

Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
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 Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): \$c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
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Vol. XIII - No. 20 Monday, May 16, 1949



TROTSKY

"The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial, Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with ten-fold force. Under these conditions the support by a workers' party of its national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell means the renunciation of an independent policy and the chauvinistic demoralization of the workers, that is, the destruction of the only factor which can save humanity from disaster."

—Leon Trotsky, War and the Fourth International, 1934.



LENIN

Full Support to the Ford Strike!

The battle has been joined on the fourth round of wage increases. Whatever the immediate issue that set off the Ford strike, the entire employing class and its press are keenly aware that a defeat for the Ford workers at this time might prove a disastrous blow to the whole developing wage campaign of American labor.

Whether the top union leaders recognize the fact or not, the Ford strike is the first major offensive in the drive for a new round of wage increases. It is only in this light that we can understand why Henry Ford II chose to precipitate a show-down battle, eleven days before negotiations on wages were to begin, over an issue that he otherwise would have settled quietly through the normal grievance machinery.

ers and slick strategy of UAW President Walter Reuther and the other top CIO leaders. The CIO leaders, including Reuther, undoubtedly envisioned a series of long drawn-out negotiations, with all the rigamarole of press propaganda and counter-propaganda, statistics and counter-statistics, and a final settlement with a few insubstantial concessions that could be palmed off on the workers as a "victory without a strike."

The Ford strike has knocked all these calculations into a cocked hat. The workers themselves have called the turn. They have decided and the top union officials like Reuther have been forced reluctantly to go along. It is on this ground that the wage battle must now be fought out.

How conscious Big Business is of the significance of the Ford strike with relation to the wage issue is shown in a statement of the May 8 N. Y. Times: "In the face of management's stand against increased labor costs [through wage raises], there has been speculation over the mood of the workers. In some circles there is a theory that, because of a general feeling of uncertainty about the economic outlook, the workers will be reluctant to force their demands to the point of strikes. Another theory is that insecurity will make the workers more aggressive. Last week the second theory seemed to be borne out in a strike against Ford."

Now that the Ford workers are out, their demands must be broadened to include all the wage and contract questions. If they go back before the wage question is decided, they will face the possibility of another bitter struggle after they have already expended their resources and energy in one hard battle.

A victory for the Ford workers is of crucial importance for all American labor. If the Ford workers are permitted to become isolated and starved back into the plants, it will embolden all the corporations and harden their resistance to labor's demands everywhere.

The Ford workers must win — and it is the solemn duty of the entire labor movement to give them the kind of backing that will ensure their victory. This is no time for half-way measures — every union should act now to give full moral and financial aid to the Ford workers.

Murder of the Jehovah's Witnesses

Following the frenzied propaganda campaign by the U. S. State Department, Catholic hierarchy and Big Business press around the Mindszenty case in Hungary, Washington's spokesmen sought United Nations action on the issue in the name of "freedom of religion" and "human rights."

When a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church, which is aligned with the capitalist powers in the cold war against the Soviet Union, is tried and sentenced by a Stalinist government, that is the occasion for an unrestrained campaign to whip up anti-communist hysteria and the witch-hunt against political dissidents, and to intensify the war preparations in this country.

On April 30, the UN General Assembly adopted by a vote of 34 to 6 a resolution calling on the Stalinist governments of Hungary and Bulgaria, where 15 Protestant clergymen had been tried and imprisoned, to answer charges brought by Washington and London of violations of the "human rights" provisions of the peace treaties with the Allies. On May 4, Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that the United States and Britain would shortly move against Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania on the same charges.

But when obscure members of a devout religious sect that takes the Sermon on the Mount seriously are subjected to Nazi-like torture and murdered, after a kangaroo court martial, by one of Washington's junior partners in the cold war, these self-styled champions of "human rights" and "freedom of religion" are silent as the grave. The executions of John Tsoukaris and George Orphanides, reported on page one, demolish the pretense that the imperialist powers are championing "freedom of thought, conscience and religion," as proclaimed in the UN's "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Like the much-abused word "democracy," the slogan of "freedom of religion" is being used as a hypocritical cover for war incitation and the destruction of all democratic rights.

West Germany's Real Constitution

The Western German Constitution establishing a "Federal Republic of Germany," adopted May 8 by the U. S.-British-French-sponsored Parliamentary Council in Bonn, cannot be judged solely or even mainly on its contents. In words, at least, the Bonn constitution is certainly no worse than other capitalist constitutions now in force.

The "Americans for Intellectual Freedom" was organized in March as a group in opposition to the American Stalinist "peace congress" at the Waldorf. Its formation received the blessings of the Truman administration through a message from Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the chief link between the Truman cabinet and the Catholic hierarchy in this country, who hailed the AIF's courage in "exposing and opposing anti-democratic doctrines."

But all we need to know to correctly judge this Bonn constitution, is that it was drafted on orders of the foreign military governors of Western Germany; that it was enacted behind closed doors, with all correspondents barred; and that an American soldier stood outside the hall door permitting no one in or out. Thus, the new constitution is merely a paper mask concealing the face of the real law in Western Germany — the foreign armies of occupation.

The only "intellectual freedom" this outfit seems concerned about is the kind being suppressed behind the iron curtain. At any rate, it has failed thus far to mention, let alone condemn, one of the most glaring attacks on intellectual freedom in the U. S. — the current purge of "subversive" teachers in the schools. (Hook, co-chairman of AIF, is the "ideological" leader of this

The Bonn constitution will not be submitted to the vote of the German people. It will go into effect only when and if the

How Liberals Aid Jim Crow

By Albert Parker
 Last year we Trotskyists opposed the election of "liberal" capitalist politicians like Hubert Humphrey, Paul Douglas, Wayne Morse and Glen Taylor, whose major claim to fame rests on their repeated professions of opposition to Jim Crow in any form. Most of the labor leaders, Negro leaders, Trumanite "Socialists" and in some cases the Stalinists did everything they could for the election of such liberals. Now, on the issue of anti-segregation amendments to housing and federal-aid-to-education bills, it is possible to draw a balance sheet and see who was right.

Locked Out at Philco



6,500 members of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers in some 22 plants are locked out. Pickets surround the Philadelphia plant of the Philco Corp. after the company refused to grant union demands for wage boosts and other benefits.

Both these amendments were killed in the Senate during the last month through an alliance between the Northern liberals of both parties and the Southern Democrats; and in each instance the leadership and initiative in this alliance were taken by the Humphreys, Douglases, Morses and Taylors. As a result, the Negro people in particular have been given a thorough if rapid educational course on the real nature of capitalist liberals, and a rift has begun to develop between the Negro leaders and the very same politicians they were praising a year ago.

Republican noted, what was there to stop the liberals from at least trying to put through the anti-segregation clause, withdrawing it only after it had been proved in action that the bill could not be passed while it was included? But this proposal too the liberals disregarded, although it could not have been from any aversion to opportunist practices. Instead, they yielded without the semblance of a struggle to the Dixiecrats, pleading with them to yield a little themselves some time in the future.

THEIR ARGUMENTS

Well, they say, the Republican anti-segregation amendments are hypocritical; even if they were added to the bills, most of the Republicans would not vote for the bills themselves. On the other hand, the adoption of these amendments would anger the Southern Democrats, who would then either vote against the bills or filibuster them to death. The defeat of the bills would harm Negroes as well as whites who need homes and better educational opportunities.

THE AMENDMENT TACTIC
 When Douglas kept repeating that segregation problems should be handled in separate bills, a Republican asked him flatly if he were certain the bill would pass. Douglas' reply is worth repeating: "Personally I do not believe in segregation; but I also know that the Southern states are firmly committed to that principle, and I do not want at this time to disrupt the United States of America during a period of grave national crisis when we are being threatened by the police state in order to force upon them what I believe to be correct." (Sounds like what the

Furthermore, they say, civil rights should be enacted through independent bills, not through amendments to other bills, so this was not the time or place for discussion of the segregation problem. And anyhow, they conclude, segregated housing and education are better than nothing, even for Negroes; half a loaf is better than none.

But what was the result? Their opponents in the Senate charged that defeating the amendments would have the effect of "pre-empting," "approving," "condoning," "enhancing," "sanctioning" and "perpetuating" segregation. And no matter how hypocritical their motives, in this respect they were speaking the plain truth. That's precisely why the Southern Democrats were content to let their liberal brothers carry the ball and vote in a solid bloc with them.

And from a practical opportunist viewpoint, as another Repu-

The essence of the matter is that in this case the liberals used federal money to prop up the Jim Crow system. Humphrey may or may not love education, but he certainly gave aid, comfort and

Two Not-So-Innocents Abroad

By George Breitman

As last week's article from Paris demonstrated, the two "world peace conferences" held in that city last month — the first by the Stalinists and the second by the anti-Stalinists — had more in common than in dispute, despite their bitter hostility to each other.

demoralized by Stalinism, he is moving backwards toward collaboration with the same reactionary elements he rejected in his youth.

The first acted as a sounding board for the Kremlin, emphasizing the need for a deal between Truman and Stalin, while the second acted as a sounding board for the U. S. State Department, emphasizing the need to destroy Stalinist totalitarianism. But both preached class collaboration rather than class struggle as the method for achieving peace; both spread illusions and lies that can only misguide and disorient the genuine struggle against war; and both sought to divert the masses from their main enemy by pretending that war can be prevented under capitalism.

Secretary of Labor Tobin's endorsement of the organization Farrell represented in Paris is one manifestation of this retrogression. Another is the fact that the Paris conference itself was sponsored among others by representatives of the MRP, the Catholic government party that has waged war against the colonial people ever since it came to power. Farrell's degeneration can be explained in great part by the degeneration of Stalinism; but an explanation is not an excuse.

The article from Paris reported that the most reactionary speeches at the anti-Stalinist conference were made by the two American delegates, Professor Sidney Hook and James T. Farrell, who represented "Americans for Intellectual Freedom." The following additional details about their activities in Paris is based primarily on dispatches from the American press.

As always happens on such occasions, the Daily Worker took advantage of the affair to slander us by labeling Hook and Farrell as Trotskyists. Hook and Farrell, on the other hand, slander us by saying we are "the left wing of Stalinism." Here too, as in their attitude to the war question, the Stalinists and the Stallinophobes see eye to eye morally, even if they bend the knee before different masters.

"INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM"
 The "Americans for Intellectual Freedom" was organized in March as a group in opposition to the American Stalinist "peace congress" at the Waldorf. Its formation received the blessings of the Truman administration through a message from Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin, the chief link between the Truman cabinet and the Catholic hierarchy in this country, who hailed the AIF's courage in "exposing and opposing anti-democratic doctrines."

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