

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND FASCISM

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THE MILITANT

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More Unions Condemn "Police State" Measure

The forces of reaction are trying to jam passage of the Mundt police state bill through the present session of the Senate. The bill, which was steamrollered 319-58 through the House of Representatives has been slowed down by the protests of numerous labor, liberal, Negro and church organizations.

In face of these protests in an election year, the Senate politicians would prefer to leave the bill in committee until the session ends. The defeat of Stassen in the Oregon primaries where he based his whole campaign on outlawing the Stalinist Party, has shown them that the red-baiting Mundt Bill isn't the vote-catcher some politicians had thought.

Big Business, however, is prodding the Senate to bring the Mundt Bill to a quick vote. For example, the N.Y. Times, authoritative Wall Street spokesman, editorially warns the Senate that it "would be a grave mistake" not to take up the Mundt Bill this session.

The pressure from Big Business is so great that the Senate politicians seem willing to try a blitzkrieg passage of the bill before public protest can mount further. Senator Alexander Wiley (Rep., Wis.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee has announced that consideration of the Anti-Lynching Bill, which has been trying to get to the floor of the Senate for over a year, will be dropped while his committee rushes hearings on the Mundt Bill into three days. The inadequate time allowed for hearings on the bill shows the desperation of Wall Street's hired hands in Washington to get the police state measure quickly passed.

The CIO has officially declared that the Mundt Bill "seriously threatens the existence of bona fide labor unions and... sweeps aside civil rights guaranteed to every American by the Constitution."

CIO Legislative Director Nathan Cowan sent letters to every Congressman stating that under the Mundt Bill people would be "punished, restrained and regimented solely on the basis of political opinions rather than on the basis of overt acts of disloyalty."

UNION OPPOSITION

The CIO Steelworkers Union at its recent Boston convention stated that the Bill "contains dangerous threats" to freedom of speech, press and assembly. The Convention of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers denounced the bill as a step to government control of "thought and ideas" and to the "totalitarian principle of guilt by association." Other unions opposing the Mundt Bill include the CIO Auto Workers, CIO Electrical Workers, CIO Fur and Leather Workers, CIO Transport Workers, CIO Public Workers. Also opposed are the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, the National Lawyers Guild, the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People and Americans for Democratic Action. The recent convention of the AFL Hatters Union, despite high pressure speeches for the Mundt Bill by Louis Waldman and A.A. Berle, went on record condemning the police-state measure.

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO Auto Workers, and A.F. Whitney, head of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, added their signatures to a telegram

Next Week

Read the address of **FARRELL DOBBS** (Socialist Workers Party Presidential nominee)

on **CAPITAL AND LABOR IN 1948** Delivered Sat., May 29 at 2 p. m. over a national ABC hookup.

sent by the ADA and seven other national organizations asking the Senate to defer action this session on the Mundt Bill.

Although the recent awakening of the labor movement to the dangers of the Mundt police state measure has slowed down the bill, defeat of this vicious piece of legislation is by no means assured. The whole labor movement must join in the fight with much greater zeal to stop the greatest threat to political liberty in this country in recent years. The unions will have to organize giant protest meetings to make themselves heard to the Senators who are being pressured by Wall Street to pass the Mundt Bill.

SWP Petition Campaign in Conn. Off to Good Start

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., May 23 — Despite almost constant rainfall since the beginning of the petition campaign two weeks ago, Connecticut petition gatherers are only slightly behind the quotas set at the beginning of the campaign. Our petition gatherers were generally given a friendly reception in the working class areas of Connecticut and succeeded in getting almost 1,000 signatures a week.

Especially heartening was the reception in Bridgeport where one petition worker got over 70 signatures in less than three hours.

Without any special effort subscriptions for The Militant are steadily coming in and many new friends are being made for the local Socialist Workers Party.

GM, UAW Agree on Sliding Scale; Meat Union Forced to End Strike

Packing Workers Accept 9 Cents After Long Battle

By Barbara Bruce

SOUTH ST. PAUL, May 24 — Grim-faced men and women trudged back to work in the Swift, Armour and Cudahy plants here today. Still proudly wearing their union buttons, more than 6,000 members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America entered the packing plants for the first time since the hard-fought strike began on March 16. Bitter expressions of hostility toward the packers were heard as rumors spread that more than 100 union leaders in this area have been fired as a result of their strike activity. Members of the entire executive board of Swift Local 167 have already received discharge notices from the company.

The strike was ended by a membership vote taken on May 21 and 22 throughout the country. Even after ten weeks of hardship, there was only a slim majority in favor of returning to work on the basis of the miserable 9-cent hourly increase in wages. This was the same offer which the union members had overwhelmingly rejected before the strike began. The union had demanded 29 cents an hour in order to bring the inadequate living standards of packinghouse workers up to a decent level.

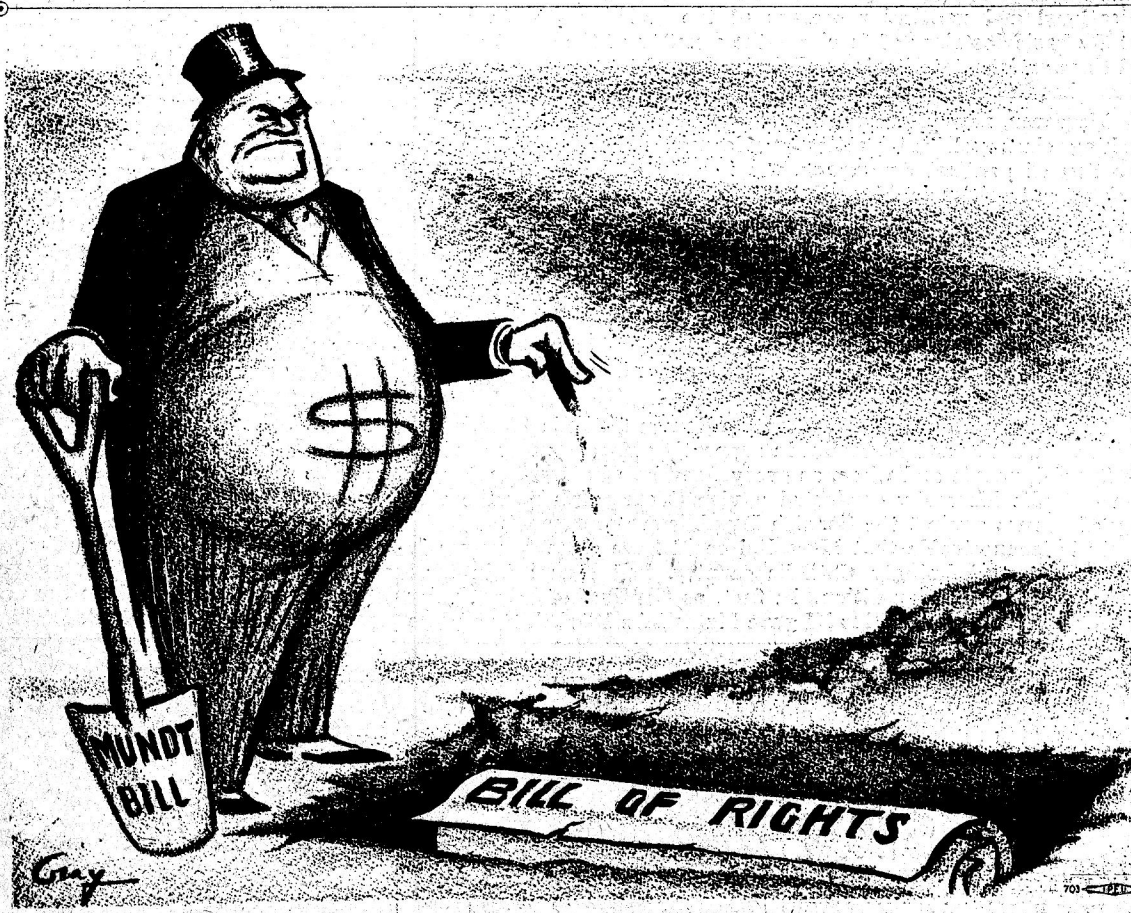
STRONG OPPOSITION

In some of the most important meat-packing centers, the vote was heavily opposed to ending the strike on the company's terms. In South St. Paul the vote in the Armour and Swift locals reportedly ran 2 to 1 against ending the strike. Press reports are that local unions in the Omaha area voted almost 90% against returning to work, as did strikers in the Denver area. In Kansas City, Kansas, where police brutality against strikers was the worst, the vote against a return to work was said to run 10 to 1.

Still on strike are 10,000 workers at Wilson plants in Albert Lea, Minnesota; Chicago; Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and several other centers. Workers voted to continue the strike because the Wilson Company repudiated its contract with the union and states that from now on it will hire and fire as it sees fit.

Scores of Minnesota packinghouse workers still face frameup charges. In one of the most vicious "legal" attacks on organized labor since 28 members of the CIO Motor Transport Workers and the Socialist Workers Party were tried in the famous Minneapolis labor case of 1941, 29 members of Cudahy Local 55

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Progressive Oust CP Heads in Westinghouse

BUFFALO, May 24 — A notable victory for progressive unionism was scored by more than 4,000 UE members at the big Buffalo plant of the Westinghouse Corporation, when the Rank and File slate swept out the Stalinist-dominated Miller-Gould-Krawczyk clique in the local elections here held on May 20.

This union election, which aroused considerable interest in labor circles in the Buffalo area, and received widespread attention from the local capitalist press, was the culmination of a two year struggle initiated by a group of militant workers organized into the Rank and File caucus. This group carried on a persistent fight against the bureaucratic mismanagement of Local 1581's affairs by the incumbents.

VICIOUS RED-BAITING

In addition to the Rank and File and Miller-Gould-Krawczyk slates, there was also the so-called "Aggressive" group, headed by J. Larby and Leo Skowronski. The Aggressives were formerly part of the Miller-Gould-Stalinist machine, and never raised a voice against the many undemocratic and pro-company tactics which the Stalinists had pursued before the red-baiting campaign was started.

The Stalinists carried on a purely defensive campaign, padded their entire slate with many Polish names, calculated to appeal to the native Polish workers who constitute the majority in the plant, and dropped all of the usual UE national political issues. They confined their propaganda to "Beat the Company" — "Fight For a General Wage

General Motors Forestalls Walkout with 11-Cent Raise

By Art Preis

Seventy-two hours before the strike deadline set by the CIO United Auto Workers for 225,000 mem-

bers in 90 GM plants, the General Motors Corporation broke the Big Business front of opposition to any pay increases and agreed to a general wage raise of 11 cents an hour, effective May 28.

For the first time in any major union agreement, the proposed new GM contract incorporates the principle of the sliding scale of wages. This will provide automatic wage increases proportional to rising living costs, adjusted every three months on the basis of the cost-of-living figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

UAW leaders hail the sliding scale cost-of-living contract, which must go to the GM workers for final ratification, as a "far-reaching victory" for the UAW's one million members and "for all American workers."

This present attitude of the UAW leaders is surprising in view of the bitter opposition of UAW President Walter Reuther to the sliding scale principle. At the GM delegates conference last February and subsequently, Reuther attacked the sliding scale program advanced by five GM local union presidents in Flint. The sliding scale program has long been advocated by the Militant and demanded by UAW progressives, BUT WITH DEFINITE SAFEGUARDS THAT THE GM CONTRACT DOES NOT INCLUDE.

GM FEARED STRIKE

The action of General Motors was undoubtedly based primarily on the threat of a strike which, coming simultaneously with the two-week-old walkout of 75,000 Chrysler workers, could easily have developed into a general auto industry strike at the time of the highest profits in its history.

The actual immediate wage increase, however, is only about a third of the original demand of the UAW. This called for a total of 30 cents an hour more. The

UAW International Executive Board had adopted a program calling for a flat 25-cent increase in basic pay, plus five cents in fringe demands. Reuther was instrumental in reducing the basic pay demand on GM to 15 cents, offering to settle for this smaller sum if the company granted an "acceptable" pension plan.

However, the contract includes none of the vital welfare demands. Nor does it contain any of the essential improvements in grievance procedure and working conditions long sought by GM workers. The contract still contains all the onerous "penalty" clauses and other discriminatory features that have always made the GM contract the most unsatisfactory in the industry. Thus, the UAW leaders have accepted the sliding scale program not as a fortification of, but as a substitute for the needed increase in real basic wages, welfare benefits and grievance improvements.

The immediate effect of the GM agreement is to crack the solid front of the big corporations, including U.S. Steel, General Electric, Westinghouse, Ford and Chrysler, against any wage increases. It is expected that it will lead to a speedy settlement of the Chrysler strike and possibly the Ford wage negotiations. Chrysler had withdrawn even a miserable 6-cent offer, and Ford had insultingly "offered" a wage cut.

The capitalist press has greeted the GM settlement with great misgivings. Prices have been rising steadily since the commodity market break last February. The ERP and the expanding military budget are expected to give a new impulsion to the inflation. The GM workers are bound to benefit by automatic wage increases during the next two years, the term of the new contract.

Here is how the new sliding scale contract will work: The immediate 11-cent increase includes three cents this year for

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U. S. HELPS CONCEAL FACTS IN POLK CASE

The body of George Polk, an American correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, was washed ashore at Salonika, Greece. Murderers had bound his hands and feet, then shot him through the back of the head and thrown him into the bay.

There is strong indication that Polk was murdered by agents of the semi-fascist Greek government with the American authorities as accomplices after the fact. The Greek and American authorities are engaged in a conspiracy to prevent a thorough investigation of the brutal murder. The Wall Street press, which would be screaming to the skies if the murder had occurred in Yugoslavia, has given the Polk murder as little space as possible and is now trying to forget the whole business.

SMEARED AS "REDS"
The Greek reactionaries have smeared all honest correspondents as "reds" and "agents of Moscow." Powerful pressure from Greece and Washington has been brought on newspapers to fire such reporters. Such was the case in the recent transfer out of Greece of the N.Y. Herald Tribune writer, Homer Bigart.

PLANNED "SCOOP"
Polk, a former Navy pilot, was planning a radio interview with the leader of the Greek guerrillas, General Markos. The Greek government has put a news blockade around the rebel territory. Polk despaired of getting official permission and was planning the Markos "scoop" on his own. As all other foreign correspondents who refuse to accept the official Greek version of the news, Polk was heartily disliked by the Greek government. In the December 1947 issue of Harpers magazine he had exposed the corruption and reactionary nature of the American puppet government in Athens. Greek officials

had protested to Polk's employers, CBS. The Christian Science Monitor correspondent in Greece revealed after Polk's murder that the dead American had told him shortly before of threatening phone calls in which he was accused of being a Communist. Drew Pearson revealed that Polk "wrote me a short time ago that he was having great difficulties with the Greek government who did not want him to interview the guerrillas."

The Greek authorities are now brazenly investigating the Communists as the "logical murderers of Polk." The head of the American Mission to Greece, Dwight Griswold, also participates in this conspiracy. When questioned by reporters, he stated that he assumed that Communists had murdered Polk.

The American Newspaper Guild and the Overseas Club, an organization of foreign correspondents, is planning its own investigation of the murder of George Polk.

The Marshall Plan -- U. S. Imperialism on the March

By John G. Wright

Some naive people and many others not quite so innocent believe that there are no strings attached to the European "Aid" Program, recently rebranded as the ECA ("Economic Cooperation Act"). To be sure the Act, as passed by Congress, contains no explicit clauses providing for Wall Street's intervention in the economic and political life of countries which are the recipients of such "aid." For example, there is no provision, as Congress originally contemplated, to use the ECA against the nationalization programs in Britain and other European countries. But this absence of direct provisions is more than compensated for by a whole series of indirect regulations which guarantee precisely such use.

SWEEPING POWERS

First and foremost are the sweeping powers invested in the Administrator of the ECA. This individual is a virtual economic Czar. He has the final say in

"screening" all requests for aid, allocating specific sums of money, "supervising" the manner in which these funds are spent, and so on. He may cancel allocations at anytime and for any reason. He even has the final say on the disposition of those funds which each recipient government must set aside as an "equivalent in local currency for any "grants-in-aid" it may obtain.

This by no means exhausts the list of the ECA Administrator's powers, but it does suffice to show that he has the widest powers for intervening in the domestic policies of the recipient countries and of attaching all sorts of conditions before extending loans or grants under the ECA.

These powers have already been used to promote Wall Street's anti-nationalization and denationalization policies in Western Europe. ECA Administrator Hoffman began his tenure in office by telling the Senate Appropriations Committee on May 12 that he was opposed to any aid to Britain (and therefore to

any other country) that would help develop any "newly" nationalized industry.

Over and above this, the European governments have also been "warned" not to set up any government purchasing agencies. Except in cases of grants-in-aid, the ECA will deal almost exclusively with private capitalist enterprises both here and abroad. This effectively bars nationalized industries, whose purchases are made through government agencies, from obtaining raw materials or equipment under the ECA.

BATTERING RAM

Furthermore, the ECA is being used as a battering ram to open up Western Europe to American capital and secure its domination. This is assured by many provisions in the ECA which have not been publicized. In the first place, grants are virtually limited to such items as food, fuel and fertilizer. Industrial raw materials and equipment, on the other hand, must not only flow through private channels but are subject to repayments.

By law, these loans must be

private and cannot fall below 20%. That is to say, for every dollar each country may receive in grants, it must accept not less than 20 cents in loans. The initial allocations made by ECA Administrator Hoffman run well above this minimum, amounting to one dollar in loans for every three dollars in grants, or 25%. The plan is to boost this proportion to at least 40% of the total. The main channel for these private investments in European industry is the Import-Export Bank, which is authorized under the Act to extend up to one billion dollars in loans.

In addition, the ECA also underwrites other private investments in Europe to the amount of half a billion dollars. Such private loans, if approved by the ECA Administrator, are secured for a term of 14 years. American bankers and private investors run no risk whatever in these "foreign investments" since for every dollar advanced in such loans, a dollar is set aside from the funds allotted by Congress under the ECA. In this case, the ECA is simply another huge grab

bag for the American financiers and monopolists.

Still another little known aspect of the ECA is its role as a club to secure Wall Street's position as the world's banker. The sole remaining competitor in this field is Great Britain. Driven from her former financial supremacy, Britain still retains a key role within her empire, her "Sterling Bloc." To reduce British banks to further dependence on Wall Street, it is necessary to strip English currency of its last vestiges of stability, and subject it completely to the sway of the dollar. This can be accomplished by forcing the devaluation of the pound on terms dictated by Wall Street.

SHOWDOWN AHEAD

This bitter behind-the-scenes struggle, which has been going on for some time, is now heading for a showdown. In this struggle the ECA plays the role of a vise that is being squeezed tighter and tighter.

Toward the end of April, the International Monetary Fund suspended all sales of dollars to

nations which participate in the Marshall Aid Program. They must get their dollar supply from the ECA instead. Britain has been the chief purchaser of dollars from the International Monetary Fund. With this source shut off, with her previous dollar loan completely exhausted, Britain has now no recourse, except to come crawling on her hands and knees to the ECA.

But the ECA is prepared to dole out dollars to Britain only on condition that she agrees to devalue the pound. This is the meaning of Hoffman's incessant demands that "European currencies" must be devaluated. This is the meaning of the reiteration of this demand last week by the U.S. National Advisory Council, the all-powerful economic body of which ECA Administrator Hoffman is an official member.

As the foregoing facts help illustrate, the ECA is nothing but an agency of Wall Street's imperialist policy. Any one who maintains the contrary is either a dupe or a conscious agent of American imperialism.

The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism

By Art Preis

No event of modern times has more clearly demonstrated the political role of the Roman Catholic Church, under direct and absolute rule of the Vatican, than the recent Italian elections.

The American capitalist press hailed the all-out intervention of the Catholic hierarchy, from Pope Pius XII down, on the side of the Christian Democratic Party of ex-fascist capitalists and landlords.

Despite a provision in the Lateran Treaty prohibiting priests and other Church functionaries from partisan political activity, the clergy in Italy was organized into a vast electioneering machine. An estimated hundred thousand priests and nuns were mobilized as ward-healers to bring out the vote against the Communist-Socialist People's Front.

REIGN OF TERROR

From the Vatican, the independent state of the Holy See, the Pope initiated and directed a reign of ideological and religious terror against the Italian people, 95% of them Catholic-born.

Cardinal Schuster of Milan, for instance, ex-communicated a priest for taking part in Popular Front meetings and decreed that absolution be refused to "Communists or members of other movements contrary to the Catholic religion." A declaration of 18 archbishops and 55 bishops in southern Italy said: "Nobody can at the same time be a good Catholic and a Socialist." Whoever voted for the working class parties against the capitalists was threatened openly with damnation both here and hereafter.

After the events in Italy, no honest person will dispute the charge that the Catholic hierarchy heads an active political organization seeking specific political ends.

The Catholic hierarchy, headed by the Vatican, wields exceptional ideological power and political influence. It is a totalitarian machine holding sway over 338 million people, concentrated largely in western and central Europe and North and South America. It has a single head, the Pope, whose authority is recognized as absolute under the doctrine of papal "infallibility" which was first made a formal part of the Catholic creed in 1870.

Under his central, authoritarian command are hundreds of thousands of trained, disciplined, professional functionaries, for whom the decrees from the Vatican constitute the highest law and the irrefutable word of God on all matters spiritual and temporal.

COLOSSAL WEALTH

This mighty organization rests on the material foundations of colossal wealth and privilege. It far surpasses any private capitalist corporation in property, money and invested capital. Only the treasury of the United States government commands greater financial resources.

Recognizing the political character of the Catholic Church and its tremendous material power, it is important to understand its political program. What kinds of government does the Catholic Church seek? What aims does it have with respect to secular laws, education, science, labor and capital?

An illuminating series of articles has been written on this subject by Paul Blanshard and recently published by The Nation magazine. Blanshard's facts are thoroughly documented from Catholic sources.

SUPPORT TO FASCISTS

These articles cite the record of the Catholic hierarchy and its connections with the rise and spread of fascism from Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922 to the fascist dictatorships of today in Spain, Portugal and Argentina.

The Catholic hierarchy in America and its apologists have attempted to show that the Roman Catholic Church does not and never has supported fascism. But while there are almost limitless quotations from Pius XII and his predecessors against communism and socialism, nowhere can there be found any attack by the Popes or any leading Catholic Church officials against fascism as such.

As Blanshard points out, from time to time the Vatican criticized certain acts of Hitler or Mussolini when they encroached upon the educational and political preserves of the Catholic Church itself. But the basic doctrines of fascism—the sanctity of the profit system and class society, totalitarian political rule and the corporative state—have been directly and openly supported by the Popes.

Moreover, never have the Popes—so violent in their attacks on working class political parties—condemned or criticized the destruction of political democracy, the murder of labor leaders, the wholesale atrocities of Mussolini and Hitler or of Franco, Salazar and Peron.

Indeed, in every fascist country, except Hitler's Germany, the Catholic Church served and still serves as the ally and direct prop of the fascist dictatorship.

Here is the conclusion of the well known Catholic writer, William Teeling, in his "Pope Pius XI and World Affairs": "The political policy of Rome seems to become more and more identified with organizations on totalitarian lines."

That was written in 1937, when the Roman Catholic Church had joined with Hitler and Mussolini in supporting Franco's war against the Spanish people and when, as every American knows, the American Catholic hierarchy conducted a violent campaign for the victory of Franco against the Spanish Republican government.

It is inconceivable that Mussolini could have come to power in Italy, an overwhelmingly Catholic country, had Pius XI in 1922 offered any serious opposition. In fact, as Cardinal of Milan, prior to his elevation as Pope, Pius XI gave Mussolini's Blackshirts a place

of honor in the unveiling ceremonies for the Unknown Warrior in Milan Cathedral. In 1940, he still gave his blessings to both Italian and German soldiers, as reported in the Vatican newspaper, Osservatore Romano. Nor did he object when the Italian bishops wired Mussolini their hope that he would "crown the unflinching victory of our arms by planting the Italian flag over the Holy Sepulchre."

Pius XI hailed Mussolini on December 20, 1926, as "the man sent by Providence." The present Pope Pius XII, while still Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, called Il Duce "the New Constantine." And in America, the Bishop of Cleveland, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston and Cardinal Hayes heaped rapturous praise on Mussolini as a "man of destiny" and "a genius in the field of government sent to Italy by God."

PAPAL BLESSING

On February 11, 1929, the Vatican signed the Concordat and Lateran Treaty with Mussolini. This constituted the formal recognition of the Fascist regime by the Roman Catholic Church.

In return for the papal blessing, Mussolini handsomely rewarded the Vatican with: 1. Recognition of the sovereignty and extraterritorial rights of the Vatican state, plus \$90,000,000 from the Italian Fascist treasury; 2. Agreement by Mussolini not to employ any "apostate or suspended priest" in any post which "brings them into direct contact with the public"; 3. Separate prisons for priests convicted of crime; 4. Re-establishment of the Roman Catholic Church as the "sole religion of the state"; 5. The teaching of the Catholic religion in the public schools with the right of Catholic bishops to remove any teacher of religion for "heresy"; 6. Partial payment of priests' salaries from the Italian public treasury.

The Vatican tacitly sanctioned Mussolini's barbaric war on the Ethiopian people and the Church blessed Italian arms. Cardinal Schuster of Milan on October 28, 1935, said that Mussolini's "Italian standard carries forward in triumph the Cross of Christ, smashes the chains of slavery and opens the way for the missionaries of the gospel." The Catholic press in America denounced the proposal of sanctions against Italy.

Eminent Catholic writers and scholars have confirmed the sympathetic attitude of the Catholic hierarchy toward Fascism. The noted British Catholic, Christopher Dawson, wrote in his "Religion and the Modern State":

"... there seems to be no doubt that the Catholic social ideas set forth in the encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI have far more affinity with those of fascism than with those of either liberalism or socialism."

(Further articles in this series will discuss the role of the Catholic Church in Spain and other fascist countries; the relations of Wall Street imperialism and the Vatican; the attitude of the church to capital and labor; the activities of the Catholic Church in America in the fields of education and science.)

LATIN AMERICAN NOTES

By J. Gomez

The campaign against "communism" on the part of the Latin American big landowners and capitalists, inspired and directed by Washington, is taking shape from one end of the continent to the other, from Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, reaching not only to the island of Cuba but even to little Costa Rica, the only Central American country which, until recently, still enjoyed a measure of political freedom. Brutal repression is being practiced not only against the Stalinists but against any and every one who dares to fight for the rights and needs of the laboring masses.

The Trotskyist militants are the victims of this reactionary campaign in more than one country. In Chile, a number of Trotskyists are, together with Stalinists and Socialist militants, confined in the concentration camps of Gonzalez Videla. In Bolivia the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) was the first victim of the campaign against "communism." Now the POR of Peru, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International, is the victim.

TERROR CAMPAIGN

The following two cases indicate the character of the terror campaign waged by the government of Bustamante. First, they arrested Nelson Capellino, a well known militant leader of the Miners Federation of Bolivia. Capellino was deported to Peru towards the end of 1947 under the flimsy charge that he was a "foreign agitator" and an "undesirable Peruvian" although as a matter of fact, his native country is Bolivia. Now the Peruvian government, most likely in complicity with the same Bolivian government, arrested him on the charge of being an "international agitator." Actually Nelson Capellino, because he is seriously ill, has not engaged in any political activity since his arrival in Peru.

The government further wreaked its vengeance on the working class fighter by confining him to a prison with non-political prisoners under the most unhygienic conditions, although he is badly in need of hospitalization. His present fate is still unknown to us.

The second case is of Comrade Leoncio Bueno, editor of Revolution, organ of the POR of Peru. He was arrested at the textile plant where he is employed, on Saturday, April 24, and was held incommunicado in the prefecture. The charges against him are unknown. Most likely, the police will attempt to force from him information about the POR in Peru, and particularly its leaders, as they unsuccessfully attempted in the case of Nelson Capellino.

It is hardly surprising that Trotskyist militants are often the first victims of the terror campaign. In contrast to treacherous Stalinism, which is trying to get into the good graces of the military dictatorship of Bustamante by supporting it "conditionally," the Trotskyists are in the front ranks of the fight against both the native plutocracy and American imperialism. The paper of the Peruvian Trotskyists, Revolution, is one of the finest organs of militant class struggle.

Open Forum for N. J. Militant Readers

THE CRISIS IN THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE TASKS AHEAD will be the topic discussed by E. R. Frank, editor of The Militant, at the Open Forum to be held on Friday, June 4, at 8:30 p.m. by the Newark Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. The Branch address is 423 Springfield Ave. Admission is free.

More Branches Hold Sub Mobilizations

Socialist Workers Party branches received more than 5,000 extra copies of last week's Militant, containing Farrell Dobbs' April 15 national radio address. Various special distributions and sales were planned. Major branches ordered 200 to 800 copies above their usual bundle quotas. Marianna Stanley, ordering 400 extra copies for Seattle, reported: "We are planning a forum along the lines of the Dobbs broadcast, with some additions and elaborations. We had covered many working class areas with a leaflet announcing the broadcast, and we plan to follow up in these areas with this issue of The Militant."

THE MILITANT ARMY

was while Militant Agent George was on a honeymoon. Congratulations to the branch and George, and best wishes to Betty.

Oakland (Calif.) sent eight subs. "We found on our mobilization yesterday much less apathy and more interest, especially in the election campaign," writes Beverly Wise.

Albanses Cigar Store, 245 Elm St., New Britain, Conn., is now handling The Militant every week.

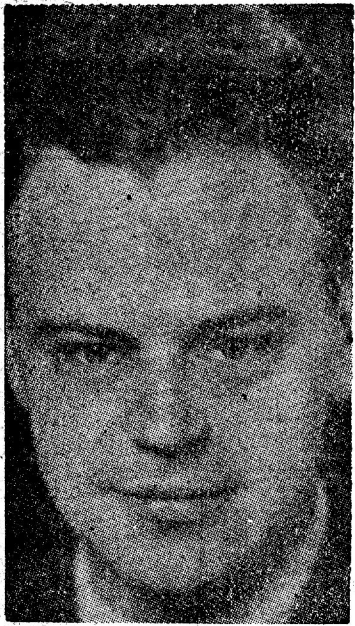
"The enclosed sub is from a striking Chrysler worker and was gotten at the battle of Highland Park," reported Bea Allen, Detroit.

Milwaukee followed up its April Militant Sub Week with another batch of 11 subs. "I feel this is a pretty good showing so far for May," writes Carol Andrews. "As a result of our Sub Week the comrades have become subscription-conscious and as soon as new people appear at the office they try to sell them subs."

Stalin's Machine-Gun Attempt Against Trotsky

By George Lavan

Eight years ago — on May 24th, 1940—Stalin's GPU made an attack in force on Trotsky's household in Coyoacan, Mexico. A band of about 30 Stalinist agents disguised as Mexican policemen and armed with machine guns, bombs and electric saws broke into the Trotsky



LEON SEDOV

household in the early hours of the morning.

Their instructions from the Kremlin were to murder the great revolutionist. Rapidly making their way to the bedroom of Leon and Natalia Trotsky the assassins stood in the doorway and riddled the bed with machine gun bursts.

Fortunately Trotsky and his wife had been awakened by the firing in the courtyard and had hidden in a corner of the room. In the dim light the GPU murderers mistook the rumpled bedclothes for the figures of their intended victims.

Thinking they had accomplished their mission the GPU gang left taking with them one of Trotsky's guards, Robert Sheldon Harte, a young American. The body of the kidnapped guard was later found in a shallow lime-filled grave.

Robert Sheldon Harte came of a wealthy family. As a student he became interested in the socialist movement and soon joined the Socialist Workers Party. He plunged into the work of building the Trotskyist party in the United States and was elected to the executive committee of the Downtown Branch of the New York SWP. He volunteered for the dangerous work of guarding Trotsky. Selection of guards was based on trustworthiness and reliability. Harte was delighted when he was told of his assignment to go to Mexico. He had been in the Trotsky household scarcely eight weeks when he met his tragic death.

The 24-year old guard was one of the finest types of young revolutionists. His ideals had led him to embrace the only cause which could emancipate humanity. Having once joined the struggle he sacrificed to build the party of the working class and, putting himself in the very forefront of the fight, sacrificed his very life.

The GPU attack made a great sensation throughout the world and the Stalinist press did everything in its power to shield the GPU and at the same time smear Trotsky. The Stalinists declared the attack was a fake — that Trotsky had arranged a "self-assault."

Trotsky placed the guilt for the attack squarely on the GPU and the top leaders of the Mexican Stalinist Party. The correctness of this charge was soon proved when Mexican authorities arrested 27 of the band, all Stalinists, who confessed. The GPU, however, with unlimited resources at its disposal, struck again within a few months. This time it was successful and with a pickaxe a Stalinist agent murdered the man who with Lenin had led the Russian revolution.

Robert Sheldon Harte was one of many victims of Stalin's war on the Trotskyist movement. Most of Trotsky's family had been murdered or driven to death by the Kremlin butcher. This is the tenth anniversary of the death of Trotsky's oldest

son, Leon Sedov, an earlier victim of the GPU.

As a child he had accompanied his parents in their exile from Czarist Russia. As the Stalinist counter-revolution began to undermine the young workers state, he took an active part in the ranks of the Left Opposition, headed by his famous father. He voluntarily accompanied Trotsky to forcible exile in Central Asia and later to Turkey.

In Turkey his parents prevailed upon him to go to Berlin to carry on his studies and aid in the work of the Trotskyist movement there. He left with reluctance and did great service for the cause in Germany. Almost unaided he published The Bulletin of the Opposition, the main theoretical organ of the world Trotskyist movement.



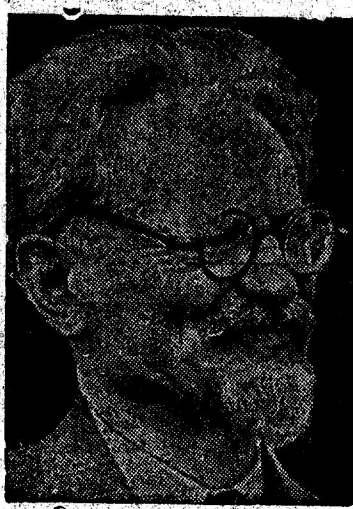
ROBERT SHELDON HARTE

Leon Sedov was a great political personality in his own right. He did much of the research that went into his father's books. Trotsky later wrote, "My son's name should rightfully be placed next to mine on almost all my books written since 1928."

When the Moscow Trials were staged, the Norwegian government prevented Trotsky from speaking or writing on the subject. It was Leon Sedov who first exposed in his Red Book on the Moscow Trial the colossal frame-up.

After the advent of Hitler, Sedov moved to Paris. Throughout this period his steps were dogged by GPU agents. In boarding houses the rooms next to his were hired by Stalinist agents. His phone was tapped. At least one known attempt to assassinate him was foiled by accident. He died in a hospital at the age of 32 after a successful operation for appendicitis. All indications point to the use of poison by the GPU.

Like Trotsky, Leon Sedov and Sheldon Harte gave their lives for the socialist emancipation of mankind. Workers throughout the world will honor their memory as the heroic pioneers who, with incredible sacrifice, blazed the trail for the future society.



LEON TROTSKY

Detroit SWP Holds Election Drive Banquet

By Esther Turner

DETROIT, May 24 — An enthusiastic crowd of 150 joined with the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at a banquet on Sunday, May 23, to celebrate the victory in placing the party on the ballot for both the national and state elections. An excellent four-course meal was followed by speeches of the candidates for state officers.

Howard Lerner, candidate for Governor, and the first speaker, pointed out the historic role of the SWP. He said, "We denounce the depraved capitalist rulers for their interest in their stock market profiteering rather than being interested in the welfare of human beings. They would gladly sacrifice the lives of millions of American youth at the altar of war in order to further increase their profits."

William H. Yancey of Flint, who is running for the office of Secretary of State, spoke next. "The Socialist Workers Party," he said, "carries on in the true spirit of the early American revolutionists. It is only the fight for a Workers and Farmers Government, which the SWP is leading that can fully emancipate the Negro people."

The last speaker was Genora Dollinger, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, who was one of the victims of the Briggs beatings against union leaders. She said, "Our party is not giving out a bunch of meaningless promises. Our record speaks for itself. We have participated in many fights of the working people in this country and we have never faltered. We intend to carry this spotless banner to victory."

These speeches were followed by a wire recording of the radio address of Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential candidate, and the introductory remarks of James P. Cannon.

The audience was so impressed by the program of the Socialist Workers Party and its sincerity that \$1,500 was pledged to help the national and state campaign. This, despite the fact that a great percentage of the audience were unemployed Briggs and Chrysler workers.

Although the banquet began at 3 p.m. the audience stayed till 10 p.m. talking and dancing. Two people joined the Party.

GM Agrees to Sliding Scale

(Continued from Page 1)

"living improvement" and eight cents for a cost-of-living adjustment. Another three cents will be added for "living improvement" next year.

The eight-cent cost-of-living adjustment can go up or down according to the movement of living costs. For each two-thirds of a per cent rise in the consumer prices index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics there will be an equivalent rise in the wage rate. That is, if the index rises 1.14 points above the April figure of 169.3, then the auto workers automatically get a one cent pay boost. THERE IS NO CEILING ON UPWARD WAGE ADJUSTMENTS.

If prices decline, then there will be an equivalent percentage decline in the wage scale, BUT NOT MORE THAN A MAXIMUM TOTAL OF FIVE CENTS. Thus, even if there should be an unlikely big drop in prices, the GM workers are assured not less than a six cent increase this year, plus three cents more next year.

TWO "GIMMICKS"

There are two real "gimmicks" in the contract, however. First, it establishes as the "norm" for real wages (the actual buying power of money wages) the ratio of living costs to money wages in the depressed year of 1940. Secondly, changes in living costs, for the purposes of the sliding wage scale, are based on the unreliable and doctored consumer prices index of the capitalist government.

The original UAW demands had called for a 25-cent increase in basic wages to bring the real wages up to the level of real wages at the end of the war. By arbitrarily going back eight years to August 1940, GM and the UAW negotiators established as a "norm" a figure for real wages which is only eight cents above the existing real wage. But GM hourly wages, before the present increase, were actually 20 to 25 cents below the real wages two years ago.

The three cents "improvement" boost was thrown in to cover up the fact that the "cost-of-living" increase of eight cents does not nearly compensate for the actual rise in the cost of living since the end of the war. The extra three cents does not begin to bring the real wages of the GM workers up to the highest previous peak and is only a slight "improvement" over the real wages of nearly a decade ago.

EASY TO CHEAT

The consumer prices index of the government, as the union leaders themselves have repeatedly pointed out, is heavily weighted to minimize the real rise in living costs. It will be easy to cheat the GM workers of increases to which they are entitled if the sliding wage scale is based upon a falsified index. The only reliable cost-of-living index would be one maintained by economists and statisticians of the unions themselves.

In the wage program of the

UAW progressives, the demands were for a 25-cent raise in basic wages to bring real wages up to the highest previous level and for a sliding wage scale to protect these real wages from future price rises. The UAW leaders adopted the first demand and threw out the second. Reuther falsely claimed that the sliding wage scale did not permit improvements in real wages. Now the UAW negotiators throw out the progressives' first demand and settle for the second, which they had previously rejected.

Naturally, in negotiating a sliding scale contract, the workers must be wary of such "gimmicks" as have been incorporated into the GM contract. In taking over the wage program of the UAW progressives, the Reutherites have distorted it and left out the safeguards which the progressives have always included in their sliding scale program.

FORWARD STEP

However, the principle of the sliding scale of wages represents a great forward step in this period of inflation. It is the indispensable and only immediately effective program to safeguard real wages against constantly mounting prices.

This sliding scale program, with all the necessary safeguards included, must become a great unifying and rallying slogan of the union struggle in the coming period of mounting inflation brought on by the new war preparations.

Packing Workers

(Continued from page 1)

are charged with "rioting." The charge originated out of last week's action when angry workers removed imported scabs from the Cudahy packing plant. Charges brought against other militant workers at Swift and Armour plants run the whole anti-labor gamut — resisting an officer, inciting to riot, assault and battery, mass picketing contrary to court restraining orders, etc.

Milton Siegel, militant leader of the strike in this area, already on trial for "violating a court restraining order" is now threatened with a contempt of Congress charge. When subpoenaed by a sub-committee of the House of Representatives on appropriations and expenditures, headed by Republican representative Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, Siegel challenged the authority of the committee and refused to appear. In a statement prepared for presentation to the committee, Siegel declared that Representative Hoffman "has a strong bias against unions and union members."

The thousand National guardsmen called out by Governor Luther W. Youngdahl on May 14 have been recalled from the South St. Paul area. Several hundred still remain on duty in strike-bound Albert Lea.

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Vol. XII - No. 22

Monday, May 31



TROTSKY

The experience of my life, in which there has been no lack either of successes or of failures, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear, bright future of mankind...

—Leon Trotsky, Address before Dewey Commission, Mexico City, 1937.



LENIN

Packinghouse Defeat And Third Round Wage Fight

After ten long weeks of fierce struggle, the nation-wide packinghouse strike has been defeated. The packinghouse workers had to return to work accepting the same miserable 9-cent wage increase that the packers offered before the strike began.

This defeat was not due to any lack of fighting spirit or willingness to sacrifice on the part of the 100,000 CIO packinghouse workers. On the contrary, in every packinghouse center in the country, pickets bravely fought company thugs, scab-herding police and armed deputies.

But all this was not enough. Stabbed in the back by the AFL Butchers Union which had accepted the original 9-cent settlement...

This jolting setback comes at a time when the CIO is already rocking with the capitulation of President Murray to the steel barons and his avowal at the union's Steel Convention that under his leadership the steel workers would take industry's refusal to grant wage increases lying down.

This week, the CIO third round wage campaign was saved from total disaster by the settlement between the auto union and the General Motors Corporation.

The Arab-Jewish War In Palestine

The present big-power intrigues and shifty maneuvers in the UN on Palestine reflect the sharp rift between British and American imperialism on this issue.

The British position in the Near East is steadily weakening as a reflection of the general disintegration of the British Empire and the bankruptcy of British capitalism.

The present Jewish-Arab war, far from enhancing reactionary Zionism or imparting to it a progressive mission, exposes in glaring manner that the program of a Jewish state in Palestine and the Jewish war for this end—is reactionary and bankrupt from beginning to end.

The achievement of these tasks are surely fraught with great difficulty. But there are no shortcuts in solving the Jewish problem.

Have't the Jewish people the right to self-determination and statehood as other peoples? Yes—but even if we abstract this ques-

quate, and the old GM contract with its numerous vicious anti-union clauses remains, the auto leaders have, at least, made a somewhat better showing than Murray. The wage agreement, in addition, includes a sliding wage scale clause, which is of far-reaching importance to the labor movement and its struggle for living standards.

The settlement at GM, which paves the way for a settlement of the Chrysler strike, was unquestionably brought on by the rising tide of anger in the auto centers.

This demonstrates what really could have been accomplished in auto if the union leaders had co-ordinated the wage fight, adopted an industry-wide bargaining and strike strategy, and placed in the forefront of its wage program the slogan of adequate wage increases plus the escalator clause.

Labor must resolve never again to permit one union—as in the packinghouse strike—to take it on the chin while the rest of the army of labor stands idly by.

tion from its aforementioned social reality, the fact remains they cannot carve out a state at the expense of the national rights of the Arab peoples.

For these reasons the Zionist promulgation of a Jewish state and its war to maintain this state against Arab opposition is reactionary and cannot be supported by the socialist movement.

Neither are the Arab rulers conducting a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. They are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and utilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule.

The audience reactions to these comments showed how obvious these truisms were. Certainly there was nothing to justify the howls of rage which went up from the Congressional watchdogs against "subversive thought" in Hollywood.

The movie, evidently patterned on the life of the late Wendell Wilkie, does not even do justice to his ideas, for while Wilkie believed in "One World," he did not add, as does the movie, "with the Russians or without them."

Debs' Great Revolutionary Stature Revealed in His Speeches, Writings

By George Breitman WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF EUGENE V. DEBS, Hermitage Press, 1948, 512 pages, \$4.

Here is a book to cheer about! For it gives us the real Debs in his own words—the indomitable working class rebel who devoted his whole life to the struggle for the socialist revolution—and thus annihilates the insidious campaign of the Social Democrats and liberals to transform him into a harmless pacifistic humanitarian and reformist.

This is the true Debs, revealed in speeches, articles and pamphlets written over a 30-year span—the lion-hearted fighter who stands as an inspiration to the revolutionists of our own day, the incorruptible son of the working class who spurned the opportunity to become a respectable politician and labor bureaucrat.

Read this book, and you will become acquainted with Debs in all his true grandeur. Read his own words, and you will understand why he was the instinctive foe of everything represented by the Truman-socialists, Eisenhower-socialists, Norman Thomas and Stalinist People's Fronters.

Those who conceive of Debs as a turn-the-other-cheek pacifist should read his 1906 article, 'Arouse, Ye Slaves!', in which he warned: 'If they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood and their brothers, a million revolutionists, at least, will meet them with guns... Let them dare to execute their devilish plot and every state in this Union will respond with the tramp of revolution.'

Debs began as a "pure and simple" trade union organizer; was shown the meaning of capitalism and politics when he was railroaded to prison for "contempt" of courts and injunctions used to break the great Pullman strike that he led; became a socialist agitator whose aim was to rise "with the ranks,

and not from the ranks"; ran for president on the Socialist Party ticket five times, the last time from a prison cell; defied the first imperialist war and refused to ask for mercy when he was thrown into a federal prison for expressing his anti-war convictions; and in his 64th year declared in ringing words: "From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it."

Reprinted here are his warm tributes to the militants and martyrs of the labor movement and his stirring appeals for solidarity with the McNamara brothers, Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Ludlow strikers, the IWW victims of which hangs and red-baiting, etc. His defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in the article, 'Roosevelt's Labor Letters,' constitutes one of the most savage pieces of polemical literature in the history of the labor movement.

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In the same spirit was his appeal, after the 1914 Ludlow massacre, for the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners to levy an assessment for a Gannett Defense Fund, "to provide each member with the latest high power rifle, the same as used by the corporation, gunmen, and 500 rounds of cartridges. In addition to this

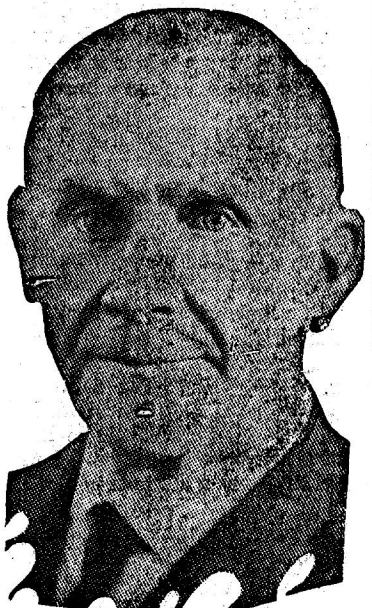
every district should purchase and equip and man enough Gatling and machine guns to match the equipment of Rockefeller's private army of assassins. This suggestion is made advisedly and I hold myself responsible for every word of it. If the corporations have the right to recruit and maintain private armies of murder striking workmen, sack their homes, insult their wives, and roast their babes, then labor unions not only have the right but it is their solemn duty to arm themselves to resist these lawless attacks and defend their homes and loved ones."

Debs was not primarily a theoretician, and he made political errors, easily understood in the light of the development of American socialism before the Russian revolution. But his heart was always on the right side, and he unerringly lined up beside the oppressed. This is best illustrated in his two articles on the Negro question, where he made the then-common error of failing to recognize the special revolutionary significance of the Negro struggle for equality, but at the same time vigorously advocated admitting Negroes with equal rights into the labor and socialist movement, and the expulsion of all white supremacists.

Debs had nothing but contempt and hatred for every variety of prejudice, as he showed in his letter denouncing "socialists" who wanted their party to adopt a reactionary policy barring certain races from immigrating to the U.S., and in his article attacking male chauvinism.

Two selections in this book strike a poignant note. One is from Debs' only book, Walls and Bars, dealing with the thundering ovation given this beloved fighter for all the oppressed by his 2,200 fellow-prisoners as he walked out of the Atlanta

penitentiary in 1921. The other is the article, 'Serving the Labor Movement,' written in 1922 when the delegates of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, to their undying



EUGENE V. DEBS

discredited, voted down a motion to invite Debs to address their convention.

DEEPLY WOUNDED This wounded the old fighter so deeply that he wrote a defense of himself, sketchily listing his long years of service and self-sacrifice in building the American union movement. "Had I betrayed the organization instead of serving it, it would be different... Were I prime favorite with the railroad magnates instead of their uncompromising enemy, the invitation to address the convention would have been extended by acclamation." But even in this moment of genuine unhappiness, the larger man emerges: "I did not start out expecting gratitude and I have never been disappointed. To be true to my principles and my

ideals and to have my place in the ranks with the Comrades who share them has been more than sufficient."

One thing mars this book, and mars it badly. That is the introduction by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., the liberal historian. Any introduction by this person would be offensive to those who love Debs, for this servile supporter of Truman and Eisenhower stands for everything that Debs fought against. Especially offensive are his attempt to sum up Debs as a mere "democrat" and his remark that Debs' "own career disproved his repeated assertion that capitalism would destroy political freedom" (for Schlesinger the jailing of Debs was evidently of little significance).

We regard it as malicious and downright insulting when Schlesinger quotes with approval a Social Democrat's statement that Debs' long years of agitation for socialism were worth while because the "education [thus] forced on the people... saved this country from civil war in the depths of depression, and gave Franklin D. Roosevelt... the understanding public and trained workers for the immediate job he had on taking over."

This book was long overdue. Nevertheless, its publication this year is especially timely because 1948 witnesses the first presidential campaign launched by the Socialist Workers Party, whose members alone consciously and militantly bear aloft the flag of Debs and honor his tradition in the only way he wanted it honored—by fighting for the socialist revolution. Campaign orators and propagandists would do well to read this volume carefully for what they can learn from a great agitator about how to speak and write the language of revolution so that the masses can understand it.

Macdonald's Lecture At Chicago Univ.

There appeared in the April 26 issue of The Militant a letter from "A Student" at the University of Chicago vehemently attacking the "Shachtmanite 'revolutionists'" for participating with "Norman Thomas 'socialists'" in a united front meeting under whose auspices Dwight Macdonald lectured. "A Student" completed his note with no little modesty by stating that the answer to Wallace "could only have been given by a spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, who would have 'counterposed to Wallace a real Labor Party.'" etc.

On the other hand, the Politics Club, one of the two groups criticized by "A Student" has in addition to the Macdonald meeting held two public discussions on the third party question at which time its viewpoint was presented. I might also add, that it is not the policy of the Politics Club to sponsor only those speakers who share its revolutionary socialist viewpoint.

I was present at the Macdonald meeting and if my memory serves me correctly it was announced that an open-house party was being held that evening which Macdonald would attend and to which all of the audience was invited (I assume that included "A Student"). Interestingly enough, when the evening rolled around and a heated discussion developed involving many of the 90 people at the party, the absence of that much heralded "spokesman" of the SWP was hardly noticed. It should be mentioned in all fairness, however, that one member of the SWP was present but he managed to sit throughout the entire discussion with his mouth apparently paralyzed.

Chicago, Ill. Ford Workers Fighting Mad Editor: On Saturday, May 15, the Motor Building Unit of Ford Rouge Local 600 held its regular membership meeting for the month of May. Brother Tommy Thompson, president of Local 600 spoke on the importance of the Chrysler strike for all auto workers.



As the CIO Auto Workers strike against the Chrysler Corporation continues, pickets' wives with babes-in-arms join the picketline outside the Dodge plant in Hamtramck, Mich. Federated Pictures

Movie Review

STATE OF THE UNION No one expects to see the class struggle portrayed in any movie made in Hollywood and this picture is no exception.

These facts must be pointed out to the peoples involved. The most farsighted elements have the duty of turning their respective peoples away from this fratricidal struggle—of benefit only to the imperialists and their agents. The only solution for Palestine is the joining of forces of the two peoples for the calling of a Constituent Assembly and the setting up by democratic decision an independent Palestinian state, and the organization of a struggle to oust all the imperialists.

The audience reactions to these comments showed how obvious these truisms were. Certainly there was nothing to justify the howls of rage which went up from the Congressional watchdogs against "subversive thought" in Hollywood.

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lean party ticket. He starts out with a mixture of ideals which are a hodgepodge of confusion. He'll tell Labor off. He'll tell Industry off. Everyone must work together in the interest of the people.

His girl friend (Angela Lansbury) convinces him that he must put himself into the hands of the experienced politicians. His wife (Katherine Hepburn) says, "No, you will lose your ideals." The girl friend wins out, temporarily.

After a number of trials and tribulations including some airplane stunts (only Hollywood will ever know why they dragged these airplane scenes into the story), our hero finally sees the light. His wife was right all the time.

In the final scene our hero grabs the mike and blasts the politicians who thought they could run him. He starts apologizing all over the place. He apologizes to the people. He apologizes for his past conduct. And in typical Hollywood style he concludes with a tear-jerking apology to his wife. The wife rushes into his arms and the scene ends on a note of slobbering sentimentality.

—Ben Stone

WORKERS FORUM

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He pointed out that the Chrysler workers are fighting the battle of the whole UAW. He also said that the auto barons are united in this fight against the workers, and now that the industrialists have the Taft-Hartley Law, they have been emboldened to take the offensive against the unions.

He said that therefore, all the workers should stick behind the Chrysler workers. Many workers felt that he could have told us more — namely what to do about it, besides just joining the Chrysler picket lines.

It was up to one rank and file to suggest what should be done. This worker got up and made a motion that the Motor Building Unit of Local 600 go on record for the calling of an emergency CIO meeting for united action of all the unions. He attacked Murray's and Reuther's policy of calling one strike at a time as not meeting the needs of the workers at the present time.

In the shop itself many of the workers have expressed the sentiment, "Why don't they call us all out at once instead of messing around." In spite of the fact that many workers at Ford have just come back from being laid off, they feel that we'll have to go out sooner or later, so why not all at once.

It's obvious from the attitude of the workers that they mean business and are willing to go

pretty far in preserving what little they have.

The labor bureaucracy, on the other hand, is scared stiff to call out all the workers at once, because it could certainly lead to a situation where the labor bureaucrats would lose control over their rank and file.

J. M. Detroit, Mich.

Congress and Promises

Editor: According to the N.Y. Daily News (May 9), Capitol Hill policy experts predicted that in "Congress" will attempt to wind up its business before June 20" the "anti-lynch bill tentatively set for floor consideration — and any other civil rights bill — would be sacrificed for the sake of speed."

The "servants of the people" are so anxious to get their business of electioneering they are willing to put off such important legislation as the anti-lynch bill.

This is just more proof that the high sounding words the capitalist politicians spout about the democratic rights of the people before elections, can be put aside until some other time.

Mrs. Peter G. New York City

Activities of 'Militant' Readers and the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

- AKRON—4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. Mon. through Fri., 7 to 9 p.m.; Branch meeting Sun. 8 p.m.; Socialist Youth Club meeting Sun. 3 p.m. BALTIMORE—1121 E. Baltimore St., Phone Wolfe 1783, Daily 9 a.m. - 9 p.m., O. Coover St. MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on sale. BOSTON—30 Stuart St., Sat., 1-5 p.m., Tues. 7:30-9:30 p.m. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 3900. Every afternoon except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Library, book-store. CHICAGO—777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEarborn 4767, Daily except Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m. Library, book-store. CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 2:30 p.m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.). DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave., Phone TY 7-8367, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. ELGIN—115 E. Ninth St., Daily 7-9 p.m. Open house, Sat. eve. Forum, Sun. eve. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8001. SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1098 S. Pacific Room 214. WATERS—Militant, 1720 E. 97th St. LYNN (Mass.)—44 Central St., Rm. 11, Sat. 1-5 p.m. Discussion, Tues. 7:30 p.m. MILWAUKEE—Militant Bookshop, 608 S. 5th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Broadway 9645. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m. 8 p.m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre). NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8:10-3:30 p.m. NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily 12-4 and 7-10 p.m. NEW YORK CITY (HQ.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149. EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St., 1st fl. Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion. THURSDAY 8 p.m. BROOKLYN—1024 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0410. BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 2-7438. CHELSEA—130 W. 23rd St. Phone CH. 2-9424. OAKLAND (Cal.)—Write P. O. Box 1351, Oakland 4. PHILADELPHIA—1303-65 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-3829. Open daily. Forum, Fri. 8 p.m. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 215. Marxist Study Class, Thur., 7-9 p.m. SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—For information write P. O. Box 857. SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone ET. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m. SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & West. Phone Main 2-7276. Open daily. Forum, Fri. 8 p.m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p.m. Library, bookstore. ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 215. Marxist Study Class, Thur., 7-9 p.m. ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore, Forum. MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St., 2:30 p.m. TACOMA (Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079. Meeting, Wed. 8 p.m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Everett. TOLEDO—113 St. Clair St., 2nd fl. Open daily. SIOUXLAND (Iowa)—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302. Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Ten Who Fell

By Theodore Kovalesky

The time has come again to pull off our burnt, clay-spattered old felt hats, our stained caps.

The time has come again to stand a silent moment upon the furnace floors, to swing the pit cranes and charging cars to a deep halt, to pause in symbolic quiet amid the crash of the mills.

The time has come once again to remember in reverence and stern resolution ten who fell that we might stand upright in pride as union men.

There are few steelworkers, few union men who remember their names. And, in a way, that is as it should be. For those ten are not merely names, not merely individuals.

Those ten are you and me and those millions who came before us and those millions who shall come after us.

Those ten are part of the great army of rebellion, the people's army fighting in darkness for the light. They are today strong, bloody footprints upon the vast battlefield of labor.

Eleven years ago a hot spring sun glared down upon a field. It was Memorial Day, 1937, in Chicago.

It was a holiday. The Republic Steel strikers wore their good clothes. Their wives gossiped

The Negro Struggle

Politics and the NAACP

By Albert Parker

The NAACP is now preparing to hold its annual conference—this time in Kansas City, Mo., from June 22 to 27. Over 1,000 delegates from 40 states are expected to attend.

Enemies of Jim Crow throughout the country naturally wish the conference the best of success in working out a program to meet the needs of the Negro struggle.

But there is no use in hiding the fact that the delegates to this conference will be laboring under a severe handicap—the so-called "non-partisan" political policy of the organization. Especially in an important election year this policy puts the delegates in the position of fighting Jim Crow with one hand tied behind their back.

Secretary Walter White tried to cover up this fact last week in his press release on the conference, which began as follows: "Political action to secure civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution will be one of the main themes at the 39th annual conference of the NAACP."

Sure enough, political action will be one of the subjects at the conference. But not the kind of political action that is required, not the kind that can achieve anything. When White and his fellow NAACP leaders talk about political action, here is what they mean:

"The NAACP is going to put on a big campaign to have everybody register in order to be able to vote in November. Vote for what, vote for whom? The NAACP leaders refuse to answer. The most they intend to do is put out a record of the different candidates' stand on various issues affecting the Negro people."

Health, Wealth and Ulcers

By Grace Carlson

Most well-to-do ulcer patients like to think that their stomach trouble has been caused by their extreme sensitivity. It is hard for them to believe that workers could be "sensitive" enough to have stomach ulcers.

But, contrary to the fond belief of the few wealthy sufferers from this stomach disorder, the big majority of ulcer patients are workers — poor workers, overworked and underpaid.

So eminent an authority on stomach and intestinal disorders as Dr. Walter Alvarez of the Mayo Clinic told a meeting of the International Medical Assembly that if the average man with stomach ulcers were left an income of \$250 per month for the rest of his life, he would soon be cured and would never have ulcers again.

Practically all ulcer cases are brought on by fear, frustration, worry, anger, nervous and mental exhaustion, Dr. Alvarez declared. These, in turn, he went on to say, are chiefly due to the tremendous speed-up of modern industry and to the terrifying problems with which American workers are confronted.

Notes from the News

TERRORISM—The terrorism campaign of the "Associated Farmers" against AFL strikers at the huge Di Giorgio fruit farm in California reached the shooting stage last week. James Price, president of the union directing the strike, was shot down and critically wounded when a gang of goons raided a strike meeting and pumped a fusillade of bullets through a window. William Green wired Governor Earl Warren urging an immediate investigation of the shooting and "Fascist methods used to break the Di Giorgio strike."

WIN WAGE RAISES—The CIO oil union signed a new agreement with Sinclair which raises all base rates 17½ cents an hour for about 9,000 workers. The CIO Brewery Union won a 17-cent increase in the Milwaukee breweries after a 24-hour strike.

FEDERAL WORKERS UNION—The convention of the CIO United Public Workers left the door open for setting up a separate union of federal employees if the union fails to block the Keefe rider now pending in Congress. Meanwhile an anti-communist faction, which claims it speaks for 10,000 workers, seceded from the union and set up its own organization. It is believed that

and laughed. The kids ate ice cream cones. Spring was in the air. Life was in the air. Who could tell that death, too, was in the air?

And then it was time to put aside laughter and play, beer and speeches. Under the hot spring sun they formed a giant line, the men and women and even some of the kids. They took their picket signs and marched out in front of the Republic Steel plant in Chicago, the city of Haymarket.

They brought the laughter and the holiday with them. They carried the bright springtime with them, held it high with their picket signs. The workers went forth to war with laughter.

In front of the steel plant were the Chicago police lined up in their blue uniforms, armed with their blue steel revolvers, their clubs and tear gas. The pickets stood in the sunshine, the women in bright spring dresses, armed with their picket signs and their determination.

Then the Chicago police force, protecting "law and order" and Republic Steel, began to shoot and, swinging their clubs, charged the unarmed pickets. Then men, women, yes, and a few of the kids, scattered and ran under the bright spring sunshine. Ten fell, never to run again.

Ten fell. Cities are built of cement and steel, brick and stone. The labor movement is built of blood and sacrifice, of men and women fallen in the fight. It is made of song and holiday and warriors who went to battle with laughter on their lips. It is made of such as those ten who fell on Memorial Day, 1937, in Chicago, the city of Haymarket.

THE MILITANT

NAACP Fights to Get Victimized Member Reinstated in Post Office

By J. Hawkins

SANTA MONICA, Calif., May 22 — The Truman administration's Post Office officials have discovered that their eyes are bigger than their stomachs. Three weeks ago F. H. Barnes, Militant local president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was suspended from his mail carrier's job, charged with disloyalty and with enlisting support of subversive groups in the fight against racial discrimination in hiring at the local Sears Roebuck store. From the previous list of seven so-called subversive organizations listed in the first charges against Mr. Barnes, the American Post Office loyalty board last Wednesday removed the names of the American Veterans Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Committee on Racial Equality, and the Progressive Citizens of America. Hoping to isolate the Stalinists, the Post Office now lists only the Communist Party, the National Negro Congress, and the International Workers Order.

Mr. Barnes, who is not tied up politically, is standing on the right of his NAACP branch to invite the support of all organizations and individuals. Such invitations constitute no endorsement of the politics of any of the supporters and in no way violate the non-partisan stand of the national NAACP.

The fight against the Sears store is continually hampered by the disruptive antics of the Stalinists in the United Committee, which the NAACP branch created last January to broaden the fight against Sears. The Stalinists week after week "capture" this committee, but somehow keep grabbing at thin air. In angry frustration, they first turned their disruptive attacks on the Trotskyists and the Committee on Racial Equality, not daring to attack the NAACP or its president. During this past week the Stalinists have begun insinuating that Mr. Barnes is preparing to shake off the Stalinists in order to run for cover. Naturally this kind of behavior doesn't sit well with the Negro community which sees in Mr. Barnes the courageous leader he is.

WITH A PRICE

At every step the Stalinists have miscalculated. From November to January they withheld support of the fight against Sears Roebuck because they didn't want the NAACP to emerge with a major victory to its credit. When they did come into the United Committee, it was with a price for their support. That price was control of the direction of the fight. Since then, their continual efforts to take that control away from the NAACP, and now their attacks on the militant NAACP branch president are not wasted on the Negro population. If the Stalinists thought that they could get away with these tactics without the Negro people taking note, they were badly mistaken.

Gosser, Mazey Create Crisis In Spicer Unit

TOLEDO, May 19 — Today a critical situation exists at the Spicer plant because of the bungling and cowardly tactics of the International, leadership of the auto union.

Here is the sequence of events that have brought on the present crisis:

About a month ago, negotiations between the union committee and company representatives led to a heated argument between Kramer, chairman of the union committee, and a company personnel man. This led to a free-for-all in which a company man who clipped Kramer from behind came out with a black eye and several bruises. The company immediately fired Kramer and a steward named Sommers.

VOTED TO STRIKE

The union called a meeting and 80% voted to strike if an agreement could not be reached with the company. Grey, one of the supporters of Vice-President Gosser, protested the vote on a technicality and his protest was upheld by the International Executive Board. So the union held another and larger meeting and this time 94% voted to strike.

The International Board then took the position that it would not approve the strike until Gosser had a chance to negotiate the dispute. Gosser met with the company for a few days, then left for Detroit without notifying the Spicer union committee of what had transpired.

After the committee learned by phoning Detroit that Gosser had made no progress in the dispute, the second shift—working at the time—walked out and set up picket lines. Emil Mazey, Acting President in Reuther's absence, ordered the men back to work and issued a public statement, featured in two inch headlines in the papers, viciously attacking the strike.

The best thing the coming NAACP conference can do will be to brush aside such silly arguments, flatly condemn the capitalist parties as Jim Crow enemies of the Negro people, and call on the trade union movement to join it in building an independent workingman's party devoted to the interests of the working class and the Negro people. It is no longer possible to be "non-partisan" in the political fight against Jim Crow.

HAD TO RETREAT

The company, seeing the position of the International leaders, announced that under no circumstances would they permit Kramer's return and threatened a suit for damages under the Taft-Hartley Law. Faced with this barrage, the union committee had to retreat. Mazey refused to discuss the matter with the committee and further refused to come down to Toledo to face the men and explain his position.

The International leadership has since arrived at some kind of agreement with the company. Mazey and Gosser have warned the Spicer committee that if they do not go along and leave the Kramer matter in their hands, they will appoint an administrator over the Spicer unit and bring the committee militants up on charges and have them expelled from the union.

An element in the disgraceful behavior of Mazey, Gosser and the Executive Board is the fact that Kramer and the bulk of the Spicer leadership are anti-Reuther in the union's political lineup.

The Spicer committee has voted to put Kramer and Sommers (who is to return to work after a 60-day penalty layoff) on their payroll full time. Also to hold a mass meeting and invite the International officers to come down and explain to the rank and file what they are doing.

UPWA Field Official Gets Jail Sentence

HASTINGS, Minn., May 25 —Milton Siegel, field representative of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, was sentenced to six months in county jail and fined \$100 for "contempt of court" in violation of a restraining order against mass picketing on March 23 at the Swift and Armour packing plants in South St. Paul.

In his testimony, Siegel contended he called out the pickets at the direct request of Sheriff Norman Dieter who "wanted us to put on a big show" to demonstrate that his small force of deputies could not open the picket lines to run scabs through into the plants.



William Farrell was on the picketline outside the Rath Packing Co., in Waterloo, Ia., May 19, helping his brother members of the CIO Packinghouse Workers. Today he's dead, killed by a scab who fired at the strikers. Here pickets and their families stare silently at the sawdust-covered blood-stained spot where Farrell fell.

GM Locals in Flint Vote On Question of Strike

By Jerry Kirk

FLINT, Mich., May 23—At its regular membership meeting May 16, Chevrolet Local 659 of the CIO auto union voted to request the union's international executive board to call a national conference of all CIO locals for the purpose of presenting unified wage and contract demands on the industrialists. The local also demanded that they strike the whole auto industry if it was found necessary to call the GM workers out on strike.

The resolution calling for a strike vote was presented by the local executive board. The amendments for a national CIO conference and industry-wide strike action were added after a militant speech by Sol Dollinger, Chevrolet assembly plant worker.

The overflow meeting of 700 responded to denunciations of red-baiting as a bosses' weapon made by Tex Owens, former president of the local and Dollinger. The membership also approved the critical remarks made of Murray and his no-strike negotiations by Kermit Johnson.

STRIKE COMMITTEE

A strike committee of 18 were elected. Among them are Coburn Walker, president of the local, Jack Palmer, Kermit Johnson, Tex Owens, Sol Dollinger, Wilbur Hill.

In strike balloting a record 6,500 workers turned out to vote. 5,820 voted in favor of strike action; 584 against. Immediately the local capitalist paper attempted to smear the vote by claiming the padding of the ballots. This slander was roundly denounced by the strike committee which sent a delegation to the Flint Journal to inform them that the Chevrolet local was not going to let them get away with these smear tactics.

FLINT, Mich., May 23 — 7,000 Buick workers crowded into the IMA auditorium to vote against strike action by a 2 to 1 vote. This action represents a blow to the UAW leadership. The main speech requesting a yes vote was presented by Emil Mazey, international financial secretary of the UAW, and Don Chapman, regional director in Flint.

The opposition to the strike came from Roger Townsend and Alfred Federico, who used stock arguments of Walter Reuther to swing the vote against strike. Federico claimed that GM workers should keep on working as the best means of supporting the Chrysler workers. However Townsend went so far as to speak against a strike assessment to aid the Chrysler workers financially on the false assumption that the GM workers did not receive any aid in 1945-46.

The meeting was preceded by the direct intervention of the Flint Journal, a GM corporation spokesman. For three days it cast doubt on the huge Chevrolet strike vote. Jack Palmer, chairman of the Chevrolet strike com-

mittee, appeared before the Buick meeting and strongly denounced the campaign of the Flint Journal. In his speech he pointed out that Chevrolet workers not only voted to back up the international and its strike demands, but had also called on the UAW executive board to call an industry-wide strike in auto and a national conference of all CIO locals to map out joint wage and contract demands. While Chapman and Mazey received no response from the audience, Palmer was warmly applauded several times during his brief remarks.

The Buick executive board voted for strike by a 14 to 4 vote

United Labor Action Needed To Ensure Victory at Boeing

By Irene James

SEATTLE, May 23 — In the fifth week of the strike, the Boeing Airplane Company is stepping up its back-to-work drive. Large "Help Wanted" ads appear almost daily in both Seattle papers. Spot announcements on the radio are broadcast at 15-minute intervals. Strikers are being bombarded with a series of letters, telephone calls and personal visits from representatives of the company. Some have been offered foremen's jobs.

Others have been offered a 15-cent hourly increase. In some cases the company offered to pay rent and outstanding bills.

HOLD FIRM

Because of the injunction, there is only a token picket line around the plant. The union has called no general membership meeting and has made little effort to draw the entire union membership into the struggle. But in spite of this, the strikers are holding firm. It is true that a few hundred scabs (out of 15,000) are working behind the lines. Most of these are not members of the union, although some white collar groups and some recent hires have crossed the lines. These scabs are handling clean-up and maintenance work. Production is at a complete standstill.

The Seattle labor movement is beginning to realize that the aero-mechanics need support. They need the backing of all the unions in this area. The attempt of the Boeing Company to smash the union is a threat to labor throughout the Northwest. The CIO Council has voted support. Some powerful AFL unions, including the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the lumber workers and

but it did nothing to bring the issues to the members. The leadership of the local, having no confidence in Reuther and his strike policy, floundered around and offered no alternatives to the program of Reuther. When they finally decided to support the strike vote, the damage had been done.

READ

The days ahead will be crucial ones for the outcome of the strike. Victory can only be achieved through the full-scale backing of the strike by the entire Seattle labor movement.

DETROIT UNIONS BACK CHRYSLER STRIKERS

By Howard Lerner

DETROIT, May 24 — In response to sentiment in the ranks demanding an end to the divisive one-at-a-time strategy as well as a more militant conduct of the Chrysler strike, the UAW top officials have scheduled a meeting this week of all Detroit local union leaders to organize a unified strike strategy. This proposal was first made by Budd Local 306 and reported in last week's Militant. A city-wide flying squadron meeting also took place this past week to better coordinate strategy during the strike.

Opposition is rising in the ranks of the union toward the leadership's policy of permitting supervisory and office help to enter struck Chrysler plants. The original Chrysler conference prior to the strike had voted to keep the plants shut tight. The first battle between police and pickets successfully defended that policy.

The union leaders permitted reopening of the plants to office and supervisory help to enable strikers to draw their last pay checks. At that time, militants demanded issuance of dated union passes to those office workers required for making out pay checks.

Today, the Chrysler Corporation is using supervisory help for inventory purposes. It is reported that scabs are filtering in with supervisory and office help. Pressure is mounting to reassert the original strike plans to shut the plants down tight.

Ford Local 600 has called a mass rally for all Ford workers this coming Saturday to oppose the wage-cut and piece-work schemes of the corporation. Solidarity is growing and virtually all locals are passing resolutions giving full support to the strikers. A parade of all east side locals to the main Chrysler plant is scheduled this Wednesday. After the battle with police at the Chrysler Highland Park plant, picket lines swelled. More and more auto unionists are talking of an industry-wide general strike. A GM conference of union delegates from all locals will be held this week where the decision to strike GM plants or to accept the company's proposals will be made. Demands for an industry-wide shutdown and for a conference of all CIO unions to coordinate wage strategy mount.