

Millions Demand Wage Raises to Meet Price Rises

By Art Preis

War-inflated prices plus fears of a government-imposed wage freeze have spurred wage demands by unions representing several million workers.

Under pressure of a wave of strikes that conservative union leaders have been unable to restrain, major corporations in the auto, electrical and other important industries have already been forced to grant wage concessions.

In addition to increased basic wage rates, the most significant aspect of recent settlements, particularly in auto, is the widespread inclusion of cost-of-living escalator clauses in contracts. These provide for periodic automatic wage increases scaled to

No Difficulty in Getting Signatures For Grace Carlson

By Chester K. Johnson
Campaign Manager

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 17 — Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 5th District Representative in Congress, is assured of a place on the ballot in Minnesota.

After only five days' work circulating petitions to place the SWP in the election race, 600 signatures, or 100 more than the 500 required, have been obtained. Campaign workers, however, are so enthusiastic about the response to putting a Trotskyist on the ballot that they plan to get an additional 200 signatures.

Many of the signers have expressed enthusiasm over the entrance of the Socialist Workers Party in the congressional race here. "We've had enough of the Republicans and Democrats — they don't do anything for the workers," one trade unionist said. "It's about time to give Socialism a chance."

LIKE DEBS' Campaign workers have also found that many persons recall the election campaign of Eugene V. Debs and the fact that he served time in prison for his socialist views during the first World War, as Grace Carlson did during World War II. "I'll sign for your candidate — she's a real Socialist like Debs," one worker said and passed the petition board among his friends, urging them to sign.

Following the announcement of Grace Carlson's candidacy last Sunday, a number of persons have called and visited party headquarters, expressing interest in her anti-war position and socialist program for the U. S.

(Continued on page 2)

DAN ROBERTS NAMED FOR CONGRESS RACE IN WASH.

By Marianne Stanley
Campaign Manager

SEATTLE, Sept. 17 — At a nominating convention held here last Tuesday, the Washington State District of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Daniel Roberts for the office of U. S. Representative from the First Washington District.

Roberts, a 32-year old produce worker, has been Washington District organizer for the past seven years. He is a seasoned political campaigner, having run on the SWP ticket for Governor in 1948 and for the State Legislature in 1946.

The convention was well attended by an enthusiastic gathering of members and friends, who pledged \$285 for a campaign fund. More than the necessary number of registered voters' signatures was obtained on the certificate of nomination required by the law to place a minority party on the ballot in Washington.

Daniel Roberts is opposed by Mrs. F. F. Powell, Republican, member of the stagnant Seattle City Council for years. Incumbent Hugh Mitchell, the darling of the ADA, who likes to pose as a great liberal, is the Democratic Party candidate. The Stalinists are running Paul Bowen, a Negro.

This campaign will afford Roberts an excellent opportunity to expose not only Mitchell's phony "welfare statism," but also the policies of the Communist Party. When Secretary of State Coe threatened to attempt to rule the CP off the ballot, the Stalinists chose the ballot name of "Independent Voters Party" and a correspondingly innocuous program.

Election plans call for the maximum number of personal appearances by the candidate before union meetings, Negro gatherings, and forums of politically



DANIEL ROBERTS

interested students on the University of Washington campus. A campaign document containing the party program will be distributed at plant gates and elsewhere. In addition, radio broadcasts will be made over the local networks.

In his acceptance speech, candidate Roberts outlined the platform on which he is running. "We are opposed to Truman's war in Korea and favor the immediate withdrawal of troops from Korea," he said. Emphasizing the SWP's opposition to the growing drive to establish an American police dictatorship, he stated, "We are for freedom of speech for everyone, including the Stalinists, although they are our bitterest enemies. We are campaigning for a Workers and Farmers Government," he concluded, "instead of a government dominated by Big Business such as we have today."

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Sweet Land of Liberty



New Coast Guard Demand Rejected By AFL Seamen

Officials of the AFL maritime unions are now frightened by the consequences of the current Coast Guard purge to which they themselves had agreed at the Washington conference last July.

The AFL union leaders had hoped that the purge would be directed solely against their militant opponents within the unions. But they are discovering now that the government has far more sweeping aims: the destruction of independent unionism in the maritime industry, which the Coast Guard is promoting by its demand that all seamen "voluntarily" give up their present certificates for new ones issued by the Coast Guard.

The vote was 312 to 20 in the House and 51 to 7 in the Senate. Although Truman himself had criticized the original McCarran bill, only 18 Democrats in the House and 6 in the Senate voted against the even more drastic and brutal final bill.

It now awaits Truman's signature or veto. He can veto it with the assurance that its supporters, including most of the Truman "Fair Dealers," are strong enough to override his veto and enact the bill into law.

It was the "Fair Dealers" who introduced the Kilgore "preventive detention" bill as a "substitute" for the McCarran bill, which they called "dangerous, burdensome and repressive." Truman called this Nazi-like "detention" bill an improvement over McCarran's. Most of the "Fair Dealers" ended up by voting to add the Kilgore bill to the McCarran bill and then voted for the combined police-state measure.

CAUSE FOR SUSPICION
The Log explains: "The suspicious nature of the Coast Guard scheme was further evidenced by a contradiction contained in its memorandum on the issuance of the new seamen's papers. Although applications were to be made on a purely voluntary basis, the CG memorandum concluded with this statement: 'It may be expected that after a reasonable time only those persons holding specially validated documents will be eligible for employment on merchant vessels'."

Meanwhile the victimization of seamen continues to go on. In a front page editorial attacking the "super-supers," the Log cites the case of "two Seafarers recently barred from ships" by the Coast Guard without any explanation.

The demand for an appeal hearing was met with the notification that the Appeal Board is as yet non-existent.

Despite their protests and alarm, however, the SIU leaders are still facilitating the government's union-busting campaign by conceding the Coast Guard's right to purge so-called "subversive" workers.

McCARRAN-KILGORE BILL SENT TO WHITE HOUSE

SEPT. 21 — By the time you read this, the Bill of Rights may be dead and the United States of America a police state.

The House and Senate yesterday whipped through the McCarran-Kilgore omnibus "anti-subversives" bill, after a joint committee of both houses had speedily put the final touches on the combined McCarran registration and Kilgore concentration-camp bills passed by the Senate on Sept. 12.

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TRULY "CATCH-ALL"
The 68-page bill passed by Congress contains all the most repressive features of all the "anti-subversive" measures introduced into Congress during the past several years. These include Truman's own "espionage and sabotage" bill, as well as the Munk-Nixon, Wood, Hobbs and Kilgore bills.

It defines the "Communist movement," "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations as criminal and requires the registration of all such organizations, as well as all members of "Communist action" groups.

Failure to register when ordered to do so by a hand-picked board makes violators liable to 10 years in prison and \$10,000 fine for each day of violation.

CRIME TO TAKE JOB
The bill makes it a crime for a member of a "Communist action" organization to take a job in a defense plant, which includes not only plants engaged in

Workers of the World, Unite!

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We Accuse Congress of High Crimes

Police-State Bill is Conspiracy To Subvert Bill of Rights and Destroy Civil Liberties

By The Editors

We accuse Congress of high crimes against the American people.

Every member of Congress who voted for any form of the McCarran-Kilgore-Wood-Mundt-Nixon registration and concentration-camp bill is guilty of conspiracy to subvert and destroy the Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

These members of Congress should be indicted, tried, convicted, punished and banished from public life.

They have violated their oaths to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Their speeches and votes are overt acts in furtherance of their conspiracy to abolish free speech, press and assembly, to deny trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus and punishment only for crimes.

Their attempt to impose concentration-camp, police-state rule on America is a "clear and present danger" to government founded on democratic liberties. They have passed a bill, patterned after the decrees of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Hirohito and Stalin, that would make it a crime to think "dangerous thoughts." They would arrest and hold in Nazi-like "preventive detention," without jury trial, anyone who "might" hold such thoughts.

Who are the most frenzied supporters of this police-state bill?

They are the open labor-haters who passed the Taft-Hartley Law; the lynchers and white-supremacists who howled down FEPC; the McCarrans who publicly embrace bloody dictator Franco; the Rankins who use Congress as a forum for their filthy spewings against Jews and Negro; the monopoly corporations, war profiteers and price-gougers, their prostitute press and hired hands of every degree.

Labor exploiters, lynchers, bribe-givers and bribe-takers, grafters, professional militarists yearning for war, advancement and glory — all the corrupt, brutal, gangrenous elements in our society — have seized on the occasion of the Korean war to push through their long-cherished schemes to crush all their opponents and critics.

The lesson of the two worst Congresses in American history — the Democratic 81st and the Republican 80th — is that capitalist politics of any variety leads to the police state.

What is needed is a new party, a labor party, based on the unions and enlisting the Negro people, the working farmers, the youth and all other targets of capitalist regimentation and exploitation.

A national labor party ticket cannot be put into the field in time for this election. But the groundwork for its organization and success in the next campaign can be laid right now.

By rejecting every form of capitalist politics at the polls, the labor rank and file can help to make their union leaders — the chief opponents of a labor party — understand that if they do not support an independent labor party they face repudiation by the union ranks.

The one positive way to demonstrate rejection of capitalist politics is to pile up a big vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, firmest fighter against the witch-hunt, most consistent advocate of a labor party and staunchest proponent of a Workers and Farmers Government. A large vote for the SWP will be viewed as a protest against thought-control and concentration camps and for independent labor political action that will lead to a Workers and Farmers Government as the sole alternative to a capitalist police state.

Give Yugoslavs Food They Need

By Joseph Hansen
SWP Candidate for U. S. Senator from N. Y.

The revolution of the Yugoslav people against capitalism is in danger. A summer drought has destroyed about 40% of the corn crop alone. Wheat and other grains have likewise suffered severely. Farmers, short of food, are forced to slaughter cattle.

To get through the winter without famine, Yugoslavia needs at least 1,000,000 tons of corn, 500,000 tons of wheat and 500,000 tons of other vital foodstuffs.

Ordinarily Yugoslavia exports a big part of her harvests, paying for purchases abroad with this surplus. Because of the strain to get essential machinery and other supplies, Yugoslavia has been unable to build up a reserve of food stocks. Thus the winter perspective is grim.

The Yugoslav people not only face hunger; their entire heroic effort to heal the wounds left by war and the Nazi occupation is threatened. They may have to

hold up orders for industrial equipment already placed, thus further endangering the plans for their economy which were already dislocated by the Kremlin's boycott. Even this desperate measure will not be sufficient to guarantee food.

In addition Washington wants far-reaching political concessions. That is why the loan application gathers dust in a pigeon hole. They were willing to pour billions of dollars into the rat-hole of dictator Chiang Kai-shek's repudiated regime. But for a popular regime that tries to steer an independent course, Truman's rule is tightening the screws!

At official rates, the foodstuffs needed to tide Yugoslavia over the winter will cost about \$120,000,000. This is a relatively small amount and it would be wholly in the generous spirit of the American people to grant the food with no talk of payment.

Even then the actual cost would come nowhere near \$120,000,000. The government can take it out of the vast surpluses which have been artificially removed from the market to keep up prices. These surpluses, as is well known, are so great they have overflowed storage capacities and much of it cannot be kept without serious deterioration.

However, the Yugoslav government is not asking for a handout. It is willing to pay for the food, assuming the debt as a government obligation.

But the cold blood of the Wall Street banking system flows in the veins of the Truman administration. If they turn over any food at all on any terms to Yugoslavia it will only be to keep Tito out of Moscow's orbit. And if they can wring additional profit and advantage from Yugoslavia's misery they aim to squeeze everything possible out of the opportunity.

Let's end this cruel way of responding to human needs and human suffering. Grant Yugoslavia the loans she needs. Start loading ships now with the food that can save these heroic people from starvation!

How the Senate Voted on Police State Measures

By John F. Petrone

When the U.S. Senate convened on Sept. 12 to vote on the McCarran and Kilgore police state bills, it had completed a discussion in which the McCarran supporters (Republicans and a majority of the Democrats) and the Kilgore supporters (the "Fair Deal" Democrats) had denounced each other all over the place during an entire week for attempting to violate constitutional guarantees and to impose thought control on the American people.

But it took only a few minutes for both sides to get together, see the "virtues" of each others' repressive legislation, combine them and pass the McCarran-Kilgore bill by the thumping majority of 70 to 7.

So when all the blather was finished, it was plainly shown that the Trumanite Democrats see eye to eye with the most reactionary Republicans on the key domestic political issue of the day. What a useful lesson for the American working class! What a powerful antidote to the labor bureaucracy's lies about the advantages of electing "liberal Democrats"!

SEVEN VOTES AGAINST

Among the 70 who voted for the merged McCarran-Kilgore bill were most of the Trumanites in the Senate. Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.), the fairest-haired boy of the Fair Deal, had in the course of a long speech on the previous day, told the Senate: "I want to be on record as being right for the long run. I know that it is not going to be popular to vote against this (McCarran) bill. I am going to be unpopular. I should rather be unpopular voting against this bill, than to be popular voting for it, and rue the day a few years from now."

But like all the other capitalist promises, this one was cynically broken the very next day when Humphrey voted in favor of the McCarran bill after it had been combined with the concentration camp provisions of the Kilgore bill. The Humphreys talk differently than the McCarrans, but under pressure they act and vote the same.

As a result, the labor leaders and the liberals have been put in the uneasy seat. CIO President Philip Murray, desperate to salvage something out of the Fair Deal debacle, hastened to send telegrams to the seven Senators who had voted against the final bill, hailing their wisdom and courage and hoping that the day would soon come when the other members of the Senate would realize that these seven had been correct, etc., etc.

But that 70 to 7 vote does not tell the whole story either. If the 70 voted to put an end to the limited kind of democracy that has existed in this country up until now, so did the seven (Graham, Green, Kefauver, Leahy, Lehman, Murray and Taylor, all Democrats).

NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

For on three separate occasions before the final vote was taken, all of these seven voted in favor of the original Kilgore bill to permit "detention" in concentration camps, without the right of trial by jury, of anyone suspected of harboring dangerous thoughts. They voted for this twice when it was submitted as a substitute for the McCarran bill, and then they voted for it a third time when it was submitted as an addition to the original McCarran bill.

This means that they bear direct responsibility for helping to make the final bill, McCarran plus Kilgore — which they voted against — even worse than the original McCarran bill.

In other words, when the true facts become known, Murray and

Destroying Korea



Belching clouds of heavy black smoke, the 8-inch guns of a U.S. Navy cruiser blast shore installations on the east coast of Korea. When imperialism gets done with Korea, there may be nothing left worth "liberating."

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Monday, September 25, 1950



TROTSKY



LENIN

The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European federation this time is the crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. So long as trusts and banks are not expropriated for the benefit of the people the struggle between states is just as inevitable as the struggle between the trusts themselves. Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous as Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic "federation" would be nothing but a worse repetition of the League of Nations, containing all its vices minus only its illusions.

—Leon Trotsky, Imperialist War & Proletarian Revolution, '40.

Starvation Is the Penalty

Starvation is the penalty reactionary union leaders are demanding for members who don't accept the politics of the union bureaucrats. Four members of the UAW General Motors local of Linden, N. J., have been condemned to this penalty because they dared to express their political views and distributed "Hands Off Korea" leaflets.

Last week, they were called for trial before a membership meeting, which had been whipped up to a veritable lynch mood against them, and expelled from the union. In the course of the trial, one of the prosecutors, Frank James, claimed that expulsion from the union did not deprive them of a livelihood. He said, "There are plenty of non-union workers in the plant."

But the next day, the company fired the four. A management spokesman explained it was on the basis of the action taken against them by the union. What James failed to add in his statement about non-union men working in the plant, is that the company welcomes only anti-union men who refuse to join the union. But the company is only too glad of the chance to fire pro-union men who for any reason have lost the protection of their union.

There are millions of workers, especially

in the AFL, who are covered by closed-shop and union-shop contracts. The company is required by contract to discharge any of them who lose their union membership. In such a case, expulsion from the union is a direct sentence of starvation for a worker and his family.

That's what the AFL Executive Council advocated in its report to the AFL convention in Houston urging its affiliates to expel all "communists." This is nothing less than a proposal to deprive of their livelihood any member whom the union bureaucrats choose to call "communist." A "communist," in the vernacular of the AFL bureaucracy, is anyone who opposes any policy of the reactionary leadership.

Time was when the unions had to fight for their lives against "conspiracy" laws and the capitalists who called all union men "reds" and "anarchists." The unions grew strong and great in the battle to defend the political rights of their members as well as their economic rights.

Today a bunch of fat, mercenary leeches living off the union membership and calling themselves "labor statesmen" are trying to turn the unions into instruments for curbing and shackling the workers. And they are using that most potent weapon — the threat of starvation — to terrorize opposition.

Subway Incident

The other day, as a train was pulling into a New York subway station, there was a short circuit caused by a faulty brake. Following a sudden flash, some smoke billowed and the train suddenly stalled. In the New York subway system such accidents are by no means uncommon. As a rule, these periodic breakdowns merit a few lines and the resulting delay in traffic is duly noted. This time, however, it received front page headlines.

Mechanically the mishap was a minor one, but the reaction of the passengers was not. That's what made it news. Men and women inside the stalled train clawed at each other to get to the doors, while others battled to smash windows in a frantic efforts to escape. More than a score were injured. The panic seized even those on the platform, some of whom rushed to hide behind stairways and other protected areas. There were cries of "Bombers!" and "War!" The flare of a short-circuit and some fumes were enough to convince those in the train and in the station that the city was being atom-bombed and that a new world war had started.

This incident discloses, of course, how

deep-seated and widespread is the fear of war among the great mass of the people. But it shows more than this. It is also a striking confirmation of how little confidence is being placed nowadays in the most authoritative assurance emanating from Washington that the course followed since the Korean crisis offers the way to preserve peace, that the arms program is the best security against war, and so on.

Nobody really believes in the "peace" tripe served up around the clock by the vast capitalist propaganda machine. Certainly not the passengers of the New York subways, who represent a typical cross-section of the American population.

Coupled with the dread of war is a growing mistrust of those in the seats of power. Large layers of the populations, like those caught up in the subway panic, are still themselves unaware of these moods of mistrust, of their own inner revulsion against all phases of the stepped-up war preparations.

But these moods are beginning to take shape. That is shown by the subway incident, which affords a truer and more intimate glimpse of the developing mass moods than all the public-opinion polls put together.

Sparing the Rich

No matter what "emergencies" may be publicly proclaimed, it is always "business as usual" so far as Congress is concerned when it comes to such things as taxes. The interests of the rich, first and foremost, their pocketbooks, are always protected — but good! The poor invariably get soaked — but plenty!

The tax bill being rushed through Congress won't even plug up the worst of the scandalous "loopholes" whereby the plutocrats actually escape paying any taxes at all. For example, it has been estimated that some \$200,000,000 annually remain unpaid on unreported corporation dividends to individuals. It was proposed to slap a 10% withholding tax on such payments. The House actually passed such a provision. It was thrown out in the joint committee conference. Coupon clippers can continue pocketing this whopping sum.

Or take another scandal, little publicized. By a "quirk" in legislation the insurance companies — which are among the biggest super-monopolies and profiteers in the world — have actually been exempt from federal taxes since 1947. You may be sure that this "oversight" did not occur without the active participation of the insurance moguls and the financial tycoons (often one and the same

gang). These gentlemen have also taken good care to see that this "quirk" remained uncorrected all these many and lush years.

How much have they pocketed meanwhile? Well, the retroactive House provision is estimated to amount to \$176 million in taxes for 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950, or close to a billion dollars! The actual amount of unpaid insurance taxes is unquestionably much bigger.

So the joint conference not only slashed the insurance tax rate to one-third of the proposed House rate but also made payments retroactive only to 1949. This amounts approximately to a quarter of a billion dollars in taxes, leaving three-quarters of the stolen billion safe and sound in the coffers of these big-time thieves.

There is, naturally, no provision at all for an excess profits tax. There is plenty of time for such trifles. It will be done "after the elections," promise those Congressmen who are a little worried about the possible repercussion among their constituents.

But there is no time to lose when it comes to soaking the poor. The tax bill must be rushed to the "White House in time for higher withholding rates on wages and salaries to take effect on Oct. 1, as provided." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 21.)

The Steel Nationalization Controversy in Britain

By Paul G. Stevens

The British Labor government risked another general election this year when Winston Churchill challenged its intention to go through with the nationalization of the steel industry. Speaking in the House of Commons for his party, the Tory leader had asked in a routine question period where the Attlee cabinet stood on this matter, in view of this international "period of tension and danger." A cabinet spokesman immediately replied that the government intended to proceed with taking over the industry as of next January, in accordance with the law passed by Parliament last year. The Tories then demanded a showdown. In a vote strictly along party lines, the Laborites won by 306 to 300.

The Tory move was not unexpected. The capitalists and their political representatives have been incessant in their campaign to halt the nationalization of the key steel industry from the moment it was first proposed. They regard such action in steel as a body blow and entirely different from the previous nationalizations which, as in the case of coal and railroads, turned hopelessly unprofitable businesses into relatively safe investments for them.

What surprised most capitalist newspapers and commentators in England as well as here was the decision of Prime Minister Clement Attlee's Laborite cabinet to meet the issue squarely and face a showdown on it. The British labor leaders have been trying to soft-pedal nationalizations ever since before the elections last February. Like all reformists, they are inclined to compromise with the capitalists rather than to fight on crucial issues. Their whole policy in the elections last February was based on the idea that they must not antagonize the middle class vote by any issues smacking at all of socialism and class conflict.

RISKS MASS REVOLT

Under these circumstances, it was more risky for the Laborite leadership to face a revolt of the masses who form its solid political support by delaying action on the steel act than by going through with it. This becomes particularly clear when we note that the workers, no less than the capitalists, regard the nationalization of steel — and in Britain steel has its tentacles in the whole complex of the country's industries — as the test of the seriousness of the Labor Party program. As one of the chief publicists of the Attlee regime has put it, to go back on steel would simply be interpreted by

the workers as downright betrayal.

The declared intention to go through with the steel law was thus the least the labor leaders could do at present and still retain their hold on their working class following. For, with their participation in the war program of Allied imperialism, the Laborites will hardly be able to improve or even maintain wage standards and living conditions under the press of inflation and the new taxes to pay for the arms program.

Their apparent reversal in policy on the nationalization program does not at all mean a change of heart. On the contrary, remaining reformists and collaborators of capitalism as they have always been, they are nevertheless astute enough to know that they cannot attempt to lead the workers of England into the threatening imperialist war without yielding to the mass pressure as it mounts.

WHAT THEY HOPE FOR

They hope that by yielding to it partially on domestic issues they will be better able to forestall mass disruption of their foreign policy, for which the Tories eagerly voted in the Commons. In this, they no doubt expect the support of good part of the middle class who turned to Churchill last February and who have since had occasion to feel the power of the working class as well as of the workers' determination not to retreat. That is also why the Labor leaders feel that an election maneuver at this time is a paying risk for them.

Whether the calculations of the Labor leaders will work out as planned is another matter. The impact of class pressures unfolds a logic of its own. A victory for steel nationalization can very well entail a further increase in class consciousness among British workers. The growth of class consciousness may make several breaches in the dam set up by the present reformist leaders and, under favorable circumstances, may even bring pressure for a change toward a proletarian, internationalist foreign policy as well.

U. S. PASSES TO REARM GERMANY, ALLIES STALL

The Truman administration moved might and main to force the issue of rearming Germany in the secret meeting with Foreign Ministers Bevin and Schuman at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. While publicly disclaiming any "intention to rearm Germany," Secretary of State Acheson permitted it to leak to the press that he was pressing for "an agreement in principle on arming Germany," which is diplomatic double-talk for exactly the same thing.

What is more significant, the rearming of Germany has been wrapped up in "a single package" with the rest of the European arms program. Take it or leave it. Faced with this ultimatum Britain and France are obviously stalling. The discussions went beyond the scheduled dates and then the conference recessed, without any agreement being reached last week. The conference will reconvene "some time during the next two weeks."

The capitalist press openly admits that there is a "snag" over the issue of rearming Germany, which cannot be accomplished without, among other things, bringing the Nazi militarists and industrialists back to a powerful position in Europe. James Reston, the political expert of the N.Y. Times, commented on Sept. 18 that "the conference to date has been a disappointment" and "a little frustrating to all concerned."

WHY EUROPE WORRIES

Let us here give the floor to the columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick to explain what it is that renders the arms program itself so touchy for European politicians. In her Times column of Sept. 18 she writes that "there is powerful resistance, in France and throughout Europe, to a speedup of rearmament. No European government is strong enough to face with confidence the political effects of a return to austerity before the population has accumulated any fat to squeeze."

A resolution was adopted instructing the leadership to effect as soon as possible the transfer of its headquarters to the North and orienting the group to center their activities on the proletarianization of the organization.

A representative of the International Secretariat conveyed to the convention the greetings of the Fourth International and made a report on the work of the Eight Plenum of the International Executive Committee.

After commenting that "the prospect of financing a rearmament program, even with American aid, fills finance ministers with dread," she then adds the following significant words: "Equally dreaded is the undertow of anti-war, anti-conscription feeling that inspires the youth of

POLICY STATEMENT FOR NEW GERMAN PARTY

By Charles Hanley

The Sept. 4 Militant reported that "a movement to create a new workers party, independent of Stalinism and Social Democracy, is now making strong headway in Western Germany. On July 23, a conference to lay the basis for the new party was held in Ratingen near Dusseldorf."

The first issue of Freie Tribune, independent weekly newspaper for a genuine socialist policy published by the committee for the formation of an Independent Workers Party of Germany, appeared on Aug. 12. It contains interesting material on the crisis of German Stalinism. It tells of the numerous communists who have broken away from the Kremlin and its native stooges because they understand that the Stalinists like the Social Democrats are continuously betraying socialism, and that only a consistent socialist policy can save the German working class.

In their statement of policy the former CP functionaries, SP members, trade unionists and members of independent Marxist groups who assembled at Ratingen, first explain that German capitalism, though controlled by Western monopolists, is independently exploiting the West German workers, and that the capitalist class of West Germany, approved and supported by the three Western powers, is making the German workers pay the cost of the lost war and the fascist collapse. The Marshall Plan has strengthened the position of the German exploiters and is a bulwark against progress and socialism. West Germany is not a U.S. colony, therefore the Stalinist slogan for a "national front" with the German capitalists for "national liberation" is absurd. The Schuman Plan is cited as proof of the relatively independent part which the German capitalists will be able to play in the imperialist camp.

The declaration then goes on to analyze the situation in East Germany: In West Germany the workers have at least a formal possibility of defending their interests, but the East German masses have almost no possibility of defending themselves against the Stalinist (SED) party and government machine and against the Soviet bureaucracy of which the East German state is a mere agency.

Role of Traditional Parties

Next the declaration emphasizes that the present state of Germany reflects the world political situation. Decaying capitalism on one side, anti-internationalist Stalinism on the other. The German working class today has no political class representation of its own. The CP is yoked to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and has lost much of its influence. The Social Democratic Party is proud of being the physician at the sickbed of capitalism; it tries to profit from antagonisms between the Western powers and plays its role of "opposition" to the Bonn government with a certain success. But its relative strength is due to the absence of a genuine working class party.

As regards the danger of a new world war, the statement warns that only by an intensified struggle against the exploiters in their own country can the workers secure peace. Signatures on peace petitions cannot achieve this. The best allies of the European and German working class and of the entire world proletariat are the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for freedom against world capitalism.

The Ratingen statement then stresses the necessity of creating a socialist workers' movement. This is the main task of German Marxists. Neither the anti-Marxist Social Democratic leadership, nor the CP which has also revised Marxism-Leninism, has been able to shake the correctness of the principles of scientific socialism. On the contrary, these have time and again proved to be right, and must remain the basis of the socialist movement which is to inherit the proud tradition of the German labor movement. This movement must be free and independent, but must establish contacts with groups and parties all over the world which have the same goal — a socialist society without exploitation, with happiness, peace and security for all. A socialist movement cannot be successful without internal democracy and without international solidarity.

The new movement is just beginning and many difficulties lie ahead, the statement concludes. But German workers are beginning to realize that the traditional workers parties are no longer capable of attaining the socialist goals. The socialist movement in Germany has long and great traditions; its creative force will prove stronger than the apparatus of the revisionists of Marxism.

They Deserve to Be Congratulated

This is truly socialist declaration. The delegates who met at the Ratingen conference should be congratulated on the clarity with which they have expressed their opposition to Social Democratic reformism and Stalinism and on their loyalty to international socialism in the spirit of Marx and Lenin. The publication of Freie Tribune and the projected formation of an Independent Workers Party are important steps toward the regeneration of the German labor movement and will be warmly welcomed by everyone interested in the rebirth of genuine socialism all over the world.

What opportunities await the Independent Workers Party may be seen from the local example of the city of Worms (Rhine) where three years ago six communists were expelled from the CP. They formed an organization called "Socialist Union." When this group participated in municipal elections for the first time, it won five seats in the City Council. The CP got only three. In the last parliamentary elections the "Socialist Union" received 5,000 votes.

Freie Tribune also reports the arrest in Russia of Zenzl Muhsam, the widow of the German socialist poet and militant (murdered by the Nazis in July 1934). The Soviet authorities refuse to give any information about the fate of Zenzl Muhsam.

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FOURTH INTERNATIONAL
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Thoughts on Trial

By Harry Ring
SWP Candidate for Comptroller of New York

The thought-control system of the Japanese Mikado was once held up as a horrible example of totalitarianism which must be kept from our shores at all costs. Today in New York City a thought-control system little different from that of the Japanese Mikado has been clamped upon the public schools.

In the pattern of imperial Tokyo, Tammany New York is driving hard for victims. Eight teachers, suspended without pay last May on the fiat of William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, are now coming up for a kangaroo hearing.

Jansen charged the eight with "insubordination and conduct unbecoming teachers." The real charge, however, is having thoughts that do not dovetail with those of the Democratic and Republican machines.

This became crystal clear last week at the opening of the hearing for David L. Friedman, head of the English Department of Public School No. 64, who has been teaching satisfactorily in the city schools for almost 24 years. Attorney McGrath, mouthpiece for the Board of Education, in outlining the case said nothing about "insubordination." Instead, he said he would try to prove Friedman was a member of the Communist Party.

First witness for the prosecution was neither a fellow teacher, student nor superior of Friedman who might charge him with "insubordination" or "incompetence." Instead it was a government stool pigeon brought all the way from Royal Oak, Michigan.

This miserable professional witness is Joseph Zack Kornfeld, a former Stalinist leader, who does not even know Friedman. Kornfeld spent his whole time in the witness chair giving his version of what he considers to be the tenets of the American Communist Party. That version, shaped according to witch-hunt requirements, makes out the Stalinists to be genuine followers of Marx and Lenin and in addition addicted to "force and violence" and the "violent overthrow of the government." This is the case which the government tried out to make out against the leadership of the Stalinist party in the trial at Foley Square, and which *The Militant* pointed out at the time, has no connection with the truth.

The Real Profiteers

By Frank Poole

Soaring war prices are due only to few "unpatriotic chiselers," according to W. Stuart Symington. The former corporation big-shot whom Truman has made top policy man in the war economy set-up told a Senate committee on Sept. 15 that the sudden flare-up in prices of virtually every commodity is the fault merely of "people new in the market, organized to make an illegal or black market profit, or at least a profiteering profit."

Symington tries to convey the notion that if it weren't for a handful of penny-ante speculators who have jumped in to make a dirty buck out of war scarcities, there would be no price inflation. This serves to divert attention from those really responsible for price gouging — the big monopoly corporations, the "legitimate" profiteers.

If what Symington says is true, the problem of halting price rises would be relatively simple. It would take no great policing job — particularly with the aid of alert consumers — to crack down on these few fly-by-night "people new in the market."

The only serious defect in Symington's statement is that it's a lie. He knows there is scarcely a commodity today that is not controlled by monopolies, established corporations, who fix prices by agreement among themselves and charge whatever the traffic will bear. Small dribbles of goods may get into the hands of petty speculators. But the vast bulk of commodities — from the raw materials to the finished products — is made and sold by the great trusts.

When milk and bread prices were hiked in New York City within a day or so after the Korean war began, those price boosts were initiated by the dairy trust headed by Borden's and corporation bakeries like the National Baking Company. It wasn't "black-market" dealers butchering diseased cattle in some filthy hide-away who jerked up meat prices to record heights two weeks after

'Patriots' Leave Jail

By J. Blake

Two high class criminals were released from prison by the Federal Parole Board this month; the honorable ex-Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey Republican and former chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the honorable ex-Congressman Andrew Jackson May, Kentucky Democrat who headed the House Military Affairs Committee during World War II.

Thomas was convicted of defrauding the government of about \$8,000 in kick-backs from persons on his payroll and in padded payrolls. He could have been given the maximum of 32 years in prison and a fine of \$40,000 for the 34 overt acts — not thoughts, mind you — listed in his indictment. But Thomas pleaded "no defense" and the merciful court sentenced him to only six to eighteen months and a \$10,000 fine.

His colleague, May, while being paid out of the juicy tax deductions from our war-time wages presumably to protect our interests, accepted bribes of \$53,000 from private businessmen in

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Large Minority Opposes Ratifying Of Ford Contract

DETROIT — Despite an hourly wage increase and an escalator clause in the new Ford contract, a large minority of the Ford workers voted against it when they learned of the other clauses it contained. These "jokers" in the contract leave the issue of speed-up and of "decentralizing" the Rouge plant completely in company hands.

The vote in Local 600, which contains more than half of all the Ford workers, was announced as 18,578 for and 12,224 against. Local Lincoln, which was the first to vote on the contract, rejected it by a 96% majority. While some of the smaller Ford locals at Waterford, Mich., Canton, O., Edgewater and Dundee, N. J., accepted the contract, it was rejected by Highland Park Local 400 and the Buffalo plant.

The new contract is the old one extended for five years with two new important additions.

"WAIVER" CLAUSE

One of the new clauses which aroused bitter opposition is the so-called "waiver" clause. It completely bars any collective bargaining on any issue already covered in the contract, and on any issues arising in the future, regardless of whether the union or the company had "knowledge or contemplation" of such problems.

Contained in the agreement are such sweeping provisions as: "The Company retains the sole right to manage its business including the right to decide the number and location of its plants," and "The right of the Company to establish and enforce production standards."

It can readily be seen why Ford is more than happy about the "waiver" clause and the foregoing provisions. It guarantees that Ford can go about its business of increasing production and "decentralizing" the Rouge plant, without any intervention by the union leadership on behalf of the workers.

The two biggest issues facing the Ford Rouge workers, that of speed-up and the run-away shop, have thus been put on the shelf to be forgotten.

The "waiver" clause ties the hands of the union, more than any other clause ever written into a union contract.

SPEEDUP ALREADY ON

Ford Motor Co. didn't even wait for the ratification vote before raising production standards in many departments in the Rouge. While the workers were still engaged in voting on the new contract, they were told by the foremen that they had to meet the newly established higher production rates.

Walter Reuther along with the union negotiating committee bear full responsibility for all this because they agreed to it. In exchange for a few cents an hour they traded away the future livelihood and the daily working conditions of the rank and file workers.

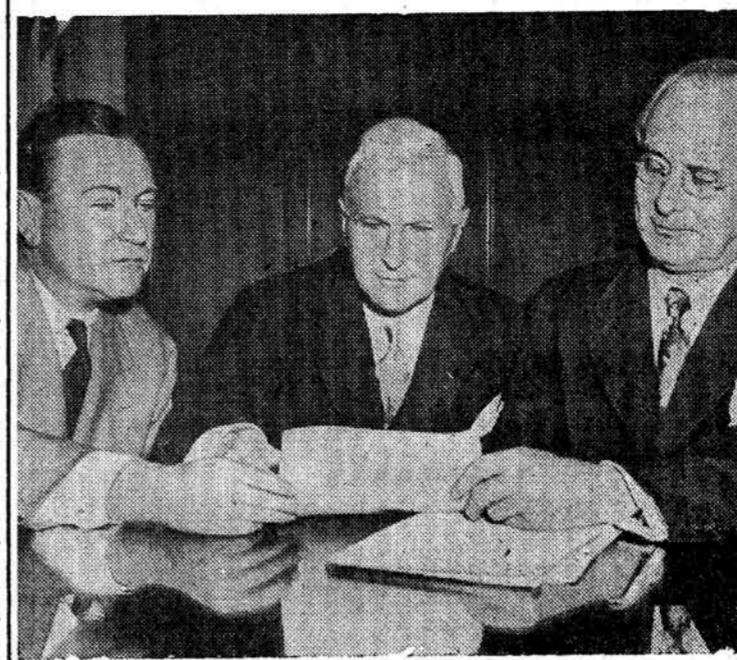
Among the Rouge workers there was considerable dissatisfaction with the way the vote on the contract was conducted. These workers objected to the irregular manner in which this vote was held in comparison to the regular Local and Unit elections of several months ago. The workers did not vote by units; there were no lists of names to be checked off as each person voted; there were no Certified Public Accountants conducting the polling and the ballot counting; the ballot boxes remained unguarded overnight.

There was only a brief interval between the actual announcement of the agreement and the voting days. No union meeting was held at which the workers could discuss the contract.

Unite to Smash Jim Crow System

"Smash the Jim Crow system. Full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and other minorities. Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with power to root out discriminatory practices, eliminate segregation wherever it exists. Combat anti-Semitism in all its forms. Wipe out discriminatory immigration policies and open the doors of the U.S. to refugees. Unite the workers of all races for the common struggle against their exploiters." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.

\$1-A-Year Man Confers



Discussing requirements of the steel industry, William H. Harrison, head of the National Production Authority, confers in Washington with President Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel and Secretary of Commerce Sawyer. Harrison is on leave from his job as president of International Telephone and Telegraph.

SWP Prevented From Running Mayor Candidate

By Michael Bartell

SWP Candidate for Governor of New York

NEW YORK, Sept. 18 — Another dirty chapter in the machine-ridden politics of New York came to an end last week when Supreme Court Justice Bernard Botein set Sept. 16 as the deadline for independent nominating petitions for mayor of the world's biggest city.

O'Dwyer resigned Sept. 2 for a gravy-train appointment as Ambassador to Mexico. Botein's decision left a bare week for printing of petitions and signature gathering. This was so raw that even the Wall Street machines thought a bit of a retreat was in order. And so Botein extended the time one week — sufficient for Acting Mayor Impellitteri to file nominating petitions for himself, but not enough time for any of the minority political parties to get in under the wire.

Friends of the Socialist Workers Party urged us to run a candidate for the office vacated by O'Dwyer. Given a reasonable time, we thought of trying to meet the stiff requirement of a minimum of 7,500 valid signatures. Our experience in getting signatures on a state-wide basis for our N. Y. State slate indicated that we could succeed despite the difficulties.

After cross-discussion and heckling on the proposals broke out, Mrs. Clyde Turner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator, got the floor. Advocating the mobilization of the entire community and giving a voice to all who are affected by police brutality, she called for a broad continuations committee consisting of any and all persons who want to participate in the struggle. This motion was greeted by a round of applause and adopted unanimously.

Unfortunately, the meeting left no alternative but to let the mayoralty campaign go by uncontested this year. Impellitteri, of course, had no difficulty meeting the requirements. Hastily cooking up an "Experience Party" to run him as its nominee, he turned loose a battery of professional signature-gatherers and machine hangers-on to round up names.

HOW JUDGES ARE MADE

Tammany offered Impellitteri a 14-year judgeship paying \$28,000 a year if he would decline to run in favor of Pecora. That's how judges are made in capitalist politics.

But Impellitteri apparently decided to play the stakes high and either move into Gracie Mansion for a full term or sleep in the streets. Possibly he has already consulted with the Republican machine about a happier alternative in case he turns up a losing number when the votes are counted. In any case he refused to make way for Tammany's choice of Pecora as a respectable-looking front man whom the liberals and union bureaucrats can support without too much embarrassment.

Impellitteri fell into office by a fluke. He was in line for succession in case O'Dwyer died or resigned. No doubt thinking of how Truman hit the jackpot by a similar turn of the political wheel and how the Pendergast ward-heeler managed to stay in office despite the pollsters' forecasts and other auspicious omens. Impellitteri decided to play out his lucky streak. If a nonentity of the corrupt Kansas City machine could do it, why not Impellitteri?

His chances for a sizable vote are good. New York's biggest tabloid, the reactionary Daily News has hailed his move; he has converted WNYC, the municipal radio station, into a campaign instrument; and a good section of the city bureaucracy, which includes some 20,000 police, is plugging for him.

BUREAUCRATS BACK OUT

This professional machine politician started out with the endorsement of the United Labor Committee, a CIO-AFL body of union heads formed for "political unity." Politics to these bureaucrats is the same cynical business as it is to the Wall Street professionals, a foul horse-trading of high-paying posts at the expense of the labor movement and the people of the city.

Within a few days, Tammany cracked the whip. The CIO chiefs wasted no time laying a blackjack behind Impellitteri's ear and switching to Pecora. Some of the AFL heads dragged their feet. Finally with the heat on, Impellitteri himself released Martin T. Lacey, head of the Central Trades and Labor Council, from his pledge of support "through thick and thin."

In this way the greater part of New York's labor bureaucrats once more ended up in shameful exhibit on the Tammany circus wagon.

Pecora is now being ballyhooed as a great liberal, but his program is indistinguishable from that of any of the other tools of Big Business who have enjoyed the unusual opportunities City Hall offers in the way of power, prestige, profit and plunder.

The labor movement of New York City must again pay through the nose for not having its own party to put its own candidates in office.

Reuther Tries to Steal Credit for Wage Raises

DETROIT — Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, wants to steal the credit for the pay raises recently won by wildcat strikes of the rank and file.

He also is trying to cover up these actions, since they represent a blow at his program and prestige.

The purpose of the meeting was somewhat obscured by the remarks of Thelma Dale, of the Progressive Party, who spoke about "disruption" at the previous NAACP branch meeting. She seemed more interested in seeing that the do-little local NAACP leadership (which she supports) got "due credit" for its activities in the real business before the meeting. This factional and sectarian attitude was definitely out of place at a public meeting against police brutality.

W. Gardner Smith, Pittsburgh Courier reporter and novelist, tried to concretize the discussion by proposing a series of actions:

1. That as large a delegation as possible from the Mason meeting call on Mayor Samuels to demand the dismissal of Rosenberg and Assistant Commissioner of Police Sutton. 2. That petitions be circulated calling for their dismissal. 3. That a continuations committee of 10 persons, charged with planning and organizing further activities against police brutality, be appointed immediately. 4. That all funds raised in the petition campaign be placed at the disposal of this continuations committee.

These efforts to get further wage increases without the benefit of publicity or fanfare. In view of the fact that our contracts were closed, we were confronted with the problem of convincing management of the need to reopen closed contracts for the purpose of making these additional wage adjustments." The same policy is reported in the Ford negotiations.

Here Reuther admits to secret private dealings full of "We urged, we requested," etc. There is no doubt that it was during these secret talks that Reuther agreed to the five-year contract and the waiver clause at Fords. It is the policy of a fighting union leader such as John L. Lewis. He is trying to tell us that the corporation executives were talked into changing their position from "No" to 10 and 15c. an hour!

The auto manufacturers give the same "explanation." In the August issue of Chrysler Motors, a statement on the pay increases says the following: "Sometime ago representatives of the UAW-CIO asked Chrysler Corporation to consider raising wages in view of changed conditions since the May 4 contract was signed. On August 24, 1950, Chrysler Corporation arranged with the union for further discussion on this subject and on August 26 the agreement just announced was reached." Where do the explanations differ?

Reuther does not dare say that while his administration sat on its hands and limited itself to begging, the membership pushed over

the traces and won. His administration cannot even mention the walkouts, in which the auto workers simply turned their backs on the international officialdom and hit the bricks for cost-of-living increases. The membership felt that the international was an obstacle, due to its bankrupt "do nothing but talk" policy. Without these wildcat strikes, which the top UAW officials bitterly opposed, Reuther would still be saying in private, "Please, Mr. Boss," and the auto manufacturers would still be saying "No."

Even Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, was compelled to give the lie to Reuther when he admitted in a statement which received nation-wide attention, "The Ford Motor Company would not have negotiated if these stoppages had not taken place last week." The only thing Reuther can legitimately claim credit for is what the union surrendered. Much of what the workers won by their self-dependent actions, Reuther gave away in negotiations. He has traded away many union rights for the five-year sellout agreement at Ford. He even permitted the Ford Motor Company to chisel on the wage gains won at Chrysler by settling for an 8c. instead of a 10c. increase, and even this was not added to the base rate.

The big opposition vote in the Ford ratification shows clearly that the rank and file is giving credit where credit is due: for benefits and progress — to themselves; for losses and backward steps — to the Reuther administration.