the future to meet the needs of today."

Ford Facts said it "would put you in hock to the company

every time you are laid off or work a short workweek. . . . Ford is going into competition with the Household Finance Corporation."

It also pointed out various fishhooks and gimmicks in the offer: Maximum loans for a worker with one year's seniority would be two weeks pay, for five years' seniority 6 1/2 weeks pay, for 30 years' seniority 26 weeks pay; the offer would stand only if the government gave the company a special tax break on its loans; "you could not borrow your own wages if you refused to accept any work offered you by the company," etc.

Some of the ex-coal miners at Ford were reminded of their experience in company towns. All that's needed to complete the picture of peonage for them is for Ford to issue its own script, build a few stores and homes, and have a group of perpetually indebted and perpetually cowed workers at its disposal.

Even more phony is the so-called "separation allowance plan." On the surface, it looks good. But, the UAW negotiating committee notes, it would be paid "only to those workers to whom the company desired to pay it, and even then only if they are willing to sacrifice seniority and forfeit their pension rights and pension credits which they have accumulated by years of service."

"This plan would be highly profitable to Ford Motor Company since it would save much more in pension outlays than the separation allowance would cost. For example, a man with ten years' seniority and earning \$2.10 per hour, for receipt of \$1008 in separation allowance, would give up a pension worth \$2550. A woman worker, with 20 years' seniority, in return for \$2688 in separation allowance, would give up a pension worth \$5980 at age 65. Seniority and pension rights once given up in return for the separation allowance would never be restored, even if the workers were re-employed."

Since the offer was originally made the company has made a small revision in this part, but it still remains essentially a money-saving move at the expense of laid-off workers caught in an economic squeeze.

The instinctive reaction of the Ford workers against the company's counter-proposal was the correct one. And so was the UAW leadership's rejection. But the union must do more than reject Ford's proposals as inferior, inadequate, etc. It must also harden the UAW ranks for the battles that lie ahead, and counteract the effect of Ford's propaganda among sections of the middle class, by exposing the profoundly anti-labor nature and intent of the company's proposals.

What Ford Workers Say

DETROIT, May 28 — All three of the Detroit daily papers rushed out to get interviews with Ford workers and men and women in the street immediately after the Ford Motor Company made its phony "prosperity" offer to the UAW yesterday.

Although all three papers are pro-Ford and anti-union, they were compelled to report that public reaction to the Ford proposal was far from favorable.

"Workers Rap Ford Proposal," the Hearst Times admitted. "Most Ford Motor Co. workers interviewed today were highly critical of the company's contract offer. . . . All interviewed said they would strike if necessary to achieve the UAW objectives, but several hoped this wouldn't be necessary."

"Most Back Reuther at Rouge Plant," the News reported. "Most. . . were solidly behind UAW-CIO leaders who refuse to accept anything short of the guaranteed annual wage principles."

The five-year provision was a major target. Six workers interviewed near the Chevrolet Gear and Axle Division plant of GM agreed, "Five years is too long

to sign any contract. Two years would be better." A Dodge Main plant worker was quoted as saying the Ford offer looked good, "but why five years, two is much better."

A 56-year old Ford worker said he liked the Ford package, except for the five-year contract. "That's too long to have your hands tied. Things change too quickly today."

Out of eight Ford workers quoted in the Times, only two had anything favorable to say about the Ford offer, and both of them condemned the five-year provision.

COOL TO STOCK OFFER

Skepticism about the stock sale offer was widespread. "I don't think the company has made any real offer at all," said an electrician at Ford for 21 years.

"This offer to buy a part of the company is a trick. They say we can buy stock 'when it's available.' How do we know it will ever be available? Besides, even at half price, how many working guys could afford to buy enough to amount to anything?"

A Rouge foundry worker for 14 years said: "How do I know

the company is going to put its stock up for sale? The company is always giving the little guy a half an inch and taking a mile. Sure I'll go out on strike."

A cashier in a downtown restaurant said, "My husband works at Ford. But we could not buy any stock in the company. We don't have any money to spare to invest. We have three children."

"I work on the assembly line," said another Rouge worker, "and I don't know anything about stocks. If I did, I wouldn't be working on the line."

Another, holding the Ford bulletin listing the company's proposal, crumpled it in his hand and threw it to the ground. "This isn't what we want. What we want is a guaranteed annual wage. And we're going to get it. Wait and see."

A Ford worker with four children said: "I'm a 100% union man. Whatever the union does is OK with me. The company proposal sounds good on the surface, but if you don't stick with the union you won't have one. Everything sounds good the first time you read it. Sure, I'll strike if we don't get what we want."

Strikes Follow Tory Victory

(Continued from page 1)

was more prosperous. . . . Second, the Conservatives had managed to stake out a larger claim on the issue of which party would be the most effective instrument of peace. . . . Third, there was a widespread feeling that Labor had no real program. . . .

The third reason explains why the Tories were able to use the first two to advantage. In the absence of real programmatic differences between the parties there was a tendency for people to hope prosperity would last longer if the political boat wasn't rocked.

That the party of the imperialists and munitions makers could paint itself up as a peace party shows the impotence of the Attlee leadership on foreign policy. As the above quoted article of the N. Y. Times remarked, the Tories "got their biggest help on this issue from Washington when the administration at the outset of the campaign suddenly agreed to the summit meeting which Sir Anthony had been urging."

TORIES STEAL PLANK

Labor under Attlee followed an imperialist foreign policy. It joined in the "police action" in Korea, for example. There was not one iota of socialist internationalism in Attlee's foreign policy. Thus a secret deal with the U.S. State Department to announce the proposed Big Four meeting of the opening days of the British election campaign, allowed Eden to pose as a champion of peace.

Limited to imperialist foreign policy the Labor Party found that all its "thunder" on the crucial issue of peace or atomic war had been "stolen."

The only plank in the Labor platform of significant difference from the Tories was a played-down promise to re-nationalize the steel and truck transport industries. It is well known that the Attlee leadership has no fondness for this plank. Moreover, there is great disappointment among

British workers with the results of nationalizations.

The capitalist owners were handsomely remunerated for their industries at taxpayers' expense. Most important, however, there is no workers' control of the nationalized industries. They are run by anti-labor, capitalist-minded boards, as tough — or tougher — on wages and working conditions as the old bosses.

That nationalization without workers' control brings little benefits to the workers of the industries involved is shown by the current strike of 70,000 members of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

RAIL, DOCK STRIKES

Here are the wages of these highly skilled workers: engine cleaners — \$18.62 a week; firemen and assistant motormen — \$22.96 a week; engineers — \$27.30 a week. Men living in London, where the cost of living is higher, get a bonus of 42 cents a week.

To live they have to work overtime. This brings their take home pay up to \$28 to \$44.80. One locomotive engineer told how he had earned \$64.80 the week before the strike by working 87 hours instead of 40.

The leaders of the big National Union of Railwaymen are playing a shameful role in opposing the demands of these craft workers out of jurisdictional interests. This enables Eden to prepare government strikebreaking with the claim that the strike is not "legitimate" but jurisdictional. Another great strike struggle is taking place on the waterfront. Last year the London longshoremen in the catch-all union of 1 1/4 million workers, the Transport & General Workers Union, revolted and set up their own union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores & Dockers. The bureaucrats fought them fiercely, trying to ban them from the industry, but were beaten by strike action.

Now the movement of the longshoremen for a democratic and militant union has spread to other British ports. The demand is essentially that of union recognition.

The Tory cabinet is backing up the employers and the bureaucrats of the T&GWU against the right of Longshoremen to have a union of their own choosing. Cariously enough the press keeps implying the Communist Party is behind the dockers' strike. Actually the Stalinists are playing a strike-breaking role by supporting the T&GWU and against the new union.

The most sinister development is Prime Minister Eden's threat to declare a state of emergency. This would allow him to use troops against the railroad and dock workers. It could be the beginning of a government offensive against the right to strike and against unionism such as the Tories launched after the defeat of the General strike in 1926.



JOINED FORCES IN ELECTION: Clement Attlee (left), right-wing leader of the British Labor Party, and Aneurin Bevan, left-wing leader, patched up their differences sufficiently to join forces in the Laborite election campaign. The conflict is expected to be renewed following Tory victory. (See story on Page 1.)

JUNE SELECTION FOR BOOK-A-MONTH

MOTHER. A Novel. By Maxim Gorky. Translated by Margaret Wetlin. Cloth Covers. Illustrated. 1950. Special Book-a-Month price \$1.00 (plus 15c. for postage and handling).

This is probably the most popular work of the great Russian novelist, Maxim Gorky. It appeared after the defeat of the 1905 Revolution and was a great morale builder for the underground movement.

The story is that of the wife of a factory worker in a mill town. The husband, embittered by life, takes to drink and beating up whomever he can. In the old Russian tradition the wife is nearest to hand and suffers most. His premature death leaves her with a teen-age son, who at first tries to emulate his father but then somehow becomes interested in the radical movement.

As the son becomes a socialist, with whole new worlds of interest and activity opening up to him, the illiterate mother's life and views also begin to change. First through pride in her son because he is not a loafer or drinker and then through meeting his friends, who come secretly to the house for meetings.

Her great maternal love begins to encompass all these young idealists. She has a sympathy and understanding for them on a human level that supplements the stern political attitude of the son who has become the group's leader. Not through books and theory does she learn about the movement but through police raids, the attempts to build a union in the factory and the sacrifices of the dedicated people that come to her house.

In an emergency situation she herself becomes involved in the distribution of illegal leaflets and then becomes more and more involved in party work. Slowly she learns to read, and glimpses the world of intellect and culture, that she, as a peasant girl never dreamed existed.

In the course of years she becomes an underground organizer, having displayed a unique ability to do work with the peasants. She leads a life of illegality and even participates in a daring jail

delivery. Her fame spreads in the movement not only because of her deeds but because of the human warmth and love that she gives so unsparingly to her comrades.

From the bare sketch given above one might think the story a sentimental success story in a propaganda style. But this is not so. Gorky is a great artist and an accomplished master in the school of Russian realism. His pictures are drawn from life and the mother's transformation from a dull, superstitious wife, shrinking from the world because it has only offered her blows, to a revolutionary rings completely true.

At first she is dismayed to learn her son and his friends are anti-religious. Nor does she ever give up her religious beliefs. Piercing new doubts about this strange new world she has become involved in crop up to terrify her. Throughout her life she fears arrest because the police may beat her and the memory of beatings by her husband has left her more than normally afraid.

Gorky's novel is a social document of life in Czarist Russia. All the social types are there. This is particularly true of the young people and it demonstrates the universality of this writer that Americans will recognize from their own experience the various young men and women who appear under Russian names in the socialist movement Gorky portrays.

This novel didn't appear in the U.S. until the 1920's. It is not as well-known as it should be, nor too easy to get. It will be of interest to everyone who likes good literature. It is a very moving and exciting story. It will be of special interest to those in the labor and socialist movements.

Book-A-Month Plan June Selection Mother By Maxim Gorky Great Russian novel of socialist struggle against Czarism Special June Price \$1.00 (plus 15¢ mailing charge) Payments must accompany order PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, New York

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Can Jim Crow Be Abolished Under Capitalism?

Last week this column quoted extensively from a discussion by Ralph Matthews, a thoughtful writer on the problem of Negro leadership, because he raises this important problem for conscious consideration in the Negro press more seriously and consistently than any other columnist we know.

In his column from which we quoted he made the point very sharply that the hand-picked Negro representatives to world conferences, such as Edith Sampson, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, or the self-appointed ones, such as Congressman Adam Clayton Powell at the recent Asian-African Conference in Bandung, have "no understanding of the problem of Negroes either at home or abroad," and serve the interests of the ruling white supremacists rather than of the Negro masses.

As Mr. Matthews correctly stated, "They confuse the opportunity to buy the white man's gadgets with the opportunity to earn enough to pay for them which is still far removed from the reach of millions of Negroes."

In a continuation of his discussion of the problem of leadership in his column of May 28th, Matthews raises other pertinent considerations. He points out that circumstances create leaders, that those who have attained stature in the past "merely possessed the talents and the ability which the times demanded and they rose to the top because there was a need for them."

The logic of Mr. Matthews' approach, one would think, would be to analyze what "the times demand" of leadership today, in order to understand what must take the place of the misleadership he rejects.

Unfortunately, Matthews spends too little time on the question of the program, or course of action needed today. Tearing down false leadership is a necessary part of the job of replacing it with correct leadership, but the constructive part of the process, in itself a function of leadership, is to clarify and formulate the demands of today.

For example, we'd like to hear more of Mr. Matthews' ideas as to what should be done to end the disadvantageous economic position of the Negro masses which deprives them of "the opportunity to earn enough to pay for . . . the white man's gadgets."

We think that a careful examination of the question leads to the inevitable conclusion that so long as there is private ownership of industry and its products, the masses, Negro and white, must be deprived of the opportunity to earn enough to pay for the full value of what they produce — in order that the owners may continue to make profits. Further, we think that as long as the profit system is retained, the relatively few who maintain their rights and privileges as owners at the expense of the rest of society will continue to exploit differences of color, sex, age, religion, etc. to prevent the overwhelming majority, the workers, from uniting in their common class interest, to wipe out the system of inequality of opportunity.

We think that the Negro struggle today needs leadership with this understanding and a revolutionary perspective. What does Mr. Matthews think?

Talk in an Auto Plant

By Ben Haines

There's a lot of confusion among auto workers in the New York area when the question of the Guaranteed Annual Wage or the possibility of a strike is being discussed. But when the conversation turns to job conditions and the inhuman speedup on the assembly lines, they are all of the same opinion.

Not only are they being physically exhausted, but their social and family life is suffering as well.

Jim, who has been an auto worker for two years, puts it this way, "You know, I'm always beat. I never used to feel this way on my last job. I used to kid around with the wife a lot and now I go home and sometimes I don't even want to look at her."

Joe, another young worker with a wife and three children, plus monthly payments on a house and a car, says, "Everybody called me 'hungry' because I always wanted overtime. Now I don't care for overtime anymore. The more I make the more I spend. I wish they'd slow down, this job is killing me. The worst part of it is that I can't quit."

Another worker who has been on nights for two years and is the father of two boys was bitter. He said, "My kids are getting disgusted with me, they don't even call me daddy anymore."

A worker reminiscing about how good it was when the plant slowed down during the summer said, "Boy! Wouldn't it be good to work only six hours a day regular."

"That's what I'm for," said another worker, "A thirty-hour week with full pay." Then he added, "Some day we'll even have a four-hour day." As the worker next to him smiled he said, indignantly, "You think we won't?"

"Sure" replied the other worker, "But you know how long that's going to take? Maybe we'll have it by 19—, 19—, 19—, 1999!"

Invariably the discussion gets back to job conditions and how rotten they all feel. A common saying is, "You know where you're going when you leave here, don't you?" And someone will answer, "Sure. The cemetery. That's the next step."

Notes from the News

OHIO LEGISLATORS feel no need to conceal their contempt for the labor movement. At hearings of the State Senate Commerce and Labor Committee where higher unemployment benefits are being asked, Senator Danner (Akron) ostentatiously took out his handkerchief and pretended to shed tears when the Ohio CIO Secretary-Treasurer described the condition of the unemployed in the state. Later in the hearing Senator Pollock (Canton) attacked the integrity of the State AFL spokesman, accusing him of testifying for higher unemployment benefits only because he was being paid for so doing.

HOW PROFITS COULD BE MADE from the use of public highways is a problem currently bothering the Economic Research Department of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It smacks too much of socialism to have people riding on tolls, down all over the country without paying tolls. So they propose that someone "figure out new ways and means by which user-supported privately-owned highways can be constructed and made effective." Will the pedestrian that just wants to cross the street also be charged a toll?

THE POST OFFICE has banned from the mails the book, "Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom" by Avro Manhattan. The book was first published in England and circulated freely in this country until the fall of 1954 when the Post Office decided it as unmailable.

A BILL TO CHANGE ELECTORAL COLLEGE system of electing presidents has been introduced by Senator Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Senator Price (D-Texas). The proposed change has been bitterly assailed by the National Association for

the Advancement of Colored People. The bill would divide the electoral college vote of each state in proportion to the popular vote received by the respective candidates. The NAACP points out this bill, which was defeated in a previous Congress, was originally introduced by Texas representative Gossett for the proclaimed purpose of curbing the voting power of Negroes and other minorities in the populous Northern and Western states. Gossett said it would curb organized labor, i.e. Italian, Polish, Jewish and Irish vote in the big Northern states.

NOT SCARED — MUCH! An official letter of the American Medical Association to doctors states: "As a safeguard against any suspicions of communist sympathies, physicians who wish to keep the record straight should write to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, requesting that their names be taken off that organization's mailing list. A carbon copy of the letter should be sent to the nearest office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or to the FBI in Washington, along with the propaganda material received. This precaution is advised because records are kept of persons receiving communist literature for any considerable length of time."

RADIATION EFFECTS ON HUMANS. Among the survivors of Hiroshima were 185 pregnant women who had received some of the "hottest" radiation. Fifteen of the children who were born to them had heads smaller than the average and "some degree of mental retardation." There was some temporary infertility among adult survivors. Of those survivors who had been in the "hot" area 40% developed cataract-like spots on the eye lenses. Adult survivors also developed 18 times as much leukemia as did the general population.

"DANGEROUS" WOMAN. A federal judge in California has denied citizenship to the German war bride of an American sergeant presently stationed in Europe. The woman belongs to Jehovah's Witnesses. Using the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, the judge demanded that she take an oath of willingness to work in a munitions factory. Because of her religious pacifist beliefs, Mrs. Saccio has conscientious objections to doing anything to promote killing. The Northern California Civil Liberties Union, which is fighting her case, contends that her willingness to do hospital, mental institution, and other work accepted by the government as a substitute for military service by native pacifists, should be sufficient in her case.

THE MILITANT

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Unionists Picket Witch Hunters



Fifteen hundred members of the independent United Electrical and Machine Workers shown demonstrating against House Un-American Activities Committee "hearings" in Newark, May 16-19. This sparked resistance to witch hunters. Although three teachers were suspended for invoking Fifth Amendment, the Newark Teachers Union (AFL) came to their defense. At crowded Board of Education meeting May 26 NTU upheld teachers' constitutional rights.

From Detroit

Michigan Adopts FEPC

The labor and Negro movements scored a victory when the Michigan legislature finally passed the Fair Employment Practices Commission Bill. Michigan thus becomes the 15th state in the country with an FEPC law. The new law is neither the best nor the worst of the 15.

The next question is how the law will be enforced. In the other states enforcement has been weak and limited; little attempt is made to punish employers who continue to discriminate; and employers can get away with wide-scale discrimination if they will just do a little "token" hiring first, so that they can point to a couple of Negro employees as proof of their "liberalism."

The next stage in the FEPC fight is a movement to compel genuine and full enforcement. That won't be achieved until enforcement is placed in the hands of the labor and Negro movements, armed with the right to intervene at the point of hiring — that is, at the gate and in the employment office, where bias is still most flagrant today.

Even if there is no auto strike, there will be a 20% drop in auto employment beginning in July,

according to Ward's Automotive Reports. In July and August seven companies, and in September three others, will cut down on operation for new model switchovers.

UAW President Walter Reuther has appointed a Negro as one of his administrative assistants. The new appointee is Kermit Mead, former Ford employee and a UAW staff member since 1949. The move is seen as an attempt by Reuther to lessen resentment arising out of his refusal to support any Negro for member of the international executive board at the recent Cleveland convention.

Ford Local 600 Election Results

DETROIT, May 30 — The runoff elections at the Ford Rouge plant last week resulted in the defeat of seven of the 17 incumbent unit chairmen of UAW Local 600.

Two of these were Reutherites — chairmen of the Dearborn Iron Foundry and the Dearborn Stamping Plant units, two of the largest in the Rouge. Horace Sheffield, president of the foundry unit and the leading Reutherite

in the local, was swamped by an almost two-to-one vote.

But the other five defeated incumbents were more or less identified with Carl Stellato, president of Local 600, who was easily re-elected to office earlier in the month and swept his slate of candidates for local-wide posts into office with him.

The explanation for this apparent discrepancy is as follows:

The Rouge workers are pretty solidly behind Stellato as a progressive opponent of the Reutherite bureaucracy in the international union. At the same time they demand more than generalities in their day-to-day struggles with the Ford Motor Co. They want better working conditions and a struggle against speedup in the plant, and many of them tend to express their discontent at the unit level by voting against unit leaders who haven't met their needs, whether they are Reutherites or anti-Reutherites.

Reutherite influence now appears to be at a new low in Local 600, but mere anti-Reutherism is not enough to insure election for unit leaders who fail to show some leadership in the fight for better plant conditions.

Judge Puts Gag On Jurors after Bryson Verdict

By Roy Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26 — Hugh Bryson, former president of the recently-defeated National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards, was cleared yesterday of a government witch-hunt charge.

How the jury arrived at its verdict is not known. Judge Mathes ordered that no juror could make any statement without his express permission. He also issued an order restraining everyone in the court room, including the press, from communicating with the jurors.

JURY PUZZLED

The term "affiliation" was the center of controversy all during the 15-day trial. It also perplexed the jury. Shortly after they went into session they requested a dictionary so they could determine the word's meaning. Federal Judge William C. Mathes denied their request saying he would supply definitions for any words the jury might not understand.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Mathes said affiliation meant "a relationship short of and less than membership in the Communist Party." (Webster defines the word "affiliate": "To receive into the family as a son; hence, usually, to bring or receive into close connection; to ally; to unite or attach as a member or branch.")

Earlier in the trial Judge Mathes offered to take judicial notice of the nature and character of the Communist Party — an action that, in effect, would describe the Party's aims for the jury.

The prosecuting attorney, Robert H. Schnacke, didn't think that necessary. He said, "The Government is not asking that the court take notice of the matter. There is no need of proof of the specific purpose of the Party." The defense made no comment.

Judge Mathes, referring to the charge that Bryson was affiliated with the Communist Party, then asked: "Do you gentlemen suggest that the record be left so that, for all the jurors may know, the Communist Party might be a sewing circle or a social club? I assure you that I expect to instruct the jury that in order to find proof of affiliation they must find everything short of membership. It cannot be otherwise without violating the constitution."

Defense attorneys Richard Gladstein and George R. Anderson announced they would appeal. They contended that no evidence of Bryson's alleged affiliation had been proved. They further charged that the judge's instructions to the jury were inadequate.

PART OF WITCH HUNT

Bryson's trial was regarded by militant trade unionists in this area as part of a double-barreled anti-labor offensive. Since 1949, the unions that were expelled from the CIO for being "Communist dominated" have faced continuous attacks from government, shipowners, Big Business organizations and the right wing union officials. Raids, gangsterism, phony elections and legal frameups figured in these attacks. The prosecution of Bryson for allegedly misrepresenting his connection with a political party is the most recent phase of this attack.

Bryson is free on \$10,000 bail. He will be sentenced on June 8. The defense, in representing their case, set out to prove that most of the government's witnesses were put to get Bryson. Typical is the evidence given by Phil S. Murphy, 33, a former seaman. He said that in June 1953 one of the government's witnesses, Robert Stewart, had told him: "You have to get the Commie rats like Bryson before you can take over the union."

Murphy said that he met Stewart when they were both members of the AFL Marine Cooks and Stewards, a rival of Bryson's union. Murphy told of an AFL meeting in 1952 where Stewart took the floor and said: "I just got through talking to some high Government officials. I have been talking to Mr. Hoover. Believe me we are going to put him (Bryson) in jail."

...Meaning of Kremlin Turnabout on Tito

(Continued from page 1)

up by capitalist liberals of the Isaac Deutscher school, and his disciples among the Pabloties and Cochranites, as evidence of the democratic self-reform of the Soviet bureaucracy, and a crumbling of the ideological monolithism, not only of Stalinist dogma, but Stalinist practice as well.

The answer to the Kremlin's turnabout lies elsewhere.

It lies first and foremost in the fact that whatever revolutionary prestige and authority Tito's regime had in any section of the world labor movement, particularly in the USSR and Eastern Europe, has been so completely and wantonly dissipated by his abject capitulation to Western imperialism, that the Soviet bureaucracy no longer has anything whatever to fear from him. Consequently, they can embark upon a diplomatic maneuver without fearing that the masses in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union will be stirred by him to political opposition.

Added to this is the most potent fact of all: Titoism is not today, and never was, a viable, independent political tendency in the labor movement. In all the years of its existence, since the break with Stalin, it never for a moment had an independent class position on any single world-wide issue confronting the working class.

After Tito's ignominious stand in support of imperialist intervention in the Korean Civil War; after he lined up with Wall Street on the Atlantic Pact, even on German rearmament, what has the Kremlin to fear from Tito?

To be sure, the Kremlin can claim at least one success in relation to Yugoslavia. It succeeded in driving Tito into the arms of imperialism to the extent that he has become com-

pletely discredited in the eyes of the radical and revolutionary working class elements.

While Tito's dissipation of his original revolutionary capital is a major factor in the new relation between Tito and the Kremlin, it is not the sole reason. A no less cogent reason lies in the onerous terms of American imperialism's military and economic aid to Yugoslavia. We, as American revolutionaries, are the last to overlook this significant point. American aid to Yugoslavia is calculated to aid Wall Street, first and foremost. Consequently, Tito's half-turn to the Kremlin is due, in part, paradoxically enough, to the pressure of U.S. imperialism.

This can be illustrated in terms of the internal situation in Yugoslavia.

On Jan. 5, the Times correspondent Jack Raymond wrote, "Yugoslavia's economy is in such bad shape that Pres. Tito has had to promise that the government will make a great effort to improve the living standard, even if it meant postponement of some capital projects — She is caught in a vicious circle of inflation, debts, unfavorable trade balances, and uncompleted industrial projects."

Mind you, this is not in 1948, but in the year 1954. A bird's eye view of the present Yugoslavia will help to make this a little clearer.

The country only has slightly less than 17 million people, 80% of whom live on agriculture. On Dec. 5, 1946, the government nationalized private economic enterprises in 42 basic branches of industry including mining, metals, and all industries which process natural products. This was predicated on the idea that exports to the Eastern bloc and credits advanced from them would enable a rapid industrialization. Yugoslavia would export a great deal of food products in

exchange. But the break with the Stalin regime disrupted the economic life of Yugoslavia.

Was U.S. imperialism's aid a substitute whereby it could fill the economic vacuum created by the Kremlin's blockade? Absolutely not! This is what the American imperialist press has carefully concealed. The U.S. State Department's policy has been aptly summed up in the formula: "Aid to Tito to Aid the West." In practice it has meant the slow strangulation of all nationalized industry, and the impossibility of establishing a stable foundation on which they could build. Building socialism in one country, like Yugoslavia is even more fantastic than in the USSR.

Consider the fact, the USA granted Yugoslavia "aid" which amounted to \$379 million. But the annual trade deficit has amounted to \$100 million since this aid started. Also, bear in mind that one third of this aid is in the form of food — to Yugoslavia — an agricultural country! But the only way Yugoslavia can pay for anything it purchases from the West is by increasing its agricultural products. To do this effectively requires tractors and related equipment. This the USA, Britain and West Germany could easily supply in mass quantity. But do they want to? Of course not!

This is the real reason why 1,000 collective farms were dissolved in 1952, leaving only 6,000 in 1953. To be sure, the collective farm principle has not been abandoned, but the decrees issued in 1953 made participation in them "voluntary." The reluctance of the peasants to participate without tractors and equipment is well known. Consequently, in May, 1953, the government was obliged to limit private holdings to ten hectares (24.7 acres) for fear of collapse

of the whole program of collectivization.

It must also not be forgotten that Yugoslavia is one of the few countries whose economic situation is so unstable, in spite of the loan it got from the World Bank, it had to constantly apply for extensions of short-term debt obligations to the U.S. Any small country that has to depend on short-term borrowings is in the same spot as an individual running to a pawnbroker.

It is not surprising therefore, that the Yugoslav budget for 1955, reflecting the lack of foreign credit and capital goods, indicated a drastic turn from investment in basic industry to agriculture. Commenting on this turn, the Times correspondent, Jan. 4, characterizes it as a "reluctant switch." He says, "Western observers felt it didn't go far enough." What Western observers? He means the Rockefeller and Morgans who control the U.S. State Department felt it didn't go far enough. How far should the Yugoslav government have gone in its forced abandonment of industrialization in favor of agriculture? Probably back to the days of Alexander I and the landed aristocracy!

The N. Y. Times is absolutely correct in stating that the Kremlin rulers are also motivated by their desire to build a "neutral belt" with Yugoslavia as the southern anchor. But why? Because of the rearmament of the Western Germany. The rearmament of Western Germany, however, is intimately connected with the June 17, 1953 East German uprising, which revealed the utter lack of working class support in East Germany for the bureaucracy. When the Stalinist regime crushed the uprising, it strengthened the hand of the Western imperialists, emboldened West German capital. Thus having alienated the vi-

tally important German working class (in both East and West Germany) by the brutal suppression of the East German revolt, and being frightened at the prospect of a re-armed capitalist Germany, the Kremlin rulers are attempting to redress the consequent deterioration in the international position of the Soviet Union by concocting a phantom "neutralist" bloc.

This is nothing more than a conglomeration of capitalist states plus Yugoslavia.

Could there be a grosser example of the renunciation of international class politics of the working class in favor of the power bloc politics of the capitalists?

So if we are to search for the present motivation of the Soviet bureaucrats in their attempt at a rapprochement with Tito, it must be traced back to the East German uprising. A successful proletarian uprising would have immensely strengthened the Soviet Union by commencing a world-wide wave of revolution.

In conclusion, the Khrushchev-Bulgarian visit again confirms that there are only three great tendencies in the contemporary world labor movement: Stalinism, social-democracy and the revolutionary Marxism of Lenin and Trotsky. The latter tendency is distinguished from the other two basically and principally because of its complete and utter irreconcilability on the world proletarian class line. The social democracy and Stalinism and all their derivative shades and hues have this in common — they renounce in practice a world class line, and practice "national socialism" as a foreign policy, and opportunism at home. The Khrushchev-Bulgarian visit, rather than proving the regeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy, proves the bankruptcy of Titoism as an independent political tendency.

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