

CLERICAL CENSORSHIP MENACES OUR RIGHTS

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 9

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

UNION RANKS FORCE WAGE-BOARD SPLIT

Stalin Exposes Own Lies on UN; Still Seeks Deal

By John G. Wright

Breaking a silence of more than two years, Stalin, in his capacity as Soviet Premier on Feb. 16 issued a declaration of Soviet foreign policy on the unfolding international crisis.

The critical issue of war and peace Stalin slurs over, directing the burden of his comments toward an attack on the United States, the Atlantic Pact countries (singling out Premier Attlee and the British Laborites) and the United Nations.

Hansen Starts National Tour on U.S.-World Crisis

Joseph Hansen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in the 1950 New York election campaign, began his national tour by speaking in New Haven, Conn. and then in Boston, Mass. on the subject: "America and the World Crisis."

Instead of offering a working-class, socialist program of fighting the war danger, Stalin still continues to lull the masses at home and abroad with fake assurances that war "cannot be considered inevitable," immediately coupling this, however, with a "warning" that "there are aggressive forces thirsting for a new war" in the United States, Britain and France.

THE "PEACE CAMPAIGN"

The Stalinist "peace campaign" has thus far amounted to gather-

Table with 3 columns: Day, City, Date. Rows include Saturday Mar. 3 Akron, Sunday 4 Cleveland, Monday 5, Thursday 8 Chicago, Friday 9, Saturday 10, Sunday 11 Milwaukee.

Did Three Dead Briggs Officials Know Too Much? Demand Autopsies In Gangster Probe

Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO-United Automobile Workers, following up the revelations of the Kefauver Committee on the conspiracy between the Briggs Manufacturing Company and a gang of thugs to beat up union militants and wreck the union, has demanded that the Detroit County prosecutor order autopsies on the bodies of three former Briggs executives who died shortly after protesting the alliance between Briggs top executives and the hoodlums.

"It seems more than a coincidence that three people who in our opinion would shed light on the beating and the scrap contract (between Briggs and gangster Perrone) should all die in the same year," Mazey said.

The Briggs local 212 also demanded the removal of Dean Robinson as Briggs president, cancellation of the company's contract with the gangsters as a cover for payment for their anti-labor services, and an immediate conference with Walter O. Briggs Sr., to "discuss future collective bargaining relationships."

Genora Dollinger, one of the Briggs union militants who suffered a brutal beating by the company-hired thugs, last week in an interview with The Militant stated, "I want to see the gunmen of the Renda-Perrone gang and the officers of the Briggs company, who hired them, brought to trial and punished for the merciless beating of myself and other union representatives."

"The Senate Committee findings in Detroit... will, if followed through, also shed light on the murder attempts on Walter and Victor Reuther," she stated.



Pay Freeze, Rising Prices, More Taxes, Strikebreaking Rouse Anger of Workers

By Joseph Andrews

The withdrawal of the three labor members from the Wage Stabilization Board on Feb. 16 has created a crisis in Truman's war mobilization plans and in the 18-year coalition between the labor leadership and the Democratic administration.

Resignation of the labor representatives was forced by the burning resentment of the workers. They resent Truman's vicious strikebreaking tactics against the railroad workers and the wage-freeze which the Big Business administration seeks to impose despite runaway prices.

The need for the labor bureaucracy to act was aptly described by columnist Doris Fleeson in the Feb. 19 N. Y. Post: "Labor's people aren't yessing their bosses but are pressing for solutions for the bread-and-butter problems of life. So long as inflation control remains ineffective, labor leaders

have to fight — or lose their own jobs."

The wage-freeze order backed by the industry and "public" members of the WSB would peg wages to ten percent above the Jan. 1950 level. This was described by the labor members of the board as "a series of penalties and restrictions — imposed at a time when prices are continuing their upward rise. The wage formula is inflexible, inequitable and unworkable."

Prices Do Well — And Profits, Too

The wage freeze proposed by the Big Business-dominated Wage Stabilization Board came at a time when profits and prices were at their highest point in history, and still going strong.

Corporation profits for the October through December quarter of 1950 were far higher than ever before. During that quarter profits were rolling into the coffers of the monopolists at the rate of \$45 billions a year.

Profits in 1950 were 60 per cent greater than in 1949, according to Price Stabilization director Michael DiSalle. Wages have not risen even half that much.

Food prices have shot up 14 per cent since Korea — June 1950. Wages have risen only 8 per cent during the same period.

The bulk of the food price increase is super-profit for the processors, not the farmers. The fact is that the farmers' share of each dollar spent for food was only 53 per cent in 1946, and has slumped to 48 per cent today, according to Alfred Stedman, farm editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch.

When these facts are added to the drastic increase in taxes upon low incomes, and the loosening of rent "controls," it is clear that war mobilization economic policies are directed at wholesale slashing of the living standards of the low-income majority of the population.

These cold statistics are very real to workers, who feel the pinch today, and see far greater cuts in their purchasing power in the near future, while the corporations continue to pile up the greatest riches in their long history of profiteering.

OPPOSE WHOLE PROGRAM

The labor members made clear that it was not the wage-freeze alone which had aroused the resentment of the workers. "This is not a question of an isolated incident. Our decision here cannot and must not be interpreted merely as a protest against an unfair and unworkable formula... That formula culminated in a whole series of shocking developments which we find insupportable... It is a symptom of unconcern for the needs and welfare of the plain people of this country."

The Big Business-controlled war mobilization plans, the labor leaders pointed out, affect "not only wages, but prices, taxes, rent control and housing."

Though they did not mention Truman's name in their statement, the labor board members attacked his whole domestic program. "The price stabilization program is a cynical hoax on the American people," they stated.

Prior to the labor withdrawal from WSB, the Jan. 31 UAW-CIO News Letter stated, "The price control order, freezing prices at their highest levels, simply legalizes the scandalous profits of speculators and war profiteers."

The tax program was castigated as one which will "raise all taxes in such a manner that people in the lower income brackets will be forced to bear a still heavier share of the tax burden."

TAX THE POOR

The CIO Economic Outlook pointed out that a worker with a \$70 weekly income would suffer a tax increase of 45 per cent

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Textile Union Strikers Display Fighting Spirit

By George Lavan

PASSAIC, N. J., Feb. 20 — The textile mills completely dominate this working class city. Here are two of the woolen industry's giants — Forstmann Woolen and Botany. Both of these plants are completely shut down by the CIO Textile Workers Union's strike.

Picket lines, with women predominating, both here and in nearby Garfield, slowly parade in good humor before the mill gates. At one of them a young girl picket with a clear, melodious voice starts singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" and others join in. The singing of others workers' songs like "Soup" and "Solidarity Forever" bear testimony to the long history of labor militancy and struggle in this textile area.

In front of Forstmann's Garfield plant the pickets are set up for light housekeeping. In addition to an oil-drum stove there is a coffee urn and a juke box that some sympathizer has donated. One young picket suggests that the song being played be changed for something better for marching.

In addition to the strike posters that the pickets carry, a big poster has been fastened to the company gate announcing that the plant is struck by the TWU-CIO. The plant police show no disposition to remove the sign.

A number of Negro women are among the pickets. One woman in her sixties, beside whom I picketed, approved vehemently when I

tell her that The Militant fights not only for the working class but also against jim crow. "Just like our union," she says. "I joined the union when I first started working here during the war because it fights for all the workers and doesn't discriminate."

UNION DEMANDS

A lunch room across the street serves as an unofficial picket headquarters. There I spoke with the picket captain, a shop chair-

man and a steward. Immediately they told me that "this is a strike against the company, despite what the company or the newspapers say." Then they listed the things they were striking for: a 15 cent an hour increase, an escalator clause, a 6 cent annual improvement factor, improved vacation set-up and a two year contract. Would it be a long strike? Opinions varied but the general consensus was that it

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What Wage Ruling Means

Here is how the Wage Stabilization Board pay freeze would work:

Unions would be allowed only 10 per cent wage hikes above the Jan. 15, 1950 base pay.

If the average base pay is \$1.50 per hour on Jan. 15, 1950, and the workers had won 10 cents an hour in July 1950, they would be entitled to only 5 cents an hour under the proposed wage freeze. Escalator clauses are included in the freeze.

This ruling, if allowed to stand, would remain in effect until July, 1951.

Wholesale commodity prices have risen 40 per cent since a year ago. By July, 1951 this tremendous leap would be reflected in retail prices and consequently in the cost of living.

Thus, the wage freeze would keep real wages far below the cost of living and bring about a drastic reduction in living standards.

Welfare funds, and shift bonuses would be considered as part of wages under the ruling.

Whitewash Killer-Cops In Murder of Negro Vet

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — In another whitewash of cop-violence against the Negro people, District Attorney Frank S. Hogan announced yesterday that, after a "complete and careful investigation," the Grand Jury had refused to indict the two policemen who had murdered the Negro ex-GI, John Derrick.

In a scathing letter of denunciation that reflects the indignation of the Negro community at this outrage, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today wrote to Hogan, "It is clear that you have mishandled this case from beginning to end seemingly with a view to exonerate those policemen."

MURDER AND ROBBERY

Despite a police campaign of intimidation, a score of eye witnesses to the crime testified that the two cops, Palumbo and Minakakis, shot Derrick in cold blood without a shred of provocation. After murdering Derrick, witnesses stated, the two killers stole more than two thousand dollars from his still warm body and then planted a gun on him in an effort to establish an alibi.

The Grand Jury whitewash of the killers was accomplished with the cooperation of the Police Department and Hogan's office. The phony nature of the "investigation" was made entirely clear when Hogan assigned his assistant, Karl Grebow, to present the case to the Grand Jury. It was this same Grebow who rushed into print on Dec. 8, the day after the

murder, with a statement absolving the killers!

POWELL'S ROLE

This decision is a crushing exposure of the rotten politics of Negro politicians like the Reverend A. Clayton Powell. It was Powell, more than any other individual, who side-tracked the inspiring mass movement that sprang up in Harlem to win justice in this case.

A thoroughgoing opportunist, Powell quickly sensed the militant spirit of an outraged Negro community that expressed itself at the beginning of the case with an outpouring of almost five thousand to a protest meeting. He won the leadership of the movement with a stirring call to organize a mass march on City Hall. But at the very moment when the Administration reacted to the growing mass pressure by transferring the killers out of Harlem, Powell threw in the towel. With indecent haste, he hailed this miserable concession as a "great victory" that ended the need for any further action. As a face-saver, Powell has called for an "FBI investigation."

The forthright stand now taken by the NAACP against Hogan indicates that the people of Harlem are strongly dissatisfied with their "victory." The NAACP's call for a mass meeting at the Golden Gate Ballroom on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 25, should meet with a real response. Their proposal to launch a campaign to force Hogan to re-submit the case to the Grand Jury with a demand to indict for murder will have the

support of every opponent of police brutality in this city.

The exoneration of the killers is a menace to the lives of every member of the community. So long as Palumbo and Minakakis roam the streets free men every trigger-happy, Negro-hating cop on the force has official sanction to murder without fear of punishment.

There was fresh proof of this last week when a drunken off-duty cop, John Hickey, began firing at two Harlem school children who made the mistake of laughing at his antics. Fortunately this vicious fool was so drunk that he couldn't shoot straight. A Police Surgeon immediately pronounced him "fit for duty." Considering the activity of the police in Harlem this was probably a correct judgement.

The Derrick campaign must go on. The march on City Hall must be organized. The Negro people cannot rest until the killers pay the full penalty for their crime.

SWP in Harlem Backs Protest

Gladys Barker, spokesman for the Harlem Local of the Socialist Workers Party, declared today, "The renewed campaign to bring the killer-cops who murdered John Derrick to justice has our full support. I am at the full disposal of the NAACP's Citizens Committee for Derrick in their fight against police brutality."

Labor Always Lost in White-House Alliance

By Joseph Keller

Although the union leaders won't admit it publicly, their break with the government's wage "stabilization" board is, in effect, a rupture of the coalition between the labor bureaucracy and the Truman Democrats. This rupture will be mended if the union officials can possibly effect it. But right now, in private and in union circles they are bitterly complaining that Truman has "betrayed" them, that he has "betrayed" above all, the policies of Roosevelt. If Roosevelt were alive, they would have us believe, things would be different and for the better.

The whole war mobilization program and all its agencies of economic control are in the hands of Big Business, they admit today. Labor is being shut out in the cold. There is not one aspect of government policy — not one — which they do not condemn in the sharpest terms.

But to contend that these are new policies, peculiar to the Tru-

man administration, is to belie the still vivid events of recent history — the history of labor's wartime coalition with Truman's predecessor and chief mentor, Roosevelt. Every policy of Truman that the union leaders bewail originated with the late "great friend of labor."

BIG BUSINESS RULED

Let us recall, first of all, that the policy of placing Big Business in charge of the war mobilization agencies was carried to the extreme by Roosevelt. It was the then Senator Truman who shortly after Pearl Harbor released the devastating report of the Senate Defense Investigation Committee. This disclosed that the war production set-up was controlled from top to bottom by "dollar-a-year" men "loaned" to the government by the big corporations and that "the defense program in all its ramifications must obtain the approval of the large companies" which were making "staggering profits" out of their government connections.

Far from being all skittles and beer, the wartime coalition between the union leaders and Roosevelt was strained to the breaking point time and again and was only preserved by the repeated abject capitulation of the labor officialdom, with the notable exception of John L. Lewis.

NEAR RUPTURE IN 1941

In the six months prior to U.S. entry into the war on Dec. 7, 1941, the Roosevelt administration had engaged in a series of outrageous acts of strikebreaking that all but shattered the coalition just two weeks before Pearl Harbor. Beginning in June with his use of troops to drive the North American Aviation Co. workers back to work at the point of bayonets, Roosevelt climaxed his drive against labor with his attempt to smash the "captive" coal mines strike in Nov. 1941. This led to the breakdown of the National Defense Mediation Board and a near-rupture of the labor-Roosevelt coalition that is strik-

ingly analogous to the situation prevailing today.

But Philip Murray, William Green — and even Lewis — jumped on the occasion offered by Pearl Harbor to rush to Roosevelt and voluntarily offer their "no-strike pledge" and support of a War Labor Board, thus re cementing the coalition.

WAGE-FREEZE POLICY

Within a few months, however, the labor leaders were complaining about Roosevelt's moves to gradually introduce a wage freeze. His first step was to ban premium pay for Saturdays, Sundays and holidays worked when these did not constitute the sixth and seventh consecutive days of the work week. In May 1942, Roosevelt personally intervened to abrogate the escalator cost-of-living wage contract of the CIO shipyard workers. He told them that "the full percentage wage increase for which your contracts call, and to which, by the letter of the law you are entitled, is irreconcilable

with the national policy to control the cost of living." And he cut in half the amount of wage increase to which they were entitled. This is the precedent for including the escalator clause contracts of the auto workers in the wage freeze program of the industry and "public" members of Truman's wage board.

In July of 1942, came Roosevelt's "Little Steel Formula" which froze wages to a fixed percentage increase over the rates on Jan. 1, 1941. This was 15 per cent, or one-third the amount of the rise in the cost of living. This is the precise pattern of Truman's wage-freeze formula.

LABOR CRISIS IN 1943

In the summer of 1943, the United Mine Workers waged their historic strikes that ripped a hole in the "Little Steel Formula." The CIO and AFL leaders howled against Lewis. But by December 25, more than 200,000 CIO steel workers were in a spontaneous strike. A major labor crisis (Continued on Page 4)

# The Hierarchy Invades Our Rights

By Art Preis

The American hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church - State, one of the most powerful totalitarian forces in history and for more than a 1,000 years an arch-enemy of enlightenment and progress, has scored a major victory in its drive to impose its clerical control over all media of education, publicity and propaganda in the U.S.

At the public command of the Vatican's American proconsul Cardinal Spellman, the New York State Board of Regents has condemned as "sacrilegious" the international prize-winning film, "The Miracle," revoked the exhibitor's license and banned its public showing in the state.

This act of censorship at the dictate of the authoritarian head of a religious organization - and one holding sway over a distinct minority in both New York state and city - climaxes a two-month conflict that has attracted national and international attention.

Cardinal Spellman's successful campaign to suppress "The Miracle" strikes at traditional and fundamental principles of American democracy - freedom of speech and opinion, freedom of religion and complete separation of church and state. It goes far beyond the field of motion pictures and the issue of whether or not the people shall have the right to see films free of Catholic propaganda or presenting views differing from those held by the priest-caste. By the same methods used in the case of "The Miracle," Catholic hierarchical control and censorship can be - and is being - extended to books and publications, public lectures and forums,

public libraries and public education and school curriculums.

## VATICAN AGENTS

The means employed to suppress "The Miracle" startlingly reveal how far the Vatican's agents have encroached on government and politics in this country and how vast has grown their power to interfere with freedom of thought and ideas, to regulate the mores and conduct of the overwhelmingly non-Catholic American people and to impose on every sphere of American life the priests' ultra-reactionary political, social, moral and religious doctrines and dogmas.

"The Miracle," a half-hour film short, was made in Italy by the noted director Roberto Rossellini. Anna Magnani in the leading role gives a monumental performance. Produced in 1948, the film was approved by the Italian Commission for Showing Motion Pictures and the National Cinematographic Industry Association of Italy. The International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art at Venice gave it an award.

In this country, the National Board of Review gave it the highest rating. It was originally licensed in March 1949 by the New York state board of censorship, officially known as the Motion Picture Division of the State Education Department, which is directed by the Board of Regents. Last November it was licensed to its present distributor, Joseph Burstyn, who began its exhibition last Dec. 12 at New York City's Paris Theater as part of a trilogy of three short films jointly called, "Ways of Love."

"The Miracle" tells the story of a lonely, half-crazy shepherdess with religious delusions who meets a stranger whom she believes to be Saint Joseph, her special patron saint. The stranger overcomes the poor excited woman with wine and seduces her. When she learns she is pregnant, she believes she has been visited with a miracle and proclaims it proudly in the village. The self-righteous villagers mock, revile, spit upon and half-mo her and drive her from the village. With her birth-pangs upon her, she climbs in terrible agony to a deserted church on a mountain top and there, all alone, she gives birth.

The final closeup shows the mother's face beautifully illumined by a transfiguring love as she looks for the first time on the miracle of human life she has brought forth. Thus, the film symbolizes the idea that all motherhood and the creation of new life is a miracle. Only minds warped and depraved, however superficially garbed in "morality" and "Christianity," could find in this film anything but a powerful, sincere, moving work of art, imbued with compassion and human sympathy.

## CATHOLIC WAR VETERAN

On Dec. 23, after the picture had run less than two weeks at the Paris Theater, the local License Commissioner Edward T. McCaffrey, a former national commander of the Catholic War Veterans and an ignorant political hack of the Catholic-dominated machine that controls the city government, ordered the Paris Theater, under threat of revocation of its operating license, to



CARDINAL SPELLMAN

immediately discontinue the showing of "The Miracle," which he said he found to be "both officially and personally blasphemous."

A storm of protest assailed this "one-man censorship." The American Civil Liberties Union offered legal counsel to fight the ban and its National Council on Freedom from Censorship, headed by playwright Elmer Rice, condemned McCaffrey's action. Most of the New York dailies wrote heated editorials and Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, representing the great majority of New York's church members, defended the film on religious grounds. On an appeal against the censorship, State Supreme Court Justice Aron Steiner granted a temporary injunction staying McCaffrey's ban on the legal point that the License Commissioner had no censorship powers.

Then it was revealed that this was not simply, as Life magazine wrote, "a striking example of how minor bureaucrats can find ways to establish their personal prejudices as law." McCaffrey was just a tool which the Catholic hierarchy was surreptitiously using. The "one-man censorship" was being exercised by no less than Cardinal Spellman himself.

## CARDINAL SPELLMAN

He issued a statement, read at all masses in St. Patrick's Cathedral, calling "The Miracle" a "vicious insult to Italian womanhood" and a "despicable affront to every Christian." He said, "We believe in miracles. This picture ridicules that belief." He ordered all Catholics in New York and in the whole country to boycott the picture. Auxiliary Bishop Joseph F. Flannelly, cathedral administrator, announced that a campaign would be started to "strengthen" the state censorship laws in conformity with Catholic views.

On the afternoon of Spellman's announcement his storm-troopers of the Catholic War Veterans began a blockade of the New York Paris Theater entrance and rightly thereafter tried to intimidate theater-goers from seeing "The Miracle." Spellman's City Hall minions sent their Catholic police to "preserve law and order," which included the arrest of four counter-pickets protesting censorship and the evacuation of the theater in the midst of a crowded showing to "search for a bomb." Catholic fire department officials suddenly discovered violations of safety ordinances and the paying of "gratuities" to fire inspectors

- a standard practice in all theaters if they want to stay open. A steady campaign of harassment through the city administration was unleashed.

Against this, the New York Film Critics demonstrated their protest by granting "The Miracle" their award as the best foreign film of the year, although they had to switch the award ceremony from Radio City Music Hall to a private location because of Spellman's threats of a Catholic demonstration and boycott of the theater. Scores of religious leaders of other denominations called on the Board of Regents, which was scheduled to review the picture, not to bow to Spellman's censorship demand. Block-long crowds queued up nightly to see the picture in defiance of the beefy priest-led hoodlums, some of them probably participants in the mob assault led by the Catholic War Veterans and other fascists that injured several hundred persons at the Peekskill, N. Y., concert of Paul Robeson.

## BOW TO CARDINAL'S PRESSURE

But the Board of Regents, mainly professional politicians and businessmen, did not dare to defy the Cardinal's power of boycott, blackmail, slander and pressure. On Feb. 16, they took refuge behind a vague clause in the censorship law and meekly bowed to the Cardinal's edict. The Paris Theater promptly cancelled the showing of "The Miracle," but announced it would appeal to the state courts.

With this victory, the Catholic hierarchy is pushing a campaign against other films. At Albany, N. Y., the police, on the solicitation of the Catholic clergies, stopped the showing of "Bitter Rice," a film depicting the conditions among exploited women workers in Northern Italy. Threats by the Knights of Columbus forced a Queens theater owner to discontinue presentation of the great tragic film of poverty and unemployment in Italy, "The Bicycle Thief." Other outstanding foreign films are threatened with Catholic boycott and censorship.

If Catholic censorship seems to be placing discriminatory emphasis on foreign films, that is only because Hollywood's products are already subject to powerful Catholic censorship at the source. No picture can be released which does not conform to Catholic views on marriage and morals, divorce, sex and love, religion, etc. The American film industry's Production Code was written by the aggressive Jesuit writer, Father Daniel Lord, and the Production Administrator, Joseph I. Breen, is a practicing Catholic. This may explain why American films abound in "moral" scenes of sadistic violence and brutality and suggestive highlighting of female legs and busts, while they present such a perverted and false picture of real life.

## SPEARHEAD OF WITCH-HUNT

Ever since the Vatican and its Catholic political parties became the chief mainstay of capitalist reaction in Western Europe, the American Catholic hierarchy has reached out more openly and brazenly for power and control in this country. It has become one of the main spearheads of the witch-hunt against "communism" - that is, anything that has the slightest vestige of liberalism.

Spellman had to proceed more slyly for a while after he was widely rebuffed for his breaking of the Calvary Cemetery workers strike and his slanderous attack on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt for her opposition to the use of public funds for parochial schools. But with the success of his campaigns to secure U. S. recognition for Fascist Spain and to block the federal aid to public education bill, Spellman has become emboldened.

American capitalism has turned to the Vatican as its most powerful ally in the preservation of the degenerated system of world capitalism. The increasing influence and power of the American Catholic hierarchy represent not its own growth but the concessions granted it by the American ruling class, predominantly non-Catholic, for "services rendered." Thus, Herbert Bayard Swope, one of America's leading capitalists and a Protestant, recently declared: "The Vatican is in our first line of defense, an enormously powerful agent in fighting the Kremlin. Any deterioration of its strength would be weighted with grave consequences." In this sentiment of American imperialism and through its support, lies the source of expanding Catholic hierarchical power over the liberties of the American people.

# Pittsburgh Tops Quota in SWP Fund Campaign

By Reba Aubrey  
Fund Campaign Manager

This week we received the largest total payment since the Socialist Workers Party launched its \$18,000 Organization, Press and Defense fund seven weeks ago. Fourteen branches sent in \$1,517.75. The scoreboard through Feb. 20 shows a national total of \$9,406 or 52 per cent of the total amount assigned for the three-month campaign. At this point the campaign is just 2 per cent behind schedule. That's pretty close.

Pittsburgh branch hit the 100 per cent mark this week and now shares top honors with Youngstown. Pittsburgh is \$44 boosted them from 27 to 41 per cent. Chicago's \$65 check raised their percentage to 40.

This note from Clara Kaye accompanied Seattle's \$25 payment: "I know we're still behind schedule, but we are catching up. Many of the comrades have been hit by illness and haven't been able to work so payments have been temporarily slowed up. They will be made up in the next few weeks." Akron moved ahead four places on the scoreboard. "We are trying very hard to meet our quota," says Comrade Doris, "but it is difficult. One of our people has been unemployed; another is being laid off this week."

Detroit is steadily gaining ground. Their \$126 payment gives them \$618 paid to date - 35 per cent.

Los Angeles took a \$200 leap closer to their \$2,600 goal. The campaign has passed the half-way mark. Those branches below 50 per cent will have to do some fast stepping in the last half to catch up and finish 100 per cent by the campaign deadline, March 31.

## \$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Youngstown	\$ 500	\$ 500	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	733	73
Buffalo	1,000	686	69
Newark	700	483	69
New Haven	100	61	61
New York	5,000	3,043	61
Milwaukee	150	80	53
Boston	550	269	49
Philadelphia	600	271	45
Flint	375	159	42
Cleveland	300	124	41
Chicago	700	281	40
Seattle	400	146	37
Oakland	250	90	36
Toledo	50	18	36
Akron	150	52	35
Detroit	1,750	618	35
Los Angeles	2,600	895	34
Allentown	75	25	33
San Francisco	1,500	450	30
St. Louis	100	20	20
West Virginia	25	0	0
General		252	
Total through Feb. 20	\$18,000	\$9,406	52

# British Labor Regime Nationalizes Steel

By Paul G. Stevens

The nationalization of the British steel industry went into effect Thursday, Feb. 16, when 80 of the largest iron and steel firms out of a total of altogether 500 turned over their assets to the government's Iron and Steel Corporation.

About 300,000 of the half million steel workers will be affected. Former owners of the nationalized concerns and shareholders in some 150 subsidiaries owned by them will be compensated by government-guaranteed steel stock paying a 3 1/2 per cent dividend.

## CAPITALIST OPPOSITION

Contrary to previous nationalization measures, the Steel Act was subjected to sustained attack by the capitalist class for over two years before going into effect. The steel magnates first mobilized the antiquated House of Lords - which had held a two-year veto right - to obstruct its passage into law in November 1949, so that the Labor Government, for all its timidity, had to take measures in parliament to further cut down the powers of the reactionary upper chamber.

Together with the rest of the capitalists, the owners of heavy industry then staked all on helping the Tories win the elections of Feb. 1950, in order to get the law repealed. When the Labor party squeezed through to power once more by a narrow margin, they left no stone unturned to force a coalition upon it, banking heavily upon the right wing of the Trade Union Congress, which in effect maneuvered to postpone nationalization at the annual conference last September.

With Churchill leading the struggle for them on the parliamentary plane, the Conservatives fought doggedly to the last moment, hoping to catch the small Labor majority off-guard in order to overthrow the government and thus stave off actual implementation of the measure. Now that steel nationalization is a fact, the steel barons have grudgingly consented to be content with their 3 1/2 per cent dividends "in the national interest," but continue to refuse to serve on the government board managing the industry.

## CAPITALIST STAKE

Why have the British capitalists carried on such a fierce struggle to prevent the nationalization of steel? And why have the weakened, class collaborationist leaders of the Labor Party stood their ground on this issue, despite the tremendous pressure exerted upon them? To understand the answers to these questions it is necessary to take into view the present relationship of forces between the working class and the capitalists as well as the crucial importance of steel in the British economy.

When the Labor government, after its great victory in the 1945 election, proceeded to nationalize coal, the railroads and the public

utilities, there was hardly more than token opposition from the capitalist ruling class. For these industries had long ceased to be profitable enterprises; they had been muddled to the full by their owners and a renewal of their earning powers required a re-organization and investment far beyond the powers of the individual owners or any combination of them. The government's grant of 3 1/2 per cent dividends was pure gravy for them.

Not so with steel. The growth of armament production had assured this industry of constantly growing profits and encouraged renewal of equipment and re-investment, so that of all British industries, the steel industry was the most modernized and the most profitable. Furthermore, as long as their grip on steel remained unimpaired, the capitalists could maintain essential if indirect control of the rest of heavy industry, regardless of the nationalizations, by manipulating this basic product to suit their ends.

Nationalization of steel consequently meant not only a considerable and immediate reduction in profits which had continued to be fabulous for more than fifteen years; it also signified depriving the capitalists of the major industrial lever left in their hands for control of the nation's economy.

That is why the British capitalists have fought so tenaciously on this issue. In fact, that is why they still refuse to reconcile themselves to this loss. For, as Winston Churchill declared in the last parliamentary debate, although the Tories do not intend to repeal any of the other nationalizations if they return to power, they are pledged to denationalize steel at once.

## PRESSURE ON LABOR PARTY

On labor's side the significance of steel nationalization aroused an equal degree of class consciousness. As the Labor Party publicists themselves have made clear, steel has been regarded by the rank and file as a test of the seriousness of the whole nationalization program and a retreat on this issue by the leaders would have been considered nothing short of a betrayal. For what is the purpose of all the nationalizations if not planned national production to replace the capitalist chaos? And how is planned production possible if their key industry remains in the hands of private capital?

The Labor leadership was thus on the spot. Beside the social reforms, they had nothing to offer the British working class but continued austerity and the prospect of a Third World War on the side of increasingly unpopular American capitalism. The workers were

beginning to show their restiveness by forcing through action to lift the wage freeze at the last Trade Union Congress, by a growing number of wildcat strikes - the latest of which, among the dockers, was spreading even as the last vote on steel was being taken - as well as by active agitation against the tie-up with Washington in foreign policy.

The workers' determination to resist capitalism was indicated by their remarkable turnout in the 1950 elections, when by their increased majorities in industrial districts they offset the swing of the middle class to the Tories and thus enabled the Labor party to squeeze through.

All these signs pointed only to a great intensification of the class struggle and the by-passing of the present leadership, in case of any patent betrayal. Thus, the very least the Labor government could do under the circumstances was to go, through with the promised steel nationalization. Indeed, Churchill and the industrialists have lost no opportunity to "accuse" Prime Minister Clement Attlee and his government of being "prisoners" of the Left Wing of their party, of acting on steel in order to retain their following on foreign policy and on the defense program flowing from it.

The nationalization of steel

must thus be considered not merely as just another nationalization measure, but as a turning point in the class struggle under the conditions prevalent in Great Britain. According to a dispatch to the N. Y. Times, among the current fears of the steel masters "the first is that trade union or left wing socialist elements . . . will force their way into managerial levels" and "second . . . that the longer the Labor party remains in office the harder it will be to denationalize or sell the industry back to private investors." The tactics of the capitalists, consequently, will obviously be directed to allay these fears.

The workers, on the other hand, rightly considering steel nationalization as a victory - coming as it does despite the tremendous pressure of the British capitalists as well as their Wall Street allies - will increase their own pressure upon the leadership. Next step for British workers will be a fight for workers management of the nationalized industries, for a moratorium on the compensation of former owners for workers' control over all remaining private enterprise, for effective planned production not for war as partners of American capitalism - but for peace as partners of the colonial peoples throwing off the yoke of imperialism.

# Italian Stalinism Torn by Crisis

By Charles Hanley

Two Communist members of the Italian Parliament, as well as several other personalities have left the Stalinist party because they disagree with its complete subservience to the Kremlin. Do they represent a revolutionary or a centrist tendency, or a right wing grouping? It is yet too early to answer this question; we only know that they ask for the independence of the Italian Communist movement from Moscow's interference and dictatorship, and that they declare themselves against the Italian bourgeoisie's Atlantic Pact policy.

In any case, it would be a mistake to simply call them a Right Wing group insofar as even centrists are not to the right of the Stalinist bureaucracy; for Stalinism is a reactionary, utterly counter-revolutionary force inside the labor movement. It remains to be seen in which direction these dissident Stalinists will develop, and whether they will follow the encouraging example of their German comrades who have adopted a revolutionary platform and political strategy.

## HISTORY OF ITALIAN CP

The Communist Party of Italy is the biggest outside the Soviet Union, but not quite as solid as the French CP which has a particularly well organized network of party veterans. So far, these French party veterans have participated in every turn ordered

by the bureaucracy and enforced a strict discipline in the rank-and-file, while the Italian CP had to form numerous new local cadres in 1943 after 21 years of fascist dictatorship and is not as homogeneous as the French organization.

Togliatti (who is now under treatment in Moscow, with his French colleague Thorez, for some mysterious illness) did not entirely succeed in hardening the Stalinist mass party into a completely monolithic block. A few years ago already the famous novelist Elio Vittorini criticized Togliatti's policy. Other militants broke away from Stalinism in recent years under the influence of the Yugoslav question.

The originators of the newest split, the deputies Magnani and Cacci (who remain members of Parliament), also sympathize with Yugoslavia; Magnani, organizer of the Communist stronghold Reggio Emilia (67,000 party members) after 1945, was a partisan in Marshal Tito's army during the war. Doctor Cacci was active in the Italian resistance movement. Only a short time ago he visited the Soviet Union with a group of intellectuals.

## NUMEROUS SPLITS

Splits and the creation of new parties have been numerous in the Italian labor movement since 1945 and are not limited to the Communists. There are, for instance, not less than three "social-

ist" parties: one pro-Stalinist (PSI), one centrist (PSU), one social-democratic and reformist (PSLI). There also exist at least two ultra-leftist parties. And, of course, the Italian section of the Fourth International (Trotskyists) whose influence, according to the Rome correspondent of the N. Y. Times (Feb. 2), has grown considerably in several big cities.

The Trotskyists are the vanguard of the Italian labor movement. The present disunity of the Italian proletariat derives from a process of clarification and searching, from the longing for a socialist rebirth; and in this case is an expression of ideological liveliness, of political vitality rather than a sign of internal weakness.

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS by Leon Trotsky

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## THE MILITANT ARMY

Ruth D. and Harold R. of New York made a good score selling door to door in Harlem Sunday.

In less than an hour they sold 23 Militants. The New York Youth make it a point to be on hand with The Militant, America's leading socialist weekly, and with Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, wherever they find serious students. Encouraging sales were made at a student conference for civil rights, at New York University, and at one of the high schools this week.

One Militant was sold to a taxi driver who was cruising by and, noticing a Militant salesman, asked to see the paper. A student on one of the campuses has several regular customers to whom he brings The Militant each week. Last week he sold 11 Militants, four FT's, and one subscription to the paper to students he approached in class or in the cafeteria.

A railroad worker of Minnesota sent for 100 copies of the Jan. 29 issue exposing American atrocities in Korea for distribution to friends and enclosed \$5 as a donation. "You will note," he writes, "that dictator or would-be dictator Harry Truman has virtually placed millions of railroad workers in a 'slave labor camp' by ordering them to work or lose their jobs, the very thing he condemns in dictator Stalin. This is another good and suf-

ficient valid reason why he should be impeached forthwith."

B. K. of Cleveland wants "to compliment the editor and writers of The Militant for the first rate Jan. 29 issue. Devoting this issue to the Korean war as well as listing imperialist atrocities as commentaries by reporters in that devastated country is hitting the bull's eye - what is uppermost in most minds today.

"An informal poll taken at my plant last week revealed, in a small way, the turn of thought since the U.S. invasion of Korea. The question asked by one of the workers in one department of this U.A.W. plant was: 'Should we get out of Korea . . . yes or no?' Thirteen voted yes - in favor of getting out immediately. Five voted no.

"I suppose it's just a coincidence," noted the pollster, "that the five voting no all had large mortgages on their homes!"

M. G. of New York renewed his subscription this week with the comment, "It's a pleasure to subscribe to the only thinking socialist paper in the country!"

CHICAGO "America and the World Crisis" - JOSEPH HANSEN - Saturday, March 10 - 8 PM SHOTWELL HALL 5493 Blackstone Ave. Chairman: IRVING BEININ Former Candidate for Alderman, Fifth Ward Social - Donation 50c

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# THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Single Copies (5 or more copies): 5c each in U.S., 10c each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XV - No. 9

Monday, February 26, 1951



## A Prophecy Life Is Realizing

"In the past, America has known more than one stormy outburst of revolutionary or semi-revolutionary movements. Each time they died out quickly, because America then each time entered a new phase of stormy economic upswing, and also because the movements themselves were characterized by crass empiricism and theoretical helplessness. These two conditions belong to the past. . . American capitalism will enter an epoch of monstrous imperialism, of an uninterrupted growth of armaments, of intervention in the affairs of the entire world, of military conflicts and convulsions."

—Leon Trotsky, Germany: Key to the Int'l Situation. 1931



LENIN

## A Program for Labor's Crisis

The belated resignation of the labor members from the Wage Stabilization Board was an act of self-preservation. They could no longer stifle the mounting anger of the workers against the oppressive burdens of war mobilization.

The union leadership's blast against the Truman-Big Business alliance merely put into headlines what every worker knows: war profiteers are running wild and trampling labor underfoot. The question is: what to do?

The break with the board was a step in the right direction. Formation of the United Labor Policy Committee is a necessary move toward labor unity against the government-Big Business offensive.

But the union bureaucracy has done little so far to indicate they plan a sustained struggle to defend labor. On the contrary they are meeting in secret confabs with government officials trying to negotiate a few face-saving concessions in exchange for patching up the coalition with Truman.

Appointment of a union official to administer top policy will not protect the workers when the policies themselves are wrong; an increase of a couple of percentage points will not make the wage freeze itself more just.

To wage a real fight against "Big Business domination" of the War Mobilization set-up, the United Labor Policy Committee should summon a conference of rank and file delegates from all local unions, AFL, CIO and independent. Such a democratically chosen and truly representative Congress of Labor would check the Truman-Wilson anti-labor drive.

Workers at such a mass Congress would undoubtedly adopt a program of action along these lines:

1. Withdraw all labor representatives from governmental commissions.
2. No wage freeze.
3. An escalator cost-of-living clause for all workers.
4. Tax the rich instead of the poor.
5. Confiscate all war profits.
6. Nationalize all war industries. Operate them with democratically elected committees of workers.
7. A strong FEPC anti-discrimination law.
8. Genuine price control policed by committees of housewives, trade unionists, farmers and small businessmen.
9. No more trust in the two old capitalist parties! Organize labor's own political party to fight for these demands on the political field.

## Operation Slaughter

The press reports that the military objective of the U.S. Army in Korea has changed. MacArthur is "no longer interested in attempting to seize or hold any particular territory." His prime objective now is to kill as many Chinese as possible. Thus the original policy of "freeing" Korea by restoring the corrupt and reactionary Syngman Rhee regime and extending its control over all Korea has been discarded as impossible of achievement and the prime objective today is — killing.

As a British observer remarked of the recent U.S. offensive on Seoul: "General Ridgway's interests are homicidal not geographic."

The American people have never been consulted about Korea. Truman's "police action" was taken without consultation of Congress, let alone the consent of the people. The great desire of the people, shown by the grass roots protests and by newspaper polls, to withdraw all U.S. forces from Korea has been disregarded. Nor can the American people be held responsible for the now proclaimed objective of mass murder in Korea. The guilt rests squarely on the U.S. imperialists.

Not only do the American people de-

rive no satisfaction from the enthusiastic newspaper descriptions of great slaughter of Asian people but they know their own sons are also being slaughtered.

Early this month total casualties for both sides in Korea were announced as 1,300,000. More civilians were killed than soldiers. U.S. casualties alone have reached the 50,000 figure. The Pentagon declares it will send 15,000 boys a month to Korea as replacements. And the end is nowhere in sight. The generals figure that as long as replacements hold out they can keep up their program of killing.

They try to make this palatable to the public by picturing it as a great bargain. MacArthur claims that every U.S. casualty brings ten or even thirty enemy casualties. Supposing his figures can be trusted, can you find an American mother who wants to trade her son's life for even 30 mangled or scorched Chinese or Korean bodies?

The sole objective of the U.S. intervention in Korea today is killing. Before the burning desire of the Asian people to be independent, imperialism has shown its impotence to accomplish anything more than murder. Bring the troops back home now!

## India Starves -- Congress Stalls

Several weeks ago we reported (see Feb. 5 issue of *The Militant*) how the Truman administration has employed every trick, including the shunting of the issue into Congress, in order to stall shipments of wheat to famine-stricken India. The American imperialists have continued this grisly game since October 1950 in order to beat down the resistance of the Indian government and force the latter to docilely support U.S. foreign policy.

There are no food reserves whatever left in that country now. There is no foreign exchange to buy grain. If a single food ship is delayed, starvation immediately threatens 100,000,000 Indians who require a minimum of two million tons to survive for two months on their slow-death ration of nine ounces a day. On Feb. 18, even the editors of the N. Y. Times finally admitted as much.

But the stalling continues in Washington. By the middle of February, Truman "appealed" to Congress — where his own henchmen in the Senate and House have pigeonholed the relief measure — to "urge assistance" to India. Amid much ballyhoo, a bi-partisan group of 40 Senators and Representatives have sponsored a bill to "Furnish Food Aid to India."

These "furnishers of food" have attached more strings to their bill than

are contained in an orchestra, including the harp. India must pay the cost of transportation; the distribution of wheat must be supervised by a special Economic Cooperation Mission; the proceeds from the sale of this grain in India must be set aside in counterpart funds, again under special conditions and supervision, and so on. And here is the pay-off: only one-million tons, or only half of what is so direly needed, will be shipped!

The shipment of the remainder is "to be deferred." Meanwhile the ECA would at its leisure "examine other supply possibilities and terms upon which this additional grain should be supplied from the United States."

Needless to add, even this contemptible "food aid" measure has still to pass Congress. The devourers of human flesh and spirit in Congress do not care how many Indians starve or die while they seek to tighten an economic stranglehold on India which, in its turn, would render India's government more obedient.

The Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wired Congress Feb. 13 urging that wheat be sent to India "in humanitarian spirit and without political, economic or other conditions." But the official labor leaders still keep a shameful silence.

# Hansen Tour To Answer Key Labor Issues

By Murry Weiss

The schedule for Joseph Hansen's tour, "America and the World Crisis" conducted by the Socialist Workers Party vividly brings to mind some of the features of the party's development during the last twenty years.

Branches in 24 major cities from coast to coast will organize meetings for Hansen. Here is the skeletal structure of the coming revolutionary party of the American workers. Each of these cities has a Trotskyist movement with a rich history interwoven with the life of the working class of its area.

Years of hard work and many stages of development are represented by these branches. These were the years of the gathering, the selection and testing of cadres. Experience in the mass movement of the workers, schooling in ideological struggles, desertion of petty-bourgeois elements, recruitment and education of fresh proletarian forces, perseverance and selflessness overcoming tiredness and self-interest — all this and much

more has gone into the making of every branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

## BRANCH BUILDING

In each locality there are comrades who personify these experiences; who link together all the stages. They have an intimate knowledge of many aspects of the enormously difficult and complex problem of building a branch of a revolutionary socialist party. These comrades can tell the story of the work that went into building this network of branches through all the ebbs and flows of the working class movement. The story isn't always dramatic, there are chapters of severe difficulties when only small steps forward or just "holding on" were possible. And there are other chapters of stormy struggles, of rapid party expansion, of fruitful participation in the broad arenas of mass struggle.

Glance over the schedule of Hansen's tour and we see a map of the class struggle in the years of revolutionary promise — the Thirties, the years of the great leap of the American proletariat. On this map, the main centers of



JOSEPH HANSEN

the class struggle and the building of party branches merge, standing out, in bold relief. There is Minneapolis, where the 1934 teamsters' strikes set the pattern of militancy for the whole labor movement of that time; there is the Midwest of the auto sit-down strikes, the Little Steel strike, the rubber workers' struggles. The Pacific Coast, scene of two

general strikes within 14 years. The East Coast maritime struggles and countless battles in the heavy and mass production industries. What a history the American working class and the Socialist Workers Party already have — even before the working class has arrived at a consciousness of its own independent political interests!

## POWER OF TRUTH

Twenty-four branches as centers of organization for the dethronement of the most powerful imperialist oligarchy in history. Some will say this is a meager force. But let us recall one of Lenin's favorite expressions, "The fist with truth behind it strikes the hardest blows." And what a moment this is to strike a blow for truth!

The Korean war not only imposed new tasks upon the revolutionary party in America — it also opened new opportunities. Every day events are dealing shattering blows to the edifice of imperialist lies.

The wall of ruling class deception that in ordinary times seems indestructible is crumbling and giving way to the liberating truth.

The whole country is being shaken to its depths by this process. This is a time of great awakening. The cruel, rapacious, insane imperialist adventure in Asia has cut deep into the inner conscience of the nation and upset its equilibrium.

## PEOPLE ASK QUESTIONS

Millions are asking: What are we doing in Asia? What interests are being served by this endless slaughter? Why are we burdened with the crushing weight of taxes, wage-freezes, skyrocketing prices? Who wants to fight China's revolutionary people — and for what purpose?

We Trotskyists alone can answer these questions. Because of all tendencies in the labor movement only the Trotskyists are irreconcilable opponents of the imperialists. Trotskyism is the conscious organization, scientific theory, and incorruptible vanguard of the world movement against imperialist exploitation. There never was a better time for American Trotskyists to send a leading spokesman to tour the nation with their message.

For party activists a national tour is a big event. During a tour more can be accomplished in a few days than in months of routine work. Or to put it more accurately: months of routine work can be tested, consolidated and harvested during a tour.

During a tour all departments of branch work move into high gear and mesh together more closely. Party contacts are brought closer, prospective recruits decide to join, new contacts are made. The party has greater opportunities to smash the capitalist conspiracy of silence

against the socialist truth. We step out on the public arena, proclaim our program to meetings larger than usual. We even find ways of reaching broader circles with our message through newspaper publicity, radio and television. New avenues to workers, and to student organizations are opened.

The tour is a time to test the working capacity, the ingenuity, the collective knowhow of the branch. The tour enables the branch to gauge its progress, its attractive power and the growth of its influence. Moreover, the tour is an excellent means for knitting together branch to branch and all branches to the center. Party members get to know their leading spokesmen, and party leaders enlarge their contact with members and sympathizers.

The subject of Hansen's tour, "America and the World Crisis" is exactly right. This is the moment of greatest crisis for the world imperialist system. That is to say, it is our moment. The American billionaire plutocrats have overshot their mark — they are dragging an unwilling country into an illegal, unauthorized, unpopular military adventure against the colonial peoples.

The American working class has demonstrated in its whole history that it is not afraid of these billionaire enemies of mankind. What the American workers needed were lessons from the book of life that they must once again take up the standard of militant struggle. Korea is teaching many lessons. The need is to drive these lessons home. The Hansen tour marks a big step forward in this process.

## Lewis Hails WSB Walkout

John L. Lewis praised the three labor members who withdrew from the WSB "for the superb courage they have exhibited in resisting the proposed imposition upon free American labor of an unjustifiable and oppressive wage formula.

"In equity and good conscience all American workers are entitled to receive at least the same comparative wage improvements from the base of Jan. 1950 that have been negotiated and made effective in the . . . coal industry," he stated.

Lewis, who has not kowtowed to the Truman administration, here points out that the miners received a 20 percent wage increase since the Jan. 1950 date, and in effect dares Murray and Green to try to get the same.

# Labor Quits Wage-Board

(Continued from Page 1)

over the pre-Korea rate, while a business man with a \$75,000 yearly income would be increased only 23 per cent.

While prices rise, taxes are increased, and wages are frozen under Truman's soak-the-poor program, the rent "control" law, which has already allowed hundreds of thousands of rent increases in all major cities, will expire March 31, with no moves made to provide for strict controls after that date.

But what precipitated the break was a realization by the union officialdom that they could not push such a program down the workers' throats. The bitter revolt of the railroad yardmen was a warning sign. The packinghouse workers, negotiating a 9-cent hourly wage increase, voted to strike if the government did not approve this gain; the Textile Workers Union could not get to first base with the companies, and a strike, now in progress, was inevitable; the auto workers had given firm notice that they would not give up the escalator clause.

"We are prepared to fight just as hard to maintain our contracts as we had to fight to win them. That means in plain language, full use of the strike weapon if such a course is forced upon us. We shall recommend such a course of action to our convention in Cleveland, April 1-5," stated the CIO auto workers International Executive Board on Feb. 17.

"The UAW-CIO proposes the creation of a joint defense fund by all organized labor for the

purpose of maintaining and defending the integrity of union contracts," the board added.

This expression of militancy by the UAW officers against the attempted wage-freeze is strong testimony to the fierce anger of the rank and file against Truman's policies. The UAW leaders could not go along with the Wall Street program and face the union's April convention.

Emil Rieve, President of the CIO Textile Workers Union, now on strike against East coast and Southern mills, wired Truman reminding him that he had been elected on a "fair deal" program. "I urge you to take the mobilization program out of the hands of the big business men."

Ralph Helstein, President of the Packinghouse Workers Union labelled the wage-freeze "monstrously unfair." William Green, member of the United Labor Policy Committee, representing the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods stated that labor is "expected to carry a disproportionate share" of the economic burdens.

## PRISONERS OF WAR PROGRAM

But none of the labor leaders, forced to talk tough for fear of a rebellion of their membership, have told the full truth.

They are 100 per cent supporters of the war program. This mobilization for war, with its astronomical costs, comes on the heels of the already heavy load heaped on the backs of the people by World War II. The industrialists plan this war not as a program of social welfare, but as

a means of continuing and increasing their fabulous profits.

The war program is not a crusade for high ideals, but a calculated conspiracy to continue the life of the capitalist system of super-exploitation, and to extend that exploitation by American Big Business all over the world.

Unless the workers are mobilized in a determined independent political struggle to take the war-making powers out of the hands of the financiers and monopolists who control the government, the destruction of the living standards of labor will proceed.

But the labor leadership is not preparing such a struggle. They are now preparing to patch up their coalition with Truman, who they hope will make gestures convincing enough to take off the rank and file heat. The United Labor Policy Committee has agreed in principle to wage freezing — they argue only about the point at which to fix wages. They want a high governmental post for a labor figure, to give the Wall Street war machine in Washington a labor cover.

It is significant that such a crisis has developed even before World War III is under way. The profit-mad capitalists, counting upon the political spinelessness of the union bureaucracy, have pushed their program with little concern for the consequences.

This is only the beginning. Labor is getting a startling preview of what World War III will mean; the workers will be doubly and triply exploited, driven down to subsistence levels, while the rich get richer.

# STALIN EXPOSES HIS OWN UN LIES, LEAVES DOOR WIDE OPEN FOR DEAL

(Continued from Page 1)

ing signatures, sending postcards and telegrams to members of Parliament, staging phony "peace congresses" and the like. The results have been exactly nil; instead of receding, the war danger has in the meantime intensified. This whole cynical, fraudulent and impotent campaign has revolved around the UN, whose real role has been completely exposed by the events resulting from the China-Korea crisis.

And so belatedly and grudgingly Stalin finds himself compelled to tell at least part of the truth about this hub of all his "peace" campaigning, about this organization of which he is one of the chief architects and about whose role as a "peace bulwark" he had lied, as he still does, so shamelessly.

It suddenly turns out that the UN is "a means for unleashing a new world war"; that it is "taking the inglorious road of the League of Nations," "burying its moral prestige," "dooming itself to disintegration," and so forth. Worse yet, it is simply a "tool" acting "on behalf of the requirements of the American aggressors" who, besides, complains Stalin, are "undemocratic." When we Trotskyists pointed out all this and more from the outset, the Stalinists denounced us in the vilest terms.

## THE SAME UN

The UN has not changed its character. Neither has the Kremlin. But the fact remains that Stalin never used such sharp language toward the UN before. For all these years there have emanated from Moscow syrupy assurances about this "bulwark for preserving peace" which the

Soviet peoples and the world are now informed is just the opposite. It is "being turned into an instrument of war," announces Stalin without a mumbling word of explanation for so astounding a transformation, let alone his own years of delay in this discovery.

To explain today would mean to expose one's own lies of yesterday. That is why this monumental liar never bothers to explain, trusting on the proverbial shortness of human memory and his machine of repression. How can any socialist-minded worker place an ounce of confidence in this traitor and his whole retinue of political gangsters?

Capitalist political experts speculate that Stalin's sudden "toughness" toward the UN implies a possible withdrawal from the UN, or another demonstrative walk-out as in the days before Korea. The likelihood is that Stalin himself doesn't know what his next step will be, and rather hopes to use these "blasts" in order to intimidate the already badly frightened West European capitalists and thus wring concessions over the diplomatic table.

The timing of Stalin's latest pronouncements adds weight to such a conclusion. It comes on the heels of the first anniversary of the Sino-Soviet pact and on the threshold of the Big Four parley.

## INFLUENCE OF CHINA

But there is a far weightier factor now at play in the world, determining not alone the march of events but also forcing the Kremlin's hands into moves not previously contemplated. It is the revolutionary upheaval in

Asia. A conciliatory attitude toward the UN, or any painting up of it as a "peace bulwark," would scarcely be acceptable to the Chinese and Korean peoples, let alone the insurgent Asian masses as a whole. Stalin's characterization as "shameful" of the US-UN decision branding Peiping as "aggressor" is the mildest possible one under the circumstances. Similarly with the rest of his fulminations against the UN, against the U.S., against Britain, France, and the rest of the old colonial powers.

It is in this light that Stalin's comments on Korea can be best understood. He kept his mouth shut since the outbreak of the Korean conflict last June; he had exactly nothing to say either when MacArthur marched to the Manchurian border or when Peiping acted in the emergency.

And when he finally speaks, what does he say? Why, that the Korea war is "extremely unpopular among the British and American soldiers," while it is quite "popular" with the opposing side, and even this is implied rather than openly stated. On Korea itself, Stalin assures that the war "can only end in a defeat of the interventionists." And here, instead of a forthright declaration of support to the Chinese and Korean revolutions, a qualification is introduced: "If Britain and the United States reject finally the proposals made" . . . by the Mao regime.

In our view, this semi-qualified declaration of support, so belated and so grudgingly given, could have come only through the pressure exerted by Peiping on the Kremlin. Mao and his associates could not have been satisfied with less.

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## Facts on Briggs Co. Thugs

The Detroit newspapers figured the scrap metal contract, given by the Briggs Manufacturing Co. as a "payoff" for beating up militant union members, at \$1½ million a year. In 1947 it brought Carl Renda, son-in-law of gangster Sam Perrone, a profit of \$103,000.

The tie-up of the Briggs corporation and the Perrone gang has been known to the authorities since 1946. In that year a special secret grand jury investigation of "labor racketeering" was held in Detroit. Under the then Michigan law it was a one man grand jury. The one man was Circuit Judge George B. Murphy. Despite underworld links of Big Business brought out by testimony, no action was taken. The 28 books of testimony were kept a deep secret till they were reluctantly turned over to the Senate Crime Investigating Committee.

George E. Herbert, general superintendent of Briggs salvage when the contract was suddenly taken from the legitimate scrap dealer who had had it for 18 years and given to the gangsters, got suspicious. So he naively went to the FBI to report this infiltration of the underworld into "respectable" private enterprise. Results came quickly. Herbert and his secretary were fired with no reasons given.

Herbert also testified that in return for the scrap contract Renda was to prevent all future strikes at Briggs. Herbert was warned to "lay off" Renda if he "knew what was healthy for him." Herbert gave this testimony at the secret hearings in 1946. He could not be called by the Senate Committee because he is dead. Emil Mazey, Vice-President of the UAW-CIO has called for the exhumation and autopsy of his body and those of two other key figures who also died since the grand jury hearings.

Renda, son-in-law and the front for the Perrone gang, got the \$1½ million a year contract at the age of 24. He had no previous business experience nor office. The scrap removal at Briggs requires heavy equipment such as cranes, railroad sidings, a fleet of trucks, etc. Renda had no equipment at all. His "business" telephone was that of his hoodlum father-in-law, Sam Perrone. Renda never handled any of the scrap. He immediately subcontracted it out to the same firm which for 18 years had had the Briggs' scrap contract. Renda simply upped the price of scrap several dollars a ton to the former contract holder and at the same time got it much cheaper from Briggs. Briggs lost \$14,000 a month giving Renda its scrap at the lowered price.

Special prosecutor at the 1946 Grand Jury investigation which brought no results and whose records were kept secret till last week was Lester Moll, a personal friend of W. Dean Robinson, president of the Briggs Co. His questioning of Robinson was very chummy; for instance, he addressed the witness as "Dean." Part of the record runs: Moll — "I think we ought to have a frank discussion of this situation off the record." When the Senate investigator asked Robinson what the off-the-record conversation was about, the Briggs president gave his habitual answer: "I can't remember."

Detroiters had a first class opportunity to see real underworld characters and to watch their Big Business pals sweat and stammer, "I don't remember." The Senate Crime Committee hearings were televised and proved to be the most popular program of the year.

## "Errors" of Karl Marx

By Harry Frankel

A report from Rome last week tells us that the reading of Karl Marx's Capital is prohibited for all Catholics. This prohibition is binding even though Capital is not on the Index librorum prohibitorum, the list of books condemned by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church.

The news is contained in an article in the Vatican's weekly, *Osservatore della Domenica*, in the form of a statement by Msgr. Enrico Dante, emeritus member of the Roman Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas. Msgr. Dante, from his tone, works hard to follow in the footsteps of his medieval patron saint. Capital, he tells us, is based upon "historical materialism," advocates "atheistic communism," and calls for "the class struggle as the only means for achieving the emancipation of the proletariat. . . All these errors are condemned by the Church."

He reasons further that Capital is not to be considered approved reading just because it is not on the Index. "Canon No. 1399 lists those books which fall by law under the same prohibition," he adds, "and among these are books which defend errors condemned by the Apostolic See." Like a true son of Thomas Aquinas, he leaves it to an underling to put the matter simply in another statement, which says in part: "Some books are so obviously anti-Christian that it is not necessary to cite them by name in the Index, and Capital is one of these."

The teachings of Capital are thus named "errors." But those who recall the earlier experiences of mankind with the "errors" denounced by the Catholic Church need have no fear that the economic laws discovered by Marx and set down by him in Capital will henceforth cease to operate.

Over 350 years ago, the Church of Rome entered the fray over the great scientific ques-

John A. Fry, president of the Detroit-Michigan Stove Company which has employed the Perrone gang since the 1930's and which to this day remains open shop, reversed his testimony on the stand. At first he told the Senate committee: "I never discussed labor problems with Sam Perrone." Then he was confronted with the therefore secret grand jury proceedings in which he had testified he had "called upon Perrone" when his workers were on strike. He was also confronted with a report from the Interstate Commerce Commission on Perrone's application for a trucking license. It read: "Mr. Fry indorses this application because he is indebted to Ispano Perrone for helping the company break the strike in 1943 in April."

The two Perrone brothers are old-time gangsters with long records. As far back as 1920 one was arrested on a murder charge. In 1931 there was a larceny charge and an armed robbery charge again in 1932. In 1929 they were involved in an alien-smuggling ring. However the only time they were ever imprisoned was in the mid-30's. On a bootlegging conviction they were sentenced to Leavenworth for six years. There they had adjoining cells. They did only a little more than two years and then were let out, due it was hinted by the Senate investigators to the intercession of Big Business men. While in prison their scrap metal "business" was carried on in the name of Sam Perrone's wife. In 1942 the charge was the carrying of concealed weapons. In 1945 firemen putting out a fire in the stove plant discovered a secret compartment in one of the lockers. In it was a small arsenal. The locker was Perrone's. But as usual the company-protected thugs went free. In 1945 Lydia Thompson was murdered. She left a note for the police stating that in case anything happened to her the police should look for Sam Perrone. He was never brought to trial. Arthur Glover, a Detroit police detective is a longtime friend of Sam Perrone, on Perrone's own admission. This was the very detective assigned to question Perrone in connection with the Lydia Thompson murder. The Perrones and front man Renda, Perrone's son-in-law and holder of the Briggs scrap contract, all carried guns on permits issued by Detroit police.

An insight into the "impartiality" of labor mediators and umpires was given by the grand jury testimony of James F. Dewey. Dewey, long an "ace" labor mediator for the federal government was in this period the "impartial umpire" of labor disputes between Briggs Co. and the UAW. Dewey tried to tie the beatings of union militants at Briggs to union factions. He pictured the Briggs Co. suffering from a local that was under the leadership of Trotskyists. According to him Emil Mazey, now vice-president of the UAW and then president of the Briggs local, was a Trotskyist and was "impossible to deal with." He took part in secret conferences "to get rid of these bad people in the plant." At first Dewey denied being in the scrap iron business or having any interest in it. Then he admitted that he had arranged scrap steel sales to a dealer who had no scrap yard but did business from a hotel. He got a commission on each of the scrap deals he arranged. When W. O. Briggs, company vice-president, was asked, "Do you know whether he (impartial umpire Dewey) is engaged in the scrap business?" his evasive reply was, "I don't know. Everybody wants to get in on the account."

## Short Subjects

TOADIES IN INDIA'S PARLIAMENT. Hoping to curry favor with the American imperialists, 43 members of India's Parliament cabled Congress begging for grain and declaring they are opposed to totalitarianism and "recognize the liberty and integrity of the free countries of Asia, including our own, who are today menaced by Communist expansion." Prime Minister Nehru rebuffed this action, which, he said, had been taken "without consultation with government and without consideration of the bigger issues involved and of India's foreign policy." Most of the cringing signers of the cable were members of Nehru's own party.

DOUBLE STANDARD.—The railroad switchmen fighting for a living wage have been denounced for treason by "big wigs and little wigs, from President Truman and Charles E. Wilson down to the editorial writer for the *Crossroads Gazette*," points out *Textile Labor*, Feb. 17. But "not a peep has been heard from Truman, Wilson or the press and radio" about the complete tieup of the nation's cotton through the closing of the Cotton Exchange "by a 'strike' of merchants and shippers against price control." *Textile Labor's* editors cite this as "a stunning example of the 'double standard' which afflicts America." Actually, of course, this is the way one and the same class standard, for the benefit of capitalists and to the injury of labor, always works out.

What the coalition with Roose-

vel showed was not that his policies were the most beneficial to labor, but that the labor leaders, rather than take the road of an independent labor party, were prepared ten times over to betray labor's interests for the sake of a dirty political alliance with one of the political machines of Big Business. And it is a warning that they are ready to do the same today — if the workers let them get away with it.

It won't be so easy this time. The corporations and their agent, the Truman administration, are less willing to make the minimum concessions. Roosevelt began his war when the economic system had a certain leeway, a condition of deflation, millions of unemployed workers, a relatively small national debt. Truman has confronted major difficulties amounting to a crisis with the "small" Korean war because he begins on the basis of inflation, labor shortage and a monumental federal debt. Whatever favorable conditions existed in the last war for keeping the coalition from falling apart, exist no longer. Its foundation can rest only on sand and it must collapse again on the heads of the workers.

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The claim that labor ever benefited from the wartime coalition with Roosevelt is myth. True, Sidney Hillman got a top war production board post in which he was permitted to rubber-stamp the decisions of Big Business until even he got so disgusted that he finally resigned on the pretext of illness. The union officials obtained a maintenance of membership clause which enabled them to stabilize union membership and finances. But the workers got rising prices, shortages, long hours, speedup and frozen wages. With the termination of the war, the pent-up resentment of the workers exploded into the greatest strike wave in American history.

What the coalition with Roose-

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1951

NUMBER 9

# THE MILITANT

## Los Angeles SWP Candidate Files Petitions

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 14 — The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party entered into the April 3 local election campaign here, this week, when Myra Tanner Weiss filed her nominating petition for Board of Education, Office No. 5.

Comrade Weiss filed her 1000 signatures after a swift four day campaign and was the first candidate to qualify for office. Two others subsequently qualified, and it is expected that a total of five candidates will run for the post if all who filed declarations of intention to run, qualify.

A total of four school board posts are up for contest. The Stalinists have announced that they will run Henry Steinberg as a Communist Party candidate for Office No. 1 and Jack Berman as an Independent Progressive Party candidate for Office No. 7. Neither have qualified up to the date of this article but three days remain in which to file.

The elections are formally non-partisan in nature but Comrade Weiss, and presumably the others, will run their campaigns on a Party basis. Since each office covers the entire School Board district, which overlaps the City of Los Angeles, the program of the Socialist Workers Party will be presented to the entire city.

Several organizations have already contacted Comrade Weiss with questionnaires, the answers to which will be printed in their bulletins and papers. Among these are the League of Women Voters and the Building Trades Council.

## Campus Youth Group in Chicago Backs Beinin, Anti-War Candidate

### Their Plea Spurned



Mrs. Josephine Grayson and two of her five children picket the White House in a vain appeal to save her husband, Francis. He and six other Negro men, known as the Martinsville Seven, were framed and executed in Richmond, Va., for allegedly raping a white woman. No white man has ever suffered the death penalty for a similar crime.

CHICAGO — Lively interest in the socialist anti-war campaign of Irving Beinin, candidate for Alderman of the Fifth Ward, has led to formation of a Campus Committee for Beinin at the University of Chicago.

Sponsored by students who have no political affiliation, the Campus Committee will provide a forum where interested students can hear Beinin's anti-war program and form their own judgment of its merits.

This action, taken in keeping with the best democratic traditions, reflects the deep-going apprehension among students over the heavy impact of the imperialist war program on their lives.

Beinin's opponent, Democrat Alderman Robert Merriam, unwittingly helped to speed formation of the Campus Committee when he insolently rejected proposals by the Channing Club and Politics Club that he debate Beinin on the issues of the campaign.

Merriam added insult to injury by refusing to submit to questions from the students when he did finally address a campus audience. Apparently he was afraid that Beinin supporters in the audience would ask embarrassing questions about his pro-war policy which he tries to conceal behind a smoke screen of double-talk.

In contrast to Merriam's shabby conduct, Beinin, in a talk before a campus audience, gave a forthright presentation of the anti-capitalist, anti-war program of the Socialist Workers Party. And he stayed to answer every question his listeners had to ask.

"Truman's bi-partisan war drive threatens the future of every student," Beinin declared. "Thousands of students are ordered to exchange PhD's for PFC's — to be earned in Korea. Other thousands can expect to be yanked from the class rooms to fill labor drafts for the war plants."

He pointed to falling enrollments and rising costs which threaten to bankrupt many colleges unless they accept subsidies for military training and war research programs. These col-



IRVING BEININ

leges, he said, must either become part of the war machine or close their doors.

"The creeping military-police state is slowly paralyzing the academic tradition of free inquiry and criticism," Beinin asserted. "Loyalty oaths impose pledges of conformity on students and faculty. Legislative witch hunts permit reactionaries to dictate academic policy. Students opposed to the war are intimidated by threats to their professional careers."

This deadly trend can be halted, he told the students, only by fighting the very war drive of which it is a part; only by opposing all the bi-partisan war supporters, including Alderman Merriam.

"Only a program that mobilizes the millions of student youth and workers against the bankrupt capitalist system can halt the war drive that threatens our liberties and our lives," Beinin declared.

"If I am elected," he told the students, "I will fight for such an anti-war program in the City Council. I will use my position in public office to speed the mobilization of mass anti-war committees among students and workers."

## V. R. DUNNE CITES ROLE OF LABOR MISLEADERS

By Harold Kent

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 18 — V. R. Dunne told a large audience of workers today that a majority of the top union leaders are "under the thumb of the U. S. State Department." Dunne employed DeLeon's classic phrase "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" in characterizing the Greens, Murrys, Reuthers, Currans and their ilk.

"The U. S. State Department sends American labor leaders into foreign lands to peddle the lie that American capitalists are champions of democracy," said Dunne. "The labor leaders help to sell Republican and Democratic politicians to the workers. They are horrified at the thought of a Labor party. And for this service to U. S. imperialism, they merely ask their masters for a little token recognition."

"In the face of the present upsurge of the working class, these leaders are as panicky as their masters. They implore Truman to help them shackle the workers."

"Marxists are not caught unaware by today's explosive events," stated Dunne. "We foresaw these things many years ago." The speaker quoted from Trotsky's work of 1924, "Whither England," to show how Trotsky's predictions are being confirmed regarding the crisis of American capitalism.

"The American capitalist class," said Dunne, "the most arrogant, ruthless, audacious but least educated ruling class, arrived too late on the stage of world history to cash in on its past victories."

Dunne went on to point out that, while U. S. capitalists may entertain dreams of world domi-

nation, the U. S. military finds itself pinned down on the tiny Korean peninsula, Eisenhower evoked no response from the European workers for another "crusade," and, most important of all, the workers here at home have shown in many ways that they will not allow themselves to be regimented without a fight.

"We have some excellent examples to prove this," continued Dunne. "Just remember the great sweep of organization that created the CIO. It was a rank-and-file movement that astounded almost everybody. Even John L. Lewis who launched the CIO did not foresee the explosive character of the industrial unions. More recently, in 1945, we witnessed the demonstrations of the soldiers around the slogan: 'Get us home!' The lessons of these events were not lost on America's rulers. It is not for nothing that the brass hats want boys of 17 and 18 in the new army."

"Just as the CIO produced leaders from the ranks, so will the unions in the next period throw up a left wing of advanced workers to cope with the problems of the coming days."

This was the concluding lecture in the present series. A lively discussion followed the talk. The audience contributed a generous collection. A tasty supper of potato salad, bread, pickles, weiners, sweets and coffee kept the discussion going for hours afterward.

### CHICAGO

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## Textile Union Strikers Display Fighting Spirit

(Continued from Page 1)

would take a couple of months to bring the company to its knees.

In addition to the wage demands there is a lot of dissatisfaction over the grievances run-around. Theoretically all the steps should be completed in 28 days. But in reality important grievances can be stalled indefinitely by prolonged "studies." Last August this resulted in a two week sit-down strike in the ring spinning department of the mill. It wasn't a stay-in sit-down. The workers went home every night. Then they came to work on time next

morning and sat down all day. After two weeks of this the arbitration board awarded the sit-downers a seven cent an hour increase.

However, the company hasn't forgotten this and demanded in the unsuccessful pre-strike negotiations that the union agree to a penalty clause. The strikers with whom I spoke were adamant in their attitude against giving the company any such clause.

### SPIRIT HIGH

Neither Forstmann nor Botany mills is trying to operate during the strike. The workers take the companies' not trying to operate as a realistic appreciation of their strength. All the others agreed with the picket captain when he told me: "The spirit of the workers is especially high in this strike. Just look at the number of women out on the line. Did you hear them all singing? That shows their morale. And shouting slogans, too. We are keeping the picket lines operating 24 hours a day. The shift is 3 hours. Up to now we haven't made any assignments, just chosen from the volunteers. Of course the strike is only a few days old.



MYRA T. WEISS

## WHITE-HOUSE ALLIANCE NEVER BENEFITED LABOR

(Continued from Page 1)

loomed when the railroad workers also threatened to walk out and Roosevelt stopped them only by the method that Truman has since repeatedly used — Army "seizure" and the appointment of seven railroad presidents as "colonels" to run the lines. Only minor concessions by Roosevelt and a major retreat by the union leaders saved the coalition then.

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### PAY MAIN ISSUE

When I inquired the main thing they were striking for I got the unanimous answer that their pay had fallen so far behind the cost of living that the strike was in self-defense. "What about the price freeze?" I not so innocently asked. "Are you kidding?" was the sum of the jeering and sour remarks that followed.

A member of the local's executive board explained their wage situation. "We got a 12 cent increase in November before the contract expired. We hadn't had an increase for two-and-a-half years before that. And you know how prices have been going up since then. Now, if we had to stick within the wage formula that they're trying to put through in Washington — you know the one the union leaders walked out on — we could only get about one-and-a-half cents more. That would leave us in a fine mess. How can you expect a man to support his family on that when prices are high and going higher?"

### REGAIN LOST WAGES

An old man added, "Sure, if they give us an escalator clause we don't get any more pay unless prices go up. So let them give us that and then concentrate on keeping prices from rising. But of course we got to get the 15 cents first, just to catch up what we already lost."

As I was leaving the old man took my arm and expressed his satisfaction that a socialist paper was going to print something about the strike. Said he, "The paper in this town, the *Herald-News*, just won't give the strikers' side of the story. It just prints the company's side. Someday we'll have to boycott it till it gives us a fair break. I've been working here since 1920. Before the union came you could be fired if the foreman didn't like the way you looked at him. I used to do ten jobs all at once — picking up things, wiping oil off the machinery and lots more beside my regular work. Now with the union here there's nine more men — one for each of the jobs I had to do."