

ROLE OF RIGHT-WING BUREAUCRACY IN CIO

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Thurs., July 1, 11:15-11:30 P. M. (EDT)
Over the American Broadcasting Co. Network

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
by JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, SWP

Fri., July 2, 11:30-11:55 P. M. (EDT)

Over the Mutual Broadcasting System Network

"A WORKERS & FARMERS GOVERNMENT"
by FARRELL DOBBS
SWP Presidential Nominee

"THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE"
by GRACE CARLSON
SWP Vice-Presidential Nominee

Sat., July 3, 2:00-2:30 P. M. (EDT)
Over the American Broadcasting Co. Network

"SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM"
by FARRELL DOBBS

"THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS"
by GRACE CARLSON

Tues., July 6, 11:15-11:30 P. M. (EDT)
Over the Columbia Broadcasting System Network

"WHY LABOR NEEDS ITS OWN PARTY"
by FARRELL DOBBS

TRUMAN'S INJUNCTION FORCES NMU TO POSTPONE STRIKE IN MARITIME

NEW YORK CITY — On the eve of the expiration of agreements between the waterfront unions and the shipowners, the Truman Administration has obtained a strikebreaking court order restraining the unions from striking.

The temporary injunction was obtained under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. If upheld at a hearing to be held Friday, the injunction will remain in effect for 80 days.

Two main reasons prompted the membership of the National

Maritime Union to accede to the proposal of the national officers of the union and temporarily postpone the strike:

1. The terms of the injunction clearly specified that the present agreement, including the union hiring hall, wages and working conditions, would remain in effect for the duration of the court order.

2. A clear-cut promise by Joseph Curran, President of the union, that the seamen would not sail the ships, regardless of the injunction in the event that the government or the shipowners attempted to outlaw the hiring hall. For the maritime unions loss of the hiring hall would be a mortal blow to the union itself.

Meanwhile the issuance of the injunction brought into sharp relief the rule-or-ruin policy of the Stalinists. Their frantic efforts have been designed towards saving their positions in the union and discrediting the Curran-led Rank and File Caucus, regardless of the consequences to the NMU.

ABOUT FACE

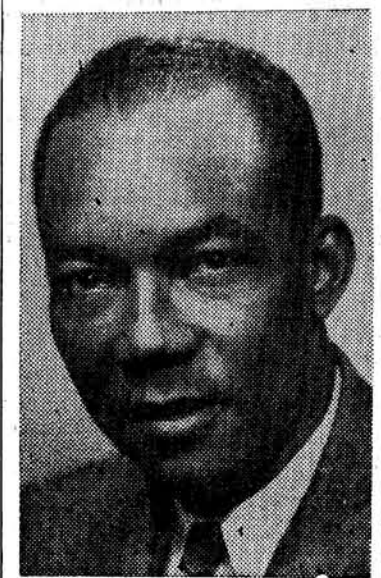
Beginning with bold talk of striking in defiance of the injunction, they altered their position overnight when it was revealed at the union membership meeting in New York that two of the top Stalinist leaders, Smith and McKenzie, had signed the statement jointly with Curran postponing the strike.

They again switched to violent denunciation of Curran for having acceded to the injunction twenty-four hours before the deadline for the strike. Smith and McKenzie were roundly scored for having "capitulated"

to Curran. Meanwhile under Stalinist pressure, McKenzie has issued a confession, accusing Curran of misleading him.

The confession advances a new position calling upon the NMU to defy the injunction on June 24, when the restraining order will in all likelihood be converted into an 80-day cooling off period.

This position contrasts sharply with the stand taken by Harry



FERDINAND SMITH, Stalinist secretary-treasurer of the NMU.

Bridges, head of the West Coast longshoremen, and the leaders of the Marine Cooks and Stewards. Both unions have agreed to abide by the injunction for the 80-day period. The difference in position emerges from the fact that the Stalinists control the West Coast unions while they are a rapidly waning power in the NMU.

THE MILITANT

Workers of the World, Unite!

Supreme Court Dismisses Appeal In Contempt Case

On June 14 the Supreme Court refused to review the contempt convictions of Dr. E. A. Barksy and ten other leaders of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee who stood on their constitutional rights in refusing to turn over the records of their organization to the Thomas-Rankin House Committee. The Supreme Court has thus, in effect, sanctioned Congressional violations of civil rights.

Last February the Supreme Court likewise refused to pass on the basic issues involved in the contempt conviction of L. Josephson, a lawyer, who challenged the right of the Thomas-Rankin Committee to probe into his political views and affiliation. Josephson is now serving a one-year prison term.

Both these cases involve elementary democratic liberties, guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. This has been recognized not only by many prominent jurists, but also by the dissenting opinions expressed in the lower courts which passed on the contempt convictions.

PRIVATE OPINION

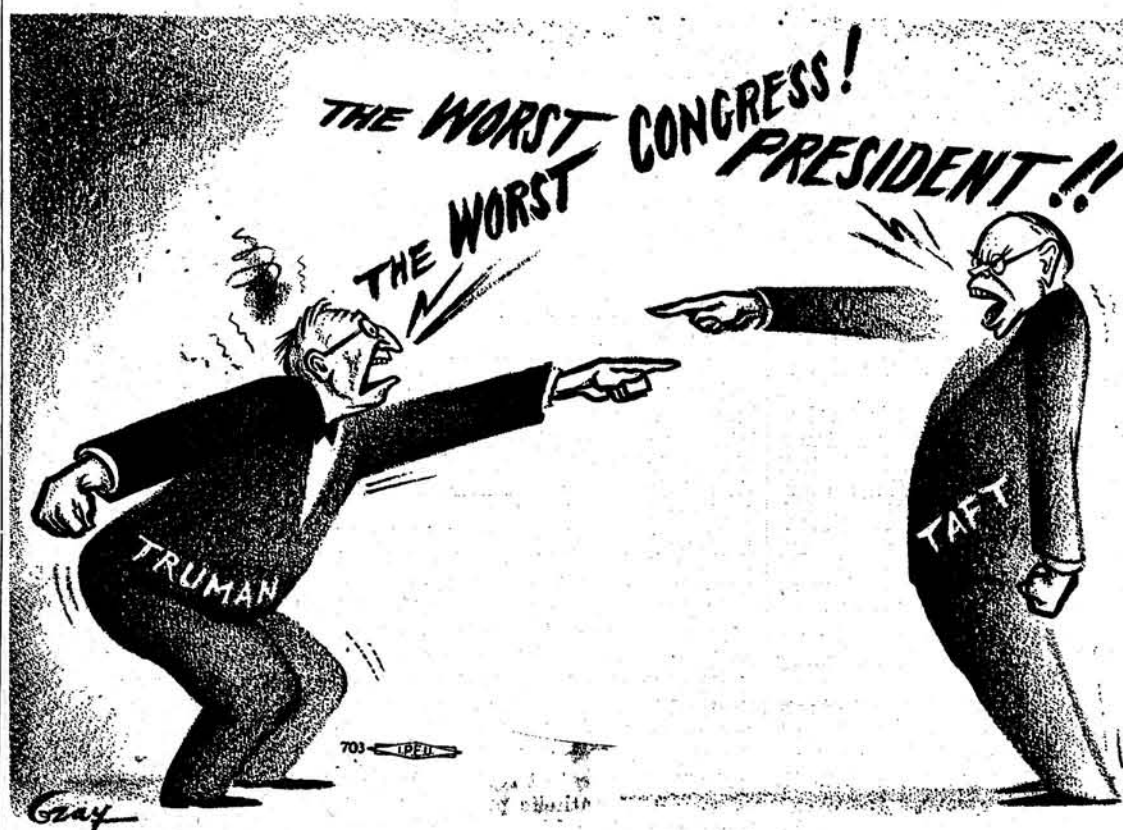
In the Josephson case, dissenting Judge C. E. Clark of the New York Circuit Court of Appeals pointed out that if the operations of the Thomas-Rankin Committee were sustained by the courts it would necessarily follow that "investigation of private opinion is not really prohibited under the Bill of Rights."

In the Barksy case, a dissenting Justice of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals insisted that the basic issue was "whether Americans may be fined and imprisoned for passive resistance" to public inquest "into their political and economic views."

The "thought-control" Mundt Bill, now under discussion in Congress, would legalize precisely such autocratic inquests. It has provoked justifiable indignation and widespread labor resistance.

Meanwhile, the very same methods advocated by the Mundt Bill are being put into effect through the simple expedient of using the courts to obtain "contempt convictions." By its repeated refusals to consider the gist of the issues involved the Supreme Court paves the way for the extension of these same methods and practices. The labor movement had better wake up to the danger of the red-baiting campaign and mobilize all its forces to break it.

They're Both Right!



Atomic Union Denounces Lilienthal Strikebreaking

The threatened strike at the Oak Ridge National Atomic laboratory was narrowly averted when the union signed a settlement calling for a 15-cent hourly wage increase with the Car-

bide and Carbon Chemicals Corp., which operates the research center for the Atomic Energy Commission. What disposition was made of the other outstanding union demands was not announced.

Although only 875 AFL maintenance and construction workers were involved, this threatened strike has exposed, perhaps as much as any other labor controversy, the true character of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law. It has in addition ripped the mask of hypocrisy from another liberal "friend of labor," David E. Lilienthal, Atomic Energy Commission Chairman.

TAXPAYERS' MONEY

Built with American taxpayers' funds and owned by the government, the Oak Ridge plants have been farmed out to private corporations for operation. All three main plants—K-25 for separation of fissionable uranium, Y-12 for electromagnetic separation of U-235 and X-10, research laboratory—are now run by Carbide Chemicals. The source of the present controversy stems from the fact that up to March 1, the last named plant has been operated by Monsanto Chemical Company, which had a contract with the AFL Atomic Trades and Labor Council. These men re-

ceived higher pay, longer vacations and more sick leave than the Carbide workers. When Carbide took over, it refused to renew the contract and insisted that the men reduce their sick leave and vacation time to conform to the lower standards at their other plants.

Longer sick leaves and vacations are absolutely essential, at least as a partial prevention against serious illness and permanent injury, because of the hazards from radiation and other dangers to which the men are constantly exposed.

The workers rightly refused to give up their hard won gains and also demanded a 26-cent wage increase to compensate them for soaring living costs. They indignantly turned down Carbide's measly offer of a 10-cent increase. Carbide thereupon enlisted the services of Lilienthal and his AEC and together they got the courts to issue an 80-day injunction against the strike under the Taft-Hartley Law. After the 80 days had elapsed on June 2, the men voted 771 to 26 to reject Carbide's "final offer."

VIRTUAL SLAVERY

When Lilienthal expressed his alarm at the prospect of a walk-out and told the men that their action would endanger the wel-

fare of this country as well as world peace, the workers agreed to continue on the job and submit the whole dispute to arbitration. The company categorically rejected this more than generous offer, and insisted on its own terms. Lilienthal refused the union's demand that he use his powers to compel the company to arbitrate. "We can't take away what they (Carbide) considered their managerial prerogatives," he announced. Lilienthal warned the workers: "The plant must be operated. I just can't believe that the men will strike." James Brownlow, secretary-treasurer of the AFL metal trades department, correctly characterized Lilienthal's attitude as "virtual slavery" for the workers. Kenneth Scott, co-ordinator of the Atomic Trades and Labor Council, denounced Lilienthal and the AEC as "strikebreakers."

Scott further stated: "Lilienthal gave us a very patriotic, flag-waving proposition on how, through effects of the atom bomb, they expect to establish world peace. We are wondering how in hell he can establish international peace when he can't settle a little dispute involving 875 workers in his own backyard."

The government already has ownership of these properties. All the scientists are available. What necessity is there for the present setup, which merely provides the monopoly interests with the opportunity to make huge profits? (These plants can be operated under workers' control more cheaply and efficiently than now and at the same time safeguard the lives and interests of the workers.)

How to Escape Worry About HCL

2,000 public employees of Westchester County in New York on July 1 get another hike in their sliding scale cost-of-living bonus, bringing the total of such bonus raises since 1942 to \$1,005 a year per worker.

\$300 of previous bonus raises were incorporated into the basic salary in 1946. Another \$630 was added since then. Next month it goes to \$705. The bonus is adjusted semi-annually based on the government cost-of-living index. The bonus is paid in addition to basic salaries.

Bi-Partisan Gang Kills Civil Rights Amendments

By George Breitman
SWP Candidate for U. S. Senate from N. J.

JUNE 16 — For the second time in American history the U. S. Senate has

voted to establish a conscription system in peacetime. This happened first in 1940, when Washington was making active preparations to enter World War II. The 1948 conscription system is a similar proposition: a step toward war and the further militarization of the country.

Under the terms of the bill adopted by the Senate, all men between the ages of 18 and 25 will have to register for the draft, with the 18 year olds having the "privilege" of volunteering for one year's service, and the others subject to a two year draft. For this, the young men and their families can thank both the Republican and Democratic servants of Wall Street, who passed the bill by a vote of 78 to 10.

This bi-partisan coalition is ready to use the youth as cannon-fodder, but they take an entirely different attitude to the employers.

When William Langer (R-N.D.) proposed the payment of "fair and just compensation, but not to exceed 10% on invested capital" for articles, materials, plants and other facilities received or used by the armed forces, he was overwhelmingly defeated on a voice vote.

"ABNORMAL" PROFITS

The second amendment, offered by W. Lee O'Daniel (D-Tex.), proposed the suspension of the draft until Congress passed a law putting a 100% tax on "abnormal" profits from contracts between employers and the armed services. This was beaten down by a vote of 81 to 8. Big profits never seem abnormal to Big Business and its political hired help.

The over-all reactionary nature of the bill was underlined by a number of other actions taken by the Senate:

It defeated by a standing vote a proposal to put the general management of the draft into the hands of civilians, rather than the brass hats. One section of the bill provides for setting up an American Foreign Legion, to be composed of 25,000 aliens enlisted here and abroad, for occupational and other services abroad. The use of mercenaries in legions of this kind has long been a hallmark of imperialist policy.

The defeat of the Langer civil rights amendments (except the relatively harmless one against the payment of poll taxes by servicemen) was a demonstrative stab in the back to the Negro struggle for equality in the armed forces. Spokesmen of both parties claimed that these amendments should be considered separately from the draft bill itself. But such claims dripped with hypocrisy because neither party made any effort to consider such proposals separately, or any other way.

The House of Representatives is now considering a conscription bill similar to the one passed by the Senate, although it is tentatively reduced the draft period to one year. Its passage in the House would increase the armed forces from about 1/2 million to 2 million persons, and the organized reserves from about 1 million to 1 1/2 million.

The duration of the draft measure, as set in the Senate bill, is two years. But actually, it is intended as the beginning of a permanent conscription system, and will surely be extended at the end of the two years if the capitalist parties remain in control. That has always happened in all countries resorting to peacetime conscription.

Harlem Unrest Seethes at Police Brutality

NEW YORK CITY — Mass unrest is seething in Harlem against continued police brutality and the intolerable conditions of life suffered by the Negro community.

Only a spark is needed, in the opinion of Negro leaders and social investigators, to touch off a mass explosion similar to the revolt several years ago.

The indignation and outrage nearly boiled over one Saturday night recently when a rumor spread that a colored woman, who had been clubbed into unconsciousness by a cop, had died. Thousands poured into the area and defied hundreds of police for hours until the injured woman was brought to the scene by city officials to assure the aroused throng that she had not died from her beating.

This past year the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has received an unprecedented number of reports of police atrocities in Harlem, where police terrorism has always been the rule.

This marked upsurge in official sadistic treatment of Negroes, NAACP officials add, follows a national pattern.

ORGANIZE FOR DEFENSE

In response to the growing demand for defensive measures, the local NAACP last February set up a special committee to investigate cases of police brutality, seek dismissal of guilty policemen and their superiors who order and condone their vicious acts, and to organize the people of Harlem in vigorous protest actions. This Committee for Action against Police Brutality, under the chairmanship of Herbert Hill, has energetically undertaken the defense of police victims and mobilized widespread sentiment for a clean-up of the police department.

A typical case in which the committee has taken action is that of Mrs. Margie Wilson and her family, residing at 63 W. 112th Street. The family of Mrs. Wilson, a respectable working woman, was entertaining guests one evening last April when three

plain-clothes men suddenly burst into the Wilson apartment, abused and man-handled Mrs. Wilson and the others, and accused her of running a "disorderly house." Then the detectives left. They had no search warrant.

Mrs. Wilson went to the neighborhood police station that night to lodge a complaint. She was told by the Captain of Detectives that she was crazy when she identified one of the detectives who had broken in, that no one had left the station that evening.

Two nights later seven plain-clothes cops broke into the Wilson home and proceeded systematically to smash up the furniture and beat up the family. A 14-year old girl was clubbed to the floor. A 17-year old boy had his face smashed to a bloody pulp. "That's what you get for reporting us to the police station," said a cop.

One of the young girls managed to run from the house and called the police station. She could not believe the invaders were police. A squad car full of

uniformed patrolmen soon rolled around. They went up the stairs and promptly joined in the beatings. Finally, they hauled the whole family out. They twisted Mrs. Wilson's arm and dragged her down the stairs, then made her lie in the gutter while they loaded the others into police cars. At the police station the boy was beaten up even more. The victims were not even booked, but were sent home after the police had their fill of terrorizing and abusing them.

Mrs. Wilson and her family, together with witnesses, came to the Committee for Action against Police Brutality. The committee secured affidavits and prepared a demand for a police departmental hearing. On April 10, Attorney Jawn A. Sandifer, President of the New York Branch of the NAACP, sent a registered letter to Deputy Inspector Boylan of the 28th Police Precinct demanding an immediate departmental hearing.

Finally the committee was informed that a hearing was sched-

uled for April 28. But when the Wilson family and witnesses, with Mr. Sandifer, Mr. Hill and Mr. Charles Levy of the NAACP arrived at the station, they were told there was no hearing scheduled. Finally Boylan himself appeared, and after much confusion and whispered consultation with other police, told the committee that it was all a big "misunderstanding." A week later a strictly star-chamber hearing was held, with all the cops present but the witnesses brought in one at a time. Since then nothing more has been heard from the police department.

The NAACP has instituted suit against the City of New York for \$100,000 damages on behalf of Mrs. Wilson.

The case that almost touched off a riot involved Mrs. Lena Thomas, of 309 W. 148th Street. On a recent Saturday night she was shopping in the Foremost Grocery at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue. The white owner's wife accused her of shop-lifting.

(Continued on Page 2)

The Vatican's Financial Stake in Capitalism

By Art Preis

Separation of church and state was the cornerstone of civil rights laid by the revolutionary founders of the United States in 1789. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," is the opening sentence of Article I of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution.

In the treaty which George Washington made with Tripoli, ratified by the United States Senate on June 10, 1797, it was stated that: "The Government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded upon the Christian religion."

This doctrine was the fruit of centuries of bloody revolutionary struggle by the rising capitalist class against feudalism, whose chief prop was the Roman Catholic Church.

Exactly 150 years after the Bill of Rights was written, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, head of the greatest capitalist power on earth, was impelled to brush aside the doctrine of the separation of church and state and to make the first direct diplomatic bid to the Vatican by an American President.

Personal Ambassador

In a letter to Pope Pius XII, dated December 23, 1939, Roosevelt asked the consent of the Pope to send a personal ambassador to the Vatican. This was the beginning of the political relations which continue to this day.

To establish the "new order" after the war, Roosevelt proposed cooperation between the United States and the Vatican, which was and remains a major prop of fascist regimes in Europe and Latin America. "It is well," said Roosevelt, "that we encourage a closer association between those in every part of the world—those in religion and those in government—who have a common purpose."

The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican was in such flagrant violation of the traditional attitude of the American people and government, that Roosevelt was compelled to circumvent Congress in the matter. He sent Myron C. Taylor not as an official ambassador, but as his "personal representative" to the Pope.

In February 1940, the Pope had his first audience with Taylor, the former head of the U.S. Steel Corporation. Wall Street and the Vatican began to pursue their "common purpose."

That common purpose is nothing less than the preservation of the capitalist system throughout the world, the suppression of all revolutionary resistance of the workers and peasants and the material and ideological preparation for war against the Soviet Union.

The continuation of Roosevelt's policy by Truman, who has likewise designated Taylor as his "personal envoy" to the Pope, has aroused no small alarm and protest from the Protestant denominations who speak, in the religious sense, for the overwhelming majority of our population.

On May 28, the Social Service Commission of the New York Conference of the Methodist Church stated in its annual report that: "We request our President to cease regarding the Vatican as a national entity, and to recall any personal representative at once. The sending of an official representative of our Government or a 'personal representative' of the President to the Vatican is contrary to the First Amendment of the Constitution."

This but echoes the previous strong protest of "Protestants and other Americans United for Separation of Church and State," a joint body of the leading Protestant churches and clergy set up last year to combat the increasing encroachment of the Catholic Church on the public school systems, public treasuries, etc., in this country.

Fanfare for Spellman

In the face of this protest, Cardinal Spellman, the direct emissary of the Vatican in this country, has just been accorded, with the undoubted collaboration and assistance of the U.S. State Department, a triumphal diplomatic tour of Washington's Far Eastern "sphere." In the Philippines, Japan and China, American officials and military authorities joined with the heads of the governments—in accordance with an official reception to Spellman such as is reserved only for the highest dignitaries of a world political power.

Why is the protest of the majority of religious groups in the United States unavailing?

While they correctly fear that any infringement on the doctrine of the separation of church and state invites the encroachment of Roman Catholic religious totalitarianism, they do not strike at the heart of the present relationship between Washington and the Vatican.

U.S. capitalism, in its drive to conquer the world and preserve capitalism everywhere, is in desperate need of dependable allies. But there is scarcely a capitalist regime outside the U.S. that is stable and self-sufficient. In this mortal crisis of world capitalism, the Big Business rulers of the United States are forced to turn ever more toward collaboration with the Vatican and the Roman Catholic hierarchy as the most powerful ally in the defense of world capitalism.

For, surprising as it may seem to some people, and particularly misguided Catholic workers, the Vatican considers the defense of the capitalist system its greatest and most-embracing task.

It was Pope Pius XII whose voice rang the loudest in September 1944 in defense of capitalist property against the rising Italian revolution and asserted that "Christian conscience cannot admit as right a social order that denies the principle or renders impossible and useless in practice the natural right to ownership of commodities and means of production."

When the French Catholic party, the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), was forced to include the slogan of "nationalization" in its program because of overwhelming French sentiment, Pope Pius XII on July 20, 1946, published a letter denouncing nationalization, even when carried out by law, and proposed instead "corporate associations"—the corporative state of Mussolini.

"Godless Bolshevism"

The Roman Catholic hierarchy is the deadly foe of socialism and communism, not alone for "spiritual" reasons, but above all because they threaten the truly gigantic property and financial interests of the Vatican. Religiously speaking, the Roman Catholic Church holds all non-Catholics as benighted heathens subject to eternal damnation. But today it reserves its unrestrained furies for "godless Bolshevism."

The reason is summarized by Li Fu-Jen in his article, "The Vatican in World Affairs," published in the Fourth International magazine of October 1946. He wrote:

"Tribute flows into its (the Vatican's) coffers from the most advanced lands and from the most backward. The Vatican publishes no balance sheets, gives no financial accountings. Only the inner circle of the top hierarchy knows the extent of its enormous properties and income. In addition to cathedrals and churches, monasteries and convents, seminaries and schools and mission establishments, the Catholic Church is the owner of vast secular properties, which make it the greatest real estate owner on earth."

"Among Catholic properties are to be found commercial structures of various kinds (including even movie palaces), apartment

buildings and slum tenements. As owners of slum dwellings in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, the Catholic Church squeezes rents from the poorest of the poor. Owning great tracts of plantation and farm lands in colonial countries (that is, the Philippines, French Indo-China, North Africa, Latin America) it wrings profits from the labor of the most exploited among rural workers.

"The huge income from all this property, not to speak of the property itself, is imperiled by the rising revolution. This constitutes the explanation, the whole explanation, for the 'moral crusade' of the Vatican against Communism and Bolshevism. It explains the intense hatred of the Vatican for the Soviet Union, the first country successfully to breach the system of capitalist private property."

Recent disclosures in the French National Assembly, resulting from a scandal involving Vatican agents in the illegal manipulation of French currency, have thrown light on the Vatican as one of the most powerful institutions of finance capital in the world. The May 29 La Lutte Ouvrière, organ of the French Trotskyists, reports these disclosures.

Mussolini's Adviser

The Treasurer of the Vatican is Bernardino Nogara, former adviser to Mussolini. His most important associates are Marquis Schetti, Prince Giulio Pacelli, nephew of the present Pope, the Christian Democratic deputy Montini, and the former Fascist Oddasso, who resides in Switzerland and directs the flow of profits of the Church.

The Vatican Treasury directly controls the Bank of Rome, the Bank of the Holy Spirit (!) and the Italian Commercial Bank. These Vatican-controlled banks in turn control a whole series of subsidiary land and credit banks in Italy, one of them, the Ambrosian Bank in Milan, directed by Count Franco Ratti, nephew of the late Pius XI.

One third of all Italian savings—400 BILLION lire—are under the control of the Vatican.

In France, the Vatican owns a third of the shares in the Bank of H. Worms & Co., which financed the Nazi-collaborationists during the last war. It controls outright the Italian-French Credit Bank—which financed the Cagoulauds, the French fascist terrorists—and the French-Italian Bank for South America. The Vatican likewise owns the most notorious gambling resort in the world, the Casino of Monte Carlo, and the Demouby, Galicier and Lehideux banks. Various Catholic orders have enormous capital investments in the Lyon Credit, Northern Credit and Industrial Credit banks, and the French Dupon & Co. These banks in turn control numerous industrial enterprises.

The total financial investment of the Catholic hierarchy and Vatican in France is estimated at more than 30 BILLION francs. Similar huge sums are invested in Belgium, where the Church in addition receives state subsidies.

In the United States, the Vatican alone has millions of dollars in real estate and industrial stocks and bonds, and collaborates closely with the House of Morgan.

These facts—but a brief glimpse into the capitalist interests of the Vatican—show the real reason why the Roman Catholic Church, the ancient feudal enemy of the rising capitalists, now wholeheartedly collaborates with Wall Street—the main bulwark against "godless Bolshevism." It also explains why American capitalism, which adopted at its birth the doctrine of the separation of church and state, is now cementing its political ties with the Vatican, the second most substantial prop of capitalism left in the world.

(This is the third in a series on the political role of the Vatican.)

Rebels in American History

William H. Sylvis

By Ruth Phillips

William H. Sylvis entered the labor movement during the economic crisis of 1857, when the men in his shop struck against a 12% cut in wages. He was a stalwart of the picket line and one of the few who kept his pledge not to return to work at reduced wages.

Within a month after joining the Philadelphia local of the Iron Molders, he was elected recording secretary.

The Molders Union at this time was composed of 17 locals scattered throughout the country. These isolated locals were weak and ineffective. Sylvis soon realized the need for a strong national organization. It was largely through his efforts that the Molders union convention of 1863, which elected him president, organized a centralized national union, with uniform by-laws for all locals and a national financial system. The creation of such a tightly-knit national organization represented a real step forward for the American union movement of those days.

Then, with \$100 in his pocket, the new union president started on a one-man organizing campaign. He traveled through every part of America and Canada, covering ten thousand miles. Often, without money for rail fare, he begged rides or walked. In a year's time he had organized 34 new locals.

Sylvis had received no education beyond the essentials of reading and writing. But even before becoming a leading trade unionist, he was an avid reader of books on political economy. He became keenly interested in the broad social questions.

Before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 he had been a Democrat, taken in by their propaganda on the necessity of averting war with the South. When war broke out, however, he became a loyal supporter of Lincoln's government.

LABOR PARTY

His anti-slavery sentiments, though, did not prevent him from criticizing attempts during the war to outlaw strikes and the use of troops against strikers. He saw speculators and munition makers growing rich while workers suffered horribly from the rise in living costs. Thus he came to distrust both the Democratic and Republican Parties, the former as the party of slavery, the latter as the representative of industrial capitalism.

Sylvis saw the need for the formation of an independent party of labor so that the workman could enter the political arena as a vital force. He based his agitation for a labor party on a recognition of the fundamental antagonisms of capital and labor, writing that they are "two distinct classes with interests widely separated as the poles." Sylvis also was a strong proponent of an independent labor press. His was the first national union to print a publication of its own. In 1866 it was reported that 54,000 copies of the Molders Jour-

nal had circulated since its foundation three years before.

Sylvis' constant aim was to make labor a recognized force in the life of the nation. This was his great contribution to the labor movement of the Civil War days. His dream was a national federation of labor which would form the basis for a new party. He utilized the agitation for an eight hour day as the rallying point for the building of such a national organization.

Eight Hour Leagues were springing up all over the country at this time and every union took up the cry. Karl Marx wrote that the demand for an eight hour day was the "first fruit of the Civil War."

NATIONAL FEDERATION

In 1866 Sylvis' work for national labor unity was crowned with success. The National Labor Union, the first nation-wide federation of labor in the U.S., was established. Within the NLU Sylvis constantly battled for the creation of a labor party. His stand on other key issues of the day was likewise consistently progressive and ahead of his time. He urged the organization of Negro labor, pointing out that disunity between black and white workers could only aid the capitalist class. He worked with women's rights leaders like Susan B. Anthony in the fight for woman suffrage and the inclusion of women workers in union ranks. He understood the importance of international labor solidarity and co-operated with the International Workingmen's Association of Marx and Engels.

Sylvis' untimely death in 1869, at the age of 41, hastened the trend which saw the middle class reformers taking over the NLU. Under their influence the NLU concerned itself less and less with class struggle issues and became a propaganda society mainly for tariff and monetary reform. The trade unions gradually dropped out of the NLU, and the latter itself soon passed from the scene.

Sylvis' great achievement consisted in hammering home to the young labor movement of the 60's the necessity of a united federation of all the trade unions. While the NLU itself failed to become the established organization, the basic idea remained and soon found expression in the Knights of Labor, later in the AFL, and most recently in the CIO.

Sylvis emerges as the first great labor leader in America who saw the working class not merely as an object for uplift work or the necessity for simple unionism, but as the new class, destined to become the new power that will remold society on new democratic lines.

SUBSCRIBE TO
THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT ARMY

Flint's 57 Subs Lead All Branches

Although forced to interrupt an ambitious campaign for militant subscriptions, Flint branch led all other branches with 57 subs in May. New York was second with 47 and Philadelphia third with 31.

New and renewal subscriptions during April and May totaled 673, or 11 more than the 662 expirations in the same two months. In June, however, 405 subs will expire, a much larger quota to shoot at. Hardest hit by the expirations will be New York with 70; Chicago 53, Boston 37, Buffalo and Los Angeles 34 each, Detroit 33 and Cleveland 28.

Philadelphia took the lead in June subs with 22 the first week, double the number of June expirations there. Ten renewals were obtained on callbacks by 23 comrades, while others came from regular contact work. A factory worker, Jack, who has been turning in one or two a week for a couple months, brought in seven last week. There's a likely contender to challenge Bob Williams of Harlem and others for the most subs by election day.

Nowadays in Chelsea Branch, New York, it's the style for seamen to bring Militant subs when they come ashore. Last week Whitey turned in four and Rocky 3 out of Chelsea's 10.

Detroit branch sold two subs to Chrysler strikers and recruited

one of the picket line militants into the Socialist Workers Party.

Here are the April and May subscription returns by branches:

	April	May
New York	58	47
Milwaukee	53	19
Flint	10	57
Philadelphia	15	31
Los Angeles	19	25
San Francisco	25	13
Boston	29	6
Newark	21	11
Detroit	16	13
Chicago	14	15
Connecticut	24	4
Minneapolis	11	10
Oakland	8	11
St. Paul	10	4
Akron	9	0
Youngstown	4	5
Buffalo	6	2
Cleveland	5	3
St. Louis	4	4
Baltimore	2	4
Seattle	2	2
Lynn	3	0
Morgantown	0	3
Reading	1	2
San Diego	1	2
General	5	27
Total	353	320

Prominent Unionist To Speak in Detroit

Joseph Andrews, prominent unionist and Militant correspondent, will speak Sunday, June 27 at 3 p.m. on THE LESSONS OF THE CIO WAGE DRIVE. The meeting, sponsored by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, will be held in the branch headquarters, 6108 Linwood Ave.

The Courts - Tool of the Monopolies

By Arthur Burch

The rash of anti-labor injunctions and criminal contempt convictions against unions and union leaders has once more brought the courts into the limelight. Who are these judges? How do they get their posts? From whence derives their authority? Is there any recourse to limit their authority? Have we any thing to say about the kind of judges we want?

These questions are not new. They have been asked by the labor movement in previous years. Thirty years ago, when judges—as today—were slapping out vicious injunctions against the labor movement, a big movement started for the recall of judges. Even Roosevelt had to threaten to enlarge the Supreme Court with new appointees when the "nine old men" were declaring his New Deal legislation "unconstitutional." On this occasion, at the behest of the ruling class itself, the judges began behaving more circumspectly for a short period of time, but the institution of the Supreme Court, with its autocratic powers, remained unimpaired.

Actually, nowhere in the Constitution can be found the basis for the Supreme Court prerogative in declaring laws unconstitutional. On the contrary, this idea was strongly opposed by those who helped frame that document. Yet through the guile of the ruling class, and the apathy of the people, this unbridled power was assumed and used until it became an accepted fact. Not only did the Supreme Court thereby violate the Constitution but by means of this arrogated authority, revised other sections of the Constitution, notably the 14th Amendment, in order to deprive

Negroes of their rights and enhance the power of the big trusts.

Other Amendments which have been violated are the 6th and 13th which provide that there shall be no convictions for crime without the right to trial by jury, and the 7th Amendment which gives the parties to a civil suit involving more than \$20 the right to trial by jury. Yet we are all acquainted with the recent criminal and civil contempt proceedings, like the decisions of Judge Goldsborough against the miners, where fines of exorbitant sums were meted out against the unions, in clear violation of the Constitution. It is now almost forgotten that even years before the Constitution was adopted, it was common practice to have a jury in criminal contempt proceedings. Judges have simply decided by themselves that it was their "inherent" right to decide such cases without a jury. They have also abused so-called Equity Courts, which were set up for the express purpose of righting injustices where no existing laws applied. The judges have prostituted this institution by arrogating to themselves the right to decide all kinds of cases which affect the lives and welfare of millions of people without the necessity of a jury trial.

DESPODIC POWER

James H. Clancey, a Michigan attorney, in his book entitled *Law and Its Sorrows*, points an accusing finger at the courts. He says: "Contempt of Court is the barbed personal weapon of despotic power. There is no such thing as 'government by the people' where it exists. (It) is the exclusive instrument of a minority, a handful of lawyers, who assume to rule by force. I believe such powers should exist but only in the hands of the people."

These black robed judges are, in fact, all wealthy lawyers who have gained their posts because they served the big corporations faithfully in their previous capacities. They had to plunk hard for one or the other of the two capitalist parties to get the appointment or nomination. As John R. Dos Passos stated in his *The American Lawyer*, "In general the best equipped lawyer in character and learning, has no more chance to become a judge, without political influence, than he has to turn water into wine."

It is common knowledge that many of these lawyers buy their judgeships outright. Several judges were forced to resign and even leave New York City when it was proven that they paid \$10,000 to Tammany Hall for nominations which were tantamount to election. Since that time salaries of judges in N.Y. Supreme Court have been increased to \$25,000 per year, in order, supposedly, to secure better qualified judges. But Gismet, a New York lawyer, in his book *A Lawyer Tells the Truth*, cynically remarks: "Under such circumstances much higher prices for the office will be exacted by the professional politicians from prospective candidates." Gismet cites cases where judges were denied renominations for not carrying out the will of the political hacks who are, of course, under the direct thumb of the monopolies and banks. But that is seldom the case; for it runs counter to the entire previous training of the judges. What happens is that the corporations nurture their favorite counsel from the day they leave their wealthy law schools. Those who serve their interests best are in line for promotion. Many of the most servile corporation lawyers now grace the benches of the Federal Courts and the U.S. Supreme Court.

ABUSE THE POOR

People who have not had previous experience with the courts are often amazed with the speed of the actions in deciding against labor. But in cases where a worker is seriously injured as the result of the negligence of the corporations, he may often have to wait years before his case is even called for trial, not to mention the numerous appeals that would follow, if by any chance he obtained a favorable decision in the trial courts. A recent questionnaire prepared by Charles A. Boston, a N.Y. lawyer, disclosed that in the opinion of the people questioned, "the courts abuse the poor." That of course can be testified to by any worker who is unfortunate enough to get involved with the courts.

The people have even less con-

trol in selecting their judges than their other officials. The federal judges are all appointed for life. They can be removed only by impeachment through a two-third vote of the U.S. Senate. There have been many proven cases of dereliction, but very few impeachments. When absolutely caught with the goods, the judges are permitted to resign without a blemish, as was the case with Federal Judge Albert I. Watson of Pennsylvania who was nice enough to forego his pension.

Shorter terms, and popular election of judges, would of course be a big improvement. In the words of Gismet, "dishonesty is due entirely to forces and influences inherent in our social, political and economic system in which we live and in which both bar and bench function."

READ

Fourth
International

Harlem Unrest Seethes Against Police Brutality

(Continued from Page 1)

They got into an argument. A cop entered and struck Mrs. Thomas down with a club. He then dragged her out of the store and beat her into unconsciousness. She was taken in a squad car to Sydenham Hospital, treated for injuries and sent home.

ROCKS THROWN

Meanwhile a crowd had gathered in the area around the grocery store. The rumor spread that a "white cop killed a colored woman." As the crowd grew, rocks and stones were thrown through the store windows. In a few minutes, hundreds of police, on motorcycles, in squad cars and on horseback, poured into the area.

The crowd swelled into thousands and refused to disperse. Clashes broke out with the police. More rocks and stones were hurled. The crowd continued to grow for four hours—from 9 P.M. to 1 A.M. At that time, the Mayor's Committee on Unity, established after the last Harlem riot, took Mrs. Thomas to the radio station where she broadcast the statement that she was not killed and

appealed to the crowd to go home.

This had no effect on the crowd, who thought they were being hoaxed. City officials were forced to bring Mrs. Thomas in person to the scene and at 3 A.M. the crowd at last broke up.

The NAACP committee is now carefully investigating the case of Mrs. Thomas with a view to raising the demand for a departmental hearing and dismissal of the offending officer.

The city administration and its agencies like the Mayor's Committee on Unity are trying to blame the growing resentment and resistance in Harlem on "outside agitators."

But informed social workers and Negro leaders agree conditions of life in Harlem are breeding mass upsurge. The notorious housing situation in segregated Harlem is steadily worsening. Unemployment is getting serious. Food prices, higher in Harlem than anywhere else in the City, are soaring.

ORDERS FROM HIGHER UP

Mayor O'Dwyer and Police Commissioner Wallander are meeting this situation not by

measures to alleviate the frightful living conditions but with a deliberate policy of police terror and intimidation. The cops and dicks who are terrorizing the Harlem community are carrying out orders from higher up. It is this continuous Jim-Crow brutality that has fired the colored people to whitehot indignation.

The Committee for Action against Police Brutality has let it be known that it is determined to mobilize this indignation, direct it into organized action and make it clear to the city officials and police department that they cannot terrorize the Negro people into submission to inhuman conditions.



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TROTSKY

In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucracy are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism.

—Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.



LENNIN

Slandorous 'Biography' About Lenin Issued By Social Democratic Author

By John C. Wright

LENNIN, A Biography, by David Shub, Doubleday and Co., 1948, \$5.

The author of this book, a Social Democratic journalist, employs the medium of a "biography" in order to achieve a political aim. He seeks not so much to tell the story of Lenin's life and work but rather to discredit Leninism as a system of ideas and a method of action.

Since Lenin died, there have been two schools of writers bent on "proving" that Leninism and Stalinism are one and the same. On the one side, there is the legion of hacks in the Kremlin's employ, and on the other, the countless enemies of revolutionary Marxism in the service of world capitalism.

Each school serves different masters. Both, however, stand to benefit from the perpetuation of this historical lie. The Kremlin cannot maintain its grip if it openly divests itself of the usurped banner of Bolshevism. For their part, the imperialists and all their lackeys are able to utilize the crimes of Stalinism as a potent weapon against communism.

As in the various Stalinist biographies, so in the pages of Shub's book there is no trace left of Lenin as a creative social thinker, who has taken his place alongside of Marx and Engels. Nor is there any trace of Lenin as a proletarian revolutionist, a true internationalist sustained by confidence in the world working class and imbued with faith in the future of mankind. Instead of the living Lenin there is a monstrous caricature. Lenin is converted into an idol, with the inhuman features of the incumbent despot in the Kremlin.

Shub disposes of Lenin's ideas differently than the Stalinist "biographers," but no less fraud-

ulently. Shub is a Menshevik, who under the guise of an "objective" biographical narrative, twists facts and quotations so as to fit them into the hoary charges of Menshevism against Lenin.

RESORT TO SLANDER

Lenin's distinguishing trait was his ideological intransigence. He was an orthodox Marxist, an implacable enemy of all forms of revisionism. Unable to cope with Lenin in the field of Marxist ideas, his Menshevik opponents resorted to vilification. Lenin, they said, was "dogmatic, intolerant of differences of opinion." He divided the "world sharply between those who were with him and those who were against him." He refused to work with or even listen to those whose "opinions were contrary to his own." He surrounded himself only with those "men whose obedience to him was absolute and unquestioning." He commanded and presumably demanded of his followers "veneration and blind obedience." All these and other slanders of Lenin's bitter political opponents are carefully catalogued in Shub's book and palmed off as biographical "facts."

Central in all attacks against Lenin is the charge of political "immorality." Here, too, Shub hews closely to the Menshevik line, portraying Lenin not as the disciple of Marx and Engels, but as the spiritual reincarnation of Russian anarchism, in particular Bakunin, Nechaiev, and Tkachev. Any means, no matter how sordid, any crime, no matter how vile, justifies the end—that was the credo of a Nechaiev. And the "moralist" Shub cynically pretends that this was also the guiding line of Lenin.

Shub digs enthusiastically in all the garbage of the past in order to portray Lenin, as the chief of a gang of criminals and moral degenerates. The leader of the greatest social upheaval in history is depicted as a man

who, distrustful of the masses, Shub pretends to find this distrust expressed in the stress Lenin placed on the role of "professional revolutionists." Lenin, according to Shub, counterposed a "revolutionary elite" to the "politically inarticulate mass." Passages from Lenin's book, *What is to Be Done*, are ripped out of context in an effort to show that Lenin allegedly viewed the role of the party in relation to the working class in the same way as most anarchists view the role of a "revolutionary minority."

"CONCEALED" HIS AIMS

To sustain his thesis of Lenin's distrust of the masses, Shub repeats Martov's canard that Lenin was at first "fearful" of the Soviets; and Shub then goes on to add that Lenin's 1917 slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was simply a "brilliant cover" for Lenin's real design to impose the dictatorship of his own party. Lenin, according to Shub, "concealed" this aim successfully not only from the Russian masses, but "from his own general staff as well."

"Immoral" Lenin as a super-conspirator—there you have Shub's "biography" in a nutshell. The whole Bolshevist policy and strategy in 1917 is reduced to a series of cunning conspiracies, with the October uprising as the culmination of all this diabolical plotting.

Shub is even bold enough to reproduce the slander that the Bolsheviks and the October Revolution itself had been financed by "German gold." He is not quite brazen enough to try to revive the frame-up of Lenin, Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders as "German spies." He simply seeks to demonstrate that they were "amoral" enough to take gold from the Kaiser—on the basis of all the old "evidence" that has been exploded long ago. Such is this stern judge who indicts Lenin for his morals!

Chinese Students Hit U. S. Policies



Chinese students at St. John's University in Shanghai have opened an exhibition of anti-American woodcuts and cartoons in protest against Washington's program. These three drawings show Uncle Sam decorated with swastikas and the Japanese emblem, the rising sun.

Federated Pictures

This "biographer" has no scruples whatever about his source material. He dips liberally into the cesspool of White Guard publications, even for the allegedly most intimate details of Lenin's life. Such for example is the "romance" he reports between Lenin and a certain Mme. Elizabeth L. These "revelations" appeared in 1936 in Paris as a Russian story copyrighted by one Alexinsky, whom Shub vouches for as "a former close friend and associate of Lenin for many years."

Shub conveniently omits to mention that this Alexinsky who turned into a rabid reactionary, also happens to be a notorious scoundrel. During World War I

he was branded as a "dishonest slanderer" and expelled from the Paris Association of Foreign Journalists, a body of Allied and neutral correspondents. On this same grounds Alexinsky was barred in 1917 by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries from participating in the Executive Committee. This same Alexinsky then played a prominent role in the attempted frame-up of Lenin as a "spy of the Kaiser." What source could be more "authentic"?

It is hardly surprising that Shub's "researches" have met with a warm response in the capitalist press and from such "socialists" as Norman Thomas.

Letters from Our Readers

Believes SWP Stand Weak in Psychology

The stand of the Socialist Workers Party, as with all parties shows weakness in psychological insight. The programs of all leaders and all parties exhibit demagogism and dogma; the SWP shows it most plainly in its attitude toward Wallace.

There has been little attempt to incorporate psychological knowledge into theoretical bodies of social programs. For that reason it seems unlikely that a revolutionary socialist program would succeed if the party leaders were able to obtain power. I have

come to the conclusion that it is better to get unified action under Wallace toward a goal superior to that which now exists; it seems more expedient to support him than to lend aid to one or another socialist party which sustains the extreme reactionaries by keeping the masses divided against themselves.

I have followed the arguments of the SWP, and I am able, at least in part, to appreciate what sagacity they contain. I have also considered Wallace's qualifications for leadership. The criticisms printed in *The Militant* against Wallace show a demagogic unwillingness to give credit where credit is due, and a ten-

dency to utilize the criticism of the extreme reactionaries, some of which are based on outright falsehoods.

The SWP has many theories, such as fraudulent, pacifist opposition, into which they try to fit Wallace. Allow me to express the belief that the Wallace movement is one phenomenon which Trotskyism cannot successfully and prophetically encompass. Extreme sectarians, such as the Trotskyists, fail to produce effective leaders, and they are reluctant to recognize political leadership outside their own circle.

The Militant has printed derogatory accusations; it has been suggested that Wallace is a demagogue, a capitalist employing dishonest and misleading tactics, that he has an undesirable record as a leader, that he receives support from sections of society who do not want, and cannot bring peace.

It seems to me that a man who is a scientist, and has made valuable contributions in this field, cannot be labelled a demagogue. He is in fact, a valuable worker.

In quoting Wallace's statement on quitting the campaign in the event of war, there was the failure to state that Wallace was sure there would be no war this year. It is surprising that the veracity of the N. Y. Times was trusted. A lot of weight has been thrown on what might be tricky reporting.

L. M. H.
Seattle, Wash.

I have been 40 years with the socialist movement, and I wish I had 40 more years to fight for it.

Have the two old parties given us anything but war and death for our struggle? Not yet. They tell all the lies in the book. They will resort to everything in our dear old world to hold the loot they have stolen, and the church will help them.

Don't try picking figs from a thorn tree. Don't try to shove back the tide. Don't create a white blackbird, but stop and vote for Dobbs. Let the two old parties know you are the boss. They have had their turn. Take yours.

L. B. Courts
Hamilton, Ohio

Chicago Student Returns to Attack

I was slightly surprised at the fact that you big bad bureaucratic Cannonites printed the letter from a stalwart of Shactman's society at the University of Chicago dealing with the subject of demoralized Dwight's (Macdonald not Eisenhower) recent lecture there. What is this? No selectivity?

That letter, by the way, was of a piece with all the Shact-



manite vaporings about the Socialist Workers Party. Because supporters of the SWP haven't held a meeting on the Wallace question, you see, it logically follows that they have no right to criticize and expose the political behavior of "disciplined" Shactmanites for featuring, financing and feting a speaker, who not only trumps the virtues of the Martial Plan, but who fumbles and bumbles along for over an hour, taking verbal pot-shots at Henry Wallace without offering the pathetically misguided camp followers of Gideon's Army a genuine political alternative—a Labor Party.

What paragon of morality these Shactmanites are! Get a "popular guy," no matter if he's part of that malodorous fraternity of renegade intellectuals whose favorite pastime is peddling pessimism and hanging crepe for socialism, give him a place to beat his gums, and help him along, if even in a modest way, in his tireless quest for converts to—nothing!

A student
Chicago, Ill.

Vandenberg Resolution

On June 11, after a brief debate, the Senate passed the Vandenberg resolution—one of the shortest on record—bearing the innocent title, "International Peace and Security Through the United Nations."

This resolution is exactly the opposite of what it pretends to be. It is, as the N. Y. Times correspondent correctly stated, "without precedent in peacetime history."

It not only by-passes the United Nations, but marks another giant step in Wall Street's war preparations.

It paves the way for the most sweeping military commitments ever made by any power in history.

Two of its clauses explicitly commit the United States to enter into military "regional agreements," and implicitly to back the military alliance already concluded between England, France and the Benelux countries.

Similar "mutual aid" pacts can be made anywhere in the world, for instance, with China or India.

The U. S. is further pledged to extend military assistance, obviously in the form of a revived lend-lease, to any and all such "regional" alliances.

Senator Malone of Nevada made the astounding revelation on the Senate floor that "many industrialists have been contacted" by government bodies to make preparations for munition shipments of this type.

All the machinery has already been geared behind-the-scenes in order to convert Western Europe into an armed camp as the base for a future military assault upon Russia.

Nor is this all. This resolution—which is to be supplemented by a similar House resolution—in effect empowers the President to plunge this country into war without even

consulting Congress. Military hostilities may be started on the mere pretext that this is called for by the terms of any military alliance into which the State Department may enter and which it is empowered in advance to conclude by Congress.

In the light of this sweeping war measure, all the previous "peace" moves of Washington fall into their proper place and can be seen for what they really are.

Last spring Truman enunciated his notorious "doctrine" whereby he cynically promised that peace would be safeguarded by military aid to Greece and Turkey.

Marshall followed this up by enunciating his "aid" program, which many people believed to be a reversal of the "Truman Doctrine."

The Militant has repeatedly warned that the Marshall "Aid" Program is nothing but an integral part of colossal war preparations. This warning is now a fact.

Even before full-scale ECA shipments have gotten underway, all the moves have been completed to "supplement" them with shipments of war materials.

Within a few months of Marshall's Harvard speech, where this "aid" program was first made public, we have seen an unprecedented stepping up of the "peacetime" arms program at home. Plans to establish a permanent conscript army are right now being jammed through Congress.

Now we see the latest step—military commitments on so vast a scale as to cast into the shadows all the imperialist power blocs of the past.

We have maintained from the beginning that Washington is conspiring to plunge this country into another world war. Here is irrefutable proof of this fiendish conspiracy.

Steel Worker Tells Indignation At Murray's Convention Tactics

Editor:

I attended the steelworkers convention at Boston. Here, in the vicinity of Boston, the American colonists once fought for freedom from their British oppressor. These events were highly eulogized at the Steelworkers convention. Speaker after speaker told of the heroic deeds of our forefathers at Bunker Hill and Concord. But these were only words. We heard the other parts of the speeches which were the exact opposite of the purposes of the colonial battles: "Down with the communists." "We will not tolerate anyone that disobeys with the thinking of the leaders and their supporters."—Such at least was the essence of the main content of the speeches.

And now to the actions—the convention, thrust by the leaders into a lynch hysteria, denounced anyone who had any ideas of his own different from those in power; it posed the Taft-Hartley Law but it adopted a "Little Taft-Hartley" law of its own. It went on record against the Mundt-Nixon Bill but proceeded to bar freedom of political thinking by discriminating against political in the union.

Why did the leaders of this union act this way? First, to try to strengthen the control of the bureaucracy over the membership and thereby be in position to use the union for their purposes. Second, to try to eliminate from the union ranks those who want a more militant policy.

All these maneuvers, however, will fail even though the bureaucrats weaken the union in its struggles against the bosses. They will fail because the struggle of the workers against the employers cannot be stayed by the Murrys. The workers will push for a class struggle policy because they understand to the very marrow of their bones that only by fighting will they get anything from the bosses. The workers will force the leadership to fight or will replace the leadership.

The steelworkers convention did not provide the answers to the workers' problems; it simply contained, for a little while longer, the pressure of the workers. But the pressure is being built up and when it erupts, it will be so much the more violent.

The Murray machine may have rejoiced at the convention decisions, but these decisions—to raise the dues, to give the bureaucrats higher salaries and to extend their terms of office—have generated a real opposition to the leaders in the mills throughout the country. This is particularly so because these actions benefiting the Murray machine were taken at the time that the workers were given nothing by the contract that Murray defended.

The victory of Murray and Co. in Boston will ultimately turn into its opposite. The militants will gather their forces and sweep aside these labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. They will replace them with leaders whose interests are their own—who will follow policies of struggle rather than collaboration—in political action as well as union action.

Jack Wilson
Youngstown, O.

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 every Thurs. 8 p. m.

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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 3980, Every afternoon except Sun.

CHICAGO—377 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEARBORN 4767, Daily except Sun., 11 a. m. - 5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

DETROIT—2108 Livernois Ave., Phone TY 4267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m., FLINT—215 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, 1008 S. Pacific Street 214.

WATTS—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. 6th St. Mon. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m., Phone EBROADWAY 9645.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St., Phone Main 7781, Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 6 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRIDGEN—(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. 8:30-10 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave., Phone BRIGLEY 3-2574, Reading room, Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p. m.

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ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312, Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., Phone GARFIELD 1137, Open daily, Bookstore, Forum, 3rd Sun. of each month, 3:30 p. m.

TAYLOR—(Wash.)—Write P. O. Box 1079, Meeting, Wed., 8 p. m., Odd Fellow Hall, 6th & Pawcett.

TOLEDO—Open daily.

YOUNGSTOWN—115 E. Federal St., Rm. 302, Phone 3-1355, Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

NAACP PICKETLINE WINS VICTORY AGAINST JIM CROW IN EMPLOYMENT

NEW YORK—A militant picket line for four days during two busy week-ends before the Busch Credit Jewelers store on 125th Street in Harlem has won an important victory against Jim-Crow employment practices, it was reported by Herbert Hill, representative of the New York Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Busch store, which gets most of its business from the colored community, was an empty desert for two Saturdays while neighboring stores were crammed with customers. This convinced the Busch management that discrimination doesn't pay.

The picket line was finally withdrawn after satisfactory agreement was reached in negotiations held in the NAACP offices at 2227 Seventh Ave. Attending the meeting were William Conklin, the Busch Stores' 125th Street manager; Atty. Jawn A. Sandifer, local NAACP president; Nathan Solomon, CIO representative; Mr. Hill and other members of the NAACP committee; and Mrs. Edith Alexander of the Mayor's Committee on Unity.

Mrs. Alexander tried to disrupt the negotiations and slander the NAACP activity by claiming that "outsiders" were coming into Harlem to "stir up

racial strife." Mr. Hill silenced her by advising her that the democratically-elected NAACP committee was not there to hear her slander the NAACP and the working people who sacrificed many hours after their jobs on the picket line.

CONCEDED ALL DEMANDS

The Busch management reportedly conceded all demands, including:

Henceforth 50 per cent of the sales force must be colored employees, two to be hired immediately and others within a reasonable time. Previously there were no Negro sales people.

Negroes are to be upgraded without discrimination in all departments. A Negro is to be trained as collection manager.

NAACP representatives are to periodically spot-check sales contracts for the insulting epithets, such as "darker," "spic" and "Aunt Jemima," used as a code on the back of contracts to indicate race of the customer. The credit manager who devised this code is to be transferred from the Harlem store.

A statement repudiating previous discriminatory practices and embodying the spirit of the new agreement will be prepared by management with NAACP approval and sent to all stores in the Busch chain.

VOL. XII

MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1948

No. 25

THE MILITANT

First Crack in Reuther's Machine Provoked by Settlement with GM

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich., June 12 — The GM wage contract was approved by four of the five GM locals in Flint. Fisher Body was the only local to vote down the contract.

Acceptance of the contract was accompanied by the first big explosion within the Reuther forces. The outburst is symptomatic of the general disapproval of the Reuther settlement.

Six months ago the five Flint General Motors union presidents outlined a three-point program for contract negotiations. It included demands for an outright 25-cent wage increase; a sliding scale of wages; joint contract termination dates of all agreements in the auto industry—and this to be obtained through industry-wide bargaining.

The swift acceptance of this program by the rank and file auto workers upset Reuther's wage strategy. He was forced to raise his wage proposal from 15 to 25 cents, but he counterposed a pension plan to the sliding scale of wages. In addition, Reuther was faced with demands for over 100 revisions of the GM contract.

In the ensuing months Reuther denounced the sliding wage scale. His Flint supporters, headed by regional director Don Chapman, branded it as "anti-union." They tried to head off growing sentiment for this proposal by investigating petition campaigns in the shops calling on Reuther to make the pension plan the number 1 point in negotiations.

To the Reutherites' amazement, the final GM contract contained an emasculated sliding scale of wage clause while the pension plan had been shelved for two long years. Their consternation turned to anger when they examined the new contract and found that it was a degree worse than the previous agreement. Reuther's supporters felt they had been left holding an empty bag.

DEADLY AFRAID

The UAW leadership, from the first, was deadly afraid of using the full strength of the union through industry-wide strike action. Reuther and Mazy patiently awaited any kind of an offer from the corporations, rather than resort to the strike weapon. When it became apparent that Chrysler, Ford and GM intended to refuse even their more modest demands, the UAW leaders found themselves backing into the very type of strike action they wished at all costs to avoid.

In the statement of General Motors Corporation, released to the press after the settlement, the world's largest industrial corporation demonstrated its conscious understanding of what was taking place by stating, "Perhaps this group (GM and the UAW) has about the last chance to reach a fair and realistic agreement of the right thing to

do and prevent another round of disastrous strikes such as occurred in the Fall of 1945 and the Spring of 1946."

Even better than the UAW leadership, the corporation understood that unless they concluded a settlement, a strike paralyzing the whole auto industry would have ensued. GM made the most of the situation by obtaining guarantees that would not have been possible in the midst of strike action. GM offered an emasculated sliding wage scale and in return got full power over production standards. In effect they obtained the means whereby the auto workers would pay for the wage increase through intensified speedup.

The contract specifically provides that production standards are the sole responsibility of management. Significantly, the GM department agreed to withdraw a speedup grievance at Flint Fisher Body that had been processed to the umpire.

At the GM conference in Detroit, T. A. Johnstone, head of the union's GM division, repeatedly warned the delegates that the union and the company were going to work together in industrial peace.

A personnel manager of a local plant who returned from Detroit after consultation on the application of the contract bluntly in-



WALTER REUTHER

formed the local shop committee that they were embarking on a period of industrial peace. The company expected, in return for the wage increase—more production.

Speedups have taken place in every plant in Flint since the signing of the agreement.

These are the causes for the cracks that are appearing in the Reuther machine. The second rank leaders dread bargaining under this contract, which Reuther promised would be improved after he obtained majority rule of the union. In every local, leading administration supporters broke with the machine to denounce the contract. This is the first sign of independence since Reuther took office.

Briggs Contract Follows Chrysler Wage Pattern

DETROIT, June 14 — Last Saturday the Briggs auto union negotiating committee finally arrived at a settlement, which will be submitted to the general membership for ratification.

It was only the pressure of the anti-Reuther opposition, expressed in heated debates at a general membership meeting, that forced a more determined effort to win better terms than those offered by the company. The final settlement was substantially the same as the one at Chrysler. In order to gain even this much the union was forced to apply pressure when the company balked on a number of issues. Since most of the workers had a month off due to the Chrysler strike, the Briggs Local leadership was reluctant to pull them out. So they adopted a guerilla tactic of pulling small plants and even groups of workers on each succeeding day. This served more to confuse the union people and keep them in a jittery state than it did to pressure the company.

The final settlement consists of a flat 13-cent hourly raise, 3½ cents per hour in lieu of paid holidays, a raise of \$20 per month for the engineers, and one wage inequality adjustment of 10 cents per hour for garage mechanics.

The weak side of the settlement is the extension of the contract into 1950 which includes a 14-day seniority clause which permits the company to work employees out of line of seniority. During the last year, nine layoffs resulted in thousands of old seniority men walking the streets while new men and bosses' favorites were working. Forty-seven wage inequities were presented to the company. Only one was adjusted.

The cost-of-living bonus was not raised in negotiations, as the leadership is opposed to this formula for securing the standard of living between contracts.

Once again, it was demonstrated that to win substantial concessions, industry-wide bargaining is a must.

East Side Forum on Immigration Bill

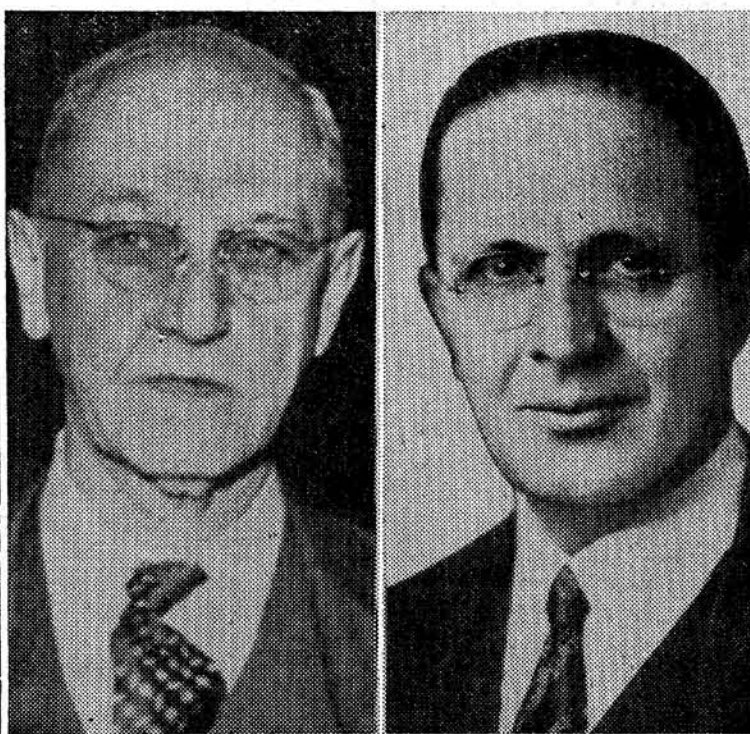
EUROPEAN REFUGEES AND THE IMMIGRATION BILL will be discussed by Irving Beinin on Friday evening, June 25 at 8 p.m. at the open forum of the East Side Branch of Local New York. Militant readers are invited. The East Side Branch of the Socialist Workers Party is at 251 East Houston. This Bill, just passed by the U.S. Senate contains provisions which discriminate against Catholic and Jewish displaced persons, and is thus a pitifully inadequate answer to the problems of Europe's refugees.

By M. Alvin

The recent convention of the CIO Steel Workers Union offers an opportunity to sum up the course of the right wing Murray leadership. The sustained anti-labor drive, fortified by the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act, is putting the labor leadership to the test. Reeling from these blows, the CIO leaders are proving very rapidly their worthlessness. As a result, the militant unionists are beginning to question, for perhaps the first time in 12 years, the policies and practices of this leadership.

The results of the steel workers convention were a long step backward and a disgrace to the democratic tradition of the CIO. Meeting in an hysterical, red-baiting atmosphere whipped up by the Murray machine, the gathering did not plan or accomplish a single progressive aim. The convention approved the no-strike policy of the leaders and thereby gave up any plan to struggle for wage increases this year. No definite stand was taken on political action in this Presidential election year except a blanket condemnation of the Wallace candidacy. The Executive Board was empowered to support a Democratic or Republican candidate. The Board was also given authority to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits if it so de-

"Labor Statesmen"



Named "Labor advisers" to the Economic Co-operation Administration, agency for the Marshall Plan, were Clinton S. Golden (L), former CIO official and labor adviser to the American mission in Greece, and Bert Mark Jewell (r.), former head of the AFL Railway Employees Dept. They will help the State Department sell Wall Street's program to the European masses. Federated Pictures

NLRB Cites Boeing Aircraft For Unfair Labor Practices

SEATTLE, June 14—On June 10 the NLRB issued a complaint against the Boeing Airplane Company charging it with "unfair labor practices" under the Taft-Hartley Act. A formal hearing was set for June 21. The complaint cited the following:

1. The company's refusal to bargain collectively with Lodge 751, or to recognize it as the exclusive bargaining agency for Boeing employees, since April 25.
2. The company's refusal to participate in joint conferences called by National Conciliation Director Cyrus Ching, and;
3. The company's notification to Mayor William F. Devin's committee and the International Association of Machinists, that they refused to recognize Lodge 751 as the collective bargaining agent.

The NLRB also petitioned Federal Judge John C. Bowen to issue a temporary restraining order "forthwith restraining the company from refusing to meet and bargain collectively with the union." Judge Bowen issued a show-cause order commanding Boeing to appear in court this Saturday June 19 to show why the restraining order should not be issued.

Indignation is growing in the Seattle labor movement and an organized opposition is developing within the Teamsters Union, supported by many of the old-time militants. The company is continuing its

Right-Wing Bureaucracy's Policy in CIO

Bill—Murray and Co. effectively stopped the rank and file from taking strike action. All the top CIO leaders played a shabby role; they gave no lead to the ranks and permitted the struggle against the bill to be confined to lobbying in Washington, holding protest meetings, mailing postcards, etc. At that time, thousands of coal miners actually did go on strike against the bill. The cold water thrown on this method of struggle chilled the labor ranks and showed the Big Business Congress that it could go ahead without confronting any serious opposition.

The two-year no-strike steel contract signed by Murray has prevented this important union from taking the lead in the fight for a third wage round. More important, it almost set a no-wage-increase pattern that was broken only by the decisive strike action of the auto union in Chrysler and the General Motors settlement. The steel workers, however, may wait still another year before they get a third round wage increase, and their no-strike clause undoubtedly has been responsible in cutting down substantially the amount won by the UAW in General Motors and Chrysler.

The defeat of the recent packinghouse strike can be attributed directly to the lack of aid from the rest of the CIO. The national

CIO office mobilized no real support for the packinghouse strikers in their bitter struggle against the meat trust, a struggle which brought out the National Guard in two states for the first time since the early days of the CIO.

SUPPORT MARSHALL PLAN

The record of the Murray leadership on political questions is even worse than it is on wages. Ranging up and down the country, Murray's representatives have conducted a sustained drive against all opposition to the Marshall Plan—American imperialism's plan to bring Europe under its hegemony. CIO Vice-President Haywood and other Murray assistants have invaded one CIO Council after another, demanding that they take a stand in support of the Marshall Plan. The pro-Marshall Planers are not concerned with the democratic rights of the CIO members to decide this question for themselves; they are intent upon forcing their position down everyone's throat and won't even accept neutrality on the question.

While the immediate target in this campaign has been the Stalinist party, the democratic right of all CIO members to discuss and decide questions for themselves is being dangerously jeopardized.

The Murray leadership has become the main pipe line leading

A New Spirit

By Albert Parker

One of the most dramatic stories in last week's news was the case of Leroy Hutson, Negro radio engineer who had just bought and moved into a home in Wall Township, N. J., a small, all-white community which used to be the Eastern regional headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Hutson got some anonymous phone calls asking if he intended to stay in his new home; he naturally answered that he did. Two days after he moved in, a 12-foot fiery cross was burned in front of his home.

It was a "terrifying experience" for the Hutson family, but the interesting thing is what Mr. Hutson did about it. He immediately phoned a friend in nearby Asbury Park, who came as quickly as he could with a shotgun. Then he called the state police and reported what had happened. But he did not rely on the police alone. A phone call was sent to another friend, and this friend got in touch with the Asbury Park branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In short order, nine cars arrived with about 25 Negroes, who, according to the N. Y. Times, were "armed with shotguns, pistols, knives, pitchforks and other weapons." They searched the area and kept a guard around the Hutson home for several hours "until they were persuaded to leave by the state police, who took over."

The Negro people are learning more and more that to protect themselves, they must rely first of all on their own organized strength. The defense guard organized in the Hutson case should serve as an example to be followed by the Negro and labor movements, and should serve as a warning to the vigilante groups that the Negro people are ready to protect themselves vigorously against mob action and terror.

The reason that Negroes have such little confidence in protection from the police is that the police are notorious for their brutality against

The Red Label

By Joseph Keller

There's a refrain in an old union song which goes:

"When I ply my needle, trowel or pick,
"I'm a decent sheeny, wop or mick.
"But when I strike, I'm a bolshevik—
"I'm Labor!"

These words come to mind when we reflect on the ironic aftermath of the recently defeated Wall Street strike led by the AFL United Financial Employees.

The leaders of the strike worked in collaboration with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the priest-ridden power machine which is trying to spearhead the "anti-communist" campaign inside the unions. The ACTU flooded the picket lines with leaflets announcing that "Catholic Organizations Back Wall Street Strikers" and that the ACTU "has been blessed by Pope Pius XII."

The AFL Seafarers International Union likewise supported the strike, but with more substantial and militant help. Many of the seamen were badly beaten up and arrested by the police of that eminent Catholic, Mayor O'Dwyer. One SIU member, John Flynn, was dragged out of an automobile while delivering food to the strikers and hauled to jail.

After the strike, Flynn was handed a three-

year suspended jail sentence by New York Special Sessions Justice Frederick L. Hackenburg, who took the occasion to orate as follows: "I am shocked to the depth of my soul when I realize that this compulsion (for the SIU to assist the UFE strike) was dictated by a foreign government which under the guise of ideology tries to start trouble so that they can publish in Moscow 'Riots in Wall Street.'"

The irony does not lie in the fact that a capitalist-minded judge yells "Moscow" at the militant action of an American union, but in the fact that the leaders of this particular union are practiced red-baiters who boast far and wide of their opposition to "communism." Moreover, they worked in conjunction with that outside agency, the ACTU, whose main plank is "anti-communism." The theory is that priests' robes or flag-waving will "take the curse" off a strike.

The June 11 Seafarers Log, organ of the AFL Seafarers Union, yells to high heaven about Judge Hackenburg's "irresponsible statement" and "smear."

They ought to know by now that any striker or any union that fights for the workers is a "bolshevik" in the eyes of the capitalists. And echoing the capitalist red-baiters or playing footsie with the ACTU won't save any militant worker or union from that label.

Notes from the News

HYPER-INFLATION—A new wave of "hyper-inflation" as a result of rearmament is underway, according to Martin R. Gainsburgh, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board.

NON-AGGRESSIVE WEAPONS—The U.S. is sending Iran 60 million dollars worth of tanks, guns and fighter planes. These items are all "non-aggressive weapons," explained the State Department spokesman.

STRIKE STATISTICS—In the first quarter of 1947, 276,000 workers were involved in strikes with 3,600,000 potential man-days lost. This year in the first quarter 645,000 workers struck with 7,720,000 man-days lost.

NEWSPAPER GUILD—The anti-Stalinist forces in the big New York local of the American Newspaper Guild won all of the 12 delegates to the coming convention in a referendum vote of the membership.

FE LOSES OUT—The Stalinist-dominated CIO Farm Equipment Union voted to sign the "yellow dog" Taft-Hartley affidavits while four of the known Stalinists resigned from the union's executive board. This action came after the union suffered a shattering defeat at the Caterpillar

Tractor plant at Peoria, Ill., when the CIO auto union won the NLRB run-off election. The FE was not on the ballot as it hadn't at that time complied with the Taft-Hartley Act.

COLD WAR—Two Russian women are divorcing their American husbands because of the "cold war," it was announced from Moscow. Both said relations between the U.S. and Russia made continuance of their marriages undesirable.

UPWA GIVES IN—The CIO Packinghouse Union, in fear of raids from the AFL Butchers Union, decided to comply with the Taft-Hartley Law. The two Stalinists on the executive board, Herbert March, Chicago director and Meyer Stern, New York director, have resigned.

FREE SPEECH—The Supreme Court, by a 5 to 4 vote, declared unconstitutional a Lockport, N. Y. ordinance which prohibits use of sound trucks except by permission of the police commissioner. New York City cops handed out a number of court summonses since and the effectiveness of the ruling is now being tested in the New York courts.

IWO SUBS—The International Workers Order filed suit against Attorney General Clark's list of subversive organizations as violating the constitution.